THE HEALER'S ART
Cape Nguni Diviners in the Townships of Grahamstown

Thesis
Submitted in Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
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by

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This is a study of Cape Nguni diviners practising in the townships of Grahamstown where, during the 1970s, there was a large and active concentration of diviners treating clients from the locality, the rural areas and even the large urban centres further afield. The study situates local diviners in the socio-economic, cultural and religious context of contemporary township life during the 1970s (see chapter 1 and section 2.1). The personalities and socio-economic circumstances of diviners (and herbalists) are described as well as their case-loads, the various problems they treat, the relations between them and their clients, the economics of healing and the ethics pertaining to the profession (see chapter 2).

Chapter three focuses on the various problems and afflictions - which are largely of an interpersonal nature - suffered by those who are eventually inducted as diviners and the ritual therapy this necessarily entails. Here we see how the diviner, what Lewis (1971) terms a 'wounded healer', becomes an expert in interpersonal and social relations as a result of suffering problems - largely connected to the family but not necessarily limited to it - in interpersonal relations and that require a ritual, and thus social, prophylaxis.

The main theoretical argument is that the diviner, qua healer, functions as a hybrid of Levi-Strauss's bricoleur and Castaneda's 'man of knowledge' artfully combining the ability of the former to invert, mirror or utilise analogies from linguistics to make everything meaningful and the ability of the latter to creatively bend reality. The diviner's cosmology is described in terms of a 'handy', limited but extensive cultural code/reertoire of signs, symbols and metaphors that is utilised in getting the message across to others and in which animals bear the main symbolic load (see chapter 4). This leads logically to a reappraisal of Hammond-Tooke's (1975b) well-known model of Cape Nguni symbolic structure particularly in so far as it pertains to the way in which diviners classify animals, both wild and domestic (see section 4.6). A striking evocation and confirmation of the view argued here, namely of the diviner as bricoleur/‘man of knowledge’, is contained in chapter five dealing with an analysis of the diviner's 'river' myth and the context, form and content of the divinatory consultation itself.

Finally, the conclusions, arising out of this study of contemporary Cape Nguni diviners in town, are evaluated in the light of Lewis's (1966, 1971, 1986) deprivation hypothesis of spirit possession (see chapter 6).
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work and has not been submitted before, for degree or examination purposes, to any other university.

Signed by Manton Myatt Hirst on this 8th day of November, 1990.
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VOLUME I
CHAPTER ONE

1.1 The setting and the people

Grahamstown, the historic Eastern Cape town associated with the 1820 Settlers and well-known educational institutions, is situated at the headwater reaches of the Bloukrans River about 50km inland (as the crow flies) from the Indian Ocean and lying on the arterial axis of the old national road between the larger coastal cities of Port Elizabeth and East London (cf. Watts 1957 and Daniel 1985). Stretching from the environs of Grahamstown to the eastern coastline, the undulating countryside – comprising the farmlands of the Albany and Bathurst districts – is covered with patches of thick thorn bush and woodland which merge into grassland and heathland: terrain scarred by the courses of streams and rivers winding to the sea and scoured by a strong south-easterly wind. Grahamstown is situated in a transitional zone between the summer rainfall region to the east and the all year rainfall area of the south coast (Daniel 1985:7). This not only explains why Grahamstown suffers periodic droughts and consequent water shortages (cf. Daniel 1985:9-10), but also why the town is centred among so many vegetation types ranging from karroid vegetation with its striking succulents to evergreen woodland, acacia grassland and heathland (cf. Guillarmod 1985:18-24). The area is distinctive for its colourful wild flowers (cf. Batten and Bokelmann 1966) and prolific bird life (cf. Skead 1985:34-7). The large mammals (e.g. elephant, hippopotamus, lion, leopard and buffalo) are today extinct in Albany district (cf. Skead 1980, Skead 1985:37-40 and Smithers 1983). Animals such as chacma baboon, black-backed jackal and a few varieties of small antelope (e.g. bushbuck, duiker, steenbok and grysbok) still roam in the bush; otter and nile monitor occur in some rivers; and there are a variety of snakes (e.g.

The history of Grahamstown - particularly as far as the white side of town is concerned - is extraordinarily well documented (cf. Dugmore 1871, Cory 1910, Sheffield 1912, Du Toit 1954, Hunt 1963, 1981, 1985, Maxwell 1970, 1971, 1979, Wilsworth 1980, Davenport 1980, Bekker et al. 1981, Gibbens 1982, Sampson 1982, Sellick 1983, Southey 1984, Berning 1984, Daniel et al. 1985, Hummel 1986a, 1986b, Hall 1989, Roux and St. Leger 1971, Roux and Helliker 1986, Taylor 1986, 1987). Grahamstown originally developed from a frontier military outpost established by Col. John Graham in August 1812 as a bulwark against permanent Xhosa settlement in the Zuurveld. In the months prior to August 1812 and beginning in December 1811, Graham had led a military expedition against the Xhosa tribes - the amaNdlambe, the amaGqunukhwebe and the amaMbalu, among others - residing in the Zuurveld between the Fish and Sundays rivers, and had driven them from their summer grazing areas eastwards across the Fish River at gun point (cf. Maclennan 1986). The venerable chief of the amaGqunukhwebe, Cungwa, who was sick but nevertheless refused to vacate his lands, was simply shot in cold blood together with his councillors as they lay asleep in the bush (Maclennan 1986:112). Throughout the campaign, Xhosa men and women were shot indiscriminately wherever they were found, and whether or not they offered resistance (Maclennan 1986:113). As Hummel (1986a:15) so eloquently puts it, Grahamstown "... for all its dedication to the arts of peace can never quite shake off its genesis in a setting full of conflict". Trouble would eventually result from forcing the remnants of the Zuurveld tribes across the Fish River: the old feud between Ndlambe and his nephew Ngqika was to be revived (cf. Peires 1981:51) and this was to have profound consequences on the future historical development.
of Grahamstown.

Once across the Fish River, Ndlambe became the patron of the war-doctor (*itola*) Makanda (or Nxele) (cf. Peires 1981:63). Makanda’s strange prophecies, his professed ability to turn bullets into water (cf. Chalmers 1878) and his solicitude to his followers enabled Ndlambe to weld together the scattered remnants of the Zuurveld tribes under his political aegis. At the same time, Ndlambe began to conduct a carefully orchestrated campaign against Ngqika. Even Ngqika’s messenger, Hendrik Nquka, was a spy in the employ of Makanda (cf. Theal 1915:1:V:333-4, Cory 1910:1:390 and Holt 1954:30). The climax was the famous battle of Amalinde in which Ndlambe trounced Ngqika (cf. Hirst 1986b). This was certainly one of the fiercest and bloodiest battles ever to be contested between fellow Xhosa tribesmen, for at stake was the hegemony of the House of Rharhabe and the leadership of the western Xhosa.

Having retreated to the Winterberg after the battle, Ngqika sent Hendrik Nquka with a message to Major Fraser in Grahamstown stating the reason for his crushing defeat as his willingness to comply with the Colonial instructions to return stolen cattle. However, Ndlambe was forewarned and although Colonel Brereton’s military expedition (in December 1818) succeeded in capturing 23 000 head of Ndlambe cattle (9 000 went to Ngqika in recompense for his losses at the battle of Amalinde), they never managed to catch up with Ndlambe’s main party (cf. Theal 1915:1:V:335). The amaNdlambe were finally routed following the ill-conceived attack on Grahamstown in April 1819 (cf. Cory 1910:1:385-90). The stage was now set for the arrival of the British Settlers in 1820 and the subsequent Frontier Wars with the Xhosa in 1834-5, 1846-7, 1850-3 and 1877-8: events that were to result in the early development and even prosperity of Grahamstown (cf. Hunt 1963 and Gibbens 1982). The genesis of Grahamstown in the conflict of the
colonial frontier is deeply etched in its many unique architectural features and historical monuments (cf. Vos 1968 and van der Riet 1974).

Although a commercial centre of some importance during the nineteenth century (cf. Hunt 1963:151,153 and Watts 1957:63), Grahamstown is today mainly an educational and cultural centre. The 1820 Settlers Monument building on Gunfire Hill overlooks the university and the commercial centre of the town. With the arrival of the steam locomotive in 1879 (cf. Hunt 1979b), the town was situated on a branch line some distance from the main rail link at Alicedale; and this effectively checked future industrial development in the town. Apart from deposits of kaolinite and clay (used in pottery and brick making respectively - cf. Daniel 1985:7), Grahamstown lacks natural resources. Local economic activity is thus predominantly of a tertiary nature, the bulk of which consists of commercial, catering, accommodation and community services and construction with light manufacturing accounting for only 1,6% (i.e. 7 licensed businesses) in 1985 (Wallis 1986:4). Employment opportunities and wages are consequently limited by the nature and scope of the local economy which, in turn, is limited by the geographical position of the town. The approximately 9 000 - 10 000 white inhabitants of the town reside in the large residential area nestled under shady trees and almost surrounding the central business district which is also mainly in white hands (cf. Davenport 1980:4).

The houses and many backyard shacks of the black townships cluster in ordered disarray round the base and on the escarpment of the rocky pine covered hill on the eastern side of Grahamstown called Makana's Kop (so named after the Xhosa war-doctor Makanda) and now known as the Mount of Zion (Ntaba Ziyoni) by the predominantly Christian population of the townships (cf. Nyquist 1983:71-2). The colloquial Xhosa expression 'the coming of Nxele'
(ukuza kukaNxele) refers to a forlorn hope, a promise or prediction that proves false or fails to materialize (Mahlasela 1973:9). According to local oral tradition, Makanda's prophecy to turn the bullets of the whites to water failed to materialize in the battle of Grahamstown. Owing largely to the presence of Rhodes University, an impressive body of research has been generated on Grahamstown and the black townships, much of which is cited here. However, very little is known about the oral history of the townships: the period from sand road (the national road entering Grahamstown from King William's Town was untarred until the late 1940s) to national by-pass (constructed during the State of Emergency in the 1980s with the express purpose of by-passing the townships) has yet to be documented.

The African settlement in Grahamstown consists of three main areas (Davenport 1980:4). Firstly, there is the Fingo Village which straddles Raglan Road and it includes the oldest part of the townships dating back to 1847, the New Town cottages built in 1927 and the southern municipal location down to 'A' Street (see map on the preceding page). Secondly, there is the northern municipal location, now commonly known as Tantyi (the name is derived from the term itantyisi, a type of curio necklace consisting of seed-pods at one time made and hawked by Mfengu women), lying to the north-east of Fingo Village and established in the early twentieth century. Finally, there is the King's Flats municipal housing scheme (also known as Joza) built between 1959 and 1962 with later extensions in 1974 (200 houses) and 1981 (232 houses) (cf. Davies 1986:110-1).

The black population, both in Grahamstown and on the farms in Albany district, is predominantly Xhosa and Mfengu. The latter constitute the earliest African residents of the town who squatted on common pasturage in the 1830s prior to the establishment of Fingo Village (cf. Hunt 1963:205). The Mfengu
were dependents of the Xhosa Paramount chief Hintsa (cf. Peires 1981:88) whom the missionaries and the British Colonial authorities in 1835 claimed as "refugees from the MFecane" - i.e. the Zulu chief Shaka's "total war" of the late 1820s (cf. Ayliff and Whiteside 1912) - and brought under the protection of the Colony primarily to swell depleted labour reserves (cf. Bundy 1988:32-43 and Cobbing 1988). The Mfengu subsequently became the greatest military collaborators of the whites against the Xhosa in the Frontier Wars of 1846-47, 1850-53, and 1877-78 (cf. Moyer 1974, Bundy 1988:34 and Cobbing 1988). As a consequence of their efforts in defence of the Colony, the Mfengu obtained grants of land from the white authorities in Fingo Village in Grahamstown (cf. Hunt 1963, Maxwell 1971 and Davenport 1980:10-11) as well as in the rural areas of Ciskei which had once belonged to the Xhosa (cf. Moyer 1974:116). By 1856 in excess of 300 freehold deeds had been issued to Mfengu settled in Fingo Village (cf. Davenport 1980:11). Although the Mfengu were in the vanguard of the early black settlers to drift to Grahamstown in the nineteenth century, the Xhosa were not far behind. During the War of the Axe in 1846, the Xhosa chief Mqhayi's arrival in Grahamstown with a handful of followers caused quite a stir and it is not clear when he left or whether he left at all (cf. Hunt 1963:167). Mqhayi, a minor son of Ndlambe, died in 1854 (cf. Peires 1981:83). During the war of 1878, Grahamstown once more played host, this time to a handful of the Xhosa chief Oba's followers (cf. Gibbens 1982:274ff.). Oba was a son of Tyhali, who was a minor son of Ngqika (cf. Milton 1983 and Brownlee 1916/1977:156). During the late 1840s and early 1850s, Wilhelm Goliath, one of the Xhosa Paramount chief Sarili's (i.e. Kreli's) men (cf. Varley and Matthew 1956:123) who under the name of Mhlakaza was to play a leading role in the Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-7 (cf. Peires 1989:33ff.), was employed as Bishop Merriman's servant and lived in a thatched hut in Merriman's garden in Grahamstown (cf. illustration facing p.51
in Varley and Matthew 1956). As a result of the Cattle-Killing alone, it was estimated that by December 1857 fully 30 000 destitute and famine stricken Xhosa tribesmen had crossed the border into the Colony (cf. Du Toit 1954:101).

Clark (1983:45-6) has summarized the important 'push and pull' factors involved in the migration of Xhosa and Mfengu to the towns of the Eastern Cape. With the development of municipal works and roads, there was an increasing demand for labour. 'Push' factors included a rapidly increasing rural population, periodic droughts, rising land prices, the proletarianization of the black peasantry and the spur of hut taxes and the need to obtain the brideprice (lobola) required for marriage. In his famous half-century address, Dugmore (1871:23) draws attention to the long files of Xhosa women laden with ox-hides, ivory and gum who, through the early trade fairs held at Fort Wilshire, contributed in no small measure to the early mercantile development of Grahamstown. By 1831 Grahamstown was exporting annually £50 000 of goods of which £27 000 was in hides and £3 000 in ivory (cf. Wilson 1982:242). Dugmore (1871:23) adds that

[The Xhosa] have since gleefully told me what diligent search they used to make for the horns that had long been thrown away; and how the troops of children swarmed among the thorn-tree thickets, gathering gum for the new market.

So, right from the start, entrepreneurial activity and wage earning were important factors underlying the drift of blacks to Grahamstown (see section 2.4). Whatever differences existed between Xhosa and Mfengu in the past (cf. Mayer 1961:3) and whatever cultural differences exist between them in the present, they have become assimilated by the bonds of neighbourhood, ties
of inter-marriage, a shared language and a common ethnic identity in apartheid South Africa. Residents of the townships widely refer to themselves as the people of Grahamstown (abantu baseRhini); farm residents generally refer to the place or the farmer’s name and the vernacular version of the latter can be quite colourful at times.

The Cape Nguni include, among others, Xhosa and Mfengu. The Cape Nguni are congeries of chiefdoms inhabiting the Indian Ocean coastal belt and hinterland from the Natal border to the Zuurveld in the Eastern Cape Province (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1965, Wilson 1982:75ff. and Maclennan 1986:41ff.). These include the Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Bhaca, Xesibe, Bomvana, Hlubi, Zizi and Bhele chiefdom clusters (Hammond-Tooke 1975b:15). Historically they were herders, cultivators and hunters: patrilineal and polygynous peoples organized in a number of semi-independent chiefdom clusters each loosely recognizing the ritual seniority of a paramount chief. The Cape Nguni present a general picture of cultural uniformity and they speak dialects of the Xhosa language. Hence, the derivation of the term 'the Xhosa-speaking peoples' (cf. Mayer 1961:3). After more than a century of concerted missionary activity and accelerated socio-economic and cultural change, the ubiquitous Weberian Protestant ethic (cf. Weber 1930) - characterized by Christianity, education, wage-earning, urbanization, consumerism, Western medical services and modern forms of bureaucratic government - is increasingly widespread today among the Cape Nguni even in the so-called independent homelands of Ciskei and Transkei. My own material was collected during 1974-7 and refers to Xhosa and Mfengu in the townships of Grahamstown and on the white-owned farms in the surrounding rural district of Albany.

The black population of the townships - estimated in excess of 33 000 in 1975 (cf. Wilsworth 1980:12) - is currently estimated
to be between 65 000 and 70 000 (Vale 1987 and Daniel 1988, personal communications). Wilsworth (1980:85) points out that, during the period 1974-6, over 60% of the 6 364 dwellings in the townships were backyard structures (i.e. 3 879). This, taken together with a population density of 31 818 per km² (Wilsworth 1980:78), tells a sad tale of massive over-crowding and a serious shortfall in the provision of housing (cf. Davenport 1980). As Manona (1984:10) has pointed out, "in a large number of cases a residential site provides accommodation to more than 10 families". The reasons underlying the dramatic increase in the black population of the townships in the 1980s are very much the same as they were in the late 1870s and early 1880s: i.e. the result of "natural causes and an increasing influx ... from without" (Gibbens 1982:279). Except that in the 1970s and 1980s, governmental regulations applicable to retired and unemployed farm residents considerably exacerbated the situation (see section 2.4). Moreover, it could be argued that the 'baby boom' is a natural human response to a situation characterized by a subsistence economy, pervasive economic insecurity, low wages, unemployment and even under-employment in which the households that manage best economically are those with more than one member actively involved in the economic sector, whether 'formal' or 'informal', and with more than one member making regular contributions to the household income. Making a living in the townships of Grahamstown tends to be a co-operative family effort and even children and the aged contribute in one way or another to the household income (Wilsworth 1980:105).

What is not provided by full-time employment in the white-dominated local economy in the many unskilled or the few skilled jobs available to blacks (e.g. in construction, manufacturing, public administration, education, accommodation, catering and domestic service) or by labour migrancy on the mines or in the larger urban centres, is provided by casual or part-time work
(e.g. gardening, caddying at the golf course, selling newspapers, washing cars, etc.) and State pensions and disability grants. There are also various forms of self-employment: e.g. shops, taxis, shebeens, donkey and horse-carts, sub-letting backyard accommodation, prostitution (serving a largely white clientele), traditional healing, painting, carpentry, building, car-repairs, sewing and the hawking of vegetables, handicrafts and curios (cf. Wilsworth 1980: 104-111). Crime, petty theft, pilfering and begging also have important economic implications (cf. Bekker et al. 1981). Although very little is known about its local history, the 'informal' economic sector is an increasingly important part of the contemporary township scene as an adaptation to unemployment and low wages and even as an alternative to full-time employment in the white sector of the economy (see sections 2.4, 2.5 and 3.4). In fact, this study is concerned with a set of entrepreneurs plying their trade in the townships: i.e. the diviners (amagqirha okuvumisa) (see chapter 2). Apart from the features of the landscape and the graves of the Lobengula family situated in the settlement called Ndancama (Last Hope) on the eastern side of Fingo Village, Grahamstown's black townships have little to boast in the way of cultural or national monuments. However, during the 1970s, here was to be found one of the largest and most active coteries of diviners in the Eastern Cape attracting clients from the neighbourhood, the farms and even as far afield as the urban centres of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and King William's Town.

The presence of diviners in a predominantly Christian population is not as ironic as it might first appear. As a result of sociocultural change, there has been considerable adaptation and accommodation between traditional religion centred on the domestic cult of the ancestral spirits (iminyanya) and Christianity with its concept of God (uThixo). Within tradition,
uThixo has largely replaced the older concept of uQamatha - the Creator, Supreme Being and deus otiosus (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1975b). Within Christianity, in the established churches and in particular the syncretic movements or independent churches, the ancestral spirits have been accommodated in a manner analogous to the Christian Saints. Even more fundamental is that most diviners and herbalists in the townships and on the farms, like their clients, are baptised Christians, and some are confirmed Christians and leading members of their churches (see section 2.4).

Today, the Cape Nguni diviner (igqirha lokuvumisa) and herbalist (ixhwele; nolugxana) are the last vestiges of a once eminent and feared tribal institution now much altered as a result of sociocultural change. During the 19th century, this institution included a variety of specialized personnel: e.g. the war-doctor (itola), the rainmaker (igqirha lemvula), the witch-finder or "smeller" (igqirha elinukayo), the ventriloquist diviner (umlozi), the revealer of charms (igqirha lokumbulula), the leech (igqirha eliqubulayo) and the prophet (igogo) (cf. Hunter 1936:402-4, 79-84, 320-348, 497-502; Soga 1932:169-83 and Kropf and Godfrey 1915:128,476,122). Makanda or Nxele (c. 1818-9), Mlanjeni (c. 1851-3) and Ngxito (c. 1877-8) were war-doctors. uNggatsi (c. 1830s) was an influential rainmaker (cf. Williams 1967:54-85) and uMdlankomo (c. 1840s) a celebrated Mfengu witch-finder (cf. Brownlee 1916/1977:156). Makanda, Mlanjeni, Nonggawuse and Ntsikana were famous Xhosa prophets (cf. Wilson 1982:256, Soga 1930:90-1, Soga 1932:173-5, Peires 1981:64-78 and Peires 1989).

The Xhosa noun igqirha (pl. amaggirha) is roughly equivalent to the term doctor in English (cf. Hunter 1936:320). The noun imvumisa is derived from the causative form of the verb ukuvuma, which literally means "to agree, assent or consent" to something
Hence, *ukuvumisa* is "to cause to agree", "to produce agreement" or "to effect consent" to something. The use of double quotation-marks here indicates the provisional nature of the translations which are, at best, paraphrases of the ideas involved and not verbatim statements of what people actually say about them (cf. Sperber 1975). The essence of the idea is that the traditionalist doctor or diviner proceeds to treat the client after effecting agreement or consensus among the participants in the consultation as to the nature of the problem concerned (see section 5.4). Turner (1975a:235) has described divination in terms of its "cybernetic" function as a form of social analysis in which hidden conflicts and tensions are brought to light and dealt with by recourse to institutionalized procedures, by which he means ritual activity. The term *ugqirha*, as distinct from *igqirha*, is applied to the physician or Western medical practitioner; and the noun *ixilonga* (literally, a horn or trumpet) refers to the physician's stethoscope. However, Xhosa-speaking people generally are quick to point out the evident differences that exist between the diviner (*igqirha*) and the Western medical practitioner (*ugqirha*). Certainly, there is very little confusion in the minds of people about whom to consult for what problem (see section 2.7). The diviner is usually consulted by a small group of people, what Werbner (1973) terms a congregation, consisting of a selection of people from the client's social network (e.g. co-workers, friends, neighbours and/or relatives) who are thoroughly familiar with the problem or concern (see section 5.4). Thus, for practical purposes, the participants or consultees as a group (i.e. Werbner's congregation) are distinguished from the person with the problem: i.e. the client.

I first visited the townships of Grahamstown on a cold, wet Wednesday afternoon in May 1974 in the company of my friend Larry, a local resident and shopkeeper then in his late 30s.
Larry has a B.Ed. degree and before inheriting the family business in Tantyi, was employed as a school-teacher and, later, as a school inspector. Larry was born and grew up in Tantyi, where his family residence is situated. Larry and I became firm friends during 1972-3 when I was employed as a Receiving Clerk in the warehouse of a local wholesaler, where Larry purchased goods for his trading store in Tantyi. Larry is closely acquainted with local diviners, both as sometime client and interested observer, and it was he who suggested that a study be made of them. It was not until I returned to Rhodes University in 1974 as an honour’s student in psychology that an opportunity arose to undertake a study of local diviners in the townships of Grahamstown. Not only did Larry introduce me to local diviners, but he also accurately identified (as it turned out) the leading practitioners in their midst (see chapter 2).

The townships were dismal and bleak. The dwellings were ramshackle, the roads muddy and almost impassable in places, and there was a lot of waste paper and refuse lying about. The shabby exteriors of the muddle of over-crowded dwellings with their rusty corrugated iron roofs betrayed little of the human warmth and homemade comfort within that I later came to know so well as 'my home away from home'. The townships presented much the same aspect 14 years later in 1988 apart from the brightly painted houses built in Joza in 1981 and a few newly tarred streets in Fingo Village which largely facilitated the movement of police and military patrols during the State of Emergency in the 1980s.

Throughout the period of fieldwork (1974-7), the Committees Drift-Glenmore resettlement scheme hung over the townships as a storm cloud threatening to burst violently at any moment. The Government’s proposal (dating back to March 1970 when Fingo Village was proclaimed a coloured residential area) was to resettle the residents of Fingo Village first at Committees Drift.
and then, later, at Glenmore some 45 km away on the banks of the Fish River where there were neither natural nor infrastructural resources for development (cf. Daniel 1985:78). The whole issue was made even more poignant by the fact that the original freehold title deeds to stands in Fingo Village date back to 1856 (cf. Davenport 1980:10-11). Everyone felt affected by this issue, even those not directly affected, and people often wanted to talk about nothing else. Nevertheless, it proved a useful means of establishing rapport with people generally in the community in a way that directly identified me with their most pressing concerns. My incorporation into the local community was facilitated by two central events. Firstly, my acceptance early on as a novice of a leading male diviner (i.e. an expert or isanuse), Mandla (see chapter 2). Not only did this have the immediate effect of considerably widening my network of acquaintances among diviners (and herbalists) and their novices, both locally and further afield, making it possible for me to approach practitioners as a 'junior' colleague rather than purely as a white outsider, but it also enabled me to have contact with their clientele. No longer was I a white Rhodes student, but Kandi'yeza ('Grinder of medicines'), the diviner's apprentice. Secondly, the Special Branch of the South African Police inadvertently came to my assistance by conspicuously arresting me one afternoon in the townships by mistake.

Wherever one went in the townships living space was at an absolute premium, particularly in Tantyi and Fingo Village where shacks mushroomed up in backyards over night. Jobs were scarce, money was scarcer and prices were rising at a rate never before known in the country as a whole. Everyone said that they were "pulling hard" (sula nzima) economically. Diviners continually complained that their clients failed to pay their accounts because they lacked the cash to do so. Problems related to educational issues arose in local township schools during 1975
and 1977 (cf. Davenport 1980 and Wilsworth 1980). They arose quite unobtrusively at first and later ended in public disturbances and arrests of school children (including those of the diviners). These foreshadowed events in the later 1970s and in the 1980s that were to thrust Grahamstown out of the 'Sleepy Hollow' period of its history (cf. Watts 1957:140-3) and into the 'Hot Spot' phase of the State of Emergency in the 1980s. Davenport (1980) presents an excellent analysis of the historical causes underlying this shift in local opinion particularly during the thirteen years from 1967 to 1980 in which the Government tried unsuccessfully to foist its will on the inhabitants of Fingo Village who were reluctant to be resettled in Glenmore - now it seems for good reason, for the 5 000-odd people resettled there face an uncertain future (cf. Daniel 1985:78) - only to finally reverse its decision and to reproclaim Fingo Village as a black residential area in 1980. Not only was this a period characterized by gross governmental incompetence and insensitivity smacking, at times, of a rather crude social engineering (cf. Berger 1974) which merely added official administrative insult to the socio-economic injury of Grahamstown's geographical position, but there was also a general moratorium on the building of houses and the shortfall on housing grew alarmingly from 1 200 in 1970 to over 4 000 in 1980 (cf. Davenport 1980:54). Little wonder, then, that "the Grahamstown municipality and, later, the administration board, were forced to turn a blind eye to unlawful structures - some of them very well built of wattle and daub - even when these infringed municipal health regulations with respect to over-crowding" (Davenport 1980:54-5).

Grahamstown is surrounded by the white-owned farmlands (ezafama) of Albany district with a black population of between 20 000 and 25 000 in 1975 (Wilsworth 1980:8). There have always been close ties between town and country forged by kinship, inter-
visiting, fostering, various rituals, funerals and circumcision (Manona 1984:22). Grahamstown is the only town of comparable size within a radius of about 50 km and the farm population is increasingly dependent on cash to acquire a fast increasing range of consumer goods (cf. Manona 1984:22), and they make use of the commercial and medical services in the town. The virtual doubling of the township population in the past 10 years and the dramatic fall in the rural African population of Albany during the 1970 to 1980 period (cf. Davenport 1980:47), apart from a high rate of natural increase (cf. Daniel 1985:7), is explained by in-migration from the farms (cf. Manona 1984:2). Black farm labourers are unable by law to own land on the farms. So, once they lose their foothold on the farms, they have no alternative but to settle in town (Manona 1984:23). There are a number of reasons why farm dwellers lose their foothold on the farms: e.g. increasing mechanization, arduous working conditions, the sale or insolvency of a farm, and when retired or unemployed workers no longer have offspring employed on the farm (also see section 2.4). Town is where the rural immigrants have kin obliged to sponsor and assist their adjustment to urban life (Manona 1984:22). Since Grahamstown has a shortage of jobs, the drift of farm people to town is related more to the hope than the certainty of obtaining employment. It is not unusual for farm workers to change their jobs several times during their careers and move from farm to farm (see section 2.4) or perhaps, even do a spell as a migrant worker, without necessitating a permanent move to town. Once the choice is made to move to town, however, adjustment to life in the townships is a relatively easy matter (Manona 1984:23). The reciprocal ties and obligations between people in town and on the farms tends to promote urban values in the country and instill an appreciation of rural life-ways in town. During the 1970s the pervasive day-dream (not without a good measure of wish-fulfillment) among some adults and senior-citizens in the townships (most of whom were born and bred in
town) was to own a plot of land in the country on which to cultivate some crops and vegetables and raise a few goats and head of cattle. People in town sometimes imbue the countryside with a romanticism that is at odds with the stark realities of life on the farms and in the rural areas. The individual circumstances of farm workers vary depending both on the nature of the agricultural activity involved and the character of the white owner (cf. Mayer 1961:166-77): there are good farms (e.g. the cattle ranches in Albany and Alexandria) and bad farms (e.g. at Manley Flats and Riebeeck East). A few white farmers still permit their workers to cultivate crops and raise livestock on a limited scale, but generally the economic potential of farm work has declined drastically since share-cropping became illegal in the 1930s (Manona 1988 and 1989). As the guardians of tradition in town, the diviners play a crucial role in mediating the synthesis of urban and rural values (see chapters 2, 3 and 4).

1.2 Methodology
Three sets of methods were used in this study. The first involved the verbatim recording of oral and exegetic data in Xhosa using a cassette tape-recorder. On return from the field, these recordings were transcribed with the assistance of my field-assistant. All translations were made with the active involvement and assistance of the narrator concerned. In several important instances - as, for example, the first-hand accounts of ukuthwasa (see chapter 3) and the diviner's 'river' myth (see chapter 5) - this oral material was widely discussed with informants and their statements recorded. The final Xhosa-English parallel texts cited here were prepared by myself and vetted by an independent translator, the late Mr H.H.A. Mdledle.

The second set of methods involved the conventional survey technique in which questions were drawn-up and responses
collected from a sample of respondents including indigenous healers (i.e. diviners and herbalists) as well as ordinary people in the community. In some cases, this method was vital to corroborate both exegetic statements and sociological observations.

Finally, the main inspiration for this study sprang from first-hand observations made in the field: firstly, as an Honours student in Psychology (1974) and an initiate to a practitioner in the townships of Grahamstown (and eventually a senior initiate of the diviner), and, secondly, as an aspiring anthropologist and student of Professor Philip Mayer (1975-7). My status as a *bona fide* initiate of a leading local practitioner was more of an advantage than a liability. It placed me in a position to become intimately acquainted with many healers (i.e. diviners and herbalists) and their clients whom I would not have otherwise met. It also enabled me to record material hitherto not recorded in complete form (see the diviner's 'river myth' in chapter 5), and to gain an understanding of the diviner as a healer from the 'inside' which is vital to the tenor of this work as a whole.

1.3 The aim and scope of the study

The primary resource of the Xhosa-speaking inhabitants of the townships and farm labourers in Albany district in their struggle against low income levels, unemployment, economic and residential insecurity and widespread poverty cannot simply be related to the longevity of a rich and complex traditionalist culture although this is an interesting aspect of the locality. Not only does traditionalist Cape Nguni culture represent merely one of the cultural and religious alternatives proliferating in the townships and on the farms (see section 2.1 below), but it has also undergone a complex historical process of accommodation and change particularly in relation to Christianity (see sections 2.4, 3.1 and 4.3). Nor is the local 'informal' economic sector,
though extremely vibrant and increasingly important economically, the primary resource it is sometimes imagined to be (cf. Wilsworth 1980:414 and Whisson 1982). For local entrepreneurs—like the diviners, for example—compete for a limited pool of cash circulating in the townships and on the farms (see section 2.5). Local African arts and crafts are noticeable chiefly by their absence at the Grahamstown Arts Festivals each July. The primary resource and ultimate social security against poverty undoubtedly derives from networks of social relations and the complex reciprocities these engender between persons and groups over time (cf. Wilsworth 1980: 56ff., 411-2 and 417): bridging the urban-rural field as well as the colour bar, acting as a communication channel for the synthesis of urban and rural life-ways and values, and creating a sense of social solidarity and co-operation in the face of pervasive poverty and political subordination (cf. Manona 1984 and 1989). Social networks (cf. Barth 1966, Mitchell 1969, Bailey 1970 and Boissevain 1974) are the mainspring of most local entrepreneurial activity including that of the diviners (see chapters 2 and 3) dependent as it usually is on word-of-mouth advertising (see sections 2.6, 2.7 and 3.6 below). It is only really by virtue of the primary importance attaching to networks of social relations at the local level that it is possible to account for the longevity of certain aspects of traditionalist Cape Nguni culture as well as its adaptation and change. For whereas Christianity in the established churches is primarily concerned with macro-social relations between groups in society at large, traditionalist Cape Nguni religion and Zionism provide important means to redress interpersonal relations between members of the domestic group (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1986). The increasing need to balance and accommodate kinship relations within a wider range of non-kinship relations—a need that arises as a direct consequence of increasing urbanization and life in densely populated, over-crowded and economically depressed townships like those of
Grahamstown - explains the various syntheses between elements of Christianity and traditionalist religion observed at the local level, whether within the established and independent Christian churches or the ancestor cult (see section 2.1).

This study focuses attention on one of the local indigenous experts on social and interpersonal relations in the townships of Grahamstown, the diviner. An important early account of Cape Nguni diviners, is contained in Monica Hunter's Reaction to Conquest (1936). Hunter (1936 : 320) noted that the novice diviner is "sick (ukuthwasa)" and has a "trouble (inkathazo)". Although Hunter lists a few symptoms, generally aches and pains of various kinds, she does not record nor analyze the novice's "troubles" in much depth. Clearly, Hunter was in possession of additional material, for she remarks in a footnote that "the initiation of some Xhosa amagqirha is connected with rivers, and a few Pondo are initiated in this way. The custom is properly a Xhosa one, and data on it will be published separately" (Hunter 1936:321). Unfortunately, the promised publication was not forthcoming. From the outset, therefore, one of the aims of the present study was merely to make good these omissions in Hunter's ethnography. It would have been both enlightening and instructive to compare the pattern of ukuthwasa "troubles" in Pondoland during the 1930s with the case material I collected in Grahamstown during the 1970s (see chapter 3). It also seemed worthwhile to attempt to clarify the place of the river and the River People (abantu bomlambo) in the diviner's cosmology, particularly in the light of the connections Hammond-Tooke (1975b) posits between the maternal ancestors and the River People. In fact, one original contribution of the present study is the account and analysis of the diviner's 'river' myth in chapter five. Intrinsic to an appreciation of the 'river' myth is the account of the diviner's cosmology and the analysis of the diviner as bricoleur (Levi-Strauss 1966) in chapter four. Some
attempt is made to situate local diviners in the socio-economic and cultural context of township life in Grahamstown during the 1970s as well as to describe them and to give some account of their personalities and economic circumstances, the relations between them and their clients, their case-loads and the various problems and concerns they generally treat (see chapter 2). Contrary to the impression of the diviner Evans-Pritchard (1937) tends to create in his famous monograph on the Azande (cf. also Wilson 1951a), Cape Nguni diviners in the townships and on the farms operate within an explicit ethic appending to the profession (see section 2.6). Clearly, it is at times difficult for fieldworkers to suspend their own cultural preconceptions, but increasingly this is a methodological requirement of anthropological research which appears to be difficult to apply in practice. The sociocultural roots of our own conditioned and habitual behaviour obviously run deep. Hence, the "strangeness" sometimes experienced by the fieldworker once back in his/her original sociocultural milieu not to mention at the start of fieldwork among people who speak a different language and have a different cultural orientation from one's own.

Lewis's (1966, 1971, 1986) deprivation hypothesis is raised more or less at the outset of the study (see section 2.2 below). It is relevant in the light of the analysis of the economics of healing and the economic circumstances of Grahamstown as well as those of the healers themselves (see chapter 2 and the conclusions in chapter 6). Profitable, too, is Lewis's (1971:70,184) suggestion that the indigenous healer is a 'wounded surgeon' (see also section 2.2). There is solid evidence to indicate that becoming a diviner is one of the available therapeutic means to redress interpersonal difficulties in the family (see chapter 3). Thus, the diviner becomes a specialist in interpersonal and social relations (see sections 2.7, 2.8 and section 5.4 on divination) by virtue of having suffered various
difficulties in interpersonal and social relations (see sections 3.1 to 3.5) which are ultimately redressed by recourse to remedial measures of a ritual nature (see section 3.6). The final part of the study turns to a consideration of the diviner’s cosmology, the importance of the paternal spirits which Hammond-Tooke (1975b) questions and the function of the diviner's ubiquitous 'river' myth (see chapters 4 and 5). Chapters two and three focus predominantly on social and interpersonal relations and how these are manipulated and ordered by recourse to traditional rituals. Chapters four and five are primarily concerned with relations and interrelations on the cognitive level which constitute a structure ultimately exemplified in myth and divination. Finally, the conclusions emerging from this study are detailed in chapter six.
2.1 The different categories of healers in town

There are various categories of healers operating in the townships. Firstly, there are the diviners (amaggirha okuvumisa) and their novices (abakhwetha). Historical evidence suggests that up to the early 1940s there were also ventriloquist diviners (awemilozi), now rare, and Hunter (1936:498) records a consultation with one. The life history of a typical diviner (igqirha lokuvumisa) includes a number of characteristic features which are worth listing. The candidate experiences a vocational call to office that emanates from the ancestors (iminyanya): i.e. the collectivity of shades or effective spirits constituted by the deceased senior male members of the local agnatic group (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1984). The ancestral spirits communicate the call to the candidate in dreams (amathongo, amaphupha) and visions (imibono) which include a complex mosaic of images - deceased relatives, sacred animals (izilo) and medicines (amayeza) - and turn characteristically on the theme of immersion in a river pool. In rare instances, the candidates actually immerse themselves spontaneously in a river pool (see chapter 3). The candidate is also afflicted with a condition called intwaso, a technical term derived from the verb ukuthwasa which refers to the process of gradually becoming or emerging as a diviner (see chapter 3), involving various symptoms not necessarily of a purely medical nature (see section 2.7 and chapter 3) and these are only successfully treated by another diviner (see Mandla's story in Appendix 2). The candidate undergoes a period of apprenticeship to a fully initiated and practising diviner during which the candidate receives on-the-spot practice in divination (imvumisa) and training in herbal treatment (impatho) with reference to actual cases presented by the practitioner's
clients. Finally, the candidate is initiated as a diviner—a gradual process involving a series of ancestor cult rituals (including, among others, intlwayelelo, intambo yosinga, and goduswa—see chapter 3). These rituals are performed by the male head of the candidate's natal household or a designated proxy, who is always a senior clansman but not necessarily one with whom the candidate can trace an exact biological tie. Frequently, a diviner has one or more deceased relatives in the family who were diviners. Although these typically include both maternal and paternal relatives, the latter are generally more prominent. This is only to be expected in an institution that developed historically among the Cape Nguni tribes who had a social structure with a strong patrilineal emphasis.

Secondly, there are two categories of herbalist: the herbalist proper or ixhwele and the nolugxana or "doctor of the medicine digging-stick (ulugxa)". The latter were once novice diviners (abakhwetha) who did not complete the initiation process but had accumulated some knowledge of herbs (imithi), medicines (amayeza) and charms (amakhubalo) and plied their trade in a manner similar to herbalists (amaxhwele). The initiation and training of the herbalist (ixhwele) is quite distinct from that of the diviner although it also involves an initial call to office emanating from the ancestral spirits, a period of apprenticeship to a practising herbalist and traditional rituals (amasiko) of sacrifice directed to the shades.

Thirdly, there are the Zionist prophets (amaprofeti) and prayer­women (abathandazeli). Prophets and prayer­women, like diviners, also experience a vocational call to office which, inter alia, involves dreams of a mystical nature and a formal baptism in a river. Although here the calling emanates directly from God (uThixo), it also to some extent implicates the shades. The calling also involves an illness in the course of which diviners
and herbalists could be consulted and sacrifices offered to the shades. However, finally, the illness is only successfully treated by another prophet. The candidate prophet undergoes training, purification and initiation. Moreover, the candidate frequently has one or more deceased relatives in the family who were prophets or diviners (cf. West 1975:99).

Finally, the ministers (*abafundisi*) in the established Christian churches constitute another important category of religious specialists in the townships. Candidates for the ministry also experience an initial call to office emanating from God (*uThixo*). They undergo a period of training that eventually culminates in their ordination in the church - the orthodox Christian equivalent to the initiation of the diviner, herbalist or prophet. Admittedly, the ancestor complex of beliefs and practices takes second place to Christian theology in official church doctrine. Nevertheless this does not preclude the minister or members of the congregation from consulting diviners, herbalists or prophets in cases of illness or misfortune. Nor does it preclude the performance of traditional rituals directed to the shades. Healing is a subsidiary, rather than a central, activity of the established churches. God, the Saints, the Angels and Holy unguent are the orthodox Christian equivalents to the emetic medicines and ancestral shades of the diviners and the Zionists.

There is fierce competition between and within these categories, which are by no means distinct, and some overlapping occurs. Most diviners and herbalists are nominal Christians and some attend church when their professional duties allow (see section 2.4). Diviners and herbalists sometimes play a leading role in the independent church movements (e.g. the Zionists and the Order of Ethiopia). Christians of the established and independent churches - including ministers and prophets - consult diviners
and herbalists. Novice diviners become herbalists or oonolugxana. In theory, there is nothing preventing an ixhwele from becoming an initiated diviner except talent; although no such case was encountered during fieldwork (cf. Simon 1988). A few diviners in the townships (e.g. Mandla and Nontando - see section 2.3) have an extensive knowledge of herbs, medicines and charms to equal, if not rival, most herbalists, whether ixhwele or nolugxana, both locally and further afield. We turn to consider the diviners in more detail.

2.2 A numerical preponderance of women
Female diviners outnumber males in a ratio of 2:1. Of 44 diviners practising in town in 1977, 30 were women and 14 men. This is somewhat lower than the 3:1 ratio cited by Hunter (1936:320) for rural Mpondo in the 1930s. Accurate figures for novices were more difficult to obtain but according to counts taken at beer drinks, dances and rituals the female-male sex ratio varied, depending on the occasion and where it was held (in the country or in town) between 2:1 and 3:1. Some novices, more women than men, never complete the initiation although they may practise on a limited scale as diviners or herbalists. In only one case was there an initiated diviner who did not practise: a married woman in her 20s who stopped practising after marriage out of respect for her husband's wishes.

Women also preponderate numerically in the congregations of the established and independent churches in the townships. In a survey of three independent churches conducted in Soweto, West (1975:76) found that almost two-thirds of the membership was female. Unfortunately, I do not have accurate statistics for church membership in the townships of Grahamstown. Following discussions with local church leaders and attendance at a few church services, it is apparent that females make up the bulk of the congregations in both the established and the independent
churches in the townships. The male-female sex ratio approaches parity in the clientele of the diviners. In a random sample of 70 clients who consulted a male Mfengu diviner in Tantyi during 1975 (i.e. Mandla, see section 2.3 below), 40 were males and 30 females. When discussing church attendance with men in the townships, they frequently say that they attend shwaga instead of church. The term shwaga refers to the convivial din and chatter that generally takes place at the weekend drinking parties held and attended by adult men and at which large quantities of traditional sorghum beer and European liquor are consumed. The question remains, however, why more females than males become diviners?

The numerical preponderance of females among diviners is not a phenomenon peculiar to Grahamstown. Females also preponderate among diviners in the rural areas of Albany district, in Ciskei, as well as in the large urban concentrations like Soweto which draws its population from diverse ethnic groups in southern Africa (cf. West 1975:78,97). Any explanation of why women preponderate numerically among diviners in Grahamstown must necessarily also take account of the fact that women constitute the majority of the members in the established and independent churches in the townships. In other words, the preponderance of females among diviners in the townships of Grahamstown is merely a specific and relativistic instance of what appears to be a widespread sociological trend among healers in the independent churches, and church-goers generally. This is the case not only in Grahamstown, but also in other parts of southern Africa and the African continent (cf. West 1975:6, Hammond-Tooke 1986 and Lewis 1971). Thus, any explanation of the numerical preponderance of females among diviners must take into consideration the widespread nature of possession phenomenon particularly among female healers and congregants in the African independent church movements.
Lewis (1971:92-3) distinguishes between a 'primary' and 'secondary' phase in the onset and treatment of possession. In the primary phase of possession, the person - whether female or male (cf. Peter Wilson 1967:359 and Lewis 1986:39) - becomes ill and her or his complaint is diagnosed as possession. The secondary phase is inaugurated when possession bouts become chronic, and the afflicted person is inducted into permanent membership of the possession cult group. As Lewis (1986:89) points out,

Here the initial traumatic experience signaling spiritual attention becomes a divine call, all the more impressive because its unsolicited, traumatic character establishes the bona fides of the new recruit as one forced by the overwhelming power of the spirits into their service. As the new devotee protests his or her unworthiness, so he or she establishes all the more securely the inevitability and authenticity of the "call". (Such striking declarations of shamanistic election repay close scrutiny.) Hence the shamanistic career is a true "cult of affliction"....

In the course of time, the person then graduates to the position of healer - whether shaman, diviner or Zionist - diagnosing the same condition in other people. The climax in the cycle occurs when the role of healer is assumed by those people who, in full control of their own spirits/God, are considered to be capable of controlling and healing spiritual afflictions and possession in others (cf. also Whisson 1964:302). "Thus what is considered to begin with as an uncontrolled, unsolicited, involuntary possession illness readily develops into an increasingly
controlled, and voluntary religious exercise" (Lewis 1971:93). Thus, following Lewis (1971, 1986), it is useful to draw a distinction between the natural phenomenon of possession - which offers an escape from the immediate pressures of life and relief from the permanent ascribed disabilities through being associated with the transcendant spiritual realm of God and/or the spirits - and the healers (whether shaman, diviner or Zionist) who are a select group of those who have been afflicted with possession but who have 'mastered' and 'domesticated' it through training. Firstly, there are those (probably the vast majority) who never progress beyond the primary phase of possession but are nevertheless considered to be in the care of the spirits (and/or God). Possession - as distinct from becoming a healer (whether shaman, diviner or Zionist) - gives a person a measure of protection from excessive social demands. It is a "sick role" advertised by the white garb and the clay of the novice diviners (see sections 2.3 and 3.1); and if upset, they may get costly ill again and are thus treated with consideration and respect (cf. Whisson 1964:302-3). These people attach themselves as the novices or followers of the fully fledged and charismatic diviners. Secondly, there are the initiated or trained diviners - those (the minority) with the necessary economic means at their disposal to pay the costs entailed and talent enough to finally graduate - who, in addition to being treated with consideration and respect, achieve the status and prestige of healer with a following or clientele and make a living out of healing (see section 2.5). The institutionalised drinking associated with the weekend shwaga and traditionalist ritual gatherings in the townships provides men with a socially acceptable alternative to possession which is not really available to self-respecting women. For Zionists, "possession" means that they are "in Zion", a heavenly home that transcends the squalor of township life and all the attendant disadvantages - poverty, political subordination, etc. God/spirits take over in possession making
all else tolerable, almost irrelevant, at the time. According to Lewis (1971,1986), possession cults thrive in circumstances of deprivation and frustration. Possession cults are the oblique protest movements of the politically impotent, downtrodden and subordinate "who have otherwise few effective means to express their claims for attention and respect" (Lewis 1971:32).

Lewis (1971:70,184) suggests that the healer is a 'wounded surgeon': i.e. a person afflicted with a trauma or, as the Cape Nguni would say, a 'trouble' (inkathazo) that precipitates initiation as a diviner (cf. Hunter 1936:320). In my own long association with Cape Nguni diviners in Grahamstown and Ciskei spanning some 15 years, I have repeatedly noted that the person who becomes a diviner is always afflicted with a 'trouble' of one sort or another (see chapter 3). Moreover, diviners widely maintain that becoming a diviner and practising as one is the only appropriate therapy for the diviner's affliction called ukuthwasa. Therapeutic systems worldwide are generally such that even the most effective of them have an associated failure rate. Essentially, the etic view here is that the training and professional practise of the diviner constitutes a kind of ongoing therapy whereby the candidate comes "to accept those things which cannot be changed". In other words, becoming a diviner is, in some respects, analogous to membership of Alcoholics Anonymous or some similar association with therapeutic aims and goals (e.g. Weight-Watchers) structured in terms of group participation and support. The gatherings, dances and beer drinks of diviners lend support to this view (see section 2.8). However, in adopting the concept of the 'wounded surgeon', as Lewis (1971:186-7) points out, is not to suggest that the diviner is a self-healed neurotic or psychotic.

Although remission in symptoms occurs during the training and initiation of the candidate, the threat of relapse is an ever-
present possibility even to the fully initiated diviner. Periodic reinforcement of treatment is thus necessary. This includes the holding of beer drinks, dances and sacrifices as well as the herbal treatment of clients and attendance at their traditional rituals and those of kinsmen and relatives. Hence, the diviner's need to practise is not just simply a means to earn a cash income (which, indeed, it may or may not be in practice - see section 2.5), but a therapeutic end in itself. Torrey (1974) condemned the view of the "crazy witch-doctor" as the "original sin" of anthropology since it denigrated the healer as a psychotic. There is little empirical evidence to support the contention that female diviners are hysterics or neurotics; nor that male diviners are transvestites, homosexuals, sexual deviants, psychopaths or psychotics (cf. Schweitzer 1977:170-6 and Noll 1983). Lewis's suggestion that the healer is a 'wounded surgeon' thus brings a fresh perspective to bear on Cape Nguni diviners which, apart from being long overdue (cf. Laubscher 1951), enables us to approach a better understanding of their role and contribution as healers in the community. Now, let me introduce a few of the diviners of Grahamstown.

2.3 Descriptions of a few diviners in town
Mandla is a 47 year old Mfengu male diviner who resides in Tantyi. Stocky and prematurely grey with a mischievous twinkle in his eyes - he is adroit, astute, philosophical, satirical and wise. He is widely travelled and experienced in the ways of the world, a father of at least 10 children and a dedicated family man. He is also a hard drinking bon vivant and lady's man, a champion golfer, a talented singer, a self-taught pianist, a joker, a prankster and a showman supreme. Mandla was born in Tantyi in 1930. He is the son of a well-known local lay preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist Church who was the son of a diviner and grew up in the rural areas near Peddie in Ciskei. Mandla's father, Tolo, was a somewhat ambivalent character who, in town,
"wore a red blanket and walked barefoot until the day he died in 1966". Tolo had repudiated becoming a diviner and the whole profession as a young man after a quarrel with his father, the diviner Jamangile, that resulted in his conversion to Christianity and subsequent move to Grahamstown circa the turn of the present century. Mandla's elder brother, Mtedwa (cf. section 2.4), had wanted to become a diviner in the 1930s, but his father would not permit him to do so. Mandla also encountered considerable opposition from his father when he wanted to become a diviner during the 1940s. He was eventually apprenticed to the late John Mwaba, an affine of the famous diviner Satuma Njajula of Middledrift in Ciskei. Mandla is widely associated with diviners and herbalists throughout the area from the Mzimvubu River in Transkei to the Seekoei River in the Cape Province - rivers more than 300km apart as the crow flies. Many of the female diviners in town, both those he has and has not initiated (and who are not related to him through kinship), have been his paramours.

Nontando is a 39 year old Xhosa female diviner who resides in Fingo Village. She is small, slim, wiry and erect with the physical energy of an athlete and a fiery temperament. Affable and frank, she has an insatiable intellectual curiosity especially about people and what motivates them. She is a devout and confirmed Christian and a leading member of the church choir. A committed spinster, she fosters her youngest sister's two sons (aged 14 and 17, and in standard 3 and 5 respectively). She has had many paramours both outside and within the profession (the latter include Sweleba and Mandla). Nontando was born on a farm in the Alexandria district in 1938. Her father, Sijamankungwini, was born in Fingo Village circa the Boer War (1899-1902) and obtained standard 1 at St. Philip's mission school. During his career as a farm labourer which spanned some 50 years, he worked on several farms in Albany and Alexandria. He was an irascible
old man in his late 70s when I met him in 1975, a "doctor of the medicine digging-stick" (*nolugxana*) and a herbalist of great repute. Having had three daughters die as a result of the 1918 flu epidemic, he was apprenticed to a female diviner (the daughter of Kusitile) in Transkei during the 1920s, but he did not complete the initiation. Throughout our acquaintance, Sijamankungwini wore strands of white beads (*amaCamagu*) about his neck, wrists and ankles like a novice diviner (*umkhwetha*). His elder sister (*udade ‘bawo*) practised as a diviner for many years in Tantyi and Nontando lived with her for a while until she went to work at a seaside hotel as a teenager. Nontando's eldest sister, who lives on the farm in Alexandria, also practises as a diviner. Nontando was apprenticed during the 1950s: first to Sweleba (one of the two sons of John Mwaba who were circumcised and apprenticed together with Mandla) and later to Mandla.

It is not taboo for a diviner to take an initiate as a lover or spouse. Sexual relations, however, are taboo in ritual and certain social contexts (e.g. following the death of a kinsman or when a women is pregnant, menstruating or suckling an infant - see chapter 4) and this injunction applies equally to diviners and herbalists as well as to ordinary men and women in the community. Taking an initiate as one's lover is not only widely considered to be one of the important perks of the profession widely indulged in by diviners, but sexual relations can also constitute an important part of the therapy diviners dispense to their initiates. The point to grasp here is that sexual abstinence (*ukuzila*), concomitant with the appropriate purificatory rites and ablutions with the sacred *ubulawu* roots (see chapter 4), is a requirement which both the diviner and the initiate must adhere to in specific situations: e.g. when giving or receiving instruction on the diviner's art, handling medicines, treating clients, and attending or performing rituals. Sexual abstinence (together with abstinence from meat, milk and
liquor) and the performance of the necessary purificatory rites, constitute a rule (umthetho) that generally applies to circumcision initiates during the period of seclusion in the bush, and even to ordinary men and women prior to their participation in traditional rituals (amasiko). The distinction between the sacred and spiritual, on the one hand, and the profane and erotic, on the other, is a fundamental tenet of traditionalist Cape Nguni religious belief and practice centring on the ancestor cult: it is intimately tied up with, among other things, the related concepts of ritual pollution (umlaza) and power (amandla) which (as we see in chapter 4) feature prominently in the diviner's cosmology.

Once the novice has acquired the divinatory art and knowledge of medicines and rituals and their application in treatment, she or he is adept in the use of the appropriate herbal remedies and the associated avoidances of sex, food and drink as well as the situations in which these apply. The novice is now, moreover, fully competent to treat the diviner's clients although the resulting fees accrue to the instructing diviner, who usually reimburses the novice with a calf or white goat at the final graduation ceremony (goduswa) (see Mandla's story in Appendix 2). However, months or years may elapse before the necessary initiation rituals are performed and the novice eventually graduates as a fully fledged diviner. Since diviners generally spend a great deal of time in the company of their initiates - in some cases, even more time than they spend with their spouses, it is not surprising that intimate, even sexual, relations develop between diviners and their initiates. It is important to note that heterosexual relations tend to be the norm. Some diviners, like Mandla and Nontando, have extraordinarily active sex lives that extend far beyond members of the profession and initiates. Nevertheless, sexual activity results in pollution (umlaza) the antidote for which involves purificatory rites and
ablutions with the sacred and emetic *ubulawu* roots (see chapter 4). On no account must sexual activity be permitted to interfere with the novice's future progress culminating in the individual's graduation as a diviner.

As with any association of individuals (e.g. occupational and recreational groups), diviners - like hairdressers and joggers - differ markedly in personality and physique. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point. Makhulu, a Mfengu female diviner in her late 60s residing in New Town (Upper Tantyi), is tall and corpulent, matronly and matriarchal. She exudes confidence, strength, authority and dependableness. Sirhunu, a Xhosa male diviner in his 70s residing in Tantyi, is of average height and build. His face was badly disfigured in a surgical operation performed at Settlers' Hospital in 1927 when most of his nose was removed along with the infected abscess (venereal?) and as a result he speaks with a nasal hiss. Good-natured and even-tempered, he is a popular and heroic figure among the children on his street. Nokoyika, a Xhosa female diviner in her 50s residing in Joza (Kings Flats), is serene and quiet: a very good listener who does not like to talk much. Nkwinizayo, a Mfengu male diviner in his 70s residing in Tantyi, is diminutive and speaks in a squeaky voice. He is very witty and has a high-pitched giggle. His colleagues sometimes refer to him jokingly as *uThikoloshe*: the hairy, dwarf-like character of Cape Nguni oral tradition - erotic familiar and messenger (*isithunywa*) of the witch (*igqwirha*) (cf. Hunter 1936:275-8, Hammond-Tooke 1974a:129 and 1975b). Nkwinizayo is a member of the Njajula family, famous diviners residing at Middledrift in Ciskei, and the only diviner in the townships who can claim to have been apprenticed to his biological father, a renowned diviner. Lahliwe, a Xhosa female diviner in her 40s who resides in the old Municipal Location, is comely and friendly but sad and bitter about her broken marriage and her ex-husband's legal custody of
her two sons.

Diviners, like most ordinary people, are fastidious about their personal appearance, cleanliness and dress. The men dress conservatively in jacket, trousers, hat and shoes; the women wear print cotton headdresses, dresses, aprons, stockings or woollen socks and shoes. The men have black hats and suits for formal occasions (e.g. a funeral) and overcoats for inclement weather. A few diviners from the rural areas dislike wearing shoes: e.g. Sweleba wears a smart black felt hat, black dinner suit, dinner shirt without stud and collar and walks round quite happily in his calloused bare feet. This is more a predilection than a question of economics. Sijamankungwini also disliked wearing shoes but Nontando had decided that he must have a pair otherwise the neighbours would think of her as stingy. So, she bought her father a fine new pair of boots. In order not to offend his daughter, Sijamankungwini made a point of stamping round the house in his boots with the laces undone and no socks on. Once he was out of the front gate and out of sight, however, off came the boots with a sigh of relief and they were flung unceremoniously over a shoulder. Mandla, a sophisticated townsman and golfer, likes fashionable semi-casual wear: a bright sports shirt, a tweed sports jacket, flannels, suede shoes and a smart derby hat set at a rakish angle. The women also have fashionable European-style clothes for smart wear when attending church or going to town. Nontando, for example, even has a variety of wigs in different colours (including blonde), high-heel shoes and hats for every occasion. The ubiquitous brief-case serves as a medicine bag. Novice diviners, male and female, are easily distinguishable by the white clay (ifutha) they smear on their faces, arms and legs and the white beads (amaCamagu) they wear round the neck, wrists and ankles. Diviners (men and women) like copper ear-rings and bangles but they do not ordinarily wear beads unless they put on their ceremonial regalia of skin skirt
(umthika) and hat (isidlokolo) when attending a dance (intlombe). In the latter instance, diviners pack up their beads and regalia in a case or bag and send it on ahead to the venue in the care of a novice (umkhwetha). Householders, both in town and the rural areas, usually set aside a room or dwelling in which the diviners change into their ceremonial regalia with the assistance of their novices. Male and female diviners undress and dress in full view of each other with no evident inhibition. After the dance is concluded, the diviners take off their regalia and change back into their ordinary clothes. Unlike the novices, the diviners are not readily distinguishable from laymen in dress until they wear their ceremonial regalia.

Some diviners (e.g. Mandla, Makhulu, Lahliwe and Sirhunu) are householders residing in fairly substantial dwellings of wattle and daub or concrete on a township stand for which a monthly rent is paid, and with rent paying sub-tenants to supplement the family income. Other diviners (e.g. Nkwinizayo and Nontsebezo) reside in small, one-roomed backyard shacks built of box-wood packing cases and corrugated iron and insulated with hessian and pages from glossy magazines where life is not only cramped (with routine activities such as sleeping, washing, dressing and cooking having to take place in one room), but it is also difficult (and sometimes inconvenient) to receive clients for consultation and treatment and to maintain novices. Most diviners who are householders have friends and colleagues in this predicament. Usually the diviner living in a backyard shack cultivates a long-standing friendship with a colleague nearby who has a more substantial establishment where clients can be dealt with more comfortably; the host diviner being recompensed with a gift of brandy, lager beer and/or cash. Mandla regularly assists Nkwinizayo in this way; and Makhulu her friend Nontsebezo (a Xhosa female diviner in her 50s residing in Tantyi). Even so, it is extremely difficult to maintain a practise from a backyard
shack. Nkwinizayo, who since the 1940s lived in various backyard shacks in Tantyi, later managed to obtain a stand in the location at Riebeeck East with the help of his wife's kin and subsequently moved there in the 1980s. Nokoyika, who came to Grahamstown from Humansdorp in 1943, occupied various shacks in Tantyi after her marriage until she managed to obtain a new prefab house erected in Joza in 1974.

Diviners, householders and shack-dwellers alike, are house-proud to a fault. A good deal of their spare time is devoted to cleaning, fixing, painting and (where possible) gardening. In the case of householders, this general activity also involves novices and other clients temporarily under the diviner's care at home. Householders like to paint the outside of their dwellings, keep their dwellings clean and plant trees, lawn, flowers and vegetables in the garden. The small, low, four-roomed, wattle and daub cottage in which Nontando lives is impeccably kept and furnished in modern style - a large new sofa and easy chairs, a diningroom suite, a large three-plate paraffin stove with oven, a dressing-table and bedstead, etc. By contrast, Mandla's homestead is a much larger establishment consisting of three main buildings: the original hut of wattle and daub and corrugated iron built by Mandla's father in 1908 after he settled in Tantyi and which Mandla subsequently in the 1970s partitioned into two rooms; a three-roomed, brick and concrete building with a corrugated iron roof built by Mandla in the early 1950s; and adjoining the latter at one end to form an L-shape, a three-roomed wattle and daub extension (also with a corrugated iron roof) erected in 1976. Nontando's household was small and included her two foster sons and sometimes her long-standing female novice, Nobulawu (a married Xhosa woman in her 30s who rents a backyard shack in Tantyi), and her mother and (especially) father who lived on the farm in Alexandria and visited regularly. Mandla's household was much larger by
comparison and included his two sisters and their children, and his wife and five children (he had two additional wives and families - one in Joza and one in another part of Tantyi). Both Nontando and Mandla had tenants staying on the property. Nontando had seven tenants (all old age pensioners) whose rents ranged from R3-50 to R5 a month (i.e. in 1975) and all together contributed R30 a month. Mandla had two tenants (a male old age pensioner and a female ex-client who worked as a cleaner at Rhodes University) and they each paid a monthly rent of R6.

Grahamstown suffers periodic drought and without water gardening is a waste of time. When it does rain, however, Mandla and Nontando reap good vegetable crops (e.g. cabbages, lettuces, corn, potatoes, onions, peas, pumpkins, marrows and even groundnuts) from their backyard gardens (as do at least 2 out of 3 householders in the townships as a whole). Sometimes they plant their vegetable gardens and the shoots grow only to be burnt by the sun. Then Nontando loses interest in gardening and puts her hands on her hips and shakes her head like so many others. Stoic to the end, Mandla grows locally rare medicinal plants and creepers in pots in his medicine-hut (intondo), to his colleagues' delight and fascination.

2.4 The social background of diviners in town
For all their individual differences diviners in town have in common a shared social background. In the survey conducted in 1977, the vast majority of diviners (81,82%; N=36) were born and raised in the rural areas (in the homelands or on the farms) and subsequently moved to town. A few diviners (18,18%; N=8) were born in town the offspring of rural migrants. I have already mentioned the social and cultural ties connecting Grahamstown and the rural areas (see chapter 1). Most diviners (88,64%; N=39), including those born in town, were apprenticed to practitioners in the country. A few rural migrants (11,36%; N=5) were
apprenticed to diviners in town and subsequently set up practise there. In some cases (22,73%; N=10), rural women married townsmen and subsequently moved to town only to become diviners later on. Many diviners (47,73%; N=21) migrated from the rural areas to practise in town. The reasons for this are largely economic.

Grahamstown lies at the centre of the local network of road, rail and tele-communications. It is also a commercial centre, serving the surrounding rural areas in a radius of about 50km, with a large and increasing black population. There is a considerable movement of people between the rural areas, the town and the townships. Although the drift of rural migrants to town is a historical process that can be traced back to the 19th century (cf. Hunt 1963:205ff., du Toit 1954:253-254 and Manona 1989), immigration from the neighbouring farms accounted for a 53,9% increase in the population of the townships during the decade of the 1970s (Manona 1984:2). Apart from periodic drought, increasing mechanization on the farms, fluctuating crop prices and a drastic decline in subsistence agriculture and pastoralism in the homelands, the influx of rural migrants to Grahamstown was exacerbated during the 1970s by legislative measures affecting retired and unemployed blacks residing on white-owned farms (cf. Manona 1984 and 1989). The diviner's position, qua healer, is that of a professional outsider (see chapters 3 and 4). Up until the 1970s, people in town who wanted to consult a diviner in the rural areas had to undertake a special (and sometimes costly) journey to do so. All that may be required now is a short walk. Diviners from the rural areas reckon that there is ready cash to be made in town, where they stand a better chance of attracting a following of clients than in some more remote place in the country. Since diviners from the farms are defined administratively as self-employed persons rather than as farm labourers, they have no legal foothold on the farms in any case.
As healers were moving from the rural areas to town during the 1970s, the diviners born in town (e.g. Mandla and Sirhunu) and some of the long-term residents from the rural areas (e.g. Makhulu, Nontando and Lahliwe) were aspiring to obtain consulting rooms in the predominantly white-owned central business district of Grahamstown. However, attempts to obtain premises in town came to nothing for many legal and administrative reasons affecting the participation of blacks in an apartheid society (cf. Horrell 1982). During the 1980s, Mandla renewed his efforts to obtain premises in town, particularly at the height of the State of Emergency (1985-1986) when police activity, road blocks, riots and boycotts hampered the movement of clients to and from the townships. Mandla finally achieved his ambition during the latter part of 1988 when, with the assistance of a local black self-help organization, he obtained centrally situated premises with ready access to a growing black, and even white, clientele.

The sometimes complex process of moving to town is well illustrated by the case-history of Sijamankungwini.

I was born in Tantyi at the time of the Boer War. My parents were conservative Red people (amagaba) from Keiskammahoek in Ciskei. My parents never attended school nor church. My father was wealthy and had many cattle. During the drought, my father took his cattle and went to stay with my eldest brother who was working on a farm at Bathurst. I stayed behind with my mother and sister in Tantyi. I attended St. Philip's Anglican Mission School, where I was baptized and passed standard 1 before leaving.
After I was circumcized, I went to stay with my sister on a farm at Southwell, where she was apprenticed to a diviner, an old woman. I got a job on the farm. I was a groom and stable-boy. I was very happy there and I liked my job. Then the old farmer died and the farm was sold. By this time, my sister was a diviner and she was living in Tantyi. Together with my age-mates (iintanga), I went to work on another farm in Southwell. By the time Nontando was born in 1938, I had already worked on six different farms. [He remembered this because Nontando was his sixth-born child.]

Then I went to work for Mr. Rowland on a farm in the Alexandria district, where I still live even now (i.e. in 1977). I had eighteen head of cattle and we always had plenty of milk and butter. But Mr. Rowland told me to sell my cattle because he didn't like so many cattle on his farm. I sold my stock in 1961 for £150 and I bought the property in Fingo Village, where my daughter Nontando lives.

Thus Nontando was born on Mr. Rowland's farm in the Alexandria district where her father was employed as a farm labourer. She is the sixth-born child in a family of nine children, three of whom died in infancy (cf. fig. 1 overleaf).
Mandla's father, Talo, was the son of a well-known Mfengu diviner, Jamangile, in the Peddie district and was born during the 1880s. Jamangile had wanted to initiate Talo as a diviner. When Talo was a young man (umfana), however, he had a disagreement with his father following an unfortunate accident in which "he got stuck in the mud (udaka) in a dam for three days" while he was out searching for his father's lost cattle. He subsequently left home to work for a white farmer in the Peddie district. As gardener and manservant, Talo accompanied the farmer when he retired from farming and moved to Grahamstown circa the Boer War. In Grahamstown, Talo met and married his wife, a domestic servant who had grown up on a white-owned farm in the Alexandria district. Circa 1908 he obtained a serviced site in Tantyi, where he erected a small, rectangular, one-roomed wattle and daub dwelling. After his employer's death, Talo turned
to freelance gardening. He managed to support his growing family by working in two or three gardens belonging to different white householders in the Oatlands Road area. As already mentioned, Tolo was a very devout convert to Christianity and a leading lay-preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Mandla is the twelfth-born in a family of thirteen children only nine of whom survived infancy (cf. fig. 2 below). The only information forthcoming about the children who died in infancy (cf. fig. 2 nos. 5-8) are their respective dates of birth (i.e. 1916, 1918, 1920 and 1922).

Key:

\[ d = \text{diviner} \]
Although illiterate, Mandla's father encouraged his children to attend school. Mandla's two sisters (cf. fig. 2 nos. 9 and 13) obtained standard 4 school-leaving certificates before entering domestic employment in Grahamstown. Of all the boys in the family, the youngest son, Mandla, proved the most promising scholar and for a while, his father entertained the ambition that his son would one day enter one of the eminent missionary educational institutions, Healdtown or Lovedale, to be trained as a school-teacher. To his father's great disappointment, however, Mandla left school midway through standard 4 and subsequently manifested all the signs of a novice diviner. Mandla's elder brother, Mtedwa (b. 1912; cf. fig. 2 no. 3), who had wanted to become a diviner in the 1930s but his father would not allow it, ended up becoming a casual-labourer in town and did a variety of odd-jobs from gardening to washing motor-cars. Mandla's only surviving brother, Sidumo (b. 1914; cf. fig. 2 no. 4), still washes motor-cars for a living round about the cathedral in Grahamstown.

Sirhunu was born on a white-owned farm in the Alexandria district circa the Boer War (1899-1902). His father was a farm labourer. Prior to the outbreak of World War I, the family moved to Grahamstown when Sirhunu was still a boy. Sirhunu's father was the owner of a small donkey cart and he hawked vegetables and firewood round town for a living. During the 1920s, Sirhunu was employed by a building contractor in Grahamstown and he soon acquired the skills of carpentry and stone-masonry. When Sirhunu became a novice diviner during the latter half of 1928, he had already left his employment with the white building contractor. Subsequently he reverted to his father's occupation as a hawker to support himself and his wife while he was a novice diviner. Following his initiation as a diviner in 1936, Sirhunu set up practise in Tantyi.
Lahliwe was born and grew up on a farm at Manley Flats, about 15km outside Grahamstown on the national road to Port Alfred, where her father was employed as a farm labourer. She attended school and passed standard 4. During the 1960s, she married a townsman and subsequently moved to Grahamstown where her husband was employed as a clerk with a firm of attorneys.

My husband was a drunkard (inxila) and I could not stomach it. He wasted all our money and then he threw me away (ukulahla). After my husband rejected me, I became ukuthwasa.

The marriage was subsequently dissolved when Lahliwe, as a novice diviner, fell pregnant by another man (who, incidentally, was neither a novice nor a healer).

Makhuulu was born and raised in Keiskammahoek where her father was a subsistence farmer. His sister (udade 'bawo) was a diviner. Although Makhuulu did not know her very well, she heard a great deal about her from her parents and relatives. Makhuulu was baptized in the Bantu Presbyterian Church, but she never attended school. After her marriage in 1936 (in the Magistrate's Office in Keiskammahoek) to a man from Grahamstown, she came to reside in Tantyi. Her husband was a longtime employee of the Cape Provincial Roads Department and he died in 1966.

Nokoyika was born and grew up on a farm at Hankey, near Humansdorp. Her father was a farm labourer. Following the outbreak of World War II, she was employed as a domestic servant by a white householder in Port Elizabeth. She subsequently became ukuthwasa and moved to Grahamstown in 1943 where she came under the care of a male diviner from the Peddie district. A short while later, she married Mr. Dhlamini of Tantyi who was employed
in town as a labourer. She only completed her initiation as a diviner in 1971 following her husband's death.

In the 1977 survey of diviners in Grahamstown, a few diviners (18, 18%; N=8) were minimally educated ranging from standard 1 to standard 6. Five of the educated were born in town (M=3, F=2) and three (M=2, F=1) in the rural areas. Although according to the Assistant Director of the Department of Education and Training in Grahamstown, Mr B.J. Podesta, "there are no records available and it is not possible to provide meaningful estimates even as 'guesstimates'" (personal communication, 1990), it is nevertheless my impression that the relatively small percentage of minimally educated diviners in Grahamstown is about average for the older generation in the population. All the diviners in the sample were nominal Christians and some (22, 73%; N=10) were confirmed members of a local church. However, the latter were quick to point out that their professional duties as healers very often conflicted with regular church attendance. Diviners feel duty bound to attend the traditional rituals (amasiko) and dances (iintlombe) they prescribe as therapy to clients and which frequently take place on Sundays.

Sijamankungwini: I left the church when I was very young. What made me leave the church was ukuthwasa. I did not agree; I did not care to go to church. Who has not given himself to God (uThixo)? Is there any person who does not know that God is there? I grew up praying. To this day I never eat without giving thanks. I give thanks to God and my ancestors: with my heart to my ancestors and with my mouth directed towards God who has created us (cf. Appendix I for the original Xhosa text).
Nontando: We [children] grew up in the spirit of the church, for church services were held at home [on the farm] as they still are. My parents left-off [going to] church not because they did not want the church. When they left [the church], they said it [i.e. the service] must be held at home; they forced us [children] to attend these services. They would say: "Let us sit and sing and pray here at home." Before my parents have meals, they give thanks with a prayer; they do not eat without giving thanks. They are going to say: "Let us give thanks. God bless this meal you give us in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

These ancestors, indeed grandfathers, they were put there and created by God. My ancestors work together with God. I see no difference between uQamatha and uThixo because the traditional custom (of animal sacrifice) is in the Bible. God (uThixo) said on creating me, he created me to be a diviner. I dig up a medicine, I examine a person and I see what is [wrong] with a person. A person, for whom doctors and hospitals had given up hope, would come [to consult me]. I would say: "God and the ancestors, this person has been despaired of by whites and hospitals. So, help me to [help] this person." When I've said so and given medicine the person becomes well. That is why I see I cannot separate from the church. (See Appendix I for the original
Makhulu: When I became ukuthwasa the minister of my church said that I must take myself to the side where I belong (i.e. to the ancestors). The Supreme Being (uDali) created the ancestors and the River People (abantu bomlambo) so that they would be here on earth. I don't see any difference between uQamatha, uDali and uThixo. They are one and the same. I am a person of the river (mna ke mntu wasemlanjeni) and I believe in the ancestors (ndikholelwanezinyanya).

Although Nontando graduated as a diviner in 1956, she was baptized in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1962 following the rift in her relationship with Mandla. Nontando became a confirmed member of the church in 1972. Nontando is a talented singer and she soon became an indispensable member of the church choir. She attends church services and functions whenever her professional duties as a healer permit, and she is an active member of the Young Women's Association (uManyano) and regularly attends prayer meetings on Wednesday afternoons. Church membership opened up a wide new circle of acquaintances for Nontando, particularly among local Christian women, some of whom are eager to avail themselves of the services of a diviner in their own social circle when the need arises. Practising Christians in Grahamstown are often inhibited to consult a diviner in broad daylight and in full view of their neighbours whereas they may otherwise be prepared to do so secretively. The minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church was not aware, when I spoke to him in March 1975, that a leading member of his congregation was a practising diviner in Fingo Village. Perhaps it was just as well because he went on to point
out that, although the church accepted in principle that a diviner was called to office by God, the initiation of such a person could only properly take place within the context of the Christian church. Instead of being anointed with medicinal roots, i.e. *ubulawu*, the novice diviner should be anointed with Holy unguent by the minister in the church. Having made this point, the minister admitted that, to his knowledge, no such case had ever occurred in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Grahamstown and that the initiation of novice diviners was still very much in the hands of the diviners.

Since Mandla's father, Tolo, was a leading lay-preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Grahamstown, it is perhaps understandable that all his (i.e. Tolo's) children as well as their children were baptized and confirmed in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Tolo was illiterate and he memorized tracts of the Bible by rote. Consequently, Mandla can cite parts of the Bible, chapter and verse. He has no inclination to attend church although he has no objection to his wife attending. Throughout our close friendship during the past 15 years or so (1974 - 1990), I asked Mandla on several occasions why he did not attend church. He always replies to this question with a question:

Mandla: If God (*uThixo*) is one, why are there so many different denominations?

The point that Mandla is making here is that the church, like all other social institutions, is man-made and, hence, fallible. Mandla maintains the view that God (*uThixo*) holds the sensitive diviner in the palm of His hand and communicates directly with him or her without requiring the mediation of a minister in the church to do so. Most diviners in the townships are aware of the gossip that circulates from time to time concerning 'bribery and corruption' in local churches. Mandla has mediated several
disputes between local ministers and their congregations. All these disputes turned on the misappropriation or theft of church funds. In most cases, the minister was found to be at fault, if not criminally responsible for theft.

2.5 The economics of healing

Healing, even at best, supplements income derived from other sources (e.g. formal employment, sub-letting backyard shacks, growing and selling vegetables, running a shebeen, selling medicinal roots, etc.), working children, a pension or disability grant. During fieldwork (1974-77), the only diviner (or herbalist) in the townships to own a vehicle was a man in his 40s who worked as a semi-skilled labourer in the repair workshop of a local second-hand car dealer and who operated as a healer in his spare time (during the week, over week-ends and on public holidays). Even leading diviners, like Mandla and Nontando, find it necessary to supplement the earnings derived from healing.

Consultation (imvumisa) fees vary and depend on the skill and experience of the diviner: in Grahamstown during fieldwork, a talented novice charged R2.50, a minor diviner R5 and a leading diviner anywhere between R10 and R25. Diviners also charge separate fees for the herbal treatment and/or ritual assistance that follows the consultation: e.g. during fieldwork, the fees were R35 and R135 respectively as well as a bottle of brandy in each case. The fee for initiating a novice diviner is an ox or its equivalent value in cash. However, the fees for treatment, ritual assistance and the apprenticeship of a novice are usually accepted on account and are paid, if indeed they are ever paid at all, only after some time (months or years) has elapsed. The consultation (imvumisa) fee is always paid on the spot and represents cash in hand. During a particularly busy period during fieldwork, the earnings of individual diviners varied per month ranging from amounts of R40 and R60 for minor practitioners to
amounts of R150 and R250 for leading practitioners. Yet these earnings had to tide the diviner over the lean and quiet periods when cases and clients were few and far between.

It would be useful at this point to compare the earnings of diviners with the wages paid, for example, to female domestic workers — who make up the bulk of the labour force in town (see chapter 1) — and labourers in the rural areas. In the sample of 225 households investigated by Cock (1980:315-6; 1981:417) in the Eastern Cape between August 1978 and February 1979, the wages of female domestic workers ranged from R4 to R60 a month, with the average (arithmetic mean) wage being R22.77 per month. In one case (I cite on page 60), a female domestic worker earned R20 a month in 1977. Almost two-thirds of Cock's sample earned below R30 a month. The average wage paid to full-time female domestic workers in the rural areas was R11.35 per month, and 82 percent earned R13 or less. All the domestic workers in Cock's sample received some food daily, although the quantity and quality varied widely, and almost half of the sample received no meat at all. Fifty-eight percent of the sample of female domestic workers were the sole supporters of their families (cf. Cock 1980:312; 1981:405). In 1976, the secondary PDL (Poverty datum line) was R117.22 with the effective minimum level of R175 a month (cf. Wilsworth 1980:15,148). According to Cock, full-time female domestics in town worked an average of 61 hours per week. The hours ranged from 40 to 85 hours per week, with 77.7 percent working more than a 48-hour week. The average working week for female domestics in the rural areas was 73 hours 35 minutes. In addition to food rations, some male farm workers in Albany and Bathurst districts were earning a cash wage of about R10 per month in 1975. Manona (1988:6) cites the case of a sheep farm situated in the Carlisle Bridge area 55 km from Grahamstown where full-time male and female employees earned cash wages of R20 and R10 per month respectively in 1982. During busy periods, minor
diviners were earning 2-3 times the wages paid to the average female domestic worker in town and some male farm labourers in the rural areas; leading diviners were earning 7-12 times more. Although the earnings of some leading diviners appears to exceed the 1976 PDL, their top earnings are less than the wages of the headwaiter getting R240 a month plus R20 a week from the tip 'pool' (cf. Wilsworth 1980:110). Diviners do not earn a regular, fixed salary and the earnings of individual practitioners vary according to the number of clients who are treated and consequently pay the required fees. Nevertheless, diviners are relieved of the drudgery of working long hours for an employer and low wages. Their regular attendance at traditional sacrifices and beer drinks also means that they get a lot of free meals and drinks (see section 3.6). However, as Cock (1980:311; 1981:404) remarks, "the high degree of independence achieved by women in such roles as those of diviner, herbalist and chieftainess are very exceptional."

Healing is at times a precarious way of making a living particularly for the healers who have no other means of support. Like entrepreneurs and brokers generally in the townships and elsewhere (cf. Barth 1966, Bailey 1970 and Boissevain 1974), diviners and herbalists are constantly seeking to maximise profit and minimise cost, but, very often, they are at the mercy of wider forces affecting the local economy which lie outside their direct manipulation and control. It therefore requires constant innovation and adaptation to meet new challenges and exigencies successfully. As businessmen and economists well know, the costs and quantities of commodities can be manipulated up to a point before prices inevitably rise. When clients are short of cash, however, this places the healer in a dilemma. Diviners and herbalists in the townships are generally loathe to turn away clients who lack the necessary cash to pay for the services they require. In fact, healers physically eject clients from their
premises only when they are drunk, argumentative and obstreperous; and female healers do this as readily and with even more gusto than the males. On the other hand, to thoughtlessly increase prices in the context of widespread unemployment, low wages and poverty could well be detrimental to the healer’s practise by driving clients to seek other, less costly, alternatives and, perhaps, even to consult a competitor. Consequently, clients become indebted to the healer who, in turn, is sometimes left with a string of unpaid accounts.

Mandla has an extensive network of clients, both within and beyond the local community of Grahamstown, including whites as well as blacks, but throughout the period of fieldwork, he lived from hand to mouth. The cash earned from divination and treatment was quickly swallowed up by basic domestic requirements and unexpected exigencies: e.g. groceries, clothing and many other needs required by a large and growing family. Frequently the rent went unpaid and was often in arrears. As a result, he was threatened with ejection from his homestead on several occasions by officials of the administration board in the townships. Thus, Mandla was constantly on the search for alternative ways of earning additional income. In early 1975, the rains were relatively good and he grew a large crop of lettuce which he sold at a profit to a hotel in town. The following year was dry and his garden failed. There was also a dearth of clients particularly during the May to September period. Nothing daunted, he was soon busy making and selling suitably inscribed cheap wooden crosses for graves. Once the flow of clients resumes after a quiet spell, Mandla is inclined to quickly abandon and forget the various odd-job activities that previously occupied him, save to remind his children of the serious economic disadvantages entailed in being a self-employed diviner. His many long-standing economic difficulties were considerably eased in 1987 when his eldest daughter successfully passed the midwifery examination at
Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town and subsequently obtained a post at Settlers' Hospital in Grahamstown. Her regular monthly contributions are a boon to the household income and she even installed a telephone which is proving invaluable to Mandla's practise.

During March 1975, an analysis of Mandla's account books for the period 1970-74 revealed the names and addresses of about 200 debtors owing a total balance of some R1,900 for treatment or ritual assistance received. Although he assiduously followed up debtors living in the townships, by the end of 1977 the bulk of these debts had not been paid nor were they paid subsequently. This is an all too familiar tale in Grahamstown and most diviners in the townships can recite lists of unpaid debts owed by clients.

Makhulu: I am a successful diviner but I don't earn a lot of money because today people haven't got money to pay. But I can't chase people (i.e. clients) away if they haven't got money.

Chithigqwirha (in his 60s with 40 years experience and residing at Peddie in Ciskei) was an itinerant Mpondomise herbalist (ixhwele) plying his trade in the townships. His father and paternal grandfather were herbalists. When I first met Chithigqwirha in April 1976 he had already started to train his adolescent son, who was in standard 7 at school in Peddie, as a herbalist. Chithigqwirha, like his father and grandfather, was a traditionalist (iqaba) and had never attended school nor church. However, he wanted his son to complete standard 7 because it was essential nowadays for a herbalist to read and write, both to conduct correspondence with clients and to record accounts. Since the early 1950s, Chithigqwirha had built up a
network of clients in the townships of Grahamstown and had established working relationships with several local diviners. He was quite unabashedly a herbalist of the 'old school'. He was of the opinion that, where the client(s) had not already consulted a diviner to ascertain the nature and cause of the problem, it was the duty of the herbalist to effect a consultation with a diviner concerning the matter (see section 4.6). Not only did the divinatory consultation (imvumisa) provide the herbalist with an opportunity to pose a few carefully framed questions to the diviner concerning the client's problem, but it also enabled the herbalist to consider the problem or concern in question within the total context of the client's life and social situation. With an extensive knowledge of rare medicinal plants, Chithigqwirha was highly skilled in the herbal and magical arts (imilingo). His particular metier was the treatment of illness (isifo) and misfortune (ilishwa) caused by witchcraft (ubuggwirha) and sorcery (ubuthakatha). Hence, his name, Chithigqwirha, which means "Witch-Destroyer". However, if the diviner revealed in the divination that the client's problem was caused by neglected and malevolent ancestral spirits rather than by witchcraft and sorcery, then a good herbalist, Chithigqwirha maintained, would realize that it was in the best interests of the client to be treated by a diviner. Anything less than this was equivalent to the herbalist playing the 'robbing game' with clients (see section 2.6 below). Chithigqwirha also told me that, since starting to ply his trade as a herbalist in the townships of Grahamstown, he had been challenged on different occasions over the years by various rival herbalists in the locality to put his herbal knowledge to the test in magical duels with them. However, on each occasion, he had managed to render his rival's medicines impotent by recourse to his medicine horns (iimphondo). On one occasion, after Chithigqwirha's medicines had magically transformed a tornado (isakhwit) sent against him into a pile of earth (intsundwane) pushed up by an earthworm (umsundulo), his
doughty opponent, a highly reputable herbalist, even acknowledged the power (amandla) of Chithigqwirha's medicines. This appears to be a fairly common test of skill and power between rival herbalists. The herbalist is essentially a kind of 'white magician' who uses herbs, medicines and charms not only to counteract the negative effects of witchcraft and sorcery in man or beast, but to fight the very witches and sorcerers themselves in the community. As witches and sorcerers are no longer judicially executed as they were during pre-colonial times (cf. Alberti 1807/1968:48ff., Peires 1981:129 and Peires 1989:82-84), it is in the interests of herbalists (amaxhwele) to advertise their skills. The rivalry between diviners is far more covert than this: they simply try to outdo their rivals with the psychic skill they evince in divination and the array of uncanny and accurate detail they are able to reveal to clients about themselves. The diviner is closely associated with the shades, both through the original call to office and the routine practice of divination (as we see in chapter 4 and section 5.4). For diviners to duel magically with each other like herbalists is a violation of their sacred office as religious specialists whose primary social function it is to unite, rather than divide, related persons and groups through ritual (see section 3.6).

Chithigqwirha: As I myself live, I am a husband to widows and a father to orphans with my herbalism (ubuxhwele) because I help a person who is being killed (by witchcraft) and has done no wrong to anyone. I protect (ukukhusela) with my medicine (iyeza) [and] that's why I don't have a motor-car.

Most of the healers in the townships can identify with these statements.
Nontando also has a large network of clients. Compared to Mandla, she is much better off economically although, admittedly, her family commitments are by no means as extensive as his. Since her father owned the property, she did not pay rent. Nevertheless, she had her two foster sons to take care of and she also assisted her novice, Nobulawu, and her parents and sisters. Generous in the care of her dependents, Nontando, like most diviners, is also hospitable to visiting colleagues. Her home is a favourite gathering place for diviners and herbalists where they are entertained with lively conversation and quarts of Lion lager. When fresh bread was baked or vegetables harvested from the garden, a portion was distributed to each of the seven tenants living on the property as well as to Nobulawu. Yet Nontando is sparing of her own needs and carefully saves money during good times as surety for bad times. Although reluctant to disclose the exact amount, she is proud to admit she has a few thousand rand in savings in a local building society account.

Makhulu resided in a roomy wattle and daub house, nestling in the shade of a tall avocado tree, which was originally built during the latter half of the 1930s by her late husband. She had her unmarried daughter (in her early 20s) and the latter’s three young children living with her. In addition, there were usually two or three female novices undergoing training who were regarded as part of the family. Makhulu, her daughter, the grandchildren and the novices all ate the main meal together every day. Makhulu received about R80 monthly from her two sons who work and reside in Port Elizabeth. Neither she nor her daughter had any history of previous employment. Makhulu pointed out that when clients got well she expected them, as traditionally required, to reimburse her with a beast (inkomo). Certainly, this applies equally to all the diviners (and herbalists) operating in the townships. However, clients may never pay the fee and it may only be forthcoming from novices at or after the completion of training.
Makhulu's earnings from divining and healing varied considerably from about R10 or R20 a month to about R50 or R60 depending on how busy she was. Makhulu was an expert leech and specialised in doctoring female novices prior to their installation as diviners. By no means altogether unlike its 17th and 18th century European and British counterparts, leeching among the Cape Nguni involves a procedure called *ukukhupha iintlanga*, which literally means "to draw [blood] from the incisions" that are made on the body of the client or patient (see section 4.1). Most diviners and herbalists perform leeching. However, in the case of the novice diviner, it is performed by a diviner and for reasons of modesty, preferably a diviner of the same sex as the novice. Since leeching was performed by a diviner other than the one instructing the novice (and diviners in Grahamstown still adhere to this convention) and there were generally more female than male novices, Makhulu was assured of a steady trickle of referrals from her colleagues in the townships. She saved a small portion of the money earned from healing and, two or three times a year, brewed traditional sorghum beer (*utywala*), a nutritious and mildly alcoholic beverage (cf. McAllister 1986a), and invited local diviners and novices to dance (*ukuxhentsa*) at her home. Apart from the odd diviner away on a case or in mourning (*ukuzila*) after a death in the family, the majority of diviners (and herbalists) in the townships attended these beer drinks. Consequently, Makhulu was a well-known and popular figure among local healers. She always had a sympathetic ear for their problems, regularly lent them money and, in some cases, even provided temporary accommodation.

Sirhunu worked as a mason and carpenter for a building contractor in Grahamstown prior to becoming a diviner in 1936. He undertook building alterations and repairs on a small scale for people in the townships. He was married with four children.
Sirhunu: I do get money from divination (imvumisa). Some months I might make as much as R40, but other months I might only make about R10 or R15. It just depends how many people (i.e. clients) come for divination (imvumisa). My eldest daughter (in her 20s) works in Grahamstown as a domestic servant. She earns R20 a month and we spend all that money on groceries. My other three children (two girls and a boy) are still at primary school.

Sirhunu had initiated (ukuphehlelela) several diviners, among others, Nkanishe, a well-known Xhosa male practitioner in his late 50s, who resides on a farm near Paterson in the Alexandria district. In 1978, Sirhunu obtained a State disability grant of R19.86 per month.

Having 33 and 40 years experience respectively, Makhulu and Sirhunu were the most senior diviners in the townships—seniority being reckoned in terms of the length of experience as a practitioner. Yet they charged considerably less for their services than junior colleagues like Mandla and Nontando who had 27 and 20 years experience respectively. In 1976, when Mandla and Nontando were charging a flat rate of R10 per divination (imvumisa) and R35 and a bottle of brandy for treatment, Makhulu and Sirhunu were charging R2.50 and R5 respectively per divination, and R6 and R10 respectively (as well as a bottle of brandy) for treatment. Makhulu and Sirhunu charged lower fees to attract more clientele and to compete with the more charismatic (and, perhaps, more talented) diviners who charged higher fees for their services. Now we understand why Mandla, among others, is reluctant to turn away a client who lacks the required fee: one diviner's loss can easily be another's gain.
There is no doubt that the cash earnings of a leading diviner with many clients can in practice fall far short of the healer's economic requirements and expectations. Particularly when seen in relation to the considerable amount of time and energy the healer invests in treating clients, the cash derived from healing may indeed be little. Here Mandla provides a case in point. The fundamental reason for this state of affairs is that entrepreneurs and healers (diviners and herbalists) compete for a limited supply of cash circulating in the townships. Employment opportunities are limited in Grahamstown and low wages and poverty are widespread (see chapter 1). On the other hand, healing is clearly a boon for the person with a small disability or old age pension and the unemployed widow, divorcée and single woman in the sense that it supplements income derived from other sources. Healing is an occupation that can be done at home in between routine chores and as the occasion demands. Thus, it provides employment which is highly suited to women with small children or other family commitments as well as pensioners who cannot be otherwise employed. Sirhunu, Makhulu, Nokoyika, Lahliwe and Nontando provide good examples here.

Some cost is necessarily entailed in refurbishing supplies of medicines (amayeza) and charms (amakhubalo) and in obtaining animal skins and artefacts. Medicines (various roots, barks, leafy fronds, etc.) are part of nature's bounty and are free to anyone who picks them. Picking medicines in the bush - whether on the verges of the town itself or some distance away in the countryside - always involves time, labour and transport. In fact, picking medicines is extremely arduous work. The Eastern Cape bush is thick and virtually impenetrable in places especially for healers whose only tools are a pen-knife and a sharpened digging-stick (ulugxa); healers are reluctant to carry a machete or an axe since the police may construe it as a dangerous weapon. To penetrate thick thorn bush, healers very
often resort to crawling on all fours like animals or slithering on their stomachs like snakes. There is also the ever-present danger of being bitten by a poisonous snake (various species of which occur in the bush), suffering a fall or some other injury. The medicines are packed in hessian bags which are carried and manhandled through the bush to a convenient point whence they can be transported by road or rail. Healers limit the quantities of medicines they pick to what they can conveniently carry through the bush. Healers have neither the labour nor the resources of the ubiquitous entrepreneurs now exploiting and seriously endangering the environment for profit.

Since the early 1970s the retailing of African herbal remedies has boomed in the Eastern Cape and, indeed, throughout South Africa. Small shops retailing patent remedies and Xhosa herbs quickly sprang up in towns like Grahamstown and King William's Town. As a post-graduate student, I worked part-time in the first of these shops established in Grahamstown in 1974. Coupled with the development of these shops retailing Xhosa herbs, entrepreneurs quickly emerged to supply the retailers with stocks of unprocessed herbal material, consisting mainly of roots and barks but various animal artefacts and charms can be included as well. These entrepreneurs, like the shop-owners, are mostly whites who, apart from knowing the vernacular names of a few roots and barks, have little knowledge of Xhosa medicines or botany. There are a fair number of farmers and ex-farmers in their ranks. Essentially, their metier is to make money and generate profit like most capitalistic businessmen. These entrepreneurs are, in effect, wholesalers who have at their command much greater financial resources, labour and transport than even the leading diviners, like Nontando and Mandla, in the townships of Grahamstown. Since the entrepreneurs are not healers and have scant regard for traditional Xhosa medicines apart from money-making and profit, they are free to plunder the natural
medicinal resources of the environment on an extensive scale without much thought for the consequences. Moreover, there is a tendency nowadays for the Provincial nature conservation authorities as well as the press to blame the "witch-doctors" for killing wild animals, trees and plants indiscriminately (cf. Pettifer 1978). Little attention, however, is given to the 'big men' of the herb trade most of whom are not healers. In fact, amendments to the Environment Conservation Act (73 of 1989) which are expected to be introduced during the 1990 session of Parliament will, inter alia, make it illegal for diviners and herbalists to pick medicines in the bush. Healers are dependent on nature's bounty to fill their medicine-bags, for without the required medicines it is impossible to fulfil their sacred vocation as healers. Thus, diviners and herbalists regard the natural environment and its medicines as a resource to be protected. When healers pick supplies of medicinal plants, they always leave some unpicked, as they say, "for next time". Moreover, medicinal plants are sacred and are imbued with the spiritual power (amandla) of the ancestors (see chapter 4). In fact, if properly approached by the authorities, Cape Nguni diviners and herbalists would prove to be among some of the most ardent supporters of nature conservation.

Since 1974 transport costs have been increasing steadily. Consequently, healers try to reduce transport costs as much as possible. One means of doing so, now widely adopted, is to co-ordinate excursions to pick medicines with visits that must inevitably be made to clients residing on the farms or in the rural areas of Ciskei and Transkei. Clients invariably make a contribution in part or full to cover the travelling expenses incurred by the healer, and so this is often a more viable and cheaper alternative than to incur the expense of a special trip just to pick medicines. Occasionally, when the healer has a friend or client who owns a vehicle and is willing to provide
transport, an expedition may be undertaken to pick medicines in a distant part of the countryside (e.g. the Zuurberg or the Amathole mountains). These expeditions usually consist of a small group of between three and five people (diviners, novices and perhaps even a herbalist as well) and may last a few days or a couple of weeks. The healers usually share the travelling expenses and the other costs entailed (e.g. food and drink) as well as the medicines that are picked. In the event that accommodation is required on a trip, healers depend on the hospitality of people living in the locality (e.g. clients, friends, colleagues or relatives). In the case of certain rare and much used medicinal plants (e.g. iqwilí with its resinous pain-killing properties akin to opium), healers sometimes have no means of obtaining them other than organizing a special trip to pick them in a distant place (e.g. Hogsback); and this necessarily entails some expense. So, in order to obtain supplies of medicines, healers inevitably incur some cost which they try to reduce as much as possible.

Healers are generally loathe to buy medicines commercially. They consider the quality of bought medicines to be questionable and the prices exorbitant. Moreover, on the grounds of religious belief, they prefer to avoid using medicinal material which has been handled by non-expert laymen. The reasons for this are connected with pollution (see section 4.7), which can have deleterious affects on a person's power (amandla) and fearsomeness (isithunzi, isithinzi) - highly valued qualities associated with the diviner's charisma (cf. Weber 1930: 178, 281; Weber 1948/1970:50ff. and Parsons 1968:668ff.) - as well as the potency of medicines and the efficacy of ritual directed to the shades (see chapters 3 and 4). During the contemporary historical period, there has been a widespread decline in the performance of traditional rituals in town and the rural areas, both as a result of the spread of Christianity and for economic reasons.
There is also a widespread antipathy, if not indifference, among whites concerning the religious tenets of the ancestor cult. In purchasing medicines from an entrepreneur, a diviner would have no way of knowing to what extent the entrepreneur employs precautionary medicinal measures to neutralize the negative effects of pollution (purificatory rites are discussed in more detail in chapter 4). If diviners have any surety at all in this regard, then it is only in their dealings with the colleagues and novices with whom they are closely associated.

Once the healer has returned home with a supply of medicines after a trip to the bush, this is by no means the end of the task. Freshly picked medicines must be dried and cured to prevent mould or decay from setting in. Once cured, however, medicines generally tend to be free from insect infestation and the activities of rodents and other vermin. If properly cured and stored, medicines retain their potency for some time. Healers usually exchange surplus stocks of cured medicines for those that are depleted, except in the case of rare and costly medicines (such as igwili) which are sold.

Although healers hunt for medicines in the bush, they generally avoid (ukuzila) hunting animals. Sometimes a healer kills a poisonous snake in the bush but this is generally to avoid being bitten by it. Thus, to obtain supplies of animal skins and artefacts, healers must depend on the few remaining hunters in the rural areas where hunting still takes place on a very limited scale or on the commercial market. Since the late 1960s, the supply of animal artefacts (e.g. hides, horns, teeth, claws and quills) from the rural areas has dwindled considerably. Antelope and other small mammals still occur in parts of Albany and the adjoining districts of Somerset East and Alexandria (see chapter 1). However, what has changed is that hunters and trappers have become increasingly aware of the value of skins on the commercial
market. Prior to 1970, a rural hunter might have considered it fortuitous to present a skin or two as a gift to a healer in town. Since 1970, however, hunters increasingly try to sell their skins to healers in town. The prices of these skins are usually well below current market value. However, healers are reluctant to pay R10 or R30 per skin let alone a R100 or R200.

Sometimes it happens that a hunter requires protective medicines and treatment from a healer. Consequently, the animal skins may form part of the transaction between healer and client. Most healers are prepared to accept an animal skin in good condition instead of the conventional bottle of brandy which forms part of the cash payment for treatment and ritual. In this way, for example, Mandla has managed to accumulate a large stock of wild animal skins, which he uses in making the regalia of skin hat (isidlokolo) and skirt (umthika) for his novices who have completed the initiation as diviners (see chapter 4). Artefacts of the large mammals (e.g. elephant, hippo, leopard and lion) are now virtually unobtainable locally and those that are available commercially increasingly have to be bought at high prices (e.g. a leopard skin varies in price between R1000 and R5000). Plastic has replaced hippo hide in the ubiquitous switches (iimvubu) now retailed by some trading stores. Pieces of ivory and authentic hippo hide switches (iimvubu) have become very valuable and where a healer possesses them they are frequently inherited or obtained as gifts from parents and relatives. Mandla is the only healer in the townships lucky enough to possess a small piece of an elephant's tusk which he inherited from his father. Antelope hides are available commercially at prices varying between R800 and R1,200. However, otter and mongoose skins cannot be obtained commercially at all and short of resorting to hunting these animals - an alternative that is symbolically inappropriate (see chapter 4), healers must canvas among their colleagues as well as the hunters in the rural areas if necessary. There is no
doubt, however, that the diviner's skin regalia is a costly item to make in 1990 and, hence, very valuable.

2.6 The 'robbing game'

This discussion would be incomplete without some reference, albeit cursory, to a concept referred to locally as "i-robbing game". This is clearly an English expression that has passed into the Xhosa vernacular at some point in time, for it is no longer used to any extent by whites in Grahamstown. The 'robbing game' is a concept that applies in diverse contexts and it relates to economic exploitation of one kind or another, whether practiced by whites or blacks. Here I particularly want to focus on a few usages of the concept as applied by diviners (and herbalists) in the townships.

Firstly, the 'robbing game' is played by diviners (and herbalists) who purposely mislead the client by providing incorrect treatment or advice merely to pocket the client's money. Secondly, the concept refers to a minister of religion who defrauds, embezzles, steals or otherwise absconds with the congregational funds. Thirdly, it refers to a representative of one of the herbalist associations (e.g. Dingaka and the R.S.A. Herbalist Association) who accepts a R20 annual subscription from the healer, slaps up a printed certificate on the healer's wall and disappears until the following year when the subscription falls due again. Subsequently, when the healer asks what the Association is doing for her and refuses to renew the subscription, the representative forcibly removes the certificate from the wall and leaves in a huff. Indeed, this happened to Makhulu in 1969. However, she physically restrained the Dingaka representative from removing the certificate and turfed him out by the scruff of his neck. This tale has become a legend among local diviners and herbalists.
Most healers regard the first application of the 'robbing game' in a very serious, rather than a humorous, light because it can result in the death or hospitalization of the client. In the right hands and at the correct dosage, medicines have the power to cure affliction. However, in the wrong hands and at the incorrect dosage, medicines become dangerous poisons capable of inflicting illness, dehydration and death (see section 4.5). There are certain ailments (e.g. sexual sterility and impotency in old age) which are regarded as essentially incurable by most reputable healers. Yet, from time to time, a get-rich-quick-healer (who diviners refer to in English as a "fly-by-night") emerges who professes to be able to cure these essentially incurable conditions. For a time, such a healer may make money and develop a considerable reputation. Unless clients resolve their concerns in transactions with a healer, they invariably consult other healers until they do. In the process of consulting other healers, prior mistakes made in treatment are inevitably uncovered and established. Whereas clients recommend to others (e.g. co-workers, friends, neighbours or relatives) healers who have been successful in treating them, they are inclined to criticize and warn people of a healer who has failed to make promises materialise. Reputable healers criticize their errant colleagues directly and frankly; and, sometimes, they succeed in getting them to admit their faults. Playing the 'robbing game' with clients not only strikes at the very heart of the healer's ethics, but it also flies in the face of the healer's free word-of-mouth advertising that emanates from their clients. A healer without a clientele and unable to activate the co-operation of colleagues when so required (e.g. to participate in the dancing (ukuxhentsa) that takes place in the client's home on ritual occasions) is really a healer without a viable practise. The long-term behaviour of clients and colleagues tends to militate against a healer who plays the 'robbing game'. Generally, diviners and herbalists in the townships of
Grahamstown try to preserve the healer-client relationship, even in the face of penury.

If the monetary rewards accruing from healing are indeed little, then what motivates diviners to heal their fellows in the first place? Healing is not so much a career or money-making business as it is a vocation, an authentic calling. Far from being people who interfere in the affairs of others, diviners are literally called upon to help their fellows in dealing with their concerns and solving their problems. Diviners are also "called" in a figurative sense in that they are all people who have come to understand and manage their own personal problems in the process of becoming healers (see chapter 3), with the result that they share a common body of belief and practice (see section 2.8 below and chapters 4 and 5). This and the problems themselves constitute the close bonds uniting diviner and novice, diviner and client, and the diviners themselves who, as we have seen (in section 2.3), are a group of people with highly individualistic personalities. This discussion brings us, however, to the topic of the next section.

2.7 Clients and their problems
Clients and colleagues constitute the two most important components of the therapeutic community in which the diviner lives and works. Here we consider the clients and their problems, and the social relations between diviners and their clients. In the section that follows this, we consider the social relations between diviners.

Diviners in town attract their clients from the neighbourhood as well as the adjoining rural areas, and even from as far afield as the urban centres of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and King William's Town. Since travel is time-consuming and costly, clients from distant centres tend to form
the diviner's occasional, rather than regular, trade (e.g. as in Mandla's case). When clients are few in town, diviners take up their medicine-bags and travel round plying their trade in the rural areas, stretching from Transkei to Humansdorp, for a few months. Diviners in the rural areas also have clients in town whom they visit. Whether clients choose to consult a diviner in the neighbourhood or one at a distance depends on the nature of the problem. There is a tendency for some clients to take their more sensitive and seamier problems to diviners living outside the local community. They do so in order to preserve a modicum of anonymity and to safeguard their reputations. Where an intimate relationship is established with a particular diviner, however, the client will always prefer to consult the latter, irrespective of the problem and where the diviner resides. Nowadays, clients living at a distance from Grahamstown need not undertake a special trip to town to consult the diviner. They simply write a letter (or make a telephone call) summoning the diviner, and offer to reimburse travelling expenses. Diviners treat the problems of clients with the utmost confidentiality and through long association with the healer, clients tend to become aware of this and feel more secure.

The social background of clients is diverse as, indeed, are their problems. At the one extreme of the continuum are the educated Christians: school-teachers, nurses, ministers, shopkeepers, entrepreneurs, clerks, officials, etc. - white-collar workers and professional people generally. At the other extreme are the illiterate or minimally educated traditionalists: the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, the domestic servants, the casual-workers, the self-employed and the farm labourers. Between these two extremes lie a whole gamut of individual variations: highly educated traditionalists, minimally educated Christians, the unemployed generally, and people of varying educational backgrounds and employment with no firm religious
commitment of any kind. There are also the white clients who come from different social, educational and religious backgrounds: university professors, students, lawyers, businessmen, farmers and semi-skilled workers. These include practising and nominal Christians as well as people with no firm religious commitment. It seems that when faced with a perplexing illness or problem, a person will consult a whole gamut of healers - ranging from Western medical practitioners and specialists to diviners, herbalists and faith-healers, particularly when the problem or illness is of a psychic or psychosomatic nature and it does not respond to Western medical treatment. Social background and religious morality are factors which appear to bear little relation to the various kinds of healers people are likely to consult in search of the appropriate therapy for their problems and ills.

As Turner (1975a:234) has pointed out, the consultation with the diviner is the central phase in a social process that starts with the client's reproductive trouble, illness or misfortune (see section 5.4 on divination). However, this can no longer be strictly taken to imply that the client's first response to affliction is necessarily to consult a diviner (or herbalist). Nowadays, particularly in cases of illness, clients (including the diviners and herbalists themselves) tend to consult a Western medical practitioner first before consulting a diviner (or herbalist). This is largely the consequence of the spread of education and medical services. The diviner is thus a last, rather than a first, resort. We need look no further than Mandla's case-study to illustrate this.

When Mandla was afflicted with ukuthwasa in the 1940s, his father's first response was to take him to Settlers' Hospital, where he was treated for 8 months without showing any signs of improvement. Only after his mother and maternal uncle (umalume)
brought considerable pressure to bear on his father was Mandla placed in the care of a local diviner, Moni. Subsequently, Mandla's improvement was quite dramatic and he was soon performing divinations for the diviner's clients (see Mandla's story in chapter 3 and Appendix 2).

Western physicians treat recognizable physical illnesses. Although the condition heals, the patient may not necessarily feel better. Xasa, a married male Xhosa farm labourer in his 50s, was treated in 1976 for a duodenal ulcer in Frere Hospital, East London. Although discharged medically fit, he did not feel better until after having been treated by a diviner in Grahamstown. Alternatively, people afflicted with psychological and psychosomatic disorders frequently fail to obtain relief from Western physicians and specialists. According to Western medical practitioners practising in Grahamstown, King William's Town and Alice (Ciskei) in 1978, psychosomatic disorders constituted in excess of 65% of the illnesses patients (black and white) presented for treatment. So, if the person continues to feel unwell following Western medical treatment, the person may decide (or someone else in the person's social network will eventually make the suggestion) to consult a diviner (or herbalist). Diviners are not all of a piece and their skill and ability in treating various afflictions differs widely. Some diviners develop great reputations in treating certain problems and this is widely recognized by their clients. In thus recommending a particular healer, the nature of the problem and the diviner's (or herbalist's) professed ability to deal with it effectively are taken into consideration. Even if successful, Western medical treatment does not necessarily prevent a future recurrence of the illness or misfortune, particularly if it is considered to result from the malevolence of witches (amaggwirha), sorcerers (abathakathi) and/or neglected ancestral spirits (iminyanya) in the face of which scientific medicine is believed to have little
efficacy in comparison to the treatment of the diviner (or herbalist). Increasingly it is the case these days that clients hedge their bets: they consult Western medical practitioners as well as diviners (and herbalists) just to be on the safe side. During fieldwork, I regularly accompanied diviners on visits to clients in the wards of Settlers' Hospital. Once discharged, these clients would visit the diviners to obtain the necessary herbal remedies and/or ritual advice. Modern-day diviners are thus in a far better position than their 19th-century predecessors to know right from the start that the problems they are dealing with are mostly of a psycho-social, rather than a purely medical, nature. In Grahamstown, there certainly is historical evidence to suggest that, from the 1930s onwards, some local physicians referred patients suffering from psychological and psychosomatic disorders to diviners in the townships. Today, the widespread tendency is for diviners (and herbalists) to refer clients with recognizable medical problems (e.g. T.B., venereal disease, diabetes, high blood pressure, pneumonia and various internal disorders) to local physicians, clinic or hospital. Diviners (and herbalists) very often make use of the same medical services when the need arises. Thus, as a result of social change, the old term "witch-doctor" has come to connote "which-doctor" (cf. Ferguson 1978:54:810): i.e. which is the appropriate doctor to consult in the case of a given affliction - the diviner (or herbalist) or the Western medical practitioner? Advice to clients in this connection is becoming an increasingly important feature of the diviner's practise in Grahamstown. During the 1970s, the South African National Tuberculosis Association conducted a very successful campaign among diviners and herbalists in Grahamstown informing them about the diagnostic signs of T.B. and requesting them to refer T.B. cases to the local clinic for treatment. Much still needs to be done in this connection in respect of, for example, the cancers. The diviner also has an important role to play in giving meaning to incurable
disease (e.g. AIDS) - i.e. 'domesticating' the incurable to achieve a positive social purpose (Whisson 1990, personal communication). Since AIDS is incurable, there is little point in referring such a case to hospital, except to prevent the spread of the disease through effective isolation. Home care may be a more practical and cost effective alternative to hospitalization (cf. Lambo 1964).

Clients invariably discuss their afflictions with a wide network of acquaintances before consulting a diviner (or herbalist). These include co-workers, friends and acquaintances in the work place as well as neighbours, friends and relatives at home. The range of people likely to be included in any discussion of an affliction is dependant on the nature of the problem and who it affects. A fairly common occurrence is that money or goods are stolen on the premises of a white-owned business in town, or, in a dwelling in the townships. The householder, or even the white employer, suggests consulting a local diviner in order to ascertain the identity of the thief. Everyone directly implicated - workers or residents - is expected to attend the consultation with the diviner, for refusal to do so would be taken as a sign of guilt. In the case of a reproductive problem (e.g. barrenness or impotency) it is natural that some discussion takes place between the affected couple. However, the matter does not necessarily rest there. The woman discusses the matter further with her female neighbours and siblings, and the man with his friends and kinsmen. Discussion can continue for some time before a decision is made about who to consult, when and where.

Diviners (and herbalists) treat (ukunyanga) an inventory of illnesses (izifo) and misfortunes (amashwa). These include various aches and pains (amahlaba; ubuhlungu) : e.g. stomach-ache (isisu ), headache (ihlaba nentloko) and backache (umgolo). There are the convulsive conditions (not to be confused with epilepsy,
which is considered to be effectively treated by white medical practitioners, nor anxiety) and the homicidal and suicidal states causally linked to the eating of contaminated food found in rubbish dumps and the over-abuse of alcohol or cannabis. Then there are the mental disorders: e.g. madness (ukuphambana) or craziness (ukugeza), attacks of anxiety (umbilini) and fainting (ukuxozula), and the ubiquitous "to dream badly (ukuphupha kakubi)". In fact, there is a wide spectrum of dreams (amaphupha, amathongo) and visions (imibono) that require interpretation. Wild animals (izilo) behave in unpredictable ways - a swarm of bees (iinyosi) invades a dwelling and makes a hive there; a frog (isele) continually enters a dwelling (a fairly common occurrence throughout the Eastern Cape during the rainy summer months) and no matter how many times it is removed, it returns again; or a leguuan (uxam) makes a nuisance of itself in the chicken coop or the cattle byre - and clients want to have these omens (imihlola, izimbo) interpreted (see chapters 4 and 5). The same would apply in the case of domestic animals (e.g. cattle, goats and dogs) that behave strangely or unpredictably. There is also the ukuthwasa complex which includes the various aches and pains mentioned above, madness, spells of anxiety and fainting, and dreams and visions centring on the ancestors, deceased relatives, wild and domestic animals as well as medicinal plants (see chapters 3 and 4). Then there is the category of umlambo ("river illness"), which may or may not be linked to ukuthwasa and includes a variety of symptoms: e.g. sores (izilonda), rash (ukukhotelwa), swollen legs (udumbe imilenze), reproductive, menstrual and menopausal disorders (e.g. barrenness, impotency, gonorrhea - the latter would include penicillin treatment in the local hospital or clinic, venereal ulceration - i.e. "pimples (amadyungu-dyungu)", dysmenorrhia, menorrhagia and amenorrhia), the ubiquitous headaches, backaches, stomach-aches and bad dreams as well as the behavioural problems of children and adolescents following the breakdown of the parental union (whether marital
or common-law) and the formation of a new union by one of the parents (particularly father). Yet, by no means do these exhaust the full range of illnesses suffered by clients. In addition, these would include: enuresis, asthma, sinusitis, alcoholic hangover, infants refusing to suckle at the breast, pubic lice (iintwala zehagu), diarrhoea, constipation, digestive and urinary disorders, and ordinary boils and pimples (amadyungu-dyungu). There is also a whole range of misfortunes: e.g. unemployment, lost property, accident and injury, as well as conflicts in domestic groups or among neighbours, co-workers and members of local associations (e.g. church members).

Diviners do not consider the symptomatology of a particular illness or misfortune to be important by and in itself. Diviners consider themselves to be "doctors (amagqirha)" and they are wont to consider the symptoms as merely an element of the total social situation of the client. Medicinal and ritual therapy frequently involves the whole domestic group and not only the individual client or patient (see section 3.6). The whole process of analysing the client's social world begins in the divinatory consultation (imvumisa) and more particularly when the diviner visits the client to begin treatment of the homestead and to make the ritual preparations. The diviner asks a few unobtrusive questions and immediately forms a detailed picture of the problem and its social context.

Where the diviner has supplied treatment and advice to the satisfaction of the client and where the diviner has been suitably reimbursed for these services in cash and/or kind, a long-term and stable relationship can grow up between client and healer. In such a situation, the client is expected to incur, and the diviner to tolerate, a certain amount of debt. Clients address the diviner as mother (umama) or father (ubawo), as the case may be, in the same way as they would their own parents. The
only difference is that the diviner, not being a parent to the client, is able to develop a far more intimate and friendly association with the client than is often the case between parents and their offspring. Clients sometimes spend weeks or months, in the case of novices years, at the diviner's homestead being treated and during this time, they become integrated into the healer's family - as children, siblings, lovers or even spouses of the healer. Close social ties thus become established between the diviner and the client as well as between the latter and members of the healer's domestic group. These social ties between healer and client also extend back to members of the client's domestic and agnatic groups. It is hardly surprising that where a diviner treats a client successfully, a number of referrals can come to the healer from the client's relatives, friends, neighbours or co-workers. Little wonder then that diviners are conscientious and even ethical in their dealings with their clients (see the foregoing section 2.6): to be otherwise would simply fly in the face of word-of-mouth advertising. As Chithigqwirha has already pointed out (in section 2.5), the healer is "a husband to widows and a father to orphans".

2.8 The social ties and relations among diviners in town
An important observation in the early ethnographic studies among the Mpondo (Hunter 1936) and the Azande (Evans-Pritchard 1937) was the fierce competition and rivalry between diviners. Hunter (1936:344-8) pointed to the absence of any formal guild among Mpondo diviners and the fact that once they had undergone the full initiation process, they practiced on their own account (cf. Hunter 1936:344). There was, moreover, fierce jealousy among Mpondo diviners and they even made use of medicines and scarification to protect themselves against their rivals (cf. Hunter 1936:344-5). These observations are also applicable to diviners in Grahamstown in 1990. In the highly competitive world
of diviners and herbalists in the townships with its limited economic resources (see chapter 1 and section 2.5) jealousy is not only an index of intense economic rivalry between practitioners, but also a form of professional eclat between rival practitioners. However, at the same time, this must not blind us to the social relations and close interpersonal ties that exist between diviners and novices, between diviners, and even between diviners and herbalists (as we have already seen in some of the foregoing sections - particularly 2.3, 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7). For to ignore the relations between healers would otherwise make it impossible to explain how highly disparate individuals (as we have seen in section 2.3 above) share a body of belief and practice (see chapters 4 and 5) to the extent that they are the guardians of tradition in town (see chapter 4). In the accounts of ethnographers, kinship has always been the *sine qua non* of group association among the Cape Nguni (cf. Hunter 1936, Mayer 1961, Hammond-Tooke 1968, 1984, 1985a and b), with the result that the non-kinship based voluntary association - such as that comprised by diviners, herbalists and novices in the townships not to mention the various church and other associations - have been neglected. In fact, only with the development of network theory (cf. Mitchell 1969) did it become feasible to study a whole range of voluntary associations from small economic units of production (cf. Barth 1966) and political groupings (cf. Bailey 1970) to friends of friends (cf. Boissevain 1974). Precisely because the local association of healers in town lacks the formal hierarchy associated with kin groups and, at the same time, brings together, on a purely voluntary basis, professional colleagues who, for the most part, are unrelated to each other in kinship terms makes it of special interest to social anthropologists. However, as we see in this section (as well as in chapters 3, 4 and 5), the importance of kinship is by no means eclipsed by the voluntary nature of membership in the healers' association. Kinship remains an important consideration - the
shades continue to pervade the minds and actions of the healers - although it is temporarily in abeyance as the dominant principle of affiliation operating in the healers' association. Nevertheless it provides the metaphor for defining relationships (see p.76). This type of voluntary association is by no means unlike the ubiquitous modern day professional bodies of lawyers, doctors, dentists, psychologists, etc. as well as social anthropologists who compete with their peers for appointments, wealth, prestige, etc. and, yet, belong to associations comprised of their peers who nevertheless co-operate in matters of mutual interest and concern. However, the healers' association differs from its modern counterpart in that it lacks any formal organization and hierarchy - there is no President of the Society nor office-bearers, and no membership fee is levied on members. Although healers and novices are required by convention to defer and show respect (ukuhlonipha) to one another when they meet for beer drinking and dancing, respect behaviour is not enforced but is simply an habituated or routine aspect of the social relations among healers just as etiquette prevails in the relations between professionals. Probably the severest sanction that can be invoked against the member of the modern professional body (i.e. of lawyers, doctors, social anthropologists, etc.) is expulsion from the association - a course of action that, in the pervasive opinion of diviners in town, precludes all future influence over the offender and thus is not highly rated as a response to the problems posed by recalcitrant members (see the foregoing section 2.6). Only diviners, herbalists and their novices are entitled to participate in the beer drinks and dances of the local fraternity of healers. However, according to traditionalist ideas concerning hospitality, healers are obliged to accept the presence of any authentic healer or novice, even if not formally invited to attend, at their gatherings: as long as the healers or novices in question introduce themselves and name their initiating healers in the formal speeches which are addressed to
the assembled company present on the occasion. These speeches, in effect, constitute rites of passage (cf. van Gennep 1960) by means of which new members are incorporated into the local fraternity of healers.

The gatherings of healers in town take the general form of the traditionalist beer drink and dance (*intlombe*). Traditional song and dance is crucial in the initiation of the novice and in the professional practise of the diviner. Novices sing and dance after ingesting *ubulawu* (see section 4.5) and this is a regular feature of the initiation period. Singing and dancing feature prominently in the rituals connected with the initiation of a novice (i.e. *intlwayelelo*, *intambo yosinga* and *goduswa* - see section 3.6) and in the beer drinks held from time to time by the local fraternity of diviners. When a client performs a ritual indicated as appropriate in the treatment of an illness the diviner handling the case is very often invited to dance at the client's home on the occasion the ritual is performed. Diviners attend these dances accompanied by their novices and frequently invite colleagues and their novices to attend as well in order to augment the number of dancers. The dancing of the novices and diviners usually takes place after the performance of the rites in question and so brings the occasion to a climactic conclusion. On these occasions, diviners dress up in their skin regalia and beads and carry their black rods, spears and hippo hide switches (see sections 3.6 and 4.6). Novices smear white clay on their bodies and wear white beads and white cloth aprons (*izikhaka*) and headdresses. The presence of the diviners and novices arrayed in full regalia lends an air of formality, charisma and prestige to these otherwise quite ordinary ritual occasions.

In a rural homestead, the dancing usually takes place in the main hut. In town, the lounge or any large room serves the same purpose. In both contexts, the men and women constituting the
audience are seated in the same way: i.e. men on the right and women on the left. Right and left orientations are usually determined from the back or entla portion of the hut or room and facing towards the doorway (cf. Table 1 on the next page).

The novices always start the dance. After a while, they are joined by the divinners who dance a few turns with them. Then the novices retire. The divinners continue the dance until they too retire and vacate the stage. This gives the ordinary men and women present on these occasions an opportunity to dance as well. The dancing always takes place to the accompaniment of communal singing and hand clapping.

The dance (ukuxhentsa) involves vigorous physical movements. The dancers stamp their feet down on the ground in unison: first the right and then the left foot and so on. This gives a sideways movement to the ambling gait of the dancers causing their bodies to sway from left to right and then from right to left and so on. The dancers move round anti-clockwise in a circle in the centre of the room where, in the rural or traditional hut, the hearth (iziko) is usually situated. As they dance, the flesh on their bodies shudders, gyrates and ripples giving their movements and gestures a wild and frenzied appearance. Soon the dancers become drenched in perspiration. At the ubulawu eating sessions, novices dance until they are physically exhausted and afterwards they have copious dreams concerning the ancestors, sacred animals and medicinal plants (see section 4.5).

Diviners point out that traditionally the diviner indulged in a bout of singing and dancing as a prelude to witch-finding (cf. Alberti 1807/1968 : 49) and divination (imvumisa) but this rarely occurs in the townships today. It still nevertheless occurs that a diviner or novice is inspired to divine spontaneously during the dance. When this happens the singing and dancing cease while
Table 1
the divination, referred to as the umhlahlo, takes place and the audience joins in the hand clapping and chanting "siya vuma (we agree)". When novices perform the umhlahlo, they are inclined merely to imitate its general form: i.e. the repetitive hand clapping and chanting between which statements are interjected and these are usually of a trivial nature. When a talented diviner, like Mandla or Nontando, performs the umhlahlo, pertinent statements are directed at specific people in the audience who frequently take up the matter later with the diviner in private.

The traditional song consists of the solo or leading part and the choral parts. The melody of the song is sung by the soloist (in this case a novice or diviner) and it is varied through extemporization and the addition of counter-melodies. Complex harmonies interweave the bass, baritone, tenor and soprano parts of the chorus. As Coplan (1985: 23) points out, the solo and choral parts have an antiphonal, leader-and-chorus relationship to each other. The choral and solo parts never start nor end simultaneously and frequently overlap producing polyphony.

Diviners and novices build up a repertoire of traditional songs among which they have their favourites. The lyrics of the songs are simple, comprising one or two lines at the most which are repeated several times during the course of the song. The chorus repeats parts of the lyrics or sounds are simply sung which have no linguistic meaning at all. The content of the lyrics refers to the ancestors, medicines, the umhlahlo divination and misfortune. Here are a few examples:

1. Mbambeni ngeyeza (keeping a person to oneself with medicine).
2. Mombeleleni iyeza, hayi, hayi, i-i-i (dig a medicine, no, no, i-i-i-
3. Vumani, batshayi bomhlahlo, siza buvuma (agree, let us finish up the umhlahlo divination, we are agreed).

4. Watshotsholoza, oho hayi, suk'udlala, thetha nam, ndaba zimbi ngam (to be pushed, oh no do not play, talk to me, the news is bad about me).

The rhythm accompaniment to the song and dance is provided by repetitive hand clapping called umyeyezelo. When diviners and novices dance on ritual occasions, the umyeyezelo is performed by the men and women in the audience. However, when novices dance at ubulawu eating sessions there is usually no audience in attendance and they must clap hands themselves as well as sing and dance. Even if a drum is used, the hand clapping is not dispensed with and it takes the tempo from the beat of the drummer. Before launching into song, diviners or novices will sing a few bars of the melody for the benefit of the company and, at the same time, indicate the appropriate tempo by clapping hands. If the tempo of the hand clapping is incorrectly executed, the diviner or novice will immediately stop the singing and repeat the instructions until the tempo is correct.

Whereas the singing and dancing allows for the expression and even catharsis of strongly felt emotions ranging from joy to grief, the hand clapping has an entirely hypnotic effect dilating time, focusing attention on a phantasmagoria of sensory stimuli and so transforming the occasion into an ecstatic, almost psychedelic, social experience. What connects the singing with the dancing, however, is the repetitive hand clapping.
The right and left hands are enantiomorphs but otherwise identical (Needham 1981:35). When the hands are struck repetitively, they produce a series of rhythmic sounds interlocking like links in a chain which, as it unfolds, turns back on itself in a loop or circle of sound. The hand clapping is the golden thread connecting the solo and choral parts of the song, the song as a whole to the dancing, and the divinatory performance to the wider body of ancestor cult ritual in which ubulawu, animal sacrifice, beer drinking, singing and dancing play a part (see section 3.6). Where boundaries overlap, Leach (1961, 1976 and 1982) points out, we enter the anomalous realm of ritual, 'betwixt and between' social categories and statuses, in which man and the spirits communicate and miraculous cure or disaster results. We will recall this point later when we turn to consider divination (imvumisa) in more detail in chapter five.

It may be both illuminating and insightful to list some of the diviners and herbalists who frequently attend these gatherings in town and then briefly to note the various connections between them. Some of these practitioners have already been described in the preceding pages. If we examine figure 3 (on the preceding page), we notice that Mandla (1) was first apprenticed to a local male diviner, Moni (c), and then, to John Mwaba (a) of Middledrift in Ciskei. Both Moni and John Mwaba were apprenticed to their biological fathers who were diviners. However, Moni had not completed the initiation as a diviner. Mandla's grandfather, Jamangile, was a diviner but his father, Tolo, had repudiated the profession and had become a convert to Christianity (see section 2.3). Nontando (2) was first apprenticed to John Mwaba's eldest son, Sweleba, who was circumcized and apprenticed together with Mandla (see section 2.3 and Appendix 2), and subsequently to Mandla. Nontando's father, Sijamankungwini (6), was apprenticed to a female diviner, the daughter of Kusitile, in Transkei (see section 2.3). However, he did not complete the initiation as a
diviner and subsequently became a herbalist of the medicine digging-stick (noluxana). Nkwinizayo (14) was apprenticed to his biological father, Njajula, a renowned Middledrift diviner and John Mwaba's mother's brother's son (umza), who, in turn, was apprenticed to his biological father who was also a diviner. Makhulu (7) was Mandla's father's mother's sister's daughter and he addressed her as grandmother (umakhulu). She was apprenticed to a female diviner, Nogesi, in Keiskammahoek. Makhulu had two female novices: Nomlambo (8) - a married Xhosa woman in her 40s who resided on a farm near Gorah Halt in Albany district - and Nomaphupha (9) - a Xhosa married woman in her 50s who resided on a farm near Kenton-on-Sea in the Alexandria district. Lahliwe (3), Nontsebezo (4) and Nombilini (5) - an unmarried Xhosa woman in her 30s with three children who resides on a farm near Trappes Valley in Albany district - were also apprenticed to Mandla. Lahliwe was subsequently apprenticed to a female diviner in Grahamstown. Nontando's long-standing apprentices are Nobulawu (13) and her husband Mzingisi (12) - Xhosa in his 40s with a standard 1 and employed by the Provincial Roads Department. Nkanishe (11) was apprenticed to Sirhunu (10), who was apprenticed to a male diviner residing near Alicedale. Nokoyika (16) was eventually apprenticed to a Xhosa male diviner residing near Peddie in Ciskei. Mnyangintlanga (15) - a Xhosa herbalist (ixhwele) in his 60s residing in New Town (Upper Tantyi) - was apprenticed to his parents who were diviners in Grahamstown. Chithigqwirha (17) comes from a long line of herbalists (amakhwele) - his father and paternal grandfather were herbalists - and he was training his son as a herbalist.

Before passing on to consider the various inter-connections that exist between these healers, it might be worthwhile to make a few general observations. Firstly, we note that the link with the parents, particularly the father-son relationship, is important in the transmission of the traditionalist Cape Nguni *ars medica.*
The herbalists evince this trend no less than the diviners (see fig. 3). This is obviously why, even today, in the rural areas one comes across ordinary laymen skilled at treating a particular ailment (e.g. pubic lice, iintwala zehagu). Clearly, during pre-colonial times, knowledge of herbal medicines and treatment was not the sole prerogative of diviners and herbalists, who undoubtedly were the experts and specialists in these matters (cf. Soga 1932), but it was also to some extent shared by the average tribesman and woman. This is, of course, by no means peculiar and we encounter much the same phenomenon in Western societies during the twentieth century. Secondly, where the parental linkage is absent for some reason (see Mandla in section 2.3) anyone else may serve as a proxy in the transmission process as long as, it seems, the individual in question is a fully initiated healer. It is, in fact, this latter possibility, which allows the novice to be trained by an unrelated healer (i.e. in kinship terms), that has been critical to the longevity of the diviner's professional role and its survival, and even proliferation, in the twentieth century. The fore-mentioned tendency, which is more generally in evidence among the diviners in town than it is among the herbalists (see fig. 3), also accounts for the numerical preponderance of diviners over against herbalists in town. Since in 1977 there were a total of 6 herbalists (amaxhwele and oonolugxana) operating in the townships of Grahamstown, diviners outnumbered herbalists in a ratio of at least 7:1. So, although kinship links are important, the links that extend outwards from them and connect non-kinsmen are equally, if not more, important (cf. Kuckertz 1990).

For all the fierce competition and rivalry that exists between diviners and between the latter and herbalists in the economic sphere, close friendships and reciprocal ties characterize their social relations. Healers borrow medicines and money from each other. They also share their knowledge and experience with each
other, and they even fall in love. Healers residing in small
backyard shacks use the more commodious premises of their
colleagues when holding divinatory consultations with their
clients. Diviners and herbalists also attend each other's
traditional rituals and beer drinks. Diviners invite each other
to dance (ukuxhentsa) at the homes of clients when ritual is
performed as therapy. They also spend a great deal of their
leisure time in each other's company chatting and drinking quarts
of lager beer. When a diviner holds a beer drink for a novice who
has completed the apprenticeship and is about to return home for
the final ceremony (goduswa), it is an occasion for the diviners
to attend with their novices and to dress up and dance in their
ceremonial regalia of skin hat and skirt. In fact, most diviners
and herbalists attend these local gatherings. Within the local
fraternity of diviners and herbalists, practitioners defer and
show respect to one another. No one healer has authority over
another, but they enjoin each other in the speeches made at their
gatherings to follow the principles imparted to them by their
teachers and to respect (ukuhlonipha) the shades. Even these
close ties do not prevent a diviner from criticizing a colleague
when it is considered appropriate. This is usually a private,
rather than a public, affair. When Mandla was drinking far too
much Nontando would upbraid him in no uncertain terms; and when
Nontando's romantic adventures got out of hand, Mandla would
advise her to be cautious and to consider her reputation. The
critical light in which healers regard the actions of their
colleagues is an important aspect of the therapeutic community
in which the diviner lives and works. Clients tend to become
sycophants round the successful diviner. They hang on to the
healer's every word and in their eyes, the healer can do no
wrong. When the diviner becomes swollen headed and vain,
colleagues restore the balance once more with a jest, sarcasm or
biting criticism. Diviners accept the praise and blame of their
colleagues in good spirit: it is all part of the humility learned
as novices at the feet of their instructing diviners. Diviners and novices revere and respect their instructors throughout their professional careers: it is a close and intimate relationship eventually severed only by death itself. Even so, the relationship with the instructing diviner lives on in the diviner's relationships with novices and, in turn, eventually extends to their relationships with their own novices. Throughout the training of novices, diviners relate anecdotes of how they were trained by their instructing diviners and in this way, the novices come to know the latter intimately, as if they were associated with one another in real life. In many cases, the social ties and relations between diviners (and between them and their novices) are on a par with those between kinsmen, if not more intimate and friendly. Unlike kinsmen, however, diviners (and novices) are unlikely to take offence or fall out with one another. This seems to be just another way of restating the old adage: people can choose their friends and colleagues but not their relatives.
CHAPTER THREE

UKUTHWASA : THE PROCESS OF BECOMING A DIVINER

3.1 The Xhosa terms 'ukuthwasa' and 'intwaso' and a few related considerations

The Xhosa noun intwaso is derived from the intransitive verb ukuthwasa which means to come out, become visible, appear gradually, emerge, start, commence or change into (cf. The Kaffrarian Watchman 7th October 1874, Kropf and Godfrey 1915:438, Doke and Vilakazi 1953:812 and McLaren 1975:171). For example, the Xhosa phrase ukuthwasa kwenyanga refers to the coming out or appearance of the new moon. Ukuthwasa kwehlobo refers to the appearance or emergence of summer that takes place in spring and is associated with characteristic signs in nature. The verb ukuthwasa refers to the process of becoming a diviner and the noun intwaso to the state or condition of the person undergoing the process. Both the process and the state are associated with characteristic signs (iimphawu, imihlola, izimbo): e.g. dreams, visions and psychic experience in general; various aches, pains, anxiety and madness; leaving the homestead to subsist off wild roots and berries in the bush; and spontaneous immersion in a river pool. What could these signs possibly signify? We will return to consider this question. However, one thing is clear from the outset, we are not necessarily dealing with an illness or disease as defined in Western medical science.

Ukuthwasa kwomntu is to become a person - i.e. attain social maturity - as in the case of a male youth (kwedini) who, following circumcision (ukwaluka), becomes a young man (umfana). The transition from youth to manhood involves a gradual process which, like the passage from new to full moon, is accomplished in distinct phases; and each phase is associated with appropriate rites, dress and behaviour. Following the circumcision operation,
the youths are set apart from the community and secluded in the bush in roughly built huts. The youths are now initiates (abakhwetha) in the liminal phase 'betwixt and between' statuses (cf. Turner 1969). They wear white clay (ifutha) on their bodies and abstain (ukuzila) from meat, milk, liquor and sexual intercourse so as to avoid ritual impurity or pollution (umlaza) which is believed to have a deleterious effect on healing wounds (see section 4.7). The same avoidances of meat, drink and sexual intercourse apply to people after the death of a kinsman and the verb ukuzila literally means to mourn. Thus the liminal phase has close associations with death (ukufa) and men sometimes spontaneously refer to it by saying "when I was dead (xandifile)" (cf. also Lewis 1971:190). The liminal phase comes to a close when the initiates wash the white clay off their bodies in a stream or pool. The huts and old blankets are subsequently burnt. Wearing new blankets, the initiates are ritually incorporated back into the community as amarwala (i.e. nearly ripened fruit). Thereafter, they put on khakhhi clothes (consisting of cap, shirt, jacket and trousers) and red clay (imbola) and, henceforth, are known as young men (abafana).

Ukuthwasa kwegqirha is to become a diviner. There are a number of interesting parallels between adolescent initiation rites and the process of becoming a diviner. Like circumcision initiates (abakhwetha) and the female initiate (umkhwetha) undergoing puberty rites (intonjane), the candidate diviner (umkhwetha) lives set apart from the community and the ordinary routine of daily life; is subject to the same ukuzila avoidances (i.e. from meat, milk, liquor and sexual intercourse) for the same reasons relating to ritual impurity (umlaza); and wears white clay (ifutha) - white being a colour closely associated with the liminal state and symbolic of purity (cf. Ngubane 1977). Initiation always involves some sort of ordeal; in the case of male initiates it involves the surgical removal of the prepuce;
and in the case of females simply jumping over a fire made in an isolated spot in the bush. Thus the candidate diviner is afflicted with a condition called intwaso which is characterized by a 'trouble' (inquathazo) involving various aches and pains (amahlaba, ubuhlungu), anxiety (umbilini), madness (ukuphambana, ukugeza), spells of fainting (ukuxozula), "river sickness" (umlambo) - which, as was saw in chapter two, can include anything from barrenness and impotency to skin rash and swollen joints - dreams (amathonga, amaphupha), visions (imibono) and the development of healing powers (ubuggirha) all of which are closely connected with the ancestors (iminyanya), the deceased senior males of the agnatic group (see section 4.3), whether as cause or effect. The ancestors are malevolent and afflict candidate diviners with intwaso. The ancestors do so because their descendants fail to respond to the vocational call, emanating from the ancestors, to become healers, and thus neglect to perform the appropriate herbal treatments (e.g. ukukhupha iintlanga) and traditional rituals (e.g. intlwayelelo, intambo yosinga and goduswa - see section 3.6 below) concomitant with induction into the profession of diviner. With the performance of the appropriate rituals, the effect is for the ancestors to mitigate suffering, which they were instrumental in causing in the first place, and they bestow visionary dreams of a presentient nature and special healing powers on the emergent diviners. Like circumcision, then, initiation as a diviner also involves the symbolism of death and rebirth (see section 3.6). The terms ukuthwasa and intwaso are thus metaphoric of a transformation that takes place gradually in the person who suffers an ordeal or trauma and subsequently becomes a diviner, a transformation linked to a religious calling, involving the beliefs and rites of traditionalist Cape Nguni religion, and equivalent to undergoing a process of socialization and education. This would seem to imply what Jung described as "the process of individuation" by means of which the person develops
a conception of self or personhood during the maturational process (cf. von Franz 1964:160ff.). This is not as far-fetched as it seems.

Historically, among the Cape Nguni, the transition from adolescence to adulthood was marked by formal initiation rites: circumcision (ukwaluka) for males and puberty rites (intonjane) for females. Circumcision rites are held annually in the townships during the December-January period and are still considered intrinsic to the socialization of male youths. In Grahamstown the seclusion huts (iibhuma) of the circumcision initiates (abakhwetha) are erected on a strip of vacant commonage situated behind Joza and near the old road to King William's Town. Female puberty rites were concomitant with the onset of menstruation but are not generally performed in the townships today, except in the case of a female novice diviner or a barren married woman. Among the Cape Nguni, female puberty rites, unlike circumcision, involved no genital operation. Why female puberty rites have generally fallen into abeyance in town and the rural areas while circumcision continues unabated in both these contexts, albeit in an attenuated form, is a question that has received scant attention from scholars. However, the fact that female puberty rites have fallen into general disuse while circumcision continues unabated explains why more females than males - particularly among diviners - require rituals of initiation as therapy for affliction caused by their neglect of the ancestors. Since diviners in the townships maintain that initiation as a healer is merely an extension of the formal socialization process which starts with circumcision or female puberty rites, the initiation of a healer - whether diviner or herbalist - can be completed only after the candidate has undergone circumcision or female puberty rites. Thus social maturity is a conditio sine qua non of becoming a diviner (or herbalist). The reason for this is that the healer becomes
responsible for parenting clients and colleagues (as we have already seen in sections 2.7 and 2.8) and therefore she or he must personally undergo the socialization process so as to be able to effectively socialize others.

Leaving the homestead to subsist in the bush and spontaneous immersion in a river pool are signs signifying an imminent change in status connected with the candidate's gradual incorporation into the new role of healer. As previously noted, during the liminal phase, the circumcision initiates are secluded in the bush set apart from the ordinary community. Before the initiates leave the bush and are incorporated back into social life in the new status of young men (abafana), they wash the white clay off their bodies in a river or pool. Significantly, "to be called under the river by the ancestral spirits (ukuthwetyulwa)" is a widely used metaphor, which diviners have elaborated into a 'mythical charter' (see the 'river' myth in chapter 5), for the process of becoming a diviner. In the case of the candidate diviner, it is a new role and status associated with special psychic skills and healing talents which are symbolized by the ceremonial regalia of hat and skirt made from wild animal skins and worn by the practitioner when dancing at the homes of clients (see section 4.6).

The precipitating problem, trauma or affliction - which gives rise to intwaso - sets in motion a complex series of events including, among others, consulting a diviner, being apprenticed to a practising diviner for a period (varying between 2 and 16 years in town) and undergoing various rites of passage concomitant with entry into the profession. The performance of these prescribed traditional rituals - pertaining to the domestic, agnatic and local cult of the ancestors (iminyanya) of which the novice diviner is a member - is the prerogative of the household head or his proxy (see section 3.6). During the
apprenticeship, the novice attends a number of the practitioner's cases and receives on the spot instruction in the methods of treatment appropriate to the presented afflictions and which involve various protective medicines (imichiza) and traditional rituals. By means of this elaborate process of induction as a diviner involving instruction and ritual, the novice not only manages her or his problems but eventually becomes a diviner, assisting others with their problems more or less in the capacity of an adept or professional who - as we saw in the preceding chapter - charges clients fees for consultation (imvumisa) and treatment (impatho). The genesis of the person's career as a diviner is linked to a personal problem or affliction, which initiation as a diviner transforms into a strategy for dealing with the problems and afflictions of others. Western psychiatry and psycho-therapy also involve processes in which the client is parented by a professional outsider in return for a cash fee. Psychoanalysis in particular requires initiands to go through the same therapeutic process as that through which they will conduct their own patients in due course - the insights they gain into themselves and the psychoanalytic process itself are seen as essential prerequisites for professional qualification and practice. Lewis (1986:6-7) considers the close parallels between the psychoanalytic and anthropological professions and spirit possession or shamanism.

Like shamans, anthropologists go on trips to distant and mysterious worlds from which they bring back rich stores of exotic wisdom. They mediate between their own group and the unknown. They speak "with tongues" that are often unintelligible at home, and they act as mediums for the alien cultures through which they roam and which, in a sense, they come to incarnate. Like so many
shamans or psychiatrists, they regularly occupy marginal positions in their own cultures as well as in those they visit in search of knowledge.

Again, as was Malinowski, anthropologists are typically summoned suddenly and dramatically from other occupations and impelled to assume their true and final calling. Malinowski's whole system of graduate anthropological training was based on the shamanistic assumption that all his students were converts, inspired by Providence to enter into their true destiny. And this method was transferred lock, stock and barrel to Oxford, where it was administered first by Radcliffe-Brown and then by Evans-Pritchard.

... In internalizing the culture of the alien hosts (as their client) the anthropologist becomes possessed by them. True, in common with shamans the world over, the anthropologist may dissemble and claim that he "possesses them," speaking suspiciously often of "his people." But do not be deceived. The real situation is that they possess him. .... Finally, as the anthropologist proceeds to analyze and write up his findings, he externalizes his experience and gradually disengages himself from his informants. He reestablishes the original distance separating the two cultures. This process is a form of
exorcism. And, as one would expect, as in shamanistic cults, the anthropologist rarely achieves a final and complete separation from his Muse. He instead remains in a permanent state of bondage, periodically seized and impelled to further bouts of exorcistic writing.

Since the maturational and generative processes are evinced in man and nature as effects arising from unseen causes, it is perhaps understandable that the ancestors—being invisible spirits (see below and chapter 4)—are implicated in the causation of intwaso. We can speculate that the homology between the ancestors and the unseen forces affecting man and nature arose historically, both as an explanation for the unknown (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1975b) and a legitimation for male control of the ritual apparatus (cf. Cohen 1974a). However, as the ultimate cause affecting man and nature, the ancestors have lost much of their syntagmatic force as a disease causing entity during the historical period that has intervened up to the present particularly as a result of modern scientific theories of causation and the aetiology of disease disseminated through modern medical services (like clinic and hospital), education, the media and social contacts in daily life. As we have already seen in section 2.7, intwaso does not respond to Western medical treatment in the same way as a disorder with a discernible physiological substratum (e.g. diabetes, high blood pressure or T.B.). This leads one to suspect that psycho-social factors lie at the root of intwaso. Religious concepts, such as God and the ancestors, are a very old and time-honoured means of referring to what takes place on the psychological level in the minds of men; and their use pre-dates the development of modern psychiatry and psychology (cf. Lewis 1971: 192, 205). The eurocentrism of the latter has largely hampered their therapeutic utility and
efficacy in cross-cultural contexts, with the result that the ancestors are still considered to play a prominent role in the causation of *intwaso*. However, in the process of social and cultural change, the diviner's theory of disease has been transformed into a theory of dis-ease: i.e. a general state of psychosomatic discomfort or dis-ease - characterized by various aches, pains and anxiety - brought about by neglect of the ancestors and failure to perform traditional rituals (*amasiko*). Thus, the ancestors retain their paradigmatic significance as a symbol that transcends individual proclivities and serves as a focus for promoting the social solidarity of the group through ritual activity. Today, even among diviners (as we have seen in section 2.4), the belief in God (*uQamatha, uDali, uThixo*) is widespread. Although God created the world along with man and everything else in nature, the ancestors are His messengers (*izithunywa*) or servitors who mediate on His behalf with the living (see chapter 4). Thus, ironically, the power (*amandla*) of the ancestors still holds sway in the microcosm and the affairs of men even in the face of unprecedented social and cultural change. The blend of God and the ancestors is also encountered in the theology of the Zionist movement and the African independent churches in town.

The foregoing point concerning the transformation of the diviner's theory of disease into a theory of dis-ease links up with the point made earlier (see section 2.7) concerning the transformation in the diviner's role from 'witch-doctor' to 'which-doctor'. The question remains, however, how the diviner distinguishes between illness as disease, i.e. the Western medical concept, and illness as dis-ease, i.e. the Xhosa psychosomatic concept?

The conception of illness as a disease bearing entity is the preoccupation and hallmark of Western medical science. In terms
of the medical model, the symptoms of an illness are signs indicative of organic dysfunction. So, for example, a persistent stomach-ache indicates a rupture in the stomach lining and the development of a peptic ulcer. However, if the stomach-ache turns out to be nothing more than a "guts ache" with no discernible physiological substratum, it ceases to be a problem of direct medical concern (although it may require the attention of a psychiatrist or psychologist). Indeed, people sometimes say that "so and so gives me a guts ache". Here the stomach-ache is symbolic of an interpersonal relationship. On the one hand, an illness constitutes a set of signs indicating perceptible changes in physiological functioning and, on the other, it symbolizes the quality and state of significant interpersonal relationships. Thus, illness has both metonymical and metaphorical aspects. However, these are not mutually exclusive. The psychosomatic disorders are a case in point, for these evince symptoms of physiological dysfunction which are related aetiologically to psycho-social factors. It is well-known that a persistent "guts ache" can eventually turn itself into a peptic ulcer. The psychological disorders are sometimes also complicated by symptoms of a physical kind which turn out to be nothing more than symbols masquerading as signs since no dysfunction is detectable at the organic level. This is well illustrated in the case of psychogenic blindness, for example, where the optic nerve is undamaged yet the patient is unable to see. It is my opinion, which I hope to substantiate here, that the symptoms of intwaso are predominantly symbolic and refer to disordered social relations rather than to disease in the strictly medical sense. The implication is not only that the diviner is a specialist in social relations (cf. Kiernan 1978:1072) who doctors 'symbolic' ills located in interpersonal relationships; but also that the diviner becomes a specialist in social relations as a result of suffering problems in interpersonal relationships. The liminality of the adolescent initiate or the candidate diviner,
who (as we have seen above) is set apart from ordinary social life in the care of the ancestors, is symbolized by the wearing of white clay (ifutha). The 'wounded' candidate diviner can seek sanctuary from unmanageable interpersonal relations by adopting the liminal position of the initiate (umkhwetha): i.e. in the care of the ancestors. However, following Eliade (1964), Lewis (1971:189) points out that spirit possession is not to be understood in terms of individual psychopathology, but as a culturally defined initiation ritual. There is no valid reason to suppose, therefore, that intwaso is primarily a mental or psychological disorder and actual cases may be complicated by psychosomatic and somatopsychic disorders. In any case, Cape Nguni diviners and herbalists - though well versed in the social causation of disease - draw no distinction between organic and functional disorders. One may well ask, then, how the diviner distinguishes between the illness as sign and the illness as symbol? The fact is that the diviner is not solely responsible for making the distinction. This is more a function of the diviner operating as the unofficial complement of the medical profession than it is of the diviner, qua medical doctor, operating in isolation. In the ordinary course of events in town and on the farms, clients have recourse to medical doctors and diviners, among others. In the process of moving between healers (see section 2.7), the tendency is for the medical doctors to treat the metonymical or medical aspects of the disorder and the diviners its metaphorical aspects. Thus, the efficacy of indigenous healing reaches its apogee as the complement of, rather than the alternative to, Western medicine (cf. Lambo 1964).

A view worth considering here is that 'symbolic' ills, like intwaso, constitute a strategy whereby the sufferer manipulates significant interpersonal relations in the social network. In other words, suffering intwaso is commensurate to a move in a
strategic game (cf. Barth 1970 and Bailey 1970) or a political
manoeuver (cf. Boissevain 1974) which effects, among a host of
possible secondary gains, transformations in social relations
assumption here is that man, although constrained and manipulated
by his environment, also manipulates the environment to suit his
own interests (Boissevain 1974:27). So, it seems, "people
everywhere are thus engaged in politics" (Boissevain 1974:232)
including, in some cases, clients of the diviner (or herbalist)
- and possibly even medical and psychiatric patients - not to
mention the psychologist's clients. Although Barth (1970:4)
develops the strategic model in relation to the problem of
catching shoals of herring off the coast of Norway, the focus
here is on the problem or affliction as part of the diviner's
strategy for netting "fishers of men" in the townships of
Grahamstown. Diviners have a deep and intuitive insight into the
concerns and problems of their clients (see section 5.4 on
divination). Precisely how the problems and afflictions of people
who become diviners differ from those of their clients, if indeed
they differ at all, is hardly clear. Are we merely to assume that
the problems of diviners and clients differ in degree rather than
kind? In this chapter, we consider the problems and afflictions
of people who become diviners.

remains to be examined here, is that possession is an adaptive
response to deprived socio-economic circumstances by means of
which marginal and underprivileged men and women enhance their
social status and prestige. The term possession "... embraces
within a single frame of reference such well-established figures
as the Holy Ghost and 'Katie King', the controversial
materialization produced by the famous English medium Florence
Cook", as well as "... other spectacular features as dervish
dancing, fire-walking, sword-eating and transvestitism - to say
nothing of such techniques as 'automatic writing'" and "... the familiars of a host of less well-known and anonymous shamans..." (Lewis 1966:307-8). Lewis (1971:203-4) points out that general instability provides the fertile soil in which possession flourishes. "... The circumstances surrounding the rise of new inspirational religions, from messianic eruptions in medieval Europe to Cargo Cults in Oceania, point to the crucial significance of factors of acute social disruption and dislocation" (Lewis 1971:175). In Africa, according to Lewis (1971:175), the significant pressures arise less from the physical environment than from the external social and political circumstances. The overall instability in socio-economic circumstances provides the necessary, if not always sufficient, condition for the existence of the possession response (cf. Lewis 1971:203). Possession is a response to a high threshold of adversity (Lewis 1971:204-5) and secondary gains in terms of social advantage are extremely important (Lewis 1971:195). The catchment area of possession is so circumscribed, Lewis (1971:190-1) points out, that those who occupy marginal social positions are strongly at risk.

Illness and misfortune are always liable to be interpreted as spirit possession, and this readily leads to induction into the healing cult .... The extent to which different individuals of subordinate status are actively involved will depend upon their particular life circumstances, and especially upon the magnitude and severity of the stresses to which they are subject. The happily married wife who is content with her lot is much less likely to resort to possession than her harassed sister whose married life is fraught with difficulty.
Equally stressful are the life circumstances of the unemployed, the poor and the destitute in town as indeed are those of the broad mass of politically subordinate black workers and domestic servants earning low wages in the local white-dominated economy and on the farms. In post-colonial apartheid South Africa the inferior socio-economic and subordinate political status of blacks relative to whites is a pervasive factor, both in Grahamstown and elsewhere. By virtue of the socio-economic circumstances prevailing in Grahamstown, it is to be expected that the problems relating to inferiority and dependence are not only widespread but acute, if not chronic, in the townships. As Nadel (1946) suggests, possession is an attempt to enrich the spiritual armoury of a community beset by rapid and inexplicable social change (cf. Lewis 1971:203-4).

Ultimately, ... we have to acknowledge that ... spirits are at least hypotheses which, for those who believe in them, afford a philosophy of final causes and a theory of social tensions and power relationships (Lewis 1971:205).

Possession is the oblique protest of the dispossessed directed against other more fortunate members of society (Lewis 1971:203). Possession cults thrive in socio-economic circumstances of deprivation and frustration (cf. Lewis 1971,1986).

Two related considerations are important here. Firstly, in town, becoming a diviner is but one of a number of alternatives available to aspiring people in quest of status and prestige. Becoming a Zionist prophet, a lay preacher, a political activist, an entrepreneur, an entertainer or even a member of the emerging township elite (cf. Nyquist 1983) can serve equally to promote the ends of status and prestige, perhaps even more effectively.
than becoming a diviner (or herbalist). However, the wealth and status of the person who becomes a diviner is not magically transformed overnight. Status is linked to the diviner's reputation as a healer which, along with a following of clients, takes time to develop. As we saw in the preceding chapter, wealth can be even more elusive than status and prestige. However, wealth and status are not the only secondary gains derived by people who become diviners. Among others, these would include: the remission of troubling symptoms, the support of the domestic group and the wider agnatic group, and the termination of formal employment in the white-dominated economy. Secondly, far from being a conscious or ad hoc career choice, becoming a diviner develops post hoc in the process of being treated for an affliction. The novice gradually becomes a diviner by incorporating the role model provided by the instructing diviner. Lewis (1971:191-2) points out that the 'wounded healer' is a cultural stereotype, a professional qualification, which establishes the healer's warrant to minister to his people's needs as one who knows how to control disorder. The greater the trauma which is mastered, the greater the authority and power of the new healer. The healer endures the experience of elemental power, and emerges strengthened and empowered to help others who suffer affliction. There is also evidence to suggest that intwaso is a response acquired during maturation by example and hearsay from significant people in the social network: i.e. a parent, sibling or relative who was or is a diviner (see section 3.3). Once again, this points to the critical importance of socialization and learning in the aetiology of intwaso and the process of becoming a diviner (ukuthwasa): i.e. in recognizing the symptoms and fulfilling expectations.

3.2 The prevalence and incidence of 'intwaso'
Intwaso is generally more prevalent among women than men in a ratio of at least 2:1 (see section 2.2). Intwaso is prevalent in
both the townships of Grahamstown and the rural areas of Albany district. The actual incidence of the condition in the urban and rural areas is difficult to estimate for a number of different reasons. For a start, accurate population statistics are difficult to obtain. Wilsworth (1980:12) estimates the population of the townships in excess of 33,000 in 1975. In 1977, there were some 44 diviners (F=30, M=14) and 38 novices (F=28, M=10) in the townships of Grahamstown. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that 81.82% (N=36) of diviners operating in town were born and raised in the rural areas (see section 2.4). Wilsworth (1980:8) estimates the rural population of Albany district between 20,000 and 25,000 in 1975. Although the townships of Grahamstown represent a node of concentration for diviners and novices from the rural areas - and, as already pointed out (see section 2.4), there are economic, legal and administrative reasons which account for this - accurate statistics for diviners and novices in the rural areas of Albany district and the adjoining Ciskei are unfortunately lacking. Even if, for the sake of argument, the total number of diviners and novices in the rural areas of Albany district is estimated to be three times the total number of diviners and novices in town (i.e. N=82) - a situation I greatly doubt, it would appear that intwaso affects approximately 0.57% of the total urban and rural population (i.e. approximately 328 cases in a population of about 58,000) or about 1 case per 177 people. The incidence of intwaso would thus appear to be slight particularly when compared to the high incidence of hypertension (estimated at 25% among urban Zulu - cf. Seedat 1982:281), alcoholism (estimated at about 10% of the general population - cf. Daynes and Msengi 1982:1), pulmonary tuberculosis (which, according to Houghton (1982:129), is "comparable to the wave of 'galloping consumption' which swept through Europe during the last century"), diabetes mellitus (estimated at 4% among urban blacks over the age of 10 - cf. Bonnici 1982:408), sexually transmitted disorders (for which 2%
of the total black population of Durban are treated annually—cf. Becker and Daynes 1982:505) and malnutrition (cf. Lamont 1982:348). A far more serious complication is that, quite apart from the diviners (and herbalists), the Zionist movement and the African independent churches—both in town and the rural areas—also interpret and treat psycho-social disorders in religious, albeit neo-Christian, terms and recruit their leaders and members from the walking 'wounded' and the healed "sick" (see section 2.1). Diviners and herbalists, as I have already pointed out (see section 2.1), sometimes join the independent churches as prayer-women (abathandazeli) and prophets (amaprofeti). There also appears to be a numerical preponderance of females in the leadership and the congregations of the independent churches as well as in the congregations of the established churches in town (see section 2.1). So, even if the total number of diviners and novices in the townships (i.e. N=82) could be taken to represent a rough indication of the actual incidence of psycho-social disorders in an urban community with a population of about 33,000 (i.e. 0.25% or 1:402), it would appear to represent, at best, the tip of the iceberg of the actual incidence of psycho-social problems in the community once the healing in the independent church movement is taken into account. It thus seems reasonable to speculate that intwaso is a predominantly rural and traditionalist response to problems and disorders of a psycho-social nature. Although intwaso occurs in town (i.e. N=8 diviners—see section 2.4), it would appear to do so to a much lesser extent than in the rural areas (i.e. N=36 diviners—see section 2.4). In town, the psycho-social disorders are increasingly interpreted and treated within the neo-Christian framework of the Zionist and the African independent churches. This is a consequence of sociocultural change brought about by, among other factors, the spread of Christianity, urbanization and education. Although the independent church movement extends into the rural areas as well, their membership is larger and their organization
more stable in town. However, much of this is mere speculation which needs to be substantiated empirically.

3.3 The psychic sensitivity of the candidate diviner
According to the parents and relatives of diviners and novices, a rather extraordinary psychic sensitivity - which later becomes the stock-in-trade of the professional diviner - manifests itself in the prospective candidate right from childhood and is usually associated with the individual's uncanny susceptibility to dreams.

Sijamankungwini: We would take notice of a child who is thwasa even when she is asleep. Nontando would sigh in her sleep. We would sleep on grass-mats on the floor. Nontando would leave the blankets and she would be heard crying in a distant place in the house. She has been taken by her ancestors.

When Nontando was very young, she would dream a lot. On one occasion I remember, she had a dream in which she saw an old man walking with a stick. The following morning she told me the dream and described the person. She did not know who he was. I recognized him and said: "That was your grandfather."
(See Appendix 2.1 for the Xhosa text.)

Diviners and novices characteristically begin the accounts of their life histories with reference to their sensitivity to dreams (amathonga, amaphupha).
Sijamankungwini: My whole family has thwasa. My father, Ngene, also had thwasa. He used medicines (imithi) to try and stop it, but it was not removed from his blood (igazi). Even the young daughter of my daughter, Yoliswa (cf. fig. 1 no. 9), has thwasa in a strong way. She sighs (ukuzamla) in her sleep. The same thing with me. When I was still living with my mother, I used to go to sleep before her. One night, I heard a person calling (ukubiza) me [by name]: "Pitilli, Pitilli." I got up and went to my mother to see why she was calling me. My mother said, "I did not call you." And she wondered what it could be.

Mandla: My mother and father told me that I used to like to dream [when I was a boy]. I would tell [my parents these] things (i.e. the dreams) and I would be laughed at. My father would ask my mother, "What kind of child is this, Nofayile?"

Now, I was still a pupil at school [and] I did not know myself. When I rose [in the morning], I would explain these things (i.e. the dreams) [and] for this I would be laughed at.

"How will this child be, Nofayile?" [my father would ask my mother.]

Every night I would dream [but] I did not know the reason for my dreaming and I would tell this [dream] to [my parents], for I did not know [how] to interpret its meaning.

(See Appendix 2.2 for the Xhosa text.)
The rather stereotyped content of these dreams is described and analysed in more detail in chapter four. For the moment, it is interesting to note that ukuthwasa – the process of becoming a diviner of which dreams are characteristically an indicative sign – tends to run in particular families – like a river, one is tempted to add – from one generation to the next. Before we jump to the inevitable conclusion that heredity, an essentially genetic process, is involved – after all, Jung’s conception of the archetype is genetic – we note, above all, that because the child does not know how to translate the meaning of the dream, as Mandla so eloquently puts it above, the dream provides the parent with an occasion for socializing the child, as Sijamankungwini points out in the previous excerpt dealing with Nontando. In this way, the parent introduces the child to the concept of the ancestors. An unexpected consequence of this practice is that the child becomes introspective and solitary.

Sijamankungwini: Nontando would like to be by herself as if she was not happy in the company of others. It would look as if her mind was occupied with something. We would give the child a lot of food but she would grow thin.

Nontando: I used to be very much loved at home; even now I am still loved. I was a very quiet person among my age-mates. Whenever we talked about something I was an eloquent speaker. There were times I would want to be alone. I would be disgusted by their talking. When they talked I would feel disgusted. I would become tired of talking; I would want to be alone.

(See Appendix 2.3 and 2.4 for the original
The tendency for the candidate to become a quiet, introspective and solitary person is not necessarily to be confused with what psychologists sometimes describe as the introverted personality since extroverted personalities, such as Mandla (see section 2.3), sometimes evince the same characteristics in certain situations (as we see more fully in Mandla’s case later on).

Nontando: I did not want anyone touching me, for I was very quiet. Let me say, when I speak, that I liked to fight. I was quick-tempered and I did not want anyone to say anything uncouth. I did not fight with my sisters nor the people of the home. I used to fight with others. We [girls] used to pick prickly pears [on the banks of the Tyelerha River in Alexandria district]. When we were finished picking prickly pears, we would wash our bodies in the river taking off the thorns. We would eat and be sated. That is where the fight is, for we would never stop fighting. I did not like a person who was uncouth or silly. I say, even when doing things in play that are insulting, I would be quiet and understand that I do not like the way they play: they play badly together with insults. You see, when someone insults me, then I say I do not like to be insulted.

(See Appendix 2.5 for the Xhosa text.)

As we have already seen, for example (see section 2.4), in connection with the socio-economic background of Nontando and Mandla, the candidate diviner grows up in a large family that lives, at best, on or below the bread-line in social and cultural
circumstances which, although not uncommon among the politically
disenfranchised and subordinate mass of Cape Nguni living in the
townships of Grahamstown and on the farms in Albany district, are
certainly marginal to the mainstream of the dominant Western
sociocultural model. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the
candidate grows up uncared for or unloved. In fact, just the
opposite, for parents bestow a great deal of care—perhaps, even
more so than is usual—on the child who, in most respects, is
like any other healthy active child except as regards her or his
extraordinary psychic sensitivity, a quality linked to dreaming
(and, later on, to the divinatory art—see section 5.4) as well
as being a personal characteristic to which the candidate diviner
gives social expression by wanting to be alone.

Sometimes the child gives expression to the future career choice
in play.

Sijamankungwini: My wife and I used to see
the acts of the children. Maybe the children
are playing and Nontando would pretend that
she is a diviner doing divination. Either my
wife or I would close an eye with a hand and
go to her and ask: "What is wrong with my
eye?"
Nontando would say: "No, there is nothing
wrong with your eye."
(See Appendix 2.6 for the Xhosa text.)

Nontanda's father's sister (udade 'bawo) was a diviner in Tantyi.
She was fond of Nontando who sometimes stayed over with her and
this is where Nontando first observed a diviner performing
divination which she so faithfully translated into play as a
child.
Nontando: My father's sister was a diviner and she had thwasa'd at the river (umlambo). I used to help her round the house and run errands for her going to the shop and taking medicines (amayeza) to people [i.e. clients]. She used to tell me that one day I would be a diviner of the river (igqirha lasemlanjeni).

Both Mandla and Makhulu, for example, had deceased paternal relatives who were diviners. In Mandla's case, it was his paternal grandfather, Jamangile, and in Makhulu's case her father's sister (udade 'bawo). Although they never knew these relatives personally, they heard a great deal about them from their parents and members of the family in the course of growing up. For all Mandla's father's conversion to Christianity, he remained extremely proud of his father - notwithstanding the fact that he was a diviner - and he related many anecdotes and stories about him to the young and impressionable Mandla. This brings us full-cycle back to the crucial role played by socialization and learning in the ukuthwasa process.

3.4 'Umbilini' and some other signs and symptoms of 'intwaso'
Having briefly discussed dreams which constitute one of the characteristic distinguishing signs (iimphawu, imihlola, izimbo) of intwaso, it now remains to describe some of the other important signs and symptoms associated with the condition before passing on to consider them in their related interpersonal contexts in the following section.

The noun umbilini literally refers to the inside as a cavity (cf. Kropf and Godfrey 1915:36). The noun imbilini refers to that which is inside the mind mentally - e.g. the inmost thoughts - and the noun (pl.) izibilini refers to the viscera or entrails.
of a person or beast (cf. Kropf and Godfrey 1915:36). As observed in the field, the person with **umbilini** is in an extremely anxious state, unable to talk, sometimes tearful and distraught, generally afraid of people including intimates in the family circle, and has to be physically restrained from running away. The person does not want to eat or drink, avoids people and social intercourse, and wants only to be alone. On numerous occasions, when attending sacrifice in the byre - whether in the townships of Grahamstown, on the farms in Albany district or in the rural areas of Ciskei - it has been pointed out to me how the entrails of the slaughtered goat or beast continue to tremble and shudder (**ukuhlasimla**) long after the animal has been skinned. Indeed, as we see in more detail when we turn to consider ritual below, there is a close identity between the candidate diviner, the sacrificial victim slaughtered in the byre and the shades. Nontando offers a detailed account of **umbilini** in the following excerpt.

**Nontando:** **Umbilini** is the painful beating of your heart. When it does that there will be something that says get up and go. After this there will be something that says cry. Sometimes it seems as if there is something tearing. You feel, here on the lower part of the breast bone, as if there is a part that is shaking. There will be shaking on this side. Here, on this side, it starts from the heart, you understand, because, alas, [one feels it]!

When you look at the person, you find that her (or his) whole body is shaking. The whole body shakes. When you look at that person, you find that her (or his) eyes are
red. At that time, she (or he) does not want to say anything: [she or he will] be still, still, still. Sometimes, when she opens her mouth, she becomes angry. She does not want to talk to anyone. That, then, is umbilini.

During the day and at night, when umbilini has come, I would not want to talk. Having umbilini at that time, I would become tired of them making a noise (i.e. people talking). I would want to be alone. Now I would listen to the umbilini: it would beat so that my whole body would shake. Now I did not want to speak. I did not want anything making a noise in my ears. [As soon as the sound of talking] arose, my body would become weak. When umbilini has gone down I feel as though I have been made right. It comes here to the eyes as if I am about to see something or think of it. I think that there is something I am about to see. Now, at that time, I am being held by umbilini. When I have come back (i.e. following an attack of umbilini), I eat well. Then I am contented.

Then, sometimes, when umbilini has already got one, one looks as if one is a person who has been frightened by something. But, then, this umbilini is different [because] one has been frightened by something. There is the [umbilini] that starts from the heart and spreads to the lower part of the breast bone. The whole body will be shaking.
[Umbilini] will be strongly felt at the lower part of the breast bone. This umbilini then tells one something. When people (i.e. clients) were about to come [for divination] I would hear umbilini. Sometimes I would feel drowsy [and] it would be then that people (i.e. clients) would be coming [for divination]. There is a different umbilini: as when I give you a fright [and] then umbilini suddenly attacks you. Now, then, it is connected with fear because, if you have been frightened, you feel afraid.

(See Appendix 2.7 for the Xhosa text.)

Here Nontando draws a familiar distinction — indeed, one which psychologists and psychiatrists are sometimes apt to draw — between fear as the organism's response to an external threat — as, for example, when one gives another a sudden fright — and umbilini or anxiety which, although closely identified with fear in its effect on the organism, is not connected to an external cause or threat in the same way as fright. True enough, the person in the throes of umbilini, very often, gives the impression of a person who has suffered a sudden traumatic shock of almost catastrophic proportions. However, according to Nontando, the two conditions are not to be confused. The cause of umbilini, unlike that of fear which is external to the sufferer, appears to be internal to the sufferer. Ordinary people, no less than the diviners themselves, have little difficulty understanding fear (ukoyika) as a response to events or causes in the external world. When the fear is so expressed that it appears to be wholly out of context with the situation at hand, then not only do ordinary people and diviners find this behaviour mildly amusing, but they also invariably draw the conclusion that the person in question is crazy (umphambana).
Anxious or nervous people seek to avoid, rather than to have social intercourse with, family and kin let alone neighbours and friends. They become lonely and solitary people who are inhibited in their interpersonal relations and are largely misunderstood by others. Thus the intricate web of reciprocities linking persons and groups in social life falters because individual actors, largely for emotional reasons beyond their control, are unable to play the roles allotted to them. A new role and status is allotted the candidate in the process of becoming a diviner.

In the acute form of the umbilini reaction, which is referred to in Xhosa by the verb ukuxozula and means literally "to have a spell of shaking and fainting", the person shudders (ukuhlasisima), shakes and trembles uncontrollably and then, suddenly, collapses unconscious in a faint. What distinguishes the shaking and fainting spell from most forms of epilepsy, for example, is that with the former the person does not suffer a physical spasm or seizure but simply faints and usually suffers no loss of memory afterwards. Although an epileptic seizure can occur at any time even when the person is alone, ukuxozula frequently occurs in an interpersonal or social context (as we see in the next section). Indeed, if ukuxozula were merely to occur to the person while alone, it would fail to have any repercussions on the interpersonal and social contexts it is intended, albeit unconsciously, to address. Only in rare cases are persons, who are susceptible to umbilini, subject to spells of shaking and fainting (ukuxozula). However, the person inclined to ukuxozula is frequently susceptible to umbilini as well (see section 3.5). This would seem to suggest that, in Western psychopathological terms, ukuxozula is equivalent to an acute anxiety reaction.

This brings us to consider the various aches and pains associated with intwaso.
Nontando: *Ihlabo* (pain) strongly attacked me here within the collar bones. On the right [side of my neck], it was swollen like this (indicating with her hands) and when [the pain] went down, it struck me behind the shoulder blade. [And] even here (indicating with her right hand), below the breast. Now when [the pain] went up, it settled here above the breasts. It was very painful. Oh, no! The pain came from the collar bone, you understand. I could not breath. I was catching my breath there on the spot.

(See Appendix 2.8 for the Xhosa text.)

Once again, the symbolic connotations involved here allude to the context of ritual killing. There are two methods of immolating the sacrificial beast and both are well-known among diviners, herbalists and men in town. During the early nineteenth century, for example, the beast was immolated by making an incision in its abdomen with a spear (*umkhonto*) and its aorta was severed by hand (cf. Alberti 1807/1968:55). During the late nineteenth century, a more humane method was adopted, eclipsing the earlier method, whereby the spinal column of the beast is severed with a spear blade at the base of the neck. A goat simply has its throat cut. The Xhosa noun *ihlabo*, "pain", is derived from the verb *ukuhlaba* which literally means "to stab, wound or pierce with a sharp instrument" (cf. Kropf and Godfrey 1915:149). Thus we see that Nontando's "stabbing pain", which moves up from the left breast to the collar bone and the neck, and the difficulties in breathing - breath (*umphefumlo*) is closely identified with the shades - have symbolic significance alluding to rituals of sacrifice. In fact, diviners often refer to *intwaso* as death (*ukufa*). These aches and pains thus connote and allude to the ritual contexts which are necessary to redress them, rather than
simply denoting disease or dysfunction on the physiological level.

By no means does Nontando's foregoing brief description do justice to the full inventory of aches, pains, trauma and psychosomatic conditions available for exploitation by the candidate diviner. These would include backache (umgolo), stomach-ache (isisu), the whole umlambo complex (see section 2.7), various psychosomatic complaints and surgical trauma. Mandla, for example "... could not see properly.... My eyes were neither wet nor painful. [When] I looked at a book, I could not see. ... It became clear that I would never succeed at school, I had to leave." Mandla's case history is discussed in more detail in the next section, but we note that the fabulous river snake (iChanti) - the messenger and servant (isithunywa) of the River People (abantu bomlambo) - is believed to spit in the eyes and blind those who neglect to perform the intlwaselelelo rites (see section 3.6) associated with the River People (see chapters 4 and 5). So, once again, we encounter symbolic allusions, both to the traditional rituals that must necessarily be performed to redress the problem and the rituals that were neglected (see section 3.6 below). Sirhunu, for example, suffered trauma as a result of his nose being removed in a surgical operation in Settlers' Hospital in 1927. Strangely enough, iChanti is also said to bite off the ears, noses and genitals of recalcitrant descendants who neglect the rites associated with the River People (see sections 5.2 and 5.3). Makhulu suffered spells of shaking and fainting (ukuxozula). Even here, there is an allusion to ritual sacrifice: the beast is always restrained with ropes and thongs and thrown down onto its right side in the byre before it is immolated. Makhulu's trembling and fainting is thus symbolic of what happens when a beast is ritually slaughtered in the byre. The list of these symbolic aches and pains is endless exploiting virtually every nook and cranny in the traditionalist Cape Nguni belief
system associated with the ancestors (see chapter 4). Since the participants in traditional rituals partake of the meat and fermented sorghum beer which constitute the principal offerings (iminikelo) to the shades, a persistent stomach-ache that accompanies eating and drinking, for example, naturally also alludes to neglected rituals which have angered the shades and caused them to afflict their living descendants (see Appendix 3.A). Diviners, novices and ordinary people also describe a general physical and mental malaise or lassitude called "i-weak" - i.e. they feel physically and mentally weary and weak - and this is also a condition for which a ritual prophylaxis is recognized (see section 4.1). In fact, one can go on to list among these various conditions, which are believed to be caused by the neglect of traditional rituals, the following: enuresis, reproductive problems (e.g. barrenness and impotency), menstrual disorders (e.g. dysmenorrhea, menorrhagia and amenorrhia), the menopausal syndrome, the strange and unpredictable behaviour of wild and domestic animals (izilo) (e.g. a swarm of wild bees or a frog entering the homestead, cattle or goats getting lost in the bush, etc.) and a whole range of misfortunes causing accident and injury to persons and property (e.g. a car crash, unemployment, being submerged in a river, etc.). However, it is significant to note that rarely do these various conditions and problems cause the sufferer to be confined to bed.

**Nontando:** Umbilini and ihlaba never made me lie down; I was sitting down. I have never been confined to bed because of pain, headache or stomach-ache. I have never suffered from these.

(See Appendix 2.9 for the Xhosa text).

Although candidate diviners are extraordinarily sensitive, this by no means implies that they are sickly individuals. Makhulu,
for example, points out that before being afflicted with ukuxozula, she had never consulted Western medical practitioners nor diviners. As I have tried to show in chapter two, diviners are ordinarily normal, healthy and active individuals with a great zest for life which they live to the full.

Traditionally, the spontaneous immersion of a person in a river or pool (ukuthwetyulwa) was considered to be the diacritical sign and distinguishing mark of the future diviner. At the outset of this chapter (see section 3.1), I pointed to some of the close parallels between adolescent initiation and the initiation of the diviner (see also section 3.6 below), and indicated that candidate diviners are apt to draw on liminal signs transforming them in the process into metaphors and symbols of the profession which signify the person’s seclusion in the protective care of the ancestors (see also chapter 4). The verb ukuthwetyulwa, which means to be called by the ancestors to become a diviner, is the passive form of the intransitive verb ukuthwebula, which means to tear pieces of flesh from a hide or to strip bark from a tree (cf. Kropf and Godfrey 1915:438). The position of the candidate diviner is thus very much like that of circumcision initiates who are stripped of their old blankets - i.e. the symbols of their previous status as uncircumcized youths (amakwedini) - before being driven down to the river to wash off the white clay (ifutha) and are subsequently reincorporated back into ordinary social life as young men (abafana). Except that, in the case of the candidate diviner called to the river by the ancestors, it all works in the reverse order. The candidate is stripped of her (his) apparel in the river and then adopts the white clay and the liminal position of circumcision initiates betwixt and between statuses. The candidate diviner is stripped of all the identifying symbols of her (his) natal group, for she (he) is a person who has been specially singled out from the domestic group and set aside (ucongiwe) by the ancestors to become a diviner.
Among the diviners in town (N=44), however, only two - Nontando and Mandla - actually immersed themselves spontaneously in a river. For the rest, although they claimed that certain of their paternal ancestors had been subject to the experience, they had simply dreamt about it. It just so happens that spontaneous immersion in a river has a much greater impact on parents, family and the social world in general (as we see more fully in the next section) than, in fact, a dream ordinarily has.

Nontando: The first thing that happened, when this illness of mine started, a frog (isele) came into the house and sat on my sleeping-place. I picked it up and put it outside. But, again, it came back inside. Then, one Sunday afternoon, some girls and I were playing on the banks of the Tyelerha [River]; we were considering to cross the pool. We had seen ripe prickly pears on the other side of the pool. Two of us swam across the pool. When we arrived at the ripe prickly pears, we picked, ate and took some and tied them in our headdresses round our heads. The girl with me said: "Let us cross the pool."

I said: "Jump in because you will splash me with water."

After she had jumped into the current my body suddenly felt weak. Then with my body feeling weak, I entered [the water]. When I entered the pool, I went downstream from where the others were sitting on the river bank. The headdress, with the prickly pears, on my head together with the petticoat, also tied round my head, loosened and these
things followed me in the water. We (i.e. she, the headdress and the petticoat) arrived at a rocky place: there was a rock showing above the surface in the middle of the water. The headdress and petticoat followed me after I had entered that place. At that place, I found my knowledge and healing power (ubuggirha).

The others (i.e. the girls sitting on the river bank) took it that I was a good swimmer. They said [among themselves] that I would come back. They were satisfied and went to sleep. When they awoke I was already sitting next to them. I was already smeared with white clay (imbhola emhlophe). I was unable to speak. I was quiet, sitting [and] saying nothing. Then they went to fetch the European [farmer, who is now dead]. He came to fetch me in a van. Then I was brought back home. I was unable to speak. I was not talking: I was quiet and saying nothing. Two elderly [Xhosa] men, riding in the van with me and the European, explained to my father and mother [when we arrived home]: "Today, these children went to play and then this one remained when the others swam across. Then those on the other side went to sleep. When they awoke she was already sitting next to them. [She was] smeared with white clay, not talking and keeping quiet." When I opened my mouth, I never felt painful in any part except that I did not want to speak. I slept, I got up
in the morning and I was able to speak.

What I felt was a sudden weakness of the body: 
*umbilini* (anxiety, nervousness) and *ihlaba* (pain).

(See Appendix 2.10 for the Xhosa text.)

It is worth noting that *umbilini, ukuxozula* and the call under the river, like dreams, are closely associated with the oracular and healing powers of the future diviner (see chapters 4 and 5). What is involved here is that the candidate, as a result of suffering various afflictions and being called under the river (*ukuthwetyulwa*) - whether in dreams or reality, communes with the shades (and this becomes patently clear when we turn to consider the diviner’s myth about the river in chapter 5) who, in turn, bestow special powers, skills and talents on the candidate. The repeated appearance of a frog (*isele*) or a nile monitor (*uxam; Varanus niloticus*) is a sign or omen (*umhlola*) of the candidate’s impending call to the river which, whether it occurs in dreams or reality, is metaphorical of the process of becoming a diviner. Why this is so is explored in chapter four when we turn to consider the classification of animals and their symbolic load.

3.5 Problems in interpersonal relationships

It is perhaps understandable that persons - who are naturally sensitive, prone to experience fear and anxiety and grow up in social environments that condone, if not actively socialize and encourage, these responses - will eventually experience difficulties once they move outside the protective ambit of the home environment. In fact, leaving home for the first time can be a thoroughly anxiety-provoking experience. During the 1930s, at about the age of 18 or 19, Makhulu decided to go to Port Elizabeth to seek employment because her parents, living in the rural areas of Keiskammahoek, were struggling economically.
Makhulu: My parents took me to Middledrift Station and bought me a train ticket. When the train arrived, it was whistling and smoking fire. I was afraid because I had never seen a train before in my life. I got on the train with my suitcase and blankets. The train was crowded with people and I had to stand. When the train started to go I got an empty feeling in my stomach (i.e. umbilini) and I nearly fainted. I held on tightly [to the handrail in the train] because I thought I was going to die (ukufa). When the train stopped at the next siding I had to get off. I could not stomach it any longer. So I took my suitcase and blankets and walked back along the railway line. I went back home and I never went to Port Elizabeth.

Individuals predisposed to intwaso frequently experience difficulties in their interpersonal relations with employers.

Nokoyika: I started to thwasa when I was working in Port Elizabeth. Suddenly I became afraid (ukoyika) and I did not want to work anymore. My body felt weak and tired. Then the white woman I was working for thought that I was going to have a heart attack. She said to me: "It is no use you working here because I see that you get tired." So I stopped working there. When I arrived at home [in Hankey], I was taken to a diviner to find out what was wrong with me.

Umbilini not only arises in relations with white employers, although this is often the case, but also sometimes in relations
with black employers.

Mzingisi: I liked to be alone. I did not want to speak nor eat. I used to stay away from home and people used to see me walking in the grassland with stray dogs. When I went home and my father asked me where I had been, I couldn't speak. Then I got a job as a gardener for a Xhosa man who owns a shop in Tantyi. I was afraid (ukoyika) of my boss and I always got nervous (umbilini). My boss took me to a white [medical] doctor and he could not see what was wrong with me. The doctor gave me pills but even these did not help. After this, my father took me to see a male diviner, called Mthebesi, at Alice [in Ciskei]. He divined and told me everything I had done from the day I took ill.

Nontando encountered similar difficulties in her interpersonal relations with co-workers and employers at work. After a passionate love-affair with her white employer everything started to go wrong for Nontando (aged about 15 or 16) at the seaside hotel where she was employed.

Nontando: My fellow-workers were always talking about me behind my back. I broke glasses and forgot to do things. My boss's wife got angry and shouted at me. I decided to leave the hotel. I went back to my parents on the farm [in Alexandria district] and I did not even collect my pay [at the hotel].
As an adolescent, Mandla also became afraid (ukoyika) of his white employers and subsequently stopped working as a result.

Mandla: Some afternoons I worked for Mr Page, the taxi-driver. Other afternoons, I worked for Mr Harbet: I washed his motor-car and afterwards, I collected firewood. I even cooked glue in his furniture shop.

On Wednesdays, I used to work for Mr Pittaway [and] I sorted coir [for making mattresses]. So it went on in this way for some time. No I did not want to go to work now, [for] I was not on good terms with Whites [and] I was afraid. I would be fetched by car at home (i.e. by his white employers). No, I was afraid.
(See Appendix 2.11 for the Xhosa text.)

When Sirhunu became ill in the 1920s, his first response was to consult a white medical doctor at Settlers' Hospital rather than a diviner or herbalist.

Sirhunu: I had pustules (amaghakuva) on my face and nose (i.e. pimples or amadyungudungu). My body became weak and my face swollen. I was ill (ukugula) and I went into hospital in 1927. My nose was cut off at hospital. Dr. Shaw (now long since dead) said that there was nothing else he could do.
Even the loss of his nose did not cause Sirhunu to consult a diviner or herbalist. After he was discharged from hospital, Sirhunu returned to his job with the white building contractor. However, the whites employed on the building site started to call him a "bloody baboon". This upset Sirhunu and he left his job never to return.

Sirhunu: I went to see a diviner who lived on a farm near Alicedale but who was in Grahamstown at the time. His name was Mashuku. He had thwasa'd in the forest but he is no longer alive. He divined and said: "Your nose was not supposed to be cut off, for you have got 'river sickness' (umlambo). You have to be a diviner (igqirha)." I heard what was said and then I took myself to that diviner and placed myself under him. My parents were no longer alive then and I spent 8 years as Mashuku's initiate (umkhwetha).

Sometimes the onset of intwaso is associated with puberty and it manifests itself while the adolescent is still attending school.

Lahliwe: I started to have sores (izilonda) all over my body. My parents did not at first take me to a diviner or a herbalist. They tried their own home remedies. I cannot tell you my exact age at the time, but I was in standard 2 at school. I must have been about 10 or 12 years old. My parents would give me these home remedies and the sores would disappear for a while. But, then, the sores would reappear again on my skin. When
my parents saw that these sores were stubborn and would not go away, they took me to a female diviner living on a farm at Manley Flats. The diviner said that I had the 'river sickness' (umlambo) and gave me medicines to smear on my body. After that things became better for me. A year later, the sores appeared again. Then my parents took me to a male diviner at Salem. This diviner said that I had umlambo and that my parents must do the river ritual (intlwaynelelo) for me. After that [was done] I saw I was getting better and I went back to school. Later, I passed standard 4 and left school.

Lahliwe’s parents soon recognized the signs of intwaso in their school-going daughter. After some initial difficulty and expense, they managed to obtain the appropriate herbal and ritual treatment from a diviner. Their daughter eventually got better and went back to complete her schooling. Up until the mid 1950s, most local schools, even in Grahamstown, went only as far as standard 4 and they issued their own school-leaving certificates to pupils who passed standard 4. However, the whole matter did not end there because (as previously noted in section 2.4) after her marriage to a Grahamstown man, Lahliwe was subsequently divorced by her drunkard husband when she fell pregnant by another man. This finally resulted in her initiation as a diviner.

As soon as we locate the various signs and symptoms of intwaso - i.e. the dreams, the psychosomatic conditions, the various problems in interpersonal relations and immersion in a river pool - in their related interpersonal contexts, we suddenly become
aware of intwaso as a strategy to manipulate interpersonal relations to achieve, whether consciously or unconsciously, certain desired benefits or secondary gains from significant others in the social network (see section 3.1). Mandla's case serves as a beautiful illustration of this contention, but it is too long to cite in full here and I refer the interested reader to consult the text in Appendix 2.11. Throughout his detailed account, Mandla gives clear and unequivocal expression to the rather obvious concern he causes his father. The recurrent dreams Mandla is subject to as a child cause his father to ask his mother: "What kind of child is this, Nofayile?" and, again, "How, will this child be, Nofayile?" When Mandla is singled out at school as a bright and promising scholar and is given a modicum of responsibility by his teacher to monitor the behaviour of pupils in the class when she is out of the room, Mandla suddenly takes refuge in psychosomatic blindness and can no longer read anything in a book or on the blackboard. Mandla returns home and tells his father that he can no longer continue at school because of the problem with his eyes. Again, his father is obviously concerned and points out that Mandla is too young to leave school. Mandla then obtains various odd-jobs working for whites in Grahamstown. When he becomes afraid of his employers and no longer wants to go to work (even though his employers come to fetch him at home by car) his father again becomes concerned about him and asks: "Alas, my child, what do you say?" Now, having left school and being unemployed, Mandla no longer stays at the homestead nor, in fact, even eats at home and spends most of his time swimming down at the weir (called Samenteni) below Tantyi and sunning himself on the grass. Sometimes friends accompany him to the weir but, very often, return home leaving him there alone. After a while, he becomes thin and debilitated as a consequence of his refusal to take meals at home. Eventually, his parents take him to Settlers' Hospital for Western medical treatment. Although he remains in hospital for
about 8 months, Mandla does not get better nor does he show any signs of improvement. After a lucid dream in which Mandla is told to go home and tell his father to make him a necklet of goat's hair (*intambo yosinga*), his father arrives unexpectedly to fetch him from hospital. Novice diviners not only daub their bodies with white clay, but they also wear white beads and white cloth aprons (*izikhaka*) and headresses (*izidlokolo*). By a strange coincidence (i.e. according to Mandla), when his father arrives at the hospital to fetch him, he brings with him a white cap, shirt and trousers for his son to put on. After Mandla arrives home, his mother insists that he should be taken to see a diviner. Mandla's father adroitly attempts to duck the request by suggesting that this is a matter he should discuss with his younger brother. However, Mandla's mother will not be put off. She points out that her husband and his younger brother do not believe in diviners and suggests that she and her husband go and consult the diviner together. As a result, Mandla's father finally acquiesces and takes him to consult a male diviner, Moni, who was not a fully qualified diviner. Nevertheless, Moni points out in his divination that Mandla is called by the ancestors to be a diviner, and that it was his father who was originally called to become a diviner but he reneged and failed to respond to the calling. In this way, the diviner subtly suggests to Mandla's father that the problems he is experiencing with his son can be traced back to the difficulties that existed in the relationship between him and his own father. Moni points out, too, that the whole issue can be redressed by recourse to traditional rituals (*amasiko*) but that Mandla's father is too stubborn to do so even though he knows what rituals to perform. Mandla is subsequently placed in the care of the diviner, Moni. At Moni's homestead, Mandla is given the responsibility of herding the cattle, which daily are watered and grazed in the vicinity of the old rifle butts situated adjacent to Kings' Flats on the old national road to King William's Town. One day, while
Mandla is out herding the cattle, he is followed by two nile monitors (*uxam; Varanus niloticus*) as if they are his pet dogs. He reports this incident to the diviner who, characteristically, far from showing any visible concern, simply laughs aloud. However, Moni astutely arranges for his son, Mvala, to accompany Mandla the next day. Clearly, the diviner is interested to determine whether Mandla is simply dreaming up the nile monitors or whether in fact they really exist. However, when the diviner's son abandons Mandla in the grassland with the cattle and returns hastily home to tell his father about the monitors, the diviner again just laughs in an unconcerned way. Under Moni's care, Mandla quickly develops his divinatory talents. At this stage in the proceedings, Moni dissolves Mandla's apprenticeship: he points out that he is not fully qualified and thus is unable to perform the *intlwayelelo* rites at the river (see section 3.6 below) which are required in Mandla's case. Moni suggests to Mandla's father that he approach a fully qualified diviner to complete the initiation of his son. Subsequently, Mandla returns home. However, this is by no means the end of Mandla's quest to become a diviner.

Some time later, after seeing his future instructor, John Mwaba, in a dream, Mandla meets him the next day by accident in Tantyi. There is an immediate affinity between them, and John Mwaba invites Mandla back with him to the homestead where he is staying over in Tantyi. Clients arrive to consult the diviner and Mandla competently performs several divinations to the delight of Mwaba. Mwaba asks Mandla who his father is and suggests that Mandla become his apprentice. Mandla goes home and informs his father about his meeting with Mwaba and the invitation to become his apprentice. His father simply replies somewhat ambivalently: "Well, my child, this is God's work." When Mwaba decides to return home to Middledrift in Ciskei Mandla accompanies him as his apprentice. Then, one day, the diviner asks Mandla to
accompany a recently completed novice back home to Port Alfred.

Mandla: Now the diviner [said]: "Boys, I have no money [and] the money I have will only [get you] to Bathurst but it is near Port Alfred."
We laughed at that.
"No, [you will have to perform] divination on the way, Boys."
Yet, it is true, eight times we divined at Bathurst [and] we examined too, [and] we bought bread because we had no provisions with us. [We] never tarried at that [and] now we went on.

I saw something on the bridge (i.e. at Port Alfred which they were about to cross) as if it were shining [like] a ring [of light]. I wanted to ask Tshawe if he could see it [but] I did not [see] him [there], for I did not know [where] this homestead of his [was]. I did not know the reason for this (i.e. Tshawe's disappearance) because I lost my mind, I ran into the river [and afterwards,] I found myself covered with [white] cotton blankets. I saw the next morning [that] I had a [white] cotton blanket wrapped across my shoulders - I did not know where I got these [white] cotton blankets - [and] one round my waist; I had no trousers on. I had a long pipe and a packet of Zebra tobacco [but] now I did not know what happened to them nor my clothes. I did not know how it happened to me. But
I remembered one thing, for I ran into the river. The following day I found I was out of the river. I went on foot to leave Port Alfred. I did not want to hitch [a lift], for I did not go on hard roads [but rather travelled across farm fields].

(See Appendix 2.12 for the Xhosa text.)

Mandla's unexpected immersion in the Kowie River brings his saga to a rather fitting climax. Up to the point of the river episode, Mandla's behaviour undoubtedly involves some pretty attention grabbing stuff. However, it only manages to elicit his father's concern temporarily and nevertheless falls short of achieving his desired goal of being initiated as a diviner. When Mandla arrives home unexpectedly in Tantyi in the middle of the night after running into the Kowie River, in a dishevelled state, without his belongings and unable to speak, Mandla's strategy, at long last, has the desired effect on his father. Subsequently, Mandla was formally apprenticed to John Mwaba, circumcized in the bush at Middledrift in Ciskei and, finally, initiated as a diviner at his home in Tantyi. This suggests that when the dreams, the psychosomatic complaints, the difficulties in interpersonal relations and the appearance of the various animal messengers (izithunywa) of the shades (see chapter 4) fail to elicit the appropriate social response, involving the person's initiation as a healer, then spontaneous immersion in a river remains a last resort - the Cape Nguni equivalent of attempted suicide in the West - in bringing about the desired result. The Cape Nguni generally regard rivers with a mixture of fear and supernatural awe. Rivers are held to be exceedingly dangerous natural phenomena which sometimes claim the lives of the living through drowning. Thus, to throw oneself into the river is not only crazy, but highly dangerous as well because one could drown. However, there appears to have been little chance of Mandla
drowning. For, as he points out early on in his account, he was a practiced swimmer. Evidently, his father did not know that.

Although *intwaso* undoubtedly is an extraordinarily effective strategy for manipulating significant interpersonal relations in the social network of the afflicted person, its over-riding goal (which is not necessarily consciously articulated) - far from simply being a quest for social recognition, status and prestige - may simply be concerned with extricating oneself blindly, like a wounded animal, from a fear- or anxiety-provoking situation. This emerges clearly in Makhulu's case. Following her marriage and taking up residence in Tantyi in 1936, Makhulu started to have shaking and fainting fits (*ukuxozula*). It is necessary to point out, however, that Makhulu's husband was frequently away from home working on the roads and apart from her parents-in-law, she was alone in what she construed as a "strange" place.

Makhulu: I did not like it here [in Tantyi] and I missed my home [in Keiskammahoek]. Then I started to have shaking fits (*ukuxozula*). I told my husband about my health and he saw with his own eyes when I had shaking fits. He came to the conclusion that I should be taken to a diviner. One day, while I was having shaking fits, my parents-in-law decided to go and see a diviner in Keiskammahoek. My neighbours went with them so they could hear what was making me have shaking fits. They found a diviner and she told them that I had *thwasa*. She said that I had been telling them about this for a long time but nobody had been interested. The diviner said: "Before any work (i.e. ritual) is done, you have to beg
pardon (ukungxengxezela) of the ancestors at the river." In this way, I came to meet Nogesi. I had never met her before. I had never before consulted doctors (i.e. Western medical practitioners) nor diviners. After the diviner did intlwayelelo for me at the river, I stopped having shaking fits.

Notwithstanding the fact that Makhulu was Nogesi's initiate for 8 years and resided at the homestead of the latter in Keiskammahoek nearby her parents for most of this period, Makhulu nevertheless retained the economic and emotional support of her husband and parents-in-law without which her subsequent initiation as a diviner and the payment of the various costs involved would have been impossible. Thus, her marriage did not break down like Lahliwe's. Makhulu returned periodically to Tantyi to visit her husband and to take care of things round the house. Following her graduation as a diviner, Makhulu returned to settle permanently in Tantyi (where she lived until her death in the 1980s), resumed her marital responsibilities and bore her husband two sons and a daughter. Moreover, her townsman husband and her parents-in-law had no objection to her practising as a diviner at home in Tantyi and augmenting the family income.

Finally, it sometimes even happens that the candidate does not get along with the instructing diviner.

Sijamankungwini: My illness (ukugula) did not go together with her (i.e. the diviner's) healing power (ubuggirha). My own healing power is that with which my children have thwasa'd. They have thwasa'd in my own way. We amaJwarha thwasa at the river and the forest.
We also recall Nontando's unfortunate love-affairs with her two instructing diviners, Sweleba and Mandla (see section 2.3).

Evidently, the candidate diviner afflicted with intwaso experiences various difficulties in intimate interpersonal relationships - e.g. with employers, parents, spouses, instructing diviners, etc. - or in the absence of them, as in Makhulu's case. Throughout my close association with the diviners mentioned here, I must add, they were constantly surrounded by people: clients, colleagues, family, friends, neighbours, relatives, well-wishers and hangers-on of all sorts. So much so, in fact, it was hard to believe that they had once been lonely, anxious individuals had not they, their family, friends and neighbours pointed it out. The candidate's altered attitude to interpersonal and, thus, social relations is widely assumed by diviners and ordinary people alike to result from the person's training and initiation as a healer. However, even in a therapeutic system where social problems posit social solutions, it is not always possible to heal a severed interpersonal relationship: e.g. a marital relationship that has broken down. The instructing diviner mediates the candidate's significant interpersonal relations and, through ritual, bonds all the amenable human material available on the spot, welding it into the candidate's support network (as we see in section 3.6 below). In many cases, this is equivalent to re-creating the candidate's social network which extends far beyond the immediate family or domestic unit to the wider agnatic group as well as maternal relatives. This is really what diviners mean when they say that "a person is sick on both sides" (see, for example, Mandla's account in Appendix 2.11) or, as Sijamankungwini says above, "to thwasa at the river and the forest": i.e. the "sides" and river/forest are simply euphemisms for the agnatic and maternal relatives and the distinct collectivities of ancestral shades associated with each group. Thus, the social context of the
diviner's therapy (as we see below) is much wider than the varieties of family therapy practiced in the West and is nothing short of redressing a large section of the candidate's social world. Clearly, close associates (e.g. family, friends, etc.) have difficulties in understanding the candidate diviner who, as we have seen in this section, is very often a 'stranger unto himself'. It is in this light that we need to understand, for example, Mandla's father's ambivalence or Lahliwe's husband's alcoholism. Because, finally, someone has to pay the costs involved in the apprenticeship and initiation of the candidate - economic considerations certainly writ large in Mandla's account, for example. Without the necessary economic support from parents, siblings and relatives - many candidates remain initiates (abakhwetha) for ever and never graduate (as we see in the next section). It is impossible to conduct sacrificial ritual addressed to the shades without the necessary sorghum beer, goat or beast. In much the same way that it is impossible to perform a ritual, particularly when one does not know how to perform it, without the assistance of a ritual expert or diviner who demands fees in cash and kind for services rendered (see section 2.5 and Mandla's account in Appendix 2.11). The graduation of the candidate is thus partly an indication that the ritual costs incurred and the diviner's fees can be paid, whether immediately or some time in the future (see Mandla's account and section 3.6 below). This brings us to the final section of this chapter which deals with ritual.

3.6 Ritual therapy
Diviners in town generally talk about traditional rituals (amasiko) as "killing two birds with one stone". That is, to say, traditional rituals address the spiritual order (cf. Douglas 1966 and Leach 1976) of the domestic group - the ancestral shades (iminyanya) - in the speeches, the offerings of meat (inyama) and the libations of sorghum beer (utywala) made on the occasion -
and the social order in one fell swoop. For people not only organize and participate in these activities but they consume the meat and beer as well. As deceased senior males occupying nodal positions in the kinship structure of the agnatic group (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1980b:329, 1984 and 1985a), the ancestral shades are key symbols of the social structure. The performance of domestic cult ritual thus necessarily involves the male household head, or his proxy, and the members of his local agnatic group. The proxy is always a member of the latter group even in the absence of a direct biological tie between him and the household head. A good cross-section of the social network of the domestic group also participates in traditional rituals: including maternal relatives, neighbours and friends of the family. As social activities, rituals provide opportunities for the establishment and maintenance of close interpersonal relations and social ties. Thus, ritual activities have important social and therapeutic benefits particularly for the estranged and solitary candidate diviner. It is in the social context of ritual activities that we need to consider the use of meat, sorghum beer, European alcoholic beverages (e.g. brandy, vodka, lager beer, etc.) and traditional song and dance. For these stimulate social interaction creating a convivial atmosphere in which to cathart strong emotions and negative social conditioning in general while, at the same time, reinforcing the positive aspects of social relations. Through the ritual manipulation of food, drink, song and dance in social contexts, it is thus possible both to establish and reinforce lasting alterations in the moods, perceptions, motivations, behaviour and interpersonal relations of the participants. Little wonder, then, that diviners consider traditional rituals (amasiko) to be an invaluable therapeutic adjunct to traditional herbal treatment (impetho) particularly in a case of intwaso. In fact, diviners maintain that no amount of medicines (amayeza) or charms (amakhubalo) will suffice to cure intwaso unless the appropriate traditional rituals are
performed.

Quite apart from illness or misfortune, traditional rituals are performed at virtually every stage in the life-cycle: from birth through puberty, marriage and menopause to death. Before the candidate can graduate as a diviner in the final induction ceremony (*goduswa*), all omitted traditional rituals have to be performed: e.g. birth and initiation rites in the case of the candidate (and/or the candidate's children) and mortuary rites, if not for the candidate's biological father, then certainly for the paternal grandfather (this is well illustrated in both the divinations contained in Appendix 3). Although here the individual picture varies from one candidate or diviner to another, the general scenario is nevertheless the same and most candidates have ritual debts (*amatyala*) to the ancestors. This is a consequence of sociocultural change, the spread of Christianity and the subsequent decline of traditionalist Cape Nguni religion coupled with economic factors and widespread poverty. Considering the economic costs entailed in the performance of ritual - in town, for example, the ingredients for brewing sorghum beer and the goat or beast have to be purchased - the performance of neglected rituals, in addition to the rituals inducting the candidate as a diviner, is an onerous undertaking particularly in the absence of the economic support of parents and/or kin (and Nontando says as much in the divination in Appendix 3.C). This explains why, on the one hand, some candidate diviners remain novices for long periods of time - as long as 8-16 years in some cases whereas the normal duration of the apprenticeship averages between 2-3 years - and why, on the other hand, many candidates fail to complete the initiation as diviners and remain novices permanently. Thus for the candidate who completes the course traditional rituals are called for in large measure and, quite apart from talent, economic means are absolutely essential to meet the necessary costs entailed.
As a result the graduate diviner becomes a ritual adept in the process and the whole complex body of ancestor cult ritual becomes a central part of the diviner’s therapeutic armoury. As a form of psycho-social therapy, the process of becoming a diviner thus excludes, by definition, the chronically poor and poverty-stricken and the mentally retarded and handicapped. Now let me briefly describe the central features of the three main traditional rituals invariably involved in the induction of the candidate diviner. The whole theme of the candidate’s gradual emergence as a diviner – a range of meaning encompassed by the verb ukuthwasa (see the foregoing section 3.1) – is clearly expressed in this sequence of rituals.

The first of these rituals is called intlwayelelo, a noun derived from the transitive verb ukuhlwayelela. The latter is derived from the transitive verb ukuhlwayela which literally means "to sow seeds by broadcasting them". Hence, the verb ukuhlwayelela literally means "to broadcast seeds on the behalf of another person". Historically, before the advent of modern agricultural techniques, the Cape Nguni sowed the seeds of crops by broadcasting them by the handful with an outward stretch of the arm rather than by planting each individual seed in the ground as is done nowadays. As far as the intlwayelelo ceremony is concerned, the agricultural metaphor of broadcasting seeds is indeed appropriate. On the one hand, the instructing diviner makes certain offerings (iminikelo) to the River People (abantu bomlambo) in a particular river pool on the behalf of the candidate undergoing the initiation and these include, among other things, melon seeds (intango ze selwa), and pumpkin seeds (intanga zethanga), grains of white millet (amazimba amhlophe) and white beads (iintsimbi ezimhlophe). On the other hand, the instructing diviner utilizes the intlwayelelo ceremony to mobilize the social support network of the candidate and to 'broadcast' by word-of-mouth and so promote the candidate's cause.
among a wide social circle composed of kin, relatives, neighbours, friends, diviners and novices. Let us briefly see how this works.

The pre-ritual activity starts with the herbal treatment of the candidate's homestead (umzi). This treatment is binding both on the candidate and the candidate's agnates in the domestic group. Although the wives of the homestead are considered to belong to their natal agnatic groups, they can avail themselves of the diviner's medicines if they so wish but it is not binding on them. Wives do not participate formally in the intlwayelelo ritual and, on the occasion, go about their routine household chores. This clearly reflects the agnatic centredness of domestic cult ritual among the Cape Nguni. The treatment of the homestead begins weeks or months before the ritual takes place and is always concluded prior to the performance of the intlwayelelo.

The herbal treatment itself involves elaborate procedures including vomiting (ukugabha), draining the sinuses (ukugabha nentloko), purging the bowels (ukurudisa), steaming the body with medicines (ukufutha), leeching (ukukhupha iintlanga - see section 4.1) and sprinkling (ukutshiza) the homestead with medicines (see section 4.6). Although diviners point out that the purpose of the treatment is to cleanse (ukuhlamba) or purify the homestead from pollution (umlaza), this is really secondary to restoring the health and well-being of the entire domestic group. At any rate, as we see below, purificatory rites have their own special place in the context of the intlwayelelo ritual. The candidate and the members of the candidate's domestic group must be hale and hearty before the intlwayelelo ritual is performed. This includes conventional Western medical treatment if it is deemed necessary.

The intlwayelelo ritual signals a change in the state of the candidate and the candidate's relationship with the shades, and this is the message the diviner broadcasts socially through the medium of the ritual. Diviners would not be so fastidious about
the order of ritual events or as meticulous in their treatment of the details involved if they did not consider the intlwayelelo rites to be spiritually efficacious. However, this does not mean that they are necessarily banking on some dramatic or miraculous cure to take place. Ritual therapy is recognized to be efficacious in developing and reinforcing social ties and relations; and persons who are mentally or physically ill cannot take much advantage of the social opportunities, which ritual affords them, until they get better. At any rate, as we saw in the foregoing section, it is precisely in the area of interpersonal and social relations that the candidate diviner, anxious and alone, requires assistance.

Traditionally, in the large extended families of the historical past encompassing at least three generations, the brewing of sorghum beer was a task allotted to the candidate’s female agnates. Most of the work was done by the adult daughters of the family under the supervision of the paternal grandmother and her eldest daughter, father’s sister (udade ‘bawo), who, if married, was expected to return home to participate in the ritual. Nowadays, in the absence of the latter two paternal relatives, the diviner generally assumes the task of supervising the beer brewing. The whole procedure needs to be carefully timed so that the sorghum beer is properly fermented and ready on the day the intlwayelelo rites are performed. During the 5-day period during which the sorghum beer is prepared, the diviner also supervises the collecting together of the various offerings (iminikelo) which are to be taken to the river. Apart from the seeds and white beads already referred to, these include medicinal ubulawu roots, white clay (ifutha) and Xhosa tobacco (icuba, golwane; Nicotiana rustica). The candidate assists the diviner closely in all these tasks and carefully notes what is done, for this is all important detail relevant to the candidate’s future career as a diviner. Finally, invitations are sent out to all and sundry -
paternal and maternal relatives, neighbours and friends - to attend the intlwayelelo. If any reluctance or resistance is encountered on the part of kin, relatives or neighbours, the diviner will personally visit them and discuss the matter in great detail. Diviners usually have the verbal skills, a sense of humour and all the necessary social graces that go together to make them appealing and persuasive personalities to others, and the technique of paying house-calls to reluctant or recalcitrant relatives and neighbours can be extremely effective in getting them to attend the intlwayelelo.

On the day before the intlwayelelo rites are performed (which, nowadays, is usually on a Saturday), particularly on the farms and in the rural areas, the diviner supervises and helps construct a rough shelter, which is situated off the main courtyard (inkundla) of the homestead and to the side of the cattle byre (ubuhlanti), with the assistance of the candidate's male and female agnates and siblings. A light framework of poles is erected which is roughly thatched with grass from top to bottom in the manner of the old Xhosa bee-hive hut (ungquphantsi) or circumcision seclusion hut (ibhuma). The interior of the shelter is lined with river reeds (imizi) specially cut for this purpose. In town, a specially prepared room in a dwelling serves the same purpose. The room or rough shelter is called intondo, a noun derived from umtondo - the human penis. The symbolism here is entirely appropriate with the involvement of the shades - the deceased senior males of the agnatic group - and the fact that the candidate is secluded in the intondo in the care of the ancestors. This would seem to contradict Hammond-Tooke's (1975b:32) assertion that diviners are called to the profession by their maternal ancestors (see section 4.3).

At dusk on Saturday, the diviner takes a few phallic-shaped ubulawu roots, grinds them to a fine powder and churns the powder
vigorously in an aluminium can or beaker (*ibhekile*) of water with a forked medicine mixing stick (*ixhayi*). Then, taking quantities of the thick white foam on the end of the *ixhayi*, the diviner anoints the candidate on the head, shoulders, arms, torso and legs to the singing and hand-clapping of the family and the guests who are beginning to assemble in the main hut or dwelling. Thereafter, the candidate drinks copiously of the white foam in the can. The candidate is then secluded in the *intondo* together with the beaker of *ubulawu*. In the *intondo*, the candidate remains silent and neither eats nor drinks and if thirsty, the candidate is expected to drink from the can of *ubulawu*. The candidate is now said to abstain (*ukuzila*) and the term *ukuzila* literally means "to mourn" (cf. Kropf and Godfrey 1915:489). The *ubulawu* foam tends to induce copious dreaming on an empty stomach and the candidates frequently report lucid dreams dealing with the River People (*abantu bomlambo*) and the whole world under the river (see sections 4.5 and 4.6). Symbolically, the candidate is reduced beyond birth itself, as the *ukuzila* avoidances tend to suggest, virtually to the level of the semen in father's penis (i.e. the white *ubulawu* foam in the *intondo*), ready to be reborn again.

During the Saturday night the relatives and guests assemble at the homestead. No food or drink is served as everyone is expected to abstain like the candidate in the *intondo*. There is also a ban on the participants to abstain from sexual intercourse until after the *intlwaynelelo* rites are concluded the following day. The participants simply sit together and sing traditional songs to the rhythmical accompaniment of hand-clapping (*umyeyezelo*) and beating the ground with sticks. A few people may dance if they wish to do so but no formal dance (*intlombe*) is held until after the *intlwaynelelo* rites are performed. The hand-clapping and singing continues throughout the night until the early hours of Sunday morning.
Late on Saturday night, the diviner selects strategic persons from the assembled throng. The five or six people selected accompany the diviner to the river to make the offerings to the shades early on Sunday morning. In selecting the relevant people, the diviner is always careful to represent a good cross-section of the candidate's social world: e.g. kinsmen, maternal relatives, neighbours, friends and novices with whom the candidate is closely associated. The offerings are later distributed among the diviner and the members of the procession to be taken to the river. The diviner also enjoins the members of the procession to maintain absolute silence during the journey to the river and while the offerings are made on the river bank. If for any urgent reason talking should be necessary, it must be done in barely audible whispers.

Round about 3 a.m. on Sunday morning, the diviner visits the candidate in the intondo. The candidate is made to wash with the remains of the ubulawu in the can. The body dirt (intsila) of the candidate is collected and poured into a can to be taken to the river with the rest of the offerings. The diviner now assembles the procession and leads them off in single file.

The trip to the river is really a kind of odyssey. It usually involves a walk of between 2-3 km across pretty rough terrain in complete darkness. Diviners are careful to reconnoitre the terrain before such a trip and they delight in leading people down steep and uneven inclines which, in utter darkness, give the impression of precipitous and dangerous ravines or cliff faces. In order to avoid stumbling and falling, the people in the procession are quickly reduced to clinging onto each other in a rather desperate fashion. In the utter darkness, a walk of 2-3 km seems interminable and it takes on the character of something of an ordeal. The diviners preserve the effects that the trip instills on the members of the procession by never leading them
back along the same route when they return from the river in daylight. To see the terrain plainly in daylight would destroy the experiential effects it had in complete darkness.

Diviners always time their arrival at the river to coincide with dawn. To finally emerge from the darkness with the first rays of dawn lighting the sky and reflecting colours of crimson and scarlet on the still waters of the river pool comes as a great relief to the members of the procession, a relief mixed with awe for the beauty of the scene. The various offerings are laid out on the river bank including a beaker of freshly brewed sorghum beer (utywala) and a can containing the body dirt (intsila) of the candidate. The diviner now breaks the silence and addresses the shades simply in a loud voice: "Fathers ('Bawo), I have come to beg pardon (ndicel' uxolo) for so and so of such and such clan (isiduko). Camagwini (i.e. be blessed and appeased)!

The offerings are now made - beginning with the white clay and ending with the body dirt of the candidate. Today, rather than using small grass baskets (cf. De Jager and Gitywa 1963), the solid objects are simply placed on pieces of thick brown paper (usually torn from a discarded sugar packet) and gently set upon the water. After the sorghum beer is poured into the water the new aluminium beaker, lid and all, is deposited in the river. The body dirt is likewise poured into the water but the can is taken back to the homestead with a small portion of river mud to be rubbed onto the body of the candidate. The offerings serve as a public acknowledgment that the candidate has propitiated (ukucamagusha) the shades and has made the appropriate ritual ablutions. As is to be expected, the shades also express their satisfaction through various omens (imihlola); e.g. the croaking of a frog, the appearance of a nile monitor, the quacking of river ducks and fowls (see section 4.6) and probably most auspicious of all, the return of part of the offered tobacco. The
offering of tobacco is divided into two separate piles and it sometimes happens that when the one pile sinks under the water the other quite inexplicably returns to the river bank quite dry. This is not simply hearsay, for I have seen it happen more than once myself. When this occurs the diviner shares out the unexpected gift (usipho) from the ancestors among the members of the procession and everyone – whether they smoke or not – squats down in silence and smokes the tobacco until it is finished. The shades, like the living, seem to like to share their hospitality with those who visit them.

Once the procession withdraws from earshot of the river, the ban on talking is lifted and the procession assumes a festive air – the people now walk abreast of each other talking loudly and excitedly sharing their experiences and even spontaneously breaking into song. As they approach the homestead, the procession shifts back into single file again with the diviner at its head and everyone starts singing loudly to signal their approach to the family and guests waiting at the homestead.

After the procession arrives in the courtyard of the homestead, the members and the diviner report back (ixelani ihambo) to the assembled throng and the candidate (who in the meantime has been removed from seclusion in the intondo by the diviner) concerning the proceedings at the river. Most accounts dwell on the various omens (imihlola) which indicate that the offerings were acceptable to the shades. Thereafter, a can of sorghum beer is presented to the candidate to take the first taste (ukungamla). Then the can is passed among the members of the procession and, finally, among the assembled throng. The fasting is now concluded and everyone, including the candidate, partakes of bread and tea. In the afternoon, the sorghum beer is served to the guests and the diviners and novices hold a formal dance (intlombe). The candidate, like all the other novices present, puts on white clay
(ifutha) and a white cloth apron and headdress. Up until this point, the candidate has a distinct physical presence but that now becomes virtually indistinguishable from the other novices present. Whatever course the candidate's future career may take, she or he is for ever afterwards a changed person and will never be the same again. This is symbolised by the fact that the candidate, even as a fully qualified diviner, will abstain (ukuzila) from eating melons, pumpkins and white millet the seeds of which constituted part of the offerings made to the shades at the river. In becoming a diviner, the candidate becomes a professional outsider and occupies a role and status set apart from the ordinary roles and statuses of everyday life.

The ensuing rituals merely build on the social foundations established in the intlwayelelo ritual. Slaughtering is a task that devolves on the household head or his proxy and thus implicates the senior male members of the local agnatic group. However, kin, maternal relatives, neighbours and friends - no less than the candidate - all have a share in the feasting that takes places afterwards. In turning to consider the sacrificial rituals of intambo yosinga and goduswa, we become aware of the close identity between the candidate and the sacrificial animal. Intambo yosinga involves the immolation of a white goat without blemish. Before having its throat slit, the goat is made to bellow loudly. If it does not bellow, it is deemed unacceptable as an offering to the shades. The founding ancestors of the clan are called (ukungula) by name and then the goat is killed. A few drops of the goat's blood are allowed to fall to the ground in the byre before the rest of it is collected in a dish. The blood is cooked as a gravy together with the liver and kidneys of the animal and this is the portion served to the senior males present on the day of the slaughtering. Only the candidate ritually partakes (ukushwama) of the special portion of meat (intsonyama), which is cut from the right foreleg of the goat immediately after
it is slaughtered and sprinkled with a few drops of bile (inyongo) from the animal's gall bladder before it is lightly roasted on the coals of the sneezewood (umthathi) tree. A thong or necklet (intambo) is made by cutting a thin sinew (usinga) along the hairy side of the goat's skin and this is put round the candidate's neck. Sometimes the gall bladder of the goat is removed, cleaned, turned inside out, inflated and placed on the candidate's head. According to the diviners, the symbolism of the thong or necklet is commensurate with restraining a wild bull or taming (ukubuna) a wild animal. In the process of becoming a diviner, the candidate undergoes repeated bouts of purging and fasting and is consequently turned inside out in the same way as the gall bladder of the goat. Diviners also let their "insides hang out", so to speak, when performing divination (imvumisa).

As with all sacrificial ritual, the breast bone, ribs, forelegs and hind quarters of the goat are put on the leafy branches of the wild olive tree (umnquma) in the back or entla portion of the dwelling. The breast bone and ribs are reserved for the officiating household head and the members of his agnatic group. The head of the animal, skin and all, is roasted on the fire in the byre and afterwards eaten with great relish by the men and boys present on the day of the slaughtering. Kin, neighbours and friends participate in the general feasting which takes place on the day following the slaughtering and the eating of the intsonyama (i.e. on the second day). The diviners and novices once again conclude the feasting with a formal dance (intlombe) and beer drink. On the following day, the household head burns the bones of the slaughtered goat (which in the meantime have been carefully collected) and scatters the ashes in the byre.

An outstanding feature of the formal dance (intlombe) on this occasion is that it is interrupted at a point and the candidate gives a full account of the 'trouble' (inkathazo). This confession is referred to as ukuvuma kufa, which literally means
"to agree or admit to death". Once the candidate concludes this speech, the singing and dancing resumes.

Diviners point out that there is a close analogy between intambo yosinga and the mortuary ritual of umkhapho which also involves the slaughter of a white goat but this time to accompany (ukukhapha) the spirit of the deceased household head to the shades. In both cases the animal is slaughtered before noon. On the other hand, the goduswa ritual - goduswa literally means "to be taken home" - is compared to the umbuyiso mortuary ritual in which the spirit of the deceased household head is brought back (ukubuyisa) as a shade to protect (ukukhusela) the homestead. Not only do both the goduswa and umbuyiso rituals take place after noon, but both involve the immolation of a beast (inkomo). Moreover, the meat of the slaughtered beasts must all be consumed on the same day and this means that both the goduswa and umbuyiso rituals are open to neighbours in the widest possible sense of the term. In fact, any adult passerby can attend these rituals and claim a share of the meat and beer.

In the case of the female candidate, an ox (inkabi) is slaughtered in the goduswa ritual whereas in the case of the male candidate, a bull (inkunzi) is slaughtered. This suggests that, in the vernacular social view, the female diviner is analogous to a castrated bull rather than a virile bull. Unlike the virile bull, an ox is incapable of producing any progeny of its own. This suggests that, although females may challenge traditionalist male authority in becoming diviners (cf. Lewis 1966, 1971 and 1986), male dominance and control of the ritual apparatus and the importance of the shades as the deceased senior male members of the agnatic group remain intact in spite of this.

Again, as with intambo yosinga, in the goduswa the same conventions are observed concerning the slaughtering: from the
bellowing of the beast, the catching of the blood in a dish, the candidate's eating of the intsonyama, the sharing out of the meat among the participants and the burning of the bones afterwards. Again, the carcass is laid on wild olive branches and the meat is roasted on coals of sneezewood in the byre. The slaughtering and the eating of the meat all take place on the first day of the ritual. The second day is devoted to beer drinking and dancing and, for the first time, the newly graduated diviner appears in public dressed in the regalia of wild animal skins and armed with hippo hide switch (imvubu), black rod (umngayi) and spear (umkhonto). The umhlahlo is danced on this occasion - a dance which had more sinister connotations in the 19th century because of its association with witch-finding - and this permits intervals in which the newly graduated diviner can perform divination (imvumisa) in full public view and make detailed references to the actual concerns of people in the assembled throng. On the third or final day, the bones of the slaughtered beast are burnt and the ashes scattered in the cattle byre. When slaughtering in town makeshift byres are specially constructed for this purpose.

Although this is not the appropriate place for a long discourse on animal symbolism (see section 4.6), it is necessary to point out here that the diviner's regalia of skin hat (isidlokolo) and skirt (umthika) and the black rod (umngayi) and the spear (umkhonto) are the diviner's symbols of office (see also section 4.6) rather than of the sex of the incumbent. Hammond-Tooke's (1975b:30-32) analysis confuses these two separate issues: i.e. the diviner's symbols of office and the sex of the incumbent of that office. I have consistently used the term 'skirt' to refer to the dress-like object of apparel that the diviner wears round the waist and which hangs down to just above the knees. It would involve an unwarranted leap of the imagination to suggest that the feminine gender of the term 'skirt' has any relevance
whosoever outside of its peculiarly English context. Diviners point out that both males and females wear the umthika. Thus the umthika, like the Scots kilt worn by both males and females, is not specifically associated with one sex or the other but with both. Since the skin dress of the diviner approximates to pre-colonial male dress as much as to pre-colonial female dress, it has no gender connotations whatsoever. According to diviners, the term umthika refers to the loose strips of skin which flap up and down during dancing (ukuxhentsa).

Historically the newly circumcized young man (umfana) was presented with a blackened stick (umngayi) and a spear (umkhonto) as the tokens of his newly attained legal personality as an adult man - who should assert himself vis-a-vis other men only by words and not blows (Mayer 1970:165) - with certain rights and obligations recognized in tribal law. A black rod is carried whenever a man goes on any major business with legal implications (cf. Mayer 1970:165) or when consulting a diviner or herbalist. The spear was clearly a token of the young man's warrior status (cf. Mayer 1970:165) which was also subject to law. The early nineteenth century western Xhosa chief, Ngqika, instituted a change in tribal legal precedent by making every warrior a shield (ukhaka) of the chief. This meant that if one man killed another in an altercation the fines (amatyala) in cattle were payable to the chief and not, as previously, to the injured party, i.e. the kinsmen of the deceased. Thus, if anything, the black rod and spear symbolise the young man's jural piety and submission to tribal legal precedent. The black rod and spear are also appropriate symbols of the diviner's office, a socially recognized office with a precedent in tribal law and, above all, one legitimated by the power of the predominantly male ancestors. The black rod and spear assert the fact that, in the traditionalist concept of law, diviners, like their clients, are legally responsible for their actions.
Diviners abstain (*ukuzila*) from eating the flesh of the various wild mammals (e.g. baboon, antelope and various small carnivores—see chapter 4) the pelts of which are included in their regalías. In other words, the skin hat and skirt are tokens of the food avoidances applicable to and binding on the diviner. As we see in more detail in chapters four and five, the diviner is neither flesh nor fish. In the process of being inducted into the profession as a diviner, the candidate by-passes the hierarchy of the segmentary system and ends up occupying a role and status set apart. The diviner, in short, is a professional outsider whose palm must be crossed with silver. As we see in more detail in chapter four, the particular animals—the skins of which are used in the regalia—symbolise the diviner's oracular and healing skills. These are talents deriving directly from the ancestors through dreams and visions which, as we have seen in this section, are processes closely associated with fasting, purification and seclusion. These are all practices which apply equally to men and women in particular ritual contexts, rather than to one sex or the other. The diviner's regalia constitutes a distinctive garb, uniform or badge of office very much like the doctor's white coat or the judge's ermine lined robe. The style of the regalia bespeaks the fashions in dress prevalent in pre-colonial tribal society at the time it was adopted. The particular materials of which the regalia is made bespeak the pertinent signs and symbols of the diviner's office, which is something set apart and distinctive, and the socially recognized and legitimate authority attached to it rather than the sex of the incumbent which is purely a matter of sociological interest (see section 4.6).

In these traditional rituals inducting the candidate into the social status of diviner, we see many of the features Leach (1976:77-79) mentions in his analysis of transitional rites. In fact, as I have already pointed out, the diviner's induction
ceremonies are just part and parcel of a wider and more complex body of traditional rituals (amasiko) which, in effect, are transitional rites concerned with movement across social boundaries from one social status to another and which historically, at any rate, occurred throughout the life-cycle of the person from birth to death. Earlier in this chapter, I pointed out a few parallels between the diviner's call and induction and adolescent initiation rites. In the unfolding sequence of the diviner's induction rites, we see the repeated theme of departure and return. Firstly, in the intlwayelelelo, the procession moves from the homestead to the river and back again to the homestead. Secondly, metaphorically in the intambo yosinga and goduswa. These rituals are analogous to the umkhapho and umbuyiso mortuary rituals respectively: first the spirit of the candidate diviner is accompanied to the shades and then, later, returned again, more or less as a shade, to protect the homestead from illness or misfortune (see the 'river' myth in chapter 5). Thirdly, in the departure and return of the social body of relatives, neighbours and friends who attend these rituals.

The gradual emergence of the candidate as a diviner is apparent in the gradual change of garb: first the white clay (ifutha), then the goat-hair necklet (intambo yosinga) symbolising the candidate's domestication and, finally, the full regalia of the graduate diviner which is made of anomalous wild animal skins and, among other things, symbolises the diviner's dietary asceticism as well as the oracular powers and healing talents closely associated with fasting and abstinence. We note, too, the libations of fermented sorghum beer and the sacrifices of the white goat and the beast which are made to bellow before they are slaughtered. Notice the metaphor of the passage of time entailed in the various times the offerings are made in the ritual sequence as a whole - dawn in the intlwayelelelo, before noon in the intambo yosinga and after noon in the goduswa. Also, in the
**intlwayelelo**, notice the purificatory rites involving the sacred *ubulawu* roots and the depositing of the candidate's body dirt (*intsila*) in the river. This is followed by the *ukuvuma kufa* of the candidate in the *intambo yosinga* which amounts to nothing less than the confessional. Finally, the divinatory seance in the dance (*umhlahlo*) in which the newly graduated diviner advertises divinatory skills to the public at large.

In addition, there are a whole host of contrasts which express in various ways the role reversal involved in becoming a diviner: e.g. beginning/end; stripping off/getting dressed; fasting/feasting; dirt/purification; darkness/light; departure/return; death/rebirth. However, the rites of separation enacted in the first phase of the sequence (when the candidate is secluded in the *intondo* in the *intlwayelelo*) is not at all redressed in the ensuing sequences. In fact, the candidate only becomes progressively more distinct. This is not only clearly reflected in the changes of dress (white clay; white clay and necklet; full regalia without white clay) but also in the dietary asceticism that gradually attaches to the candidate through fasting and various abstentions (first the white millet, the melons and the pumpkins and, later, wild flesh and fish, etc.) and, finally, publicly displayed in the regalia. True enough, the candidate is aggregated back into the social group, but in the distinctive role and status of diviner. The rites of incorporation never quite redress the liminality of the candidate (which, as we have seen in this chapter, is involved in the calling as well as the rites of separation in the *intlwayelelo*) but further accentuate it into a quality, power (*amandla*) or charisma, which ever afterwards attaches to the diviner's role and office. This is clearly expressed in the distinctiveness of the diviner's medicine-hut (*intondo*), which may be an altogether separate shelter in spacious circumstances or in the crowded circumstances of the townships merely the healer's bedroom. Here
no one - not even intimates in the family circle - may dare to handle the diviner's medicinal roots and barks and ceremonial regalia, or, in fact, even dare to enter in the absence of the practitioner, except, perhaps, a tried and trusted novice or a close colleague (the reasons for this are explained in section 4.4 and 4.7). It is also in the diviner's medicine hut (intondo) that divinatory consultations take place and the shades speak through the diviner, or, to put it another way, the diviner speaks for the shades. When clients arrive for divination (imvumisa), they remove their headgear and shoes and leave their sticks outside the door. On one occasion, a smartly dressed client from Port Elizabeth asked Mandla to be excused from this practice as he had a meeting in Grahamstown and did not want to spoil his shiny shoes. Mandla indicated that he could merely untie his shoe laces and this would be sufficient. So, it seems, the diviner retains one foot in the spiritual world of the shades. This is not at all surprising because the shades are inextricably tied up with divination and ritual which are essential parts of the diviner's art. Thus, in the case of the diviner, the rites of aggregation only enhance the liminal position of the healer as the spokesman of the shades and, in this particular respect, do not entirely redress the imbalance created by the rites of separation. The induction rites overall tend to accentuate the future diviner's marginality rather than diminish it. Leach's (1976:78) otherwise elegant and useful model of transitional rites fails to take this possibility into account which, as it turns out, is one of the key aspects of the diviner's role and status as a 'wounded healer' in touch with the shades. The diviner is a liminal, marginal figure set apart by vocation and 'betwixt and between' the formal structure of the segmentary system (cf. Turner 1969), and this becomes particularly apparent when we turn to discuss the diviner's 'river' myth in chapter five.
4.1 The diviner as 'bricoleur'

Clearly, as we have seen in chapter three, the diviner is a consummate narrator and interpreter of tales of affliction. In other words, it appears that the diviner functions as a *bricoleur* (cf. Levi-Strauss 1966: 16-36, 150n; Poole 1973: 50-63; Douglas 1975: 142-52 and Leach 1976). The *bricoleur* is a kind of Jack-of-all-trades, a professional do-it-yourself man, who undertakes odd jobs (Levi-Strauss 1966: 17). The *bricoleur* is "... someone who works with his hands and uses devious means compared to the craftsman" (Levi-Strauss 1966: 16-17). "It is always earlier ends which are called upon to play the part of means: the signified changes into the signifying and vice versa" (Levi-Strauss 1966: 21). The *bricoleur* "... 'speaks' not only with things ... but also through the medium of things: giving an account of his personality and life by the choices he makes between the limited possibilities" (Levi-Strauss 1966: 21). The diviner is certainly an entrepreneur who not only works with his hands (see section 5.4 on divination), but renders various services in return for cash and/or kind (see section 2.5). In fact, the candidate diviner becomes a professional do-it-yourself healer as a result of suffering a 'trouble' (*inkathazo*) and subsequently learns to diagnose and treat the afflictions of others in the course of being treated for *intwaso* (see chapter 3 and Mandla's account in Appendix 2.11). As a specialist in social relations, the diviner's *metier* is to treat disordered interpersonal relationships which, as illustrated in the cases of *ukuthwasa* in the foregoing chapter, may be complicated by symptoms of a physical kind (see sections 2.7 and 3.1). These symptoms sometimes evince no dysfunction at the organic level and turn out to be symbols, masquerading as signs, which it is the
diviner's task to uncover in the course of divination and treatment. The diviner manipulates a repertoire of traditionalist Cape Nguni concepts concerning the ancestors (iminyanya) and witches (amagqwirha) and associated beliefs and rites to recreate, at one and the same remove, the social and symbolic orders (cf. Douglas 1966) of clients: i.e. "killing two birds with one stone" (see section 3.6). In the process of thus dealing with the concerns of clients, the diviner combines aspects of the healer, the social psychologist, the social worker and the priest (see the complex mediatory role played by the diviner Moni in Mandla's case in Appendix 2.11). Thus the idea that the diviner is a bricoleur partly arises from a consideration of the ethnography itself. The further elaboration of this theme, namely of the diviner as bricoleur, forms the basis of this chapter and the next.

The outstanding characteristic of the bricoleur is to use whatever is 'handy' - language, myths, beliefs, traditions and concrete objects, i.e. culture in the widest possible sense of the term - to communicate ideas and convey understandings to others. The bricoleur has only to take a familiar image long hallowed in popular tradition, a well-known concept or recognizable object from the external world and give it a new and uncharacteristic twist - as one might shake a kaleidoscope to get a new pattern - for it to change aspect completely and take on an entirely new intelligibility. The bricoleur provokes a confrontation of the familiar and accepted with itself. "This confrontation is so jarring that a new form of thought, of classification, is released into the world" (Poole 1973: 52). The bricoleur manipulates the received idiom and thus works predominantly with signs and symbols, metonymy and metaphor, switching between these codes to get his message across.
A sign is always contiguous to other contrasted signs, which are members of the same set and function within a specific cultural context (Leach 1976: 13). The relations between signs are mainly metonymic (Leach 1976: 15). Metonymy is involved where an element stands for the whole set. Leach (1976: 14) uses some familiar examples to illustrate this point: e.g. "'A stands for Apple'" or "the crown as a sign for sovereignty". A symbol, on the other hand, involves relations between elements belonging to different cultural contexts. Leach (1976: 14) cites the example of the Serpent, in the Bible story of the Garden of Eden, which is the symbol for Evil: "the zoological context of serpents has no intrinsic relationship to the moral context of the concept of Evil". A symbol involves arbitrary relations of asserted similarity between elements and these relations are mainly metaphoric.

Leach (1976: 15, 25) points out that Levi-Strauss's (1966) distinction paradigmatic/syntagmatic is roughly equivalent to Jakobson's (1956) usage metaphor/metonymy. Prototype examples of syntagmatic chains are "the letters forming a written word, or the words forming a sentence, or the sequence of musical notes written on a musical score to indicate a 'tune'" (Leach 1976: 15). An example of paradigmatic association "is provided by the simultaneous transposition which occurs when a sequence of musical notes is interpreted as a sequence of finger movements across the keyboard of a piano, which, by further conversion, become a sequential pattern of sound waves reaching the ear of the listener. The relation between the written score, the finger movements and the sound waves is paradigmatic" (Leach 1976: 15). Thus "approximately, but not exactly" (Leach 1976: 15), the following equivalents apply:

- Sign/Symbol = Metonymy/Metaphor =
- Syntagmatic chain/Paradigmatic association = Melody/Harmony
As a sign or symbol only acquires meaning as the member of a set when it is discriminated from other contrary signs or symbols (Leach 1976 : 49), all the latitude the *bricoleur* has is in the positioning of elements (Levi-Strauss 1966 : 19). These elements, in their new use, become "condensed expressions of necessary relations" (Levi-Strauss 1966 : 36), "'small-scale models'" or "'miniatures'" (Levi-Strauss 1966 : 23) - what Geertz (1975 : 93-4) terms models of and models for - that compensate "... for the renunciation of sensible dimensions by the acquisition of intelligible dimensions" (Levi-Strauss 1966 : 24). Just as mythical thought "... builds ideological castles out of the debris of what was once a social discourse" (Levi-Strauss 1966: 21n), so the *bricoleur" ... builds up structures by fitting together ... the remains of events" (Levi-Strauss 1966 : 22).

Levi-Strauss (1966 : 150n) provides an excellent illustration of the transformational process entailed in code switching between signs and symbols and vice versa, in his analysis of Mr Wemmick's suburban 'castle' immortalized by Dickens in *Great Expectations*. "Mr Wemmick ... can choose between villa and castle to signify his abode, between flight of steps and drawbridge to signify the entrance, between salad and food reserves to signify his lettuces" (Levi-Strauss 1966 : 150n). Clearly, in the process, Mr Wemmick sacrifices an implausible suburban 'villa' to obtain an equally implausible suburban 'castle' that has never existed. Nevertheless, the various structural appendages and theatrical props deployed by Mr Wemmick - the moat, the drawbridge, the food reserves and the cannon - are all devious means of transforming a suburban dwelling into a castle, an illusion made palpable by the daily firing of a cannon at nine o'clock. The *bricoleur*, very much like mythical thought itself, operates on both the syntagmatic and paradigmatic modes pari passu transforming each mode into the other and back again (cf. Leach 1976 : 25). In the same breath, events are transformed into experiences and
experiences are transformed back into events. What the bricoleur achieves by means of this dynamic reflexive movement or "double switch" (Leach 1976: 25) is an indirect, multivalent and ambiguous communication - for example, like Mr Wemmick's cannon shot or the diviner's proverbial stone (which kills two birds at once - see section 3.6) - precisely in order to redress, if not the actual events themselves, then certainly the experience and perceptions of a diverse range of people regarding these events. The bricoleur affects perceptions simply by transforming signs into symbols, metonymy into metaphor and vice versa.

Like the bricoleur, the diviner manipulates ideas and images in the mind - understandings in a general sense - both to communicate to people and to affect their perceptions of events and experiences in their own lives. The diviner's communications address the most intimate concerns and problems of clients which are usually connected with particular cases of illness or misfortune (see section 2.7, chapter 3 and section 5.4). This view of the diviner, i.e. as bricoleur, has implications with regard to the 'truth', 'reality' and 'meaning' of the communications or bricolage (cf. Levi-Strauss 1966) involved.

Whatever 'truth' the diviner's narratives express is never entirely literal, nor is the 'reality' they address simply concerned with external things in an objective world devoid of divine or diabolical interference. The diviner's 'truth' is, very often, figurative and it addresses the subjective 'reality' of ideas, images and constructs in the mind. Precisely what the diviner, qua bricoleur, is attempting to achieve by switching between signs and symbols, metonymy and metaphor, is, as previously pointed out, to alter events and things largely by affecting the perceptions people have of them. This is well illustrated in the following case.
A married woman in her 40s - who resides in the rural areas near Peddie in Ciskei - feels unusually weak and physically rundown. She comes to the conclusion that she is being devoured by the lightning bird (*impundulu*) sent to kill her by her husband's girl-friend (*inkazana*), a much younger woman living in a neighbouring settlement. The *impundulu*, we recall (see section 2.5), is the fabulous and vampire-like 'familiar' of the female witch (*igqwirha*): it is believed to feed on the blood (*igazi*) of its victims while slowly killing them at the same time. Subsequently, the woman consults a diviner in the townships for treatment. The diviner instructs the client to strip naked to the waist and, then, bathes the upper part of her body in a mixture of herbs and water. With a cry of alarm, the diviner discovers the "claw marks" of the *impundulu* - i.e. tiny marks or natural discolourations on the skin that are hardly perceptible to the human eye - which are conveniently situated on the woman's back where she cannot see them. The diviner proceeds to purify these "claw marks" by lancing each in turn with the sharp point of a porcupine quill (*incanda*) and drawing blood off the resulting incisions by leeching or cupping (*ukukhupha iintlanga*). Afterwards, each incision is carefully rubbed with an astringent herbal compound called *umhlabelo*. The entire treatment involves a painstaking, if not painful, procedure that is necessarily repeated several times at one sitting before it is considered either complete or therapeutically efficacious. The incisions made in the client's skin are usually no more than tiny, shallow punctures. These produce a certain amount of discomfort that quickly recedes, however, once the whole operation has been completed, by which time the client invariably feels better. In the process of treating imaginary wounds caused by an imaginary vampire-like bird, the diviner manages to heal the client by means of a procedure that, in almost sado-masochistic fashion, inflicts the client with the very discomfort the diviner subsequently treats. The discomfort is certainly sufficient to
induce a belief in the *impundulu* if the client does not already implicitly believe in it. Thus, in order to cure the client of the harmful effects produced by a fabulous man-eating bird, the diviner simply makes belief in it palpable (cf. Thomas 1973 for the rather similar activities of "wise women" and "cunning men" in 16th and 17th century England).

Traditional healing is rather like theatre (cf. Beattie 1977 and Lewis 1971:195): the diviner provides the relevant props and cues and the client's psyche is allowed to take over and do the rest (see also section 3.6). 'Meaning' is thus ultimately a play on the ambiguities inherent in events and the ways people perceive and experience them. Since the diviner's communications involve subjective motivational and symbolic references which admit of interpretation relative to the psychic realm of ideas and the imagination in general (cf. Needham 1978 and 1980, and Bettelheim 1982), these communications are best described as 'understandings' rather than as explanations in any strict sense. Scientific explanation, for example, primarily endeavours to attain an "external" grasp of uniformities in the objective world (cf. Parsons 1968: 583-6). The fact that the *bricoleur* 's communications not only address but manipulate subjective human perceptions and experience goes some way in explaining the diviner's predilection for story-telling, metaphors and symbols. Subjective understanding and scientific explanation are by no means mutually exclusive categories of human knowledge (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1952): both tend to co-exist in us in different degrees and measures depending on our social and educational backgrounds (see section 2.4 and also Thomas 1973 and 1984 for interesting examples of historical figures including Bacon, Hobbes, Newton and Darwin). This brings us, finally, to take a detailed look at the interrelated set of elements - namely the ancestral spirits, witches, animals and plants - which constitute the fundamental building blocks of an extensive, but limited,
repertoire of symbols and metaphors - a narrative tradition - that is available to the diviner in the process of communicating to clients about their concerns.

4.2 Sacred and profane symbols

Diviners have at their disposal a complex array or repertoire of signs and symbols that express and define in memorable terms images of self and society at large (cf. Douglas 1966 and 1975, Berger 1971 and Willis 1974). These images of self and society, like signs and symbols generally (see section 4.1), are located within a particular spatio-temporal context and are simply opposite sides of the same coin. In the dialectics of the communication process, the various elements, signs and symbols deployed by the diviner become condensed expressions of necessary relations: i.e. models of society and models for the self. These elements, signs and symbols consist, among others, of the ancestral spirits, sacred animals, medicinal plants and, more abstractly, wind, homestead, forest, grassland and river. In fact, as Douglas (1966: 3) points out, "the whole universe is harnessed to men's attempts to force one another into good citizenship" (see section 3.1 and also Thomas 1973 and 1984), although in the process (as we see in section 4.6), it is the animals that bear the main symbolic load (cf. also Thomas 1984). This is hardly surprising, for, according to received anthropological wisdom, "animals supply examples for the mind as well as food for the body. They carry not only loads, but principles" (Berger 1971: 1043). In other words, animals are good to eat, think and prohibit (cf. Douglas 1975, Levi-Strauss 1973a, Bulmer 1967, Tambiah 1969, Willis 1974, Hammond-Tooke 1975b and Needham 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1981). The profound symbolic significance of 'the animal' lies in the fact that it is, at one and the same remove, both within us, as part of our enduring biological heritage as human beings, and also by definition, outside and beyond human society (Willis 1974: 9).
The symbolic animal thus plays a crucial role mediating between self and society in the dialectical process in which we formulate viable social and personal identities. "The image of the symbolic animal is therefore necessarily a dualistic image, structurally homologous with the duality in human society and the human self, between the real and the ultimate ideal, the actual and the longed for, even if subconsciously" (Willis 1974:9). The diviner, qua bricoleur, appropriately selects the inarticulate animal, without human language, to do most of the work in articulating the ineffable and interpreting models illuminatory of existential puzzles. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that "the meaning of the symbolic animals remains always, like the animal itself, in some measure beyond conscious and rational comprehension" (Willis 1974:10). For many laymen in the townships of Grahamstown a succinct "it is the custom" suffices (cf. Sperber 1975). In traditionalist Cape Nguni cosmology, animals, in one form or another, embody and exemplify the occult powers associated with ancestors and witches (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1975b). Animals thus form a conceptual bridge straddling and mediating the sacred and profane: a symbolic register of order and disorder (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1975b). Since it logically makes more sense to come to grips with the sacred symbolic order before attempting to describe the contravention of that order associated with the profane, we accordingly deal with the ancestors and witches respectively in sections 4.3 and 4.8.

The main threads of the argument at issue here are briefly summarised as follows. The ancestral spirits stand for or symbolize the agnatic group in certain cultural contexts such as dreams, myths, beliefs and rites (see chapter 3, below and in chapter 5). Since in these contexts certain animals and plants serve as symbolic substitutes for the ancestors, these animals and plants are thus equally symbols for the agnatic group and, together with the ancestors, constitute a set of sacred symbols.
The syntagmatic and paradigmatic inter-connections between the elements in this set (i.e. spirits, animals and plants) are, it is argued, largely a function of classification and belief (cf. Douglas 1966 and 1975, Levi-Strauss 1966 and 1973a, and Hammond-Tooke 1975b). In order to fully appreciate this point, however, we must begin our Odyssey, which takes us to the heart of the diviner's symbolic code, by unravelling the connections between the spirits and the agnatic group.

4.3 The ancestors and the agnatic group
Among the Cape Nguni, the agnatic group consists of a set or cluster of agnatically related homestead heads and their offspring living in a particular area (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1985a: 49). These men, typically descended from a common grandfather or great-grandfather, are very conscious of the group to which they belong. The size of such an agnatic cluster varies from two or three to about twenty homestead heads. Members of the cluster do not hold land or stock in common. This is a function of homesteads, which tend to be self-sufficient economic entities with inheritance rules operating only within the immediate family. Historically land was allocated through the political authorities, i.e. the chief-in-council, and not on the basis of descent groups. Even in the case of wider co-operation between homesteads (as, for example, the ad hoc work parties organized to assist in planting, weeding and harvesting), descent is less important than propinquity (cf. Kuckertz 1990: 199ff.). These minimal descent groups have two important, but limited, functions: "(a) the settlement of disputes between the members of the group and (b) to constitute the condition of the congregation in the ancestor religion" (Hammond-Tooke 1985a: 49).

The ancestors or ancestral spirits are typically the deceased senior males of the agnatic group: i.e. the descendants of a
common great grandfather (cf. Mayer 1961:151, Wilson 1982:127, Hammond-Tooke 1975b:17-19, 1980b:324-333, 1984, 1985a and 1986). The effective spirits or shades are the deceased male leaders of followings, notably men of weight and influence during their lives with many descendants: i.e. the clan founders, clan leaders and chiefs of the distant past occupying nodal positions between the points of segmentation in the kinship structure. For example, the shades are called upon (ukungula) by name prior to the slaughtering of the white goat in the intambo yosinga rites (see section 3.6). The ancestor cult is essentially the cult of the domestic unit, i.e. the extended family. The male household head officiates on ritual occasions (in person or by proxy) and is the living link between the agnatically related members of the homestead (abantu bekhaya) and the shades of the agnatic group. The deceased household head is incorporated as an ancestor of the domestic unit or homestead by his sons and this usually involves two sacrifices. In the first of these called umkhapho, a white goat without blemish is slaughtered to accompany (ukukhapha) the spirit of the deceased to the ancestors. While in the second, called umbuyiso, an ox is slaughtered to bring back (ukubuyisa) the spirit of the deceased as an ancestor to brood over the eaves and threshold of the homestead (see section 3.6). The role of household head, like that of chief, is an ascribed role determined by birth order and sex and locked into the hierarchy of the segmentary system. The household head, like the chief, is "born and not made" (Wilson 1982:126) and only attains his position following the death of his father. However, as Hunter (1936:123) points out, all old people (abantu abadala) who die - women no less than men - become ancestral spirits and can influence the lives of their descendants. A woman can be an ancestral spirit to her own children, her sons' children and her brothers' children (Hunter 1936:233). Although the ancestors of the natal agnatic group continue to influence a woman after marriage, a married woman is nevertheless thought to be
influenced by the ancestors of her husband as well (Hammond-Tooke 1980b: 330). This idea is expressed symbolically in the traditionalist wedding ceremony (*umdudo*) when the bride thrusts a spear (*umkhonto*), which belongs to her husband's father, into the gate post of the cattle byre (*ubuhlanti*). Following a woman's death, the duty falls to her sons to sacrifice a cow to incorporate her as an ancestor of the homestead or domestic group. However, in the case of illness or *intwaso* (see chapter 3), the head of the woman's natal household (or his proxy) is obliged to perform the required sacrifice(s) on her behalf (see section 3.6). Notwithstanding Hammond-Tooke's (1975b: 32) assertion implicating the maternal ancestors in the diviner's calling, diviners are called to office (*ukuthwetyulwa*) by the paternal ancestors. In fact, a whole range or retinue (*isihlwele*) of dead relatives generally appears in the dreams and visionary experiences associated with the calling including, among others, the candidate's siblings, parents, father's sister (*udade 'bawo*), mother's brother (*umalume*) and paternal and maternal grandparents. The most important and central of these relatives, however, are the paternal grandfather (*ubawomkhulu*) and great aunt (*umakhulu*) - a pair of siblings, members of the same agnatic group and opposite sides of the same coin. Diviners are more often female than male (see sections 2.2 and 2.4). Whereas the men are inclined to identify with a paternal grandfather or great-grandfather who was a diviner, the women are inclined to identify with a paternal aunt or great aunt who was a diviner (see section 3.3 for the cases of Mandla and Nontando). In accepting the calling emanating from the paternal ancestors, diviners by-pass the hierarchy of the segmentary system. The role and status of diviner is achieved through initiation, rather than ascribed by birth or sex, and it can be achieved in father's own lifetime (see chapter 5 for the case of the Xhosa Paramount chief Gcaleka).
In the preceding paragraph and in section 3.6, I have already to some extent sown the seeds of an explanation rebutting Hammond-Tooke's (1975b : 32) assertion that maternal ancestors are responsible for the diviner's calling. There is one simple, important and logical reason why the maternal ancestors could not be solely responsible for the diviner's calling. Based on the information already presented in this thesis, the reason should be obvious. The old woman's fish-tail girdle in the diviner's 'river' myth offers an extremely complex clue, but this issue is discussed in more detail in chapter five. The answer is simply that the maternal ancestors are spirits attaching to an agnatic group of which the candidate diviner is not a member. An important conclusion reached in section 3.6 was that although the candidate is incorporated back into society by means of the goduswa ritual, it is principally in the new role and status of diviner which visibly and distinctively marks off and sets apart the incumbent of the office who is dressed up in a skin regalia - an anomalous creature part person and part beast - from all ordinary members of the agnatic group. It is impossible to see how this complex transformation in the role and status of the candidate, who actually becomes a diviner, could occur without it at some stage in the proceedings involving the agnatic group of which the candidate is a member. For the ritual apparatus which effects this transformation in the candidate diviner's role and status is indissolubly linked to the agnatic group. So, even if the candidate grows up with the maternal relatives for one reason or another, the candidate and the maternal relatives will, as a consequence of clan exogamy, always belong to different agnatic groups, by definition. The result is that, if the calling emanates solely from the maternal ancestors, the candidate diviner is placed in a perverse and unenviable position between the spirits attaching to the agnatic group of which the candidate is not a member and the candidate's own agnatic group, which possesses all the necessary ritual means to transform the
candidate into a diviner but is not activated through the calling. In other words, the maternal ancestors provide a by-pass route but one that terminates in a dead end. Far from facilitating the candidate's transformation into a diviner - a process directly linked to the agnatic group of which the candidate is a member - the maternal ancestors have the opposite effect of stultifying the whole process completely. However, the most striking confirmation of the female diviner's patrilineal or agnatic affiliation derives from the important fact that, among the Cape Nguni, children adopt the clan names (iziduko) of their biological fathers and it is common practice for Xhosa-speaking clients (throughout the Eastern Cape, Ciskei and Transkei) to refer to female diviners by their clan names: e.g. MamTshawe, MamJwarha, MamQocwa and so on. Male diviners are likewise referred to by their clan names: e.g. Tshawe, Jwarha, Sukwini, Sweleba and so on.

Ordinary people, diviners and herbalists utilize a range of Xhosa terms and phrases which refer, either directly or obliquely, to the ancestors: e.g. the ancestors (iminyanya) or our ancestors (izinyanya zakowenu); the forefathers (Okhokho); the old or senior people (abantu basekhaya); the spirits (imimoya; imishologu); those of ours or those of theirs (amawethu; amawabo); and in a more metaphorical vein, the sacred animals of the homestead (izilo zasekhaya). In addition to these, diviners also use various terms of respect (ukuhlonipha) in referring to the ancestors where relevant: e.g. the people or great people of the great place (abantu bakomkhulu; abahlekazi bakomkhulu); the River People (abantu bomlambo; abantu bасemlanjeni); the Forest People (abantu basehlathini); the Grassland People (abantu basethafeni); and even the Sea People (abantu baselwandle). Diviners also widely refer to the abode of the ancestors in the river as the homestead under the river (umzi wasemlanjeni). Probably one of the oldest metaphors for the ancestors, among the
Cape Nguni, is wind (umoya) and this is related to breath (umphefumlo) (see, for example, Nontando's difficulties in breathing in section 3.4, the bellowing of the sacrificial animals in the induction rites of the diviner in section 3.6 and section 4.5 dealing with ubulawu). The early European missionaries adopted the term umoya as the translation of the Holy Spirit in the Bible and the term has been used in Xhosa translations of the Bible ever since. However, in embracing the Christian concept of God the Creator (uThixo) (see section 2.4), diviners have by no means supplanted the position of the ancestors as wind (umoya), but merely endorsed it. For God created the ancestors, the wind and the River People, etc. (see section 2.4) and the wind, as diviners say, brings the rain that fills the pools and rivers and nourishes the plants and animals on which man feeds. In other words, by virtue of the act of creation as described in the Book of Genesis, God in fact legitimates the position and role of the ancestors in the affairs of men. At any rate, by means of these various numinous concepts and images referring to the ancestors (e.g. wind, river, sea, grassland, forest, old people, the homestead, the homestead under the river, etc.) the unknown Cape Nguni bricoleurs of the past, whether diviners or not, artfully constructed a highly integrated model of social and religious life in the microcosm (for a description of the local ecology see chapter 1).

Historically the territory of a Cape Nguni chiefdom lay within natural geographical boundaries which encompassed a range of diverse ecological settings. Tribal territory usually extended between two streams or rivers lying to the north and south respectively: it was bounded in the west by the mountains and forests of the Drakensberg-Winterberg range and in the east by the Indian Ocean. The Cape Nguni were pastoralists and hunters. Consequently, the grasslands within the chiefdom were utilized for pasturing cattle and goats, and the thickets for hunting wild
animals. Seasonal alterations in the availability of pasturage necessitated the movement of livestock within tribal territory for the purposes of grazing (cf. Peires 1981: 8ff., 11). However, as in the present so in the past, drought was a recurrent problem. It inevitably necessitated the use, even the occupation, of adjacent territory for pasturage: a process that brought Cape Nguni chiefdoms successively into conflict with each other and their Khoisan and European neighbours (cf. Peires 1981 and 1989 and Hirst 1986a and b). Homesteads were strategically situated on high ridges. The chief-in-council allocated residential land to members of the tribe within the limits of the tribal territory, with the result that the individual homesteads making up a particular agnatic cluster could in practice be situated in vastly different ecological settings: e.g. near river, grassland or forest. However, throughout the territory of the tribe, tribal law, very much like the powerful south-easterly wind itself (see chapter 1), held sway backed up by the judicial sanctions of the chief, who was the judge and law-giver of the tribe. In other words, the categories of river (umlambo), forest (ihlathi), grassland (ithafa), homestead (umzi) and wind (umoya) describe the margins and extent of the chiefdom and the various agnatic clusters nestling within it.

Wind, homestead, river, forest and grassland are part and parcel of the symbolism connected with the death and burial of chiefs and clan leaders of the distant past. At death, diviners point out, the breath (umphefumlo) of the person or animal is expelled into the wind (umoya). Hence the underlying connection between breath and wind; between the spirits, dead people and animals. As we saw in section 3.6, the sacrificial ox or goat is made to bellow before it is deemed a suitable offering to the spirits. There is historical evidence to indicate that the graves of chiefs were sometimes located in a forest or on the bank of a stream or river (cf. Wilson 1982: 88, 93 and 95). For example,
the seventeenth century Xhosa chief Togu was buried in the Qokama Forest in Transkei (cf. Wilson 1982 : 88). The eighteenth century Xhosa Paramount chief Phalo (d. 1775) was buried on the bank of the Thongwana stream near present day Butterworth in Transkei (cf. Wilson 1982 : 88). Phalo's Great son and heir, Gcaleka, was initiated as a diviner after being called by the spirits to a pool in the Ngxingxolo stream near present day East London (cf. Soga 1930 : 142-5). Apparently suffering ill-health in later life (circa 1778), Gcaleka reputedly disappeared in the same pool in the Ngxingxolo but this time never to return. His councillors subsequently buried his karosses in the lee of a nearby hillside (see L.L.F. Wood's notes in the Kaffrarian Museum archives, Peires 1981 : 46-7 and Hirst 1986a). Certainly up until 1978, representatives of the amaGcaleka tribe annually made offerings in the pool in the Ngxingxolo where Gcaleka is reputed to have submerged. Gcaleka's half-brother, Rharhabe (d.1782), Phalo's Right-Hand son, was buried in the Amabele hills near the source of the Gcunube River. Cihoshe, the leader of a section of the amaNgqosini clan (isiduko), reputedly drowned with his whole following while fording the Fish River near Kaffir Drift in Ciskei during the nineteenth century (cf. Soga 1930 : 294-8). Members of the amaNgqosini clan accordingly praise the name of their ancestor Cihoshe when crossing the river at this spot. The royal amaTshawe clan and the amaNgqosini are certainly two agnatic groups closely associated with the River People (abantu bomlambo) and diviners. In a survey conducted in 1977, 56 of 70 Xhosa and Mfengu clans represented in town and on the farms in Albany district acknowledged the River People as paternal ancestors (and I spoke to senior men, women and young men). In other words, it appears that the 'river' is the predominant metaphor for the paternal ancestors and the over-riding symbol for the agnatic group among the Cape Nguni in Albany district (cf. footnote in Hunter 1936 : 321). The remaining 14 clans in the survey acknowledged the Forest People (abantu basehlathini)
as paternal ancestors. Members of the amaMfene clan (imfene = chacma baboon) related a myth about their great ancestor Mfene who, as a young man, disappeared into the Zuurberg bush only to return many years later with an entirely hirsute body like a baboon. These 'just so' stories are the epitome of the bricoleur's art. Chiefs and household heads, however, were also buried in the cattle byre (ubuhlanti). Particularly in the case of chiefs, the entire homestead was abandoned after the burial and allowed to revert to grassland and bush (cf. Alberti 1807/1968: 93ff). Thus we see how the natural margins of chiefdom and homestead come to be associated with the charismatic power (amandla) of the shades and the occult.

4.4 Power
Power (amandla) is the root concept, metaphor and symbol lying at the heart of the diviner's cosmology: everything radiates out from it in a paradigmatic or associative sense and everything flows back to it in a syntagmatic or causal sense. This is hardly surprising considering that the ancestral spirits, calling diviners to office and communicating through them in divination (see section 5.4), were authority figures or 'big men' of the agnatic group who, after death, continue to exert influence on their living descendants.

Diviners believe that important causal connections radiate from the paternal shades buried in the byre, in the forest or on the river bank. The shade's personality, physical characteristics and charismatic power are believed to be transmitted, through the blood of his immediate offspring, to all his subsequent descendants. His flesh and bones rot in the tomb and eventually stimulate the growth of herbs and medicines particularly the psychically potent species of ubulawu (see below). These various plants, herbs and medicines are eaten by wild and domestic animals (see below) and, in turn, by man. A benign power emanates
from the shades like a stream or river that flows into the living—diviners and herbalists no less than ordinary people—and infuses their possessions. This selfsame power inheres in the blood, the liver and kidneys of domestic livestock sacrificed to the ancestors as well as in the artefacts, skins, flesh, blood and entrails of certain wild animals used medicinally and symbolically in the regalia (see section 3.6 and below). Diviners point out that medicinal plants (imichiza) ooze (ukuchiza) with sap (umchiza), particularly when freshly picked. This is why diviners and herbalists cure medicinal plants: i.e. to retain the moist active potency within the medicine by means of slowly drying the plant (see section 2.5). In other words, blood in people and animals is linked to the sap of medicinal plants; and both blood and sap are causally related to the paternal shades. Thus the charismatic power of the paternal shades inheres in people, medicinal plants and wild and domestic animals. Diviners, among others, believe that their power and that of their medicines is enhanced and reinforced by the regular performance of traditional rituals addressed to the paternal shades (see section 3.6). Thus, syntagmatic and paradigmatic connections of power radiate to and from the shades linking them to the diviners and the diviners to medicinal plants and sacred animals. This is precisely the set or complex of elements we encounter in the diviner's 'river' myth (see chapter 5).

4.5 Sacred medicinal roots

The knowledge and use of medicinal plants and trees is by no means limited to herbalists and diviners in the townships of Grahamstown. Not only do some families have their own medicines (imithi, amayeza, imichiza) and home remedies which have been passed down from generation to generation (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1980b: 342), but every Cape Nguni clan is associated with a particular species of sacred medicinal roots called ubulawu which have a special use in the rites inducting a person as a diviner.
and in the umbuyiso rites incorporating the deceased household head as an ancestor of the homestead (see sections 3.6 and 4.3). Nevertheless, the ordinary person's knowledge of medicines is generally not as extensive as that of the herbalist or diviner. Most previous accounts of the use of medicines among the Cape Nguni have focused attention on the herbalist (ixhwele) who, without question, is an expert or specialist with a wide knowledge of medicines and their uses (cf. Hunter 1936: 341 and Hammond-Tooke 1980b: 339-43). Consequently, the diviner's knowledge and use of medicines has been neglected. During the apprenticeship period, diviners, like herbalists, are formally trained in the identification, preparation and use of a wide variety of vegetable and animal medicinal products. Although the herbalist's knowledge of medicines is generally far more extensive than the diviner's, a few diviners, like Nontando and Mandla (see section 2.1), have a knowledge of medicines extensive enough to equal, if not rival, some local herbalists. In this section, we consider the diviner's knowledge, use and classification of the sacred ubulawu roots.

The term ubulawu refers to the roots of varieties of herbs and creepers growing in or near streams and rivers, in the grassland and in the forest. Diviners, like herbalists, classify all medicines derived from vegetable products, including the varieties of ubulawu, according to the spatial locality in which these trees or plants grow: i.e. in the forest (ihlathi), grassland (ithafa) or river (umlambo). For example, varieties of ubulawu growing in or near streams and rivers - such as uzuba, uhlungu-hlungu and undlela ziimhlophe - are classified as the ubulawu of the river. Varieties of ubulawu growing in the grassland, like unkomentaba and isihlwele, are classified as the ubulawu of the grassland. Likewise the varieties of ubulawu growing in the forest - such as ubuka, impendulo and indawa luthi - are classified as the ubulawu of the forest. The ubulawu roots
are thus syntagmatically linked to the spatial categories of river, forest and grassland as, indeed, are the shades with which diviners and ubulawu roots are both closely linked in traditionalist religious belief and practice (see sections 3.6, 4.3 and 4.4).

Diviners, herbalists and even some ordinary people say that the medicine (*iyeza*) is a gift (*usipho*) from the ancestors. Diviners add that all the varieties of ubulawu possess a spirit (*umoya*) which has the power (*amandla*) to reveal deep religious truths in the mind through dreams as well as to heal the body. Knowledge about medicines in general including ubulawu is derived from senior members of the agnatic group whether they be grandparents, parents, siblings, kinsmen or, in fact, the initiating diviner who is called to the profession by the spirits and stands in relationship to the novice or client as a kind of surrogate grandparent, parent, sibling or kinsman (see section 2.8). Diviners point out that the shades or 'big men' of former times originally discovered the varieties of ubulawu and their emetic effects long ago in the historical past by observing the eating habits of certain large wild mammals and this knowledge has consequently been handed down from generation to generation. The ancestors also reveal medicinal plants to diviners in dreams in which large wild mammals frequently appear (see below). In fact, as we see in more detail in section 4.6, each variety of ubulawu is associated in thought with a particular species of large wild mammal (e.g. elephant, leopard, lion or hippopotamus) which stands for or symbolizes that particular variety of ubulawu and functions as a mnemonic device for it.

Although some ordinary people know the names of perhaps two or three varieties of ubulawu, diviners distinguish and use at least eight varieties. Fully initiated diviners are expected to be able to correctly identify and name the varieties of ubulawu growing
in the forest, grassland and river as well as the cured specimens of the roots themselves. Diviners, like herbalists, must have a detailed knowledge of the habitat of medicinal plants, their flower and leaf formations as well as their seasonal cycles: i.e. what the plants look like, where they grow in the surrounding countryside and when to pick them. Such knowledge is essential because diviners, like herbalists, use the medicinal plants they themselves collect on excursions in the bush (see section 2.5). It was previously pointed out (in section 2.5) that when diviners and novices collect medicines, they sometimes take on the appearance of animals crawling on all fours or slithering on their stomachs in order to negotiate the dense bush. In fact, diviners are trained to distinguish cured specimens of ubulawu roots according to the sensory modalities of touch, taste, sight and smell: i.e. according to the smell and taste of the root, the colouration of its nucleus and the texture of its external surface. The texture of the root may be grooved, ridged or smooth. The colour of the nucleus varies from white or off-white to pale yellow. Although all ubulawu roots have a distinctive bitter-sweet flavour and odour, the relative strength of both flavour and odour differs markedly from one variety to another. This knowledge enables diviners to accurately select and dispense a particular variety of ubulawu for a particular use. Although some varieties of ubulawu are too bitter and astringent for human consumption and are used only for washing the body, other varieties of ubulawu are suitable for both consumption and washing. Medicines are, what Bailey (1971b) terms, gifts and poisons. For example, heroin and cocaine are two well-known contemporary drugs which have had an important place in Western medicine and dentistry as analgesics, but their abuse results in death, illness or addiction (cf. White 1985 and 1989). Prescribed at a low dosage and taken on an empty stomach, certain varieties of ubulawu have the power to purify and remove pollution (see section 4.7 below) as well as to induce profound and lucid dream
experiences connected with the spirits, sacred animals and even medicinal plants (see below). Taken at a high dosage and on a full stomach, however, the same ubulawu roots act as powerful emetics inducing copious vomiting, diarrhoea, dehydration and even death. Thus, quite apart from the ever-present danger posed by the contra-indication of medication (particularly in cases where clients consult both indigenous healers and Western medical practitioners) a diviner only has to make an error in the type or quantity of ubulawu roots dispensed to a client for the client to ingest a poison (idlis0, ubuthi) rather than a medicine and instead of being cured to end up seriously ill in hospital or dead. Diviners (and herbalists) in Grahamstown take great pride and care in the instruction of their novices particularly in the use of medicines. There is a wholly practical reason for this because once the novice develops a proficiency in the use of medicines, she or he becomes the healer's assistant helping to identify and collect medicinal plants in the bush as well as preparing medicinal mixtures for clients according to the specific instructions of the healer. Much of the novice's knowledge about medicines is gained practically on the job and this provides the initiating healer with ample opportunity to regularly and rigorously test the novice's knowledge in practice. Diviners (and herbalists) in Grahamstown maintained that healers, who poisoned their clients (albeit inadvertently) instead of curing them, are witches who thwas'a'd with the lightning bird (impundulu) rather than the ancestors and are simply out to play the 'robbing game' for personal gain and profit (see section 2.6). In other words, it is perfectly acceptable for a healer to profit from the misfortunes of others (granted, of course, that clients have the cash to pay the required fee - see section 2.5) as long as the healer offers clients socially acceptable solutions to their problems which, nowadays, definitely includes Western medical services where necessary (see sections 2.7 and 3.1) in addition to the performance of traditional rites.
addressed to the ancestors (see section 3.6).

The outstanding characteristic of all the varieties of *ubulawu* is that when the roots are ground to a fine powder and churned (*ukuphehla*) vigorously in a can of water using a forked stick called *ixhayi*, they produce a white foamy substance (in appearance, not unlike the frothy head on a pint of draught lager beer) which is ingested and/or used for washing the body. The colour white is closely linked to the *ukuzila* avoidances of meat, milk and sexual intercourse connected with the death and burial of the household head, circumcision, female puberty rites, the induction of the diviner and, in fact, the performance of all traditional rites involving the ancestors. In short, the colour white is symbolic of ritual purity (cf. Ngubane 1977: 77-99) involving a physical and mental condition of spiritual grace or charisma (cf. Parsons 1968: 564ff.) which is closely associated with the spirits. Prior to the performance of the *umbuyiso* rites incorporating the deceased household head as an ancestor of the homestead, the members of the agnatic group abstain (*ukuzila*) from meat, milk and sexual intercourse. Before the ox is sacrificed to the ancestors, a can of *ubulawu* is churned in the cattle byre and both male and female members of the agnatic group drink of the foam in the can and perhaps rub some on their hands and faces. The ox is also rubbed with the *ubulawu* foam before it is slaughtered and sometimes it also drinks the foam from the can. As previously mentioned (in section 3.1), both circumcision initiates (*abakhwetha*) and novice diviners (*abakhwetha*) wear white clay (*ifutha*) and abstain from meat, milk and sexual intercourse. Both are set apart from routine social life in the care of the ancestors. In fact, the induction rites of the diviner are replete with white symbols (see section 3.6). For example, the various seeds making up the offerings in the *intlwayelelo* are all of a whitish hue. In the *intambo yosinga* rites, the candidate diviner is invested with a specially made
necklet (*intambo*) of white goat's hair. Both diviners and novices wear white beads (*iintsimbi ezimhlophe*) and white cloth aprons (*izikhaka*) (see section 4.6 and chapter 5). A riverine species of *ubulawu* widely used in the initiation of diviners is called *undlela ziimhlophe* which literally means "white roads" or "the ways of white [things]". The avoidances of food and drink have a wholly practical application as far as the consumption of *ubulawu* is concerned, for (as I pointed out in the preceding paragraph) *ubulawu* roots are powerful emetics which induce vomiting and diarrhoea, and fasting helps to ward off the emetic effects of these roots. Taking care to fast beforehand, I participated in *ubulawu* drinking sessions with initiate diviners on numerous occasions during fieldwork without suffering any ill effects. Certainly some, if not all, the varieties of *ubulawu* contain toxic sapalins and the uptake of these biochemicals in the bloodstream is considerably facilitated by fasting prior to ingestion and enhanced by vigorous bouts of traditional singing and dancing (*ukuxhentsa*) following ingestion. No discernible altered state of consciousness actually takes place as is the case, for example, with the more potent hallucinogens (cf. Harner et al. 1973a). However, candidate diviners invariably report lucid dreams in which, as I can vouch from personal experience, striking images occur.

Dreams and visionary experience in general frequently present a mosaic of images to the eye of the beholder and these images are culturally stereotyped (cf. Jung et al. 1964). It is hardly surprising that culture penetrates even the deep secret recesses of the mind, what Freud termed the unconscious, for we use language to describe our phenomenal experience and language is the prime vehicle of socialization and control in society (cf. Vygotsky 1962). The series of dreams presented below well illustrate the whole range of culturally stereotyped images that commonly occur, in one form or another, in the dreams of
candidate diviners. The dreams occurred while Sijamankungwini was a novice diviner.

In my dream I suddenly went up to the sky and began flying (ndaphupha ndisithi khwasu ndenyuka ndaya phezulu ndabhabha ke ngoko). I was afraid I would fall heavily, but I came and landed gently on the ground.

Again, I was trying to climb a very steep rocky hill and I could not grab onto the rocks. I was afraid I would fall down heavily on the ground. Instead I went down and touched the ground lightly.

Then I dreamed of the elephant (ubade) and the leopard (ingwe) in the forest (ihlathi). I dreamed of the river (umlambo) and in the dream, I stayed with the River People (abantu basemlanjeni). There is a whole world in the river - people, cattle, fowls and everything. I saw a river fowl (inkuku yomlambo) on the water shaking its body and tail feathers up and down.

In these dreams, we find an array of different images and concepts connected with the spirits: e.g. flying about - i.e. moving with, in or through the wind; the forest and the large mammals associated with the forest (e.g. elephant and leopard); and the river and the River People. It is the task of the instructing diviner to determine which of these metaphors is the predominant one - i.e. which one stands for the candidate diviner's paternal ancestors - and this has a ritual significance. The instructing diviner determines this not by any
verbal means, but simply by inducing a dream experience in the
candidate by means of a diffusion of *ubulawu* roots in water which
the candidate ingests. This is well illustrated in the following
case.

Prior to becoming a novice diviner, Nobulawu said she used to dream of a lion (*ingonyama*)
roaming in the grassland near Joza (King's Flats). This dream frightened her and she
did not understand what it meant. When she was subsequently apprenticed to Nontando,
she was given *ubulawu* with which to wash her body and to ingest. According to Nontando,
this was a mixture of riverine, forest and grassland species of *ubulawu*. After this
treatment, Nobulawu had the following dream:

**Nobulawu:** I dreamed of my grandfather. We left the house together [in Tantyi] and
walked up *Ntaba Ziyoni* (Makana's Kop) [towards Joza]. When we reached the top of
the hill my grandfather pointed to the ground and showed me a [herbaceous] plant.

"This is your *ubulawu,*" my grandfather said, "and it is called *unkomentaba.*" I started to
eat my own *ubulawu* and I felt much better after that.

Both the lion and the species of *ubulawu* called *unkomentaba* are associated with the
grassland (*ithafa*). Nobulawu's paternal ancestors are thus associated with the
grassland and in her case, the *intlwayelelelo*
rites (see section 3.6) were performed in the grassland near Makana's Kop.

The relevant spatial category (i.e., grassland) and the particular variety of ubulawu and the sacred animal (isilo) associated with it, taken together, constitute a set of metaphors and symbols pertaining to the paternal ancestors of the candidate diviner as well as various important aspects of the candidate's ritual induction as a diviner: e.g., the particular species of ubulawu it is appropriate to use, the particular spot in the 'wild' where the intlwayelelelo rites are to be performed and the relevant categories of wild animals from which it is appropriate to select skins to be included in the diviner's regalia (see section 4.6).

Thus, the dream, like the 'river' myth itself (see chapter 5), in a highly condensed manner, informs both the candidate and the instructing diviner regarding the necessary ritual steps to be taken in the induction of the candidate. As a staunch Methodist and keen performer of traditional rituals in his early 60s explained to me in June 1975, traditional rituals are the steps in Jacob's ladder that man mounts step for step in his ascent to Heaven. Although Nontando was aware of the lion's significance, she did not attempt any verbal interpretation of Nobulawu's initial dream and simply proceeded to induce another dream to make sense of the first. This makes good psycho-therapeutic sense, for people ultimately believe what they themselves experience rather than what they are told, albeit even by someone in authority.

The ingestion of ubulawu foam induces copious belching. As already mentioned (in chapter 3), the term umbilini, which refers to a condition sometimes suffered by novice diviners (see section 3.4), literally means a cavity or hollow as, for example, the inside of the body or a burial tomb (see chapter 5). Of any sudden exhalation of breath - as in yawning, sneezing or belching
- or when ubulawu roots are churned up in water and the white foam froths up and over the side of the beaker, diviners say that "[it is] from the place where your ancestors appear (apho kwela khona izinyanya zakhe)". We recall, too, that before the beast is sacrificed to the ancestors in the byre, it is always prodded with the point of the blade to make it bellow (see section 3.6).

The essential nature of the paternal ancestors and the shades is as spirit or wind (umoya) (see section 4.3). Wind or spirit is connected to breath (umphefumlo) in man and beast (see section 3.4). The interrelation between wind, breath and spirit provides a ready explanation for dreams and visions, their mystical nature as well as the psychic ability of the diviner.

Mandla : A diviner sees things in his dreams and hears things with his ears that go together with his blood: it is a spirit. It is that spirit that controls (ukulawula) one: I just hear myself talking [in the divination] without knowing what to say but it would be exactly what the [clients] want to hear. When a person is going to be a diviner, the ancestors come as wild animals (izilo) of the forest now. Then, [in the dream], the animal changes into a person and one will be told that he is your grandfather who was a diviner. That spirit of his gets inside one and one becomes him.

Makhulu : The ancestors are in the form of a spirit (umoya) inside a person. They get into [a diviner]. When I divine (ukuvumisa) this spirit lifts me up and I get hold of everything I want to say to people. There is nothing I see with my eyes. I just feel the
spirit in my body when it has arrived. When it moves in my blood (igazi) it makes me shudder (ukuhlasimla). If you have ever seen a person shudder that is the movement of the spirit.

Nontando: The ancestors come as a dream (iphupha) when a person divines, like a vision (umbono). Some diviners feel it in their blood what [clients] come for. Or, as a person divines, one feels [one's body] shudder. Some diviners hear from the spirit voices (ooNomathotholo). Diviners are not all the same. As I am sitting here, the ancestors will come and I will feel drowsy and fall asleep for a moment. I will be told that [clients] are coming [for a divination]: they come for such a thing and it is caused by such and such. Then the [clients] are sitting in front of me [in the consultation]. The ancestors talk in my ears as I divine. They speak Xhosa to me but you would never hear them even if you are sitting next to me.

Psychic phenomena not only involve a wide array of mental or sensory imagery (right across the modalities of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch whether separately or in some combination) as in dreams and visionary experience in general, but also various physical and even visceral sensations. Recall Nontando's earlier comment (in section 3.4) that when clients were about to come for a consultation she would "hear the umbilini".

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4.6 Sacred animals

As we saw in the foregoing section 4.5, the ancestors masquerade as large wild mammals (e.g. elephant, leopard and lion) in the dreams of their descendants, including some ordinary people no less than diviners, herbalists and their novices. In fact, the previously cited dreams hardly do justice to the wide range of wild and domestic animals which appear in these experiences including insects, birds, reptiles, amphibians, cattle, goats and the domestic dog. The ancestors are also closely associated with the behaviour of certain wild creatures (e.g. insects, birds, reptiles and amphibians) which, as we saw in connection with the frog and the Nile monitor (Varanus niloticus) mentioned in section 3.4, interact in some way with the domestic sphere of the homestead, its members and/or livestock. These wild creatures are, in effect, messengers (izithunywa) which communicate the will of the ancestors to their descendants: i.e. calling candidate diviners to the river as well as conveying various signs or omens (imihlola) to the living regarding the performance of ancestor cult ritual or its neglect (see the various messengers discussed below). Moreover, the ancestors are closely linked to the power and luck (ithamsanga) which is reputed to inhere in the skins of various large and small wild mammals (e.g. elephant, leopard, various antelope and mongoose, chacma baboon, black-backed jackal and spotted hyena) featured in the ceremonial regalia of chiefs and diviners as well as in the various animal artefacts (e.g. tusks, horns, teeth, claws, quills, shells, oils and fats) which form an important part of the materia medica of diviners and herbalists. Finally, there are the domestic animals, namely cattle and white goats, which living descendants sacrifice in the byre to commemorate and propitiate the ancestors, to induct a diviner into office as well as to incorporate the spirit of the deceased household head among the dead of the agnostic group (see section 3.6). All of this begs the question: why all these animals? Following Radcliffe-Brown (1951: 114) and Levi-
why brown fly, frog, monitor, snake, fish, river ducks and fowls, elephant, leopard, lion, porcupine, hedgehog, cattle, goats and other pairs of animals? To some extent, the short answer to this question already has been anticipated in section 4.2 where it was argued, following Douglas (1966) and Willis (1974), that the inarticulate animal is highly suited as a symbol both for the self and the agnatic group. It is impossible to elaborate this idea any further without taking into account how diviners, herbalists and some ordinary people in Albany district classify the animal order.

Animals are classified - to some extent like the ancestors and medicinal trees and plants with which animals are closely associated in thought and belief - according to the spatial categories of river, forest, grassland, sea and homestead. This overlap in classification obviously accounts for the syntagmatic connections and paradigmatic associations between the ancestors, medicines and sacred animals (izilo) (see sections 4.3 - 4.5).

The category of river animals (izilo zomlambo; izilo zasemlanjeni) includes the amphibious creatures such as the hippopotamus (imvubu), two species of otter (intini) - the Cape otter and the spotted-necked otter, the water tortoise (ufudo lamanzi), the olive-brown water snake (izilenzi) which is associated in thought and belief with the fabulous river snake iChanti (see the 'river' myth in chapter 5), the nile monitor (uxam), the frog (isele), the crab (unonkala), various ducks and fowls (amadada neenkulu zasemlanjeni), fish (intlanzi) and a species of horse-fly (impukane emdaka) of the genus Tabanus (see below and also chapter 5).

The category of forest animals (izilo zasehlathini) includes the elephant (indlovu; ubade) - the largest and most powerful land mammal known to the Cape Nguni and closely identified with the
chieftainship, the leopard (ingwe; inalane), the serval (ihlosi),
the caracal (inqawa), the Cape python (uggoloma), the mole snake
(inkwakhwa; majola), the buffalo (inyathi), the kliispringer
(igogo), the bushbuck (imbabala), the steenbok (itshabanga), the
Cape grysbok (inxungxu), the blue duiker (iphuthi), the red
duiker (impunzi), the bush pig (ingulube), the chacma baboon
(impanzi), the porcupine (incanda), the hedgehog (intloni), the
leopard tortoise (ufudo), the chameleon (ulovane), the giant
eagle owl (ifubesi), the owl (isikhova) and the honey-bee
(inyosi).

The category of grassland animals (izilo zasethafeni) includes
the lion (ingonyama), the black-backed jackal (impungute), the
spotted hyena (isandawana), the grey slender mongoose
(inyengelezi), the kudu (iqhude), the wildebeest (ingu), the
springbok (ibhadi), the Cape hare (umvundla), the small land
tortoise (ingulo), the grass snake (idlezinye), the ground
hornbill (intsikizi), the Cape dikkop (ingghangholo) and the crow
(unomyayi). The eland (impofu) is also a large grassland
antelope. However, diviners identified it with San hunter-
gatherers (abatwa) and therefore associated it with witchcraft
(ubuggwirha).

Diviners also mentioned the category of sea animals (izilo
zaselwandle) which, apart from various kinds of fish, includes
the predominantly mammalian creatures such as the whale
(umnenga), the dolphin (ihlengesi) and the seal (intini
yolwandle). However, quite apart from providing diviners with
additional examples that lend a self-evident consistency and
coherence to the classificatory schema as a whole, the sea
animals do not enjoy the wide cultural appeal and symbolic
significance of the terrestrial animals among the Cape Nguni.
This is readily explained by the fact that the Cape Nguni were
historically pastoralists and hunters who, unlike their Khoisan
and European neighbours, neither fished nor ate fish.

The animals of the homestead (izilo zasekhaya) are typically of the domestic variety with cattle (iinkomo), goats (iimbuzi; iibhokhwe) and the dog (inja) being the most important (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1975b). However, the homestead (umzi) is also closely associated with the visiting and nesting habits of three species of small birds (iintaka): the Cape sparrow (undlunkulu, unondlwane), the Cape wagtail (umcelu, umvetshane) and the blue swallow (inkonjane). According to diviners, dun and black coloured cattle are "the cattle of the river (iinkomo zomlambo)" and red coloured cattle are "the cattle of the forest (iinkomo zasehlathini)". As we see below, these metaphorical references to cattle have a ritual significance.

According to diviners and a few senior men, the spatial classification of animals is in keeping with the naturalistic facts known to the Cape Nguni historically and subsequently handed down in oral knowledge and belief. These traditions had a wider social distribution and practical application in former times when herding and hunting were still common male occupations, and animal skins and artefacts featured prominently in the distinctive ornaments and dress of males and females (cf. Alberti 1807/1968 : 29-36). Nowadays, in town, although some people still dream about animals and sacrifice cattle and goats to the ancestors, cattle-keeping and hunting are largely things of the past. On some farms in Albany district and in parts of rural Ciskei, it is true that some males are still actively involved in animal husbandry and perhaps even keep a few cattle and/or goats. Hunting still occasionally takes place here, albeit clandestinely and on a small scale. Close kinship and inter-visiting links exist between townsmen and countrymen (see section 2.4) and they attend one another's traditional and other rituals (e.g. funerals).
Nevertheless, diviners and herbalists have become the custodians of tradition in town and this includes knowledge and beliefs about animals. This is hardly surprising because healers continue to utilize the animal as word, thing, sign and symbol. Zoologists would not contest, for example, the aquatic habits of the hippopotamus, the spotted necked otter or nile monitor, nor that the whale, dolphin and seal are sea creatures. Neither would they contest that the lion prefers the grassy plains to the thick bush nor that the leopard, serval and caracal prefer the concealment of the mountain fastnesses and the wooded ravines and kloofs. What they certainly would contest, however, is the classification of the elephant and the chacma baboon as 'forest animals'. According to empirical data, these are savannah, rather than forest, mammals. The African elephant (Loxodonta africana africana) is not truly a forest species, for its diet principally depends on an abundance of palatable grasses available in the savannah (cf. Smithers 1983: 534-40). Although elephants are also tree browsers, the general consensus of opinion among zoologists is that the occurrence of elephants in the Knysna Forest or the Addo Bush is the consequence of their having been forced into this unnatural environment by man. The chacma baboon is also highly mobile and, like the elephant, utilizes both the grassland and forest to obtain its nutritional requirements. Although familiar with these rather basic zoological facts, diviners and herbalists nevertheless persist in their view that elephants and baboons are forest animals. A brief explanation is, therefore, necessary here.

As Hunter (1936: 73) has pointed out, the country of the Cape Nguni was more wooded in the past. The eastern coastal bush was far more extensive than it is today: it extended into the hinterland and the foothills of the Drakensberg-Winterberg mountain range with its evergreen forests. As a result of cultivation, the utilization of wood as fuel and the activity of
pasture animals, particularly goats which are notorious for
denuding the land of saplings, the bush has thinned out
considerably and even been entirely replaced by grassland. The
Xhosa term *ihlathi* refers equally to dense patches of thorn bush
as it does to the relic forests on the mountainsides. Elephant
remains have been discovered in the dense coastal bush of the
Alexandria district (cf. Dugmore 1871: 23 cited in chapter 1)
and in the Pirie Forest in the Amathole mountains (see the

With hindsight and all the knowledge science has at its disposal,
it is possible not only to scale the heights of a sometimes
inaccessible tradition certainly more than a century old, but
also to destroy it completely. In other words, on the basis of
modern zoological knowledge alone, it is possible not only to
dispute the plausibility of the traditionalist Cape Nguni view
of animals and nature, but to debunk it entirely as 'myth' or
fairy tale. A critical approach to old and sometimes garbled
beliefs and knowledge is imperative. Care needs to be taken,
however, to avoid throwing the baby out with the bath water. For
to dismiss the naturalistic flavour of certain human beliefs is
to overlook the manner in which man creatively transforms nature
into culture, a complex historical and socio-psychological
process, as a consequence of which the natural order comes to
serve as models of and for the social order in which people are
socialized and play certain roles (cf. Levi-Strauss 1966 and
1973a, Douglas 1966 and Willis 1974). This suggests that, in
classifying animals, diviners and herbalists have also
sociocultural, rather than purely naturalistic, distinctions in
mind. This is precisely the case concerning 'river' and 'forest'
cattle.

As most people know, including diviners and herbalists, cattle
are neither river nor forest but grassland animals (cf. Hammond-
Tooke 1975b). However, this misses the point. At the conclusion of circumcision (and female puberty) rites, a beast is slaughtered for the initiates. In ordinary circumstances, this is usually a beast of a red or ruddy-brown colour. It is appropriately called a 'forest' beast because circumcision initiates are secluded in the bush before being ritually reincorporated into routine social life (see section 3.1). The colour of the beast also is appropriate because, once incorporated back into society, circumcision initiates rub red ochre (*imbola*) on their bodies. However, social and symbolic distinctions are generally made between ordinary circumcision initiates and those among them who are candidate diviners as well as between the candidate diviners themselves. In the case of the candidate who follows directly in the footsteps of father (*utata*) or father's sister (*udade 'bawo*) who is a diviner (see the case of Nkwinizayo in section 2.3), it is appropriate to slaughter a black 'river' beast. The black rod (*umngayi*) given to initiates at the close of circumcision stands for or symbolizes social maturity and jural piety (cf. Mayer 1970: 159ff.). Diviners are, moreover, reputed to be called to office by the River People (see the 'river' myth in chapter 5) and, hence, the designation of 'river' beast. Where the candidate diviner merely undergoes the spiritual calling connected with the river *de novo* or for one or other reason a breach in succession has occurred between predecessors and successors in the family (see the cases of Mandla and Nontando in sections 2.3, 2.4 and 2.8 and in chapter 3), it is appropriate to slaughter a dun 'river' beast. The vast majority of diviners in the townships fall into this latter category (see chapter 2). Compared to the now rare figure who follows on a family tradition of healing, they by-pass the hierarchy of the segmentary system and are, in symbolic terms, 'betwixt and between'. Hence, their association with the secondary colour grey rather than the primary colours black or red (cf. Turner 1965). We frequently locate anomaly in what we
call a "grey area" (cf. Leach 1976). Thus, the colour discriminations between 'river' and 'forest' cattle symbolize important social distinctions between candidate diviners and ordinary adolescent initiates (irrespective of sex) as well as between the diviners themselves.

The diviner's conceptual categories of sacred animals (izilo), small sacred animals (izilwanyana - the diminutive of izilo) and messengers (izithunywa) cross-cut the key spatial categories of homestead, river, forest and grassland to form a classificatory grid (cf. Douglas 1970). The izilo category includes, for example, elephant, hippopotamus, lion, leopard, serval, Cape python, mole snake, buffalo, kudu and domestic cattle. The izilwanyana category includes, for example, Cape otter, spotted-necked otter, spotted hyena, black-backed jackal, grey slender mongoose, chacma baboon, springbok, klipspringer, bushbuck, steenbok, duiker and domestic goats and dogs. Finally, the izithunywa category includes, for example, the olive-brown water snake, the nile monitor, the frog, the crab, the horse-fly, the honey-bee, the wagtail, the sparrow, the swallow, river ducks and fowls, the Cape dikkop, the owl and the giant eagle owl.

According to diviners and some ordinary people, all three categories include wild and domestic animals. This is hardly apparent to the outsider until it is pointed out that the wagtail, sparrow and swallow are considered to be birds of the homestead and, thus, domestic animals. The swallow is common in the coastal areas, near river mouths, where it frequently builds its clay nest on the outside of a structure or dwelling. The wagtail and sparrow, however, are common favourites in the townships of Grahamstown. They are rather tame small birds and, on occasion, come hopping right into a dwelling or a diviner's medicine-hut (intondo) looking for tit-bits to eat. Children and even adults feed them with leftovers and crumbs. Diviners,
herbalists and some ordinary people believe it is lucky to have these birds constantly round the homestead.

The sacred (*izilo-izilwanyana*) category includes the higher order categories of animals mentioned by Hammond-Tooke (1975b: 24): i.e. the ferocious and flesh-eating creatures (*amaramncwa*) (including, for example, Cape python, mole snake, elephant, hippo, lion, leopard, serval, hyena, jackal, chacma baboon and domestic dog), various antelope (*iinyamakazi*) including the bush pig (*ingulube*) and domestic livestock (*imfuyo*). Diviners point out that, although the chacma baboon is partly herbivorous and formerly it posed a threat to cultivated fields and gardens, it has a great predilection for termites (*iimbovane*) as well as very sharp teeth with which to protect itself. Thus, the chacma baboon is included in the category of ferocious and flesh-eating creatures. The carnivorous and protective nature of the domestic dog is well-known. With the notable exception of the Cape python and the mole snake, the animals in the sacred category are mammals. Nevertheless, python and mole snake have certain mammalian characteristics which associate them in thought with mammals. Both snakes are non-venomous (cf. FitzSimons 1974 : 75,106). As diviners point out, these snakes are flesh-eaters that swallow their prey. The python, diviners point out, is the largest of all snakes: it has variegated colours like a leopard and is capable of swallowing a small antelope or goat. Diviners point out that the mole snake eats moles, rats and birds' eggs and as a result, it is quite harmless to man and beast. The mole snake is thin, long and black: it is reputed to have the appearance of the black rod (*umngayi*) - which, as already noted, is the symbol for social maturity and jural piety - given to young men at the close of circumcision and coincident with their social reincorporation and the sacrifice of an ox. According to diviners, the mole snake's outstanding characteristic is that, like the poisonous puff-adder (*iramba*), it gives birth to live
young and is thus viviparous like humans and mammals in general. The mole snake is closely associated with the royal Mpondomise clan called majola, with the result that the latter term doubles as the name of the snake. It is reputed to visit the confinement hut after the birth particularly of male members of the royal clan as well as to bring fertility and increase to the royal herds. On no account must it be killed, for this would result in misfortune, illness and death in the clan. This is precisely the theme of A.C. Jordan's (1940) famous play, Ingqumbo yeminyanya or "The Wrath of the Ancestors". Oil (amafutha) prepared from the flesh and bones of the Cape python was used to strengthen (ukuqinisa) the nineteenth century Xhosa Paramount chief Sarili (or Kreli) and was also believed to have a protecting influence over the royal herds (cf. Peires 1989). The Cape python is the only egg-laying or oviparous creature in the category of sacred animals.

In contrast to the sacred animals, diviners point out, the messengers (izithunywa) are predominantly egg-laying or oviparous creatures such as insects, birds, reptiles, amphibians and crustaceans. According to diviners, the messengers are predominantly flesh-eaters with the exception of the honey-bee and the male horse-fly which feed on the nectar of flowers. For example, the giant eagle owl and the owl eat snakes, lizards, frogs and rodents; the nile monitor has a great reputation as an egg-eater; snakes eat frogs, rodents and birds' eggs; frogs eat insects; crabs eat tadpoles and small fish; the Cape dikkop, sparrow and wagtail eat grain, seeds and insects; the swallow eats various flying insects; and the female horse-fly, like the mosquito, feeds on the blood of animals and man.

What is particularly significant about the animals in the sacred category, diviners point out, is that they are "teeth bearers": e.g. cattle, goats and antelope have horns (imphondo); the bush
pig and the elephant have tusks (*amabambo*); the hippopotamus, chacma baboon, wild carnivores and domestic dog have teeth (*amazinyo*); the porcupine and hedgehog have quills; and snakes have fangs. This also applies to some of the animals in the messenger category. Diviners point out that the honey-bee has a trunk (literally a hand, *isandla*) like the elephant with which to deliver its sting and, hence, it is a forest animal (*isilo sasehlathini*) and the messenger of the elephant. Moreover, birds have beaks and claws, the nile monitor has teeth like a dog and crabs have pincers to hold their prey. Although snakes and monitors are dangerous animals when disturbed or cornered, diviners admit that, on the whole, the messengers are neither as ferocious nor injurious to man or beast as the wild sacred animals. Even the carnivorous birds such as giant eagle owl and owl, for example, are relatively benign and generally pose no threat to man and livestock. This lends support to the suggestion made by Fortes (1945: 145) that animals are peculiarly apt symbols for the immortality of the ancestors, for they symbolize the potential aggressiveness of the ancestors as the supreme sanction of traditionalist cultural values.

What is particularly significant about the oviparous creatures in the messenger category, diviners point out, is that they make hives, nests or burrows. Bees are reputed to make hives in old tree trunks and in crevices in rocks. Significantly, like the River People (*abantu bomlambo*), the horse-fly reputedly lives and breeds in damp places at the edges of pools and streams. Like the candidate diviner who is secluded in a rough grass shelter (*intondo*) in the *intlwaynelelo* rites and undergoes a spiritual transformation connected with the shades (see section 3.1 and 3.6), the horse-fly undergoes a metamorphosis in its development in which the pupal or chrysalis stage is critical to its transformation from larva to insect (cf. Potgieter 1971 : 191-2 and Skaife 1979 : 149-50). Although swallows build nests of clay
(like the mud-walled hut still very much in evidence in the rural areas), most birds build nests using a combination of sticks, grass and reeds (like in the construction of the old-styled hut or unguqphansi - cf. Hammond-Tooke 1975b : 22). Reptiles, amphibians and crustaceans are reputed to live in holes in the ground like the mongoose, hedgehog and porcupine. Diviners point out that historically only chiefs and household heads were buried in tombs dug in the ground. This was certainly the case up until 1821 when the famous Xhosa convert and prophet, Ntsikana, was buried in a coffin he had reputedly made for himself. According to Soga (1932 : 320), the burial tomb was about four foot deep and three foot wide, with a recess dug into one of the sides to receive the body. As previously pointed out, circumcision initiates and candidate diviners are set apart and secluded - i.e. literally, to be confined or brooding (ukufukamisa) like a pregnant woman about to give birth - in rough shelters built of sticks and grass (see sections 3.1 and 3.6). During this time, they are in the care of the ancestors and are regarded as socially dead; and this is symbolized by the wearing of white clay (ifutha) (see the 'river' myth in chapter 5). As we have already seen (in section 3.6), the theme of death and rebirth runs throughout the induction rites of the diviner. The heir to the chieftainship was also secluded in former times for the purpose of strengthening (ukuqinisa) or doctoring prior to being invested with his ceremonial regalia and being formally installed as the chief of the tribe. In the case of the Paramount chief Sarili, as we have seen, this included doctoring with the oil or fat of the egg-laying Cape python. In the western Xhosa chiefdoms, diviners point out, the oil or fat of the porcupine, hedgehog and nile monitor were used for doctoring chiefs. The protective significance of the "teeth bearers" is borne out by their artefactual use. Now, before turning to discuss how diviners use animal skins and artefacts, let us first consider the ceremonial regalia of the chief.
According to diviners, there was historically a close identity between the chief, the elephant and its tusks. No animal is more revered than the elephant among diviners, herbalists and even ordinary people in Albany district. The sacred animals of the homestead (*izilo zasekhaya*) not only differ between related homesteads of the same agnatic group, but also between siblings in the same domestic group. This arises from the fact, diviners point out, that the ancestors reveal the sacred animals in dreams (*amaphupha, amathonga*) and somehow people's dreams always differ. However, the elephant is quite unlike all the other sacred animals in that ordinary people, while they dispute among themselves the sacred significance of most other animals, claim the elephant as the most (or at least one of the most) important *izilo* of the homestead. In fact, one could say that the elephant is not just simply a symbol of group identity, but of national unity.

According to diviners, the chief and his leading councillors (*amaphakathi*), who were also leaders of followings in their own right, wore ivory armbands (*imixhaga*). Moreover, diviners point out, the chief was doctored with the oil or fat prepared from the liver (*isibindi*) of the elephant. Figuratively, the term *isibindi* means courage, vigour or energy (cf. Kropf and Godfrey 1915: 36). According to diviners, the elephant's tusks (*amabambo*) and the ivory armband are closely linked to the related concepts of fearsomeness (*isithunzi, isithinzi*) and power (*amandla*).

*Nontando*: Fearsomeness is something that gives one a fright when one sees it and says: "That thing has fearsomeness!" But it does not frighten the owner of it. Other people say that it has fearsomeness and they will be afraid (*ukoyika*) of it. When people have fearsomeness, they have power over what
they are. Fearsomeness goes together with power. One is powerful when one has fearsomeness. But one won't have power if one has not got fearsomeness.

Diviners refer to the elephant (*indlovu*) as *ubade* - an agglutinated term that utilizes the personal prefix *u* and refers to a person large and great in every dimension - which is a term of respect (*ukuhlonipha*). Diviners say that the elephant (*ubade*) is "the great person of the forest (*umntu womkhulu wasehlathini*)". In fact, according to diviners, the elephant is the chief or king of all the animals (*izilo*) including the largest of the wild flesh-eating beasts, the lion (*ingonyama*).

Mandla: The lion is defeated only by the elephant. My father told me a story that was told to him by my grandfather (i.e. father's father, the diviner). A lion attacked an elephant calf (*ithole*) and when the [adult] elephant arrived, it broke a tree which it smashed down on the lion. The elephant left the lion there to roar until it died.

References to the elephant or elephant calf (*ithole*) occur in the praises (*ukubonga*) of chiefs (cf. Opland 1970, 1974 and 1983). Kay (1833 : 138) describes how the Xhosa hunters engaged in killing the elephant addressed it as "great Captain" and "mighty Chief". Alberti (1807/1968 : 48) describes how, following the hunt, the hunters buried the elephant's trunk, for, as they explained, "the elephant is a big man and the trunk is his hand". As already pointed out, historically only chiefs and household heads were buried. Characteristically, like the corpses of commoners, the carcass of the elephant was left to be devoured by vultures and other scavengers (cf. Alberti 1807/1968 and Kay
Ndlovukazi, literally "she elephant", was traditionally a term of respect for the chief's mother.

Although the executive authority of the tribe ultimately rested with the chief's council rather than with the chief himself, the chief was nevertheless the figure-head, father and patronymic of the tribe. The chief convened hunting, harvesting, warfare and circumcision - co-operative communal activities closely associated with the bush or forest (ihlathi) and all involving sharp instruments like spears and hoes. Historically a hunting expedition was convened by the chief and a good cross-section of the tribe, including women and cattle, decamped to the bush where the hunt could be pursued for two or three months (cf. Alberti 1807/1968 : 74ff.). During the nineteenth century, there was also a close association between the sale of ivory and the purchase of arms. By 1831 Grahamstown was exporting annually £3,000 worth of ivory purchased from the Xhosa who acquired in return not only regular trade goods - blankets, beads and metal - but also horses and guns (Wilson 1982 : 242). During the so-called Frontier Wars of the nineteenth century, a great deal of the fighting took place in the wooded ravines and indigenous forests of a part of the Drakensberg-Winterberg mountain range known as Amathole or "the calves" (cf. Milton 1983 : 33). The connection between circumcision and the bush has already been noted (see section 3.1). Cultivated fields were originally cleared from bushland (cf. Wilson 1982 : 110).

Diviners stress in their exegesis that the elephant "is very kind and good (yaye unobubele unobulungisa)" and they back up this assertion with a battery of appropriate anecdotes. One has only to discuss this matter with experienced white hunters (who, mind you, are usually armed with the latest and best in rifles rather than spears like the Xhosa at the turn of the nineteenth century) to hear just the opposite: i.e., the elephant is a frightening and
ferocious animal particularly when it has caught one's scent in the bush, and when it charges the ground literally trembles beneath one's feet. Undoubtedly, the jarring image of the 'kind' elephant was more apt, and powerfully so, in former times when one could appreciate the animal's size and might at first-hand. However, in my opinion, the 'kind' elephant is more a reference to the elephant as symbol - i.e. for the chief or the diviner - rather than as a sign or naturalistic animal per se. It is well-known that historically the royal cattle herds formed the basis of a patron-client institution (ukubusa) whereby a man without cattle of his own was entitled to the usufruct of the chief's cattle in return for herding them. Nowadays, in the townships, when a regular client pays a fee (umkhonto) it is not unusual for a leading diviner, like Mandla or Nontando, to spend a portion of it on lager beer or European liquor (e.g. brandy or gin) which is consumed with the client. In the townships, as previously noted, an ungenerous or stingy diviner is frequently referred to as one who thwasa'd with the lightning bird (impundulu). I have, moreover, commented on the healer's concept of the 'robbing game' (see section 2.6), and the extensive relations and reciprocities between diviners (see section 2.3 and 2.8) and their clients (see section 2.7). As Mandla wryly pointed out, authentic chiefs are nowadays as rare in Albany district and Ciskei as the elephant itself. In fact, diviners say that the elephant is the great diviner of the forest who hears if a person is a witch doing bad things (izinto ezimbi) or a sorcerer carrying round dirty things (izinto ezimdaka). Alberti (1807/1968:76-7) describes how, following the hunt, the elephant's ear flaps were attached to a pole at the entrance of the chief's cattle byre. In Kay's (1833) account, presumably as a consequence of Christian missionary activity, the elephant's ear flaps were buried along with its trunk. Significantly, the founder of the Mount Coke mission station (where Kay recorded his observations as missionary), Rev. William Shaw, had challenged and discredited the local rainmaker
(igqirha lemvula) (cf. Shaw 1860: 460-6), with the result that the missionary came to supplant the diviner both in religious affairs and healing. One dream theme frequently reported by novice diviners involves coming across a herd of elephants at a pool which spray (ukutshiza) the candidate diviner with water and examine her or him with admiration (ukubuka). Diviners point out that, like antelope and cattle, the elephant is herbivorous. As previously pointed out (in section 4.5), the elephant is reputed to eat a forest species of ubulawu, a creeper or liana called ubuka (literally, "the admirer"), which is too coarse and astringent for human consumption and is thus never ingested medicinally and only used for washing the body. Diviners draw attention to the elephant's habit of dowsing itself with water. The verb ukutshiza - i.e. to spray or sprinkle - which is used to describe the elephant's habit of using its trunk to spray itself with water - also describes the healer's method of treating the homestead by sprinkling (ukutshiza) medicines in and round the huts, the courtyard and the cattle byre (see section 3.6). Diviners point out that when a novice dreams of being sprayed with water by elephants (as mentioned above) it is appropriate to brew traditional sorghum beer (utywala), hold a beer drink and make libations to the ancestors.

In symbolic terms, the elephant provides models for the roles of chief and diviner as well as a model of the tribe as a whole (cf. Geertz 1975: 93-4). Like the elephant with its sensitive trunk and ears, the chief and his diviners were ever vigilant to detect any unforeseen danger that could affect the tribe, just as in the case of the elephant a lion might come along and maul its calf. The chief and his councillors with their ivory armbands, like the elephant with its tusks, stood ready to organize the defence of the tribe against any unprovoked attack from some passing interloper, just as the elephant defended its calf against the lion in Mandla's anecdote. As the genealogically most senior
living male of the most senior clan in the tribe, the chief was the elephant's trunk. The chief and his councillors, the executive authority of the tribe, were the elephant's tusks. As the spirit-mediums of the tribe and the spokesmen of the spirits, the diviners were the elephant's extended ears situated between the body and the head/trunk. And the common social body of the tribe is to be found in the broad bulk of the elephant left to rot and be devoured by scavengers like the corpses of commoners. In fact, one could not hope to find a more apt organic metaphor (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 12 and Kuper 1977: 32) for tribal society and its interrelated institutions than in the distinctive physical features of the elephant.

In many ways, the leopard (ingwe, inalane; Panthera pardus) is the exact contrast or opposite of the elephant although diviners, herbalists and men generally classify both as forest animals (izilo zasehlathini) and link them closely to the chieftainship. The pelt of the leopard - with its variegated colours, ranging from white to orange-russet, and distinctive spots and rosettes to which the term of respect inalane (literally, "spotted thing") refers - was fashioned into a robe (umnweba) which was the distinctive mark of a chief, or at least a man of noble or aristocratic rank, since chiefs were known to bestow leopard-skin robes (as well as cattle) on their favourites (cf. Kay 1833: 115): councillors, war-doctors (amatola), warriors and hunters, renowned and celebrated men of great individual courage and merit. The teeth and claws of the leopard were fashioned into necklets and armbands respectively and these likewise adorned chiefs or were bestowed by them on their favourites. In contrast, the ivory armband (umxhaga) was the token of political office and a symbol of executive authority associated with the chief-in-council and as such was much more than simply a mark of distinction: it literally carried more weight. The leopard's tail (umsila) was formerly the token of the messenger (umsila) of the
court and when staked in the courtyard of a homestead it effectively summoned the household head to appear in the chief's court (inkundla). Failure to do so was apparently linked, as in most criminal and civil delicts in tribal times, to fines (amatyala) payable to the chief in cattle. According to diviners, herbalists and men generally, the leopard is a solitary flesh-eater (iramncwa) that is reputed to move its tail with a sideways flicking motion before pouncing on its prey which it kills by severing the spinal column at the base of the neck in much the same way as the Cape Nguni nowadays immolate cattle in sacrifice. These are characteristics the leopard reputedly shares with the serval (ihlosi; Felis serval) and the caracal (ingawa; Felis caracal) which are also classified as forest animals (izilo zasehlathini). Diviners point out that the lion (ingonyama; Panthera leo) is also a flesh-eater (iramncwa). However, it, of all the felines, is an exception by virtue of its gregariousness and group life which, like that of the elephant, even evinces signs of a division of labour between the sexes as in tribal life. The lion, moreover, is classified among the grassland animals (izilo zasethafeni). According to diviners, the lion is the most ferocious of the felines as it is the only one known to occasionally attempt to tackle an elephant calf. Leopard, serval and caracal are reputed to hide in the secluded fastnesses of wooded ravines and rocky mountainsides and although they are known to maul hunting dogs, they reputedly avoid preying on elephant, livestock and man. Leopard, serval and caracal are indeed ferocious, diviners point out, but mostly in self-defence. According to diviners, the leopard has a great predilection for preying on the chacma baboon (imfene; Papio ursinus) and the red duiker (impunzi; Cephalophus natalensis) and the skins of both these animals frequently feature in the ceremonial regalia of diviners. Formerly, the chief's Great wife wore a headdress made from the skin of the blue duiker (iphuthi; Cephalophus monticola) and a necklet made from baboon teeth. So, where the elephant
symbolizes the group, particularly in societas, the leopard is the symbol of individualism (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1975b: 30ff.) - not the unbridled individualism of the witch or sorcerer (see section 4.8), but rather individualism as limited and defined by precedent and law. In its peculiarly legal aspects, the leopard symbolizes the consequences of tribal law which were swift, sure and even deadly like the leopard pouncing on its prey. The elephant has a profoundly sacred or religious significance, for, diviners say, it hears all about the witches and sorcerers in the community, but it does not retaliate against them by meting out punishment. The wide collective reverence for the elephant is lacking for the leopard. This is not surprising because the leopard is a flesh-eater known to be ferocious when defending itself and thus not to be meddled with lightly, whereas the elephant has a great reputation for being kind and helpful to people. Leopard skin, diviners maintain, is not associated with ancestrally sent luck or good fortune (ithamsanga) like the skins of the small sacred animals (izilwanyana) - e.g. bushbuck, red duiker, springbok, grysbok, chacma baboon, black-backed jackal, two species of otter and various species of mongoose - from which diviners, as a rule, select for use in their regalias. (We will see why below.) Diviners are generally out to attract clients and, therefore, they must be sociable, friendly and easily approachable. These are not qualities readily associated with the solitary and ferocious leopard. Significantly, diviners associate the leopard with the forest species of ubulawu called impendulo (literally, "the answer") which is ingested. As we have seen, the flesh-eating leopard with its distinctively marked coat answers any violent intrusion into its domain with ferocious violence. Thus the leopard is a particularly apt symbol for tribal legal precedent with its powers of redress over the individual in society. Like the Great wife's submission to the authority of her husband the chief, the diviner's subordination to tribal law is symbolized by the fact that the leopard preys on, among other
things, the chacma baboon and various small antelope the skins of which feature in the regalia of the diviner (and the Great wife). True enough, the leopard frequently appears - sometimes paired with the elephant - in the dreams of novice diviners (as we have already seen in Sijamankungwini's case in section 4.5) as well as in accounts of the diviner's calling (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1975b: 28). In Sijamankungwini's dream (see section 4.5), the elephant and leopard are ritual symbols. The elephant stands for or symbolizes ablutions with ubulawu and beer drinking, whereas the leopard stands for or symbolizes ingesting ubulawu and animal sacrifice. Just as beer drinking and sacrifice are linked aspects of the goduswa rites as a result of which the candidate finally graduates as a diviner to practise on her or his own account (see section 3.6) - indeed, as beer drinking and sacrifice are linked aspects of the umbuyiso rites incorporating the deceased household head as an ancestor of the homestead - so the elephant and leopard are linked in Sijamanjungwini's dream. As previously pointed out (see chapter 2), Sijamanjungwini never actually graduated as a diviner as presaged in his dream. Apparently, he could not get along with the female diviner to whom he was apprenticed in Transkei. Nevertheless, these dreams still legitimated his calling as a healer and, undoubtedly, this is one reason, among others, why he took the trouble to recount them to me. Now, let us turn to a consideration of the diviner's ceremonial regalia.

The skin hat (isidlokolo) and skirt (umthika) are the hallmarks of the fully qualified diviner. The isidlokolo consists of two rectangular flaps of skin (about 22 x 24 cm, but dimensions can vary both according to the type of skin used and the wearer). The corners are rounded and sewn together or laced with sinew (usinga). The hairy side of the skin always faces outwards. The circumference of the brim of the hat is usually decorated with strands of white beads (iintsimbi ezimhlophe) of varying lengths.
which rest upon the neck and brow of the wearer or cover the face completely. The hairy peak of the hat can also be decorated on one or both sides with two criss-cross strands or bands of white beads extending from either corner and intersecting in the middle or, equally, it can be left undecorated. The umthika consists of strips of skin - the hairy side facing outwards - attached at one end to a leather band or belt that is worn round the waist. The width of the skin strips vary from one umthika to another (between 2 - 10 cm). Sometimes the broader strips are edged or trimmed with white beads in a manner similar to the hat or simply left undecorated. The skin strips are about 50cm in length but vary according to the stature of the wearer so that they extend to just above the knee. It is essentially for this reason that the use of the term 'skirt' is justified as a descriptive label (see section 3.6).

According to diviners (as already noted), the ancestors reveal to novices in their dreams the various animals the skins of which are to be included in their regalias, with the result that the skins used for the regalia may vary from diviner to diviner. Nevertheless, diviners generally select skins for the regalia from the category of small sacred animals (izilwanyana) : e.g. springbok (ibhadi; Antidorcas marsupialis), red duiker (impunzi; Cephalophus natalensis), bushbuck (imbabala; Tragelaphus scriptus), steenbok (itshabanqa; Raphicerus campestris), grysbok (ingxungxu; Raphicerus melanotis), spotted hyena (isandawana; Crocuta crocuta), black-backed jackal (impungutye, idyakalashe; Canis mesomelas), chacma baboon (imfene; Papio ursinus), grey slender mongoose (inyengelezi; Galerella sanguinea), spotted-necked otter (intini; Lutra maculicollis) and Cape clawless otter (intini; Anonyx capensis). These skins are selected because the attributes of these animals serve as metaphors and symbols for the attributes and skills of the diviner. This is illustrated below.
Diviners maintain that the small antelope and the chacma baboon are imbued with a surfeit of ancestrally sent luck because they adopt various strategies in coping with predators and hunters (in fact, very much like novice diviners in coping with their interpersonal problems - see chapter 3). According to diviners, the bushbuck, like the Cape hare (*umvundla*), is capable of outwitting its pursuers by darting this way and that, making it extremely difficult to hunt with dogs or even to shoot with a rifle. Diviners point out that the bushbuck is reputed to take to a stream or river when wounded in the hunt and thus it is impossible to track in the bush even with hunting-dogs. According to diviners, the springbok has a great reputation for its ability to leap through the air which enables it to elude predators and hunters. Moreover, diviners point out, the springbok has a beautiful tail - the top part light brown and the under part pure white - which the animal is said to flick up and down very much as the skin flaps of the *umthika* are said to do during dancing. Diviners and novices pride themselves on their ability to dance and, so to speak, leap through the air like springboks. According to diviners, the black-backed jackal and spotted hyena are both scavengers reputed to have great powers of smell. Diviners point out that traditionally the witch-finder (*igqirha elinukayo*) was said "to smell out" (*ukunuka*) witches and sorcerers in the tribe. Nowadays, an expert diviner is still referred to by the term *isanuse*: i.e. "one who smells out" illness or misfortune in the group. According to diviners, the chacma baboon has great powers of sight and smell which enable it to scent out dangerous carnivores in the bush particularly the leopard which is reputed to be its natural enemy. However, what diviners regard as being particularly significant about the chacma baboon is that it lives in a socially differentiated group that is reputed to have a scout (*ukhala*) - literally, "a crier" - whose task it is to tackle the leopard if it attacks the troop and so to delay it, enabling the rest of the troop to escape unscathed. Although
diviners are aware that this function is served in the wild by a dominant male baboon (cf. Smithers 1983: 148) - not to mention the fact that most diviners who wear the baboon skin hat are female and only a few males do likewise - this is not the central point at issue here. It is not the sex of the actor that is at stake but the general character of the role itself. Thus, as we are by now aware, the physical attributes and the behaviour of the animal, as noted and explained by diviners, are absolutely essential to an understanding of it as metaphor and symbol. However, the cultural mesh of thought and belief is capable of screening off those zoological facts which jar with inescapable social realities (cf. Douglas 1966). The diviner's role as scout is neatly summarized by the herbalist, Chithiggwirha, below.

Chithiggwirha: A diviner (igqirha) is a scout (ukhala) who sees the things that come to the home; a herbalist (ixhwele) is sent there to fight that bad thing (into embi). A diviner is gifted to see a thing come [from] afar (igqirha liphiwe ukuyibona into isiza phaya kude). People live confused by something; the diviner sees it and tells them. A herbalist who has sense must, when visited by an ill person (umntu ogulayo), see a diviner first [so] that [the herbalist] knows what the ill person [has]. [It is] at this point [where the herbalist fails to do this] that people complain about him and they say that there is a robbing game (i-robbing game) because [the herbalist] is treating a thing he does not know. One will never succeed [if one] treats a thing one does not know. A herbalist must have a diviner because the diviner is the
illuminator (umkhanyiseli) who opens the way (elihlala indlela). Constable Mankwenkwe once came to me with an ill child who could not speak. I told him that there was nothing I could do. "Let's go to the diviner," I said. We went to the diviner [and] I heard what it was. I then treated her. She became well and spoke.

In the symbolic pairing of diviner and baboon, the baboon assumes human attributes and the diviner assumes attributes of the baboon. Also, both diviner and baboon forage for the same vegetable material in the bush and forest. I have already referred to the fact (in the foregoing section and in section 2.5) that healers and novices adopt the behavioural characteristics of animals in order to negotiate the dense bush while picking medicines. Among diviners and even some ordinary people, the grey slender mongoose has a great reputation as a killer of poisonous snakes including the puff-adder, grass snake and cobra (ipimpi). Just as the grey slender mongoose is reputed to ferret out snakes in their holes, so the diviner is reputed to be able to uncover the malevolence of ordinary people and the spirits in divination (imvumisa - see section 5.4). Now, let us turn to a consideration of the various animal artefacts used by diviners and herbalists in healing.

Large bovids - like the buffalo which is said to be the "bull (inkunzi) of the forest" - and antelope - like the kudu and wildebeest - have a great reputation among diviners and herbalists for using their horns (iimphondo) in self defense. Diviners and herbalists make use of a whole range of horns large and small - domestic ox, kudu, springbok, bushbuck, klipspringer, steenbok and grysbok - and these are considered extremely efficacious as containers for medicinal preparations like, for
example, *umhlabelo* that, even among ordinary people, has a great reputation for getting defendants acquitted of criminal charges in the magistrate's court. The skins of lizards (*amacilitshe*), like the chameleon (*ulovane*) - which, even among ordinary people, has a reputation for being able to change its colour according to its surroundings and is a well-known symbol for the sorcerer (see section 4.8) - and the nile monitor - which, according to diviners, is the watchdog of the River People (see below) and has an abhorrence for ritual impurity or pollution (see section 4.7), very often serve as stoppers or sealers for the medicine-horn (*uphondo*). The chameleon is as popular among herbalists as the monitor is among diviners. It is essentially this ability of the bovids and antelope to use their horns to protect (*ukukhusela*) themselves that commends their horns for use as medicinal containers. Moreover, diviners and herbalists use the medicines in these containers to protect their clients from a whole range of problems - illness, misfortune and various interpersonal conflicts and difficulties including criminal and civil court cases. This selfsame tendency to use sharp artefacts as instruments naturally also commends the burrowers, porcupine and hedgehog, as potent fat (*amafutha*) which, like elephant fat, was used to strengthen the chief. According to diviners, porcupine and hedgehog have protective coats of sharp quills and needles respectively which they are apparently capable of using as a protective shell when under threat of attack. Diviners point out that the porcupine is even able to despatch its quills into a predator as one might throw a spear or javelin (*umkhonto*). Diviners and herbalists also use a sharp porcupine quill (*incanda*) as a surgical instrument or scalpel, as we saw in section 4.1, to perform leeching (*ukukhupha iintlanga*). Diviners point out that the nile monitor has a ridged tail that tapers to a point which it apparently uses to good effect in disciplining errant diviners and ordinary people on behalf of the River People. It is noteworthy, too, that the horns of slaughtered
cattle, particularly oxen, have a sacred significance and particularly in the rural areas are nailed to the forked tethering-post (*ixhanti*) in the cattle byre. Occasionally, even in town, the horns of slaughtered cattle can be found thrust up on the eaves of a rusty corrugated iron roof. Domestic livestock were not only historically an important source of socially acceptable high-protein food (i.e. meat and milk) and the wherewithal for religious rituals addressed to the ancestors (see section 3.6), but they also provided the hide karosses worn by men and women and the goat-skin shawls (*iimbeleko*) used by mothers for carrying their infants on their backs. In fact, diviners and herbalists in town and the rural areas very often keep the skin of the *imbeleko* goat, which is slaughtered to mark the birth of a child, among their medicines and other paraphernalia in the medicine-hut (*intondo*). The close identity between man and sacrificial beast is a recurrent theme in the induction rites of the diviner. As we saw in section 3.6, the candidate diviner alone tastes (*ukushwama*) the ritual portion of meat (*intsonyama*) cut from the right foreleg of the slaughtered animal. Thus, as we have seen, the solitary flesh-eating leopard provides an apt metaphor for these sacrificial rites.

As Hammond-Tooke (1975b: 25) points out, antelope were formerly ‘wild’ meat *par excellence* as is suggested by the Xhosa equivalent *inyamakazi* (*inyama* = meat + dim. *kazi*) which literally means little or small meat. This is hardly surprising considering the history of the Cape Nguni as hunters and pastoralists (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1975b: 23-4), and the fact that antelope have horns like cattle and goats (cf. Douglas 1966: 41-57 and 1975: 27-46). However, Hammond-Tooke (1975b) overrules the chacma baboon and bush pig in this connection which some ordinary people still regard as a (now rare) delicacy. As we find in the abominations of Leviticus (cf. Douglas 1966 and 1975), the baboon has neither horns nor hooves like antelope but hands and feet.
like man. Moreover, unlike livestock and some antelope, the bush pig's hooves are not cloven nor does it chew the cud. Essentially, for these reasons the ancient Israelites avoided eating the flesh of the baboon and pig because it was considered unclean, a source of pollution and a contravention of the natural and social orders originally created by an all powerful God, Jehovah (cf. Douglas 1966). Nevertheless, diviners point out that chacma baboon and bush pig are included in the category of edible wild animals. We have partly touched on the reason for this. Although chacma baboon and bush pig cannot rightly be described as horned animals, the baboon has sharp teeth and the bush pig has tusks. According to diviners, both these animals, like antelope and cattle, are herbivorous (the bush pig more predominantly so than the baboon) and they, like antelope and cattle, are preyed upon by the larger carnivores principally the leopard. As we have seen, antelope and baboon skins are utilized in the diviner's regalia. Bush pig hide was (and still is, where obtainable) highly prized in the making of durable thongs for cattle and oxen. Undoubtedly, among the Cape Nguni, there is a close connection between chacma baboon, bush pig, antelope and cattle. However, it is for reasons other than those stated in Leviticus and Deuteronomy (cf. Douglas 1966) where chacma baboon and bush pig are opposed rather than linked to antelope and cattle.

Apart from the cattle and goats slaughtered on ritual occasions (and the eggs, poultry, pork and mutton occasionally and routinely consumed at home) diviners generally abstain (ukuzila) from eating the flesh of all wild animals including the various antelope, chacma baboon, bush pig, fish and various snakes and birds. This dietary asceticism does not carry the same social distinctiveness it did in tribal times when hunting (ukuzingela) was a popular male pastime and sporting activity. Nevertheless, diviners generally abstain from eating fish (intlanzi) which,
nowadays, is fried and sold by hawkers in the townships and eaten by many people. The reason for this, although tied up with pollution (see section 4.7 below), is not in any way connected with the ritual uncleanness of the animals in question - as is the case with the camel and rock badger mentioned in Leviticus (cf. Douglas 1966) - but rather with their sacred character. As previously noted, diviners and herbalists utilize a wide range of wild animal artefacts and skins as medicines (amayeza) and charms (amakhubalo). These artefacts and skins are imbued with the charismatic power and luck of the ancestors and are thus susceptible to the contagious effects of pollution (see section 4.7) which neutralize, if not destroy, the supernatural power and luck believed to inhere in medicines and charms generally and, hence, their efficacy to cure affliction. Diviners point out that hunters, who kill wild and sacred animals, become polluted and in keeping with Fortes's (1945) view, invite supernatural sanctions from the ancestors in retaliation unless they are ritually purified from pollution. This being the case, diviners point out, hunters are not well suited to handling wild animal skins and artefacts as medicines and charms. In abstaining from the flesh of all wild animals including socially acceptable wild antelope meat, diviners express an essentially religious attitude to the wild animal that, unlike the eating avoidances of the ancient Israelites detailed in Leviticus and Deuteronomy (cf. Douglas 1966), is conditioned by the animal's sacred, rather than profane, nature. This is nowhere better expressed than in the diviner's beliefs concerning the River People (abantu bomlambo) and the messengers (izithunywa) in general (see below). At best, the eating avoidances detailed in Leviticus and Deuteronomy are a rough and ready yardstick with which to compare the classificatory schemata, pollution concepts and beliefs of other peoples (cf. the Lele in Douglas 1975: 27-46).
Although belief in the River People is widespread among ordinary people both in town and the rural areas, the 'theology' of the River People is nowadays an important part of the diviner's occult knowledge (see the 'river' myth in chapter 5). Diviners and even some ordinary people classify the River People as sacred animals of the homestead (izilo zasekhaya). Yet, strictly speaking, the River People are not 'naturalistic' animals. Nevertheless, the term 'River People' is an extraordinarily apt metaphor and symbol, both for the ancestors and diviners, which, no less than the 'naturalistic' animals we have been discussing, bridges the polarities of man and animal, the self and the agnatic group. We have already noted (in section 4.3) the close connection between the agnatic group and the ancestors as well as between certain agnatic groups and the River People in Albany district. Also, we noted that 'River People' is a term of respect (intlonipho) for the ancestors - paternal spirits which are believed to dwell in the fabled homestead under the river (cf. Hammond-Tooke 1975b : 20-2) and to be responsible for the diviner's calling (see chapter 3). Diviners associate the River People in thought and belief with the high-pitched spirit voices, ooNomathotholo, creatures reputedly half human and half animal which eat the ubulawu of the river, closely associated with diviners (see section 4.5). According to diviners, the River People are human from the head down to the waist below which they have tails like fish (cf. Laubscher 1951 : 1). The River People reputedly have long hair as indeed do some diviners, both male and female, particularly on the farms and in the rural areas. Clearly, the River People with their fish tails is an extended metaphor cleverly contrived from the original nuance or image coined in the use of abantu bomlambo as a term of respect for the ancestors and all of this is sheer bricolage, the very epitome of the diviner's art (see section 4.1).
Diviners say that the fish is the messenger or servant of the hippopotamus (*imvubu*), "the great person of the river (*umntu womkhulu wasemlanjeni*)", which is said to be the younger brother (*umninawe*) of the elephant. Both the hippo and the elephant, diviners point out, like to immerse themselves in mud and water. According to diviners, the hippo is associated with the riverine species of *ubulawu* called *uzuba* (literally, "a beautiful dresser" - a reference to the scented pink and mauvy blue flowers of the waterlily (*Nymphacea capensis*) which, like *ubuka* associated with the elephant, is not ingested and used only for washing the body. However, diviners point out, the hippo is smaller in stature and has smaller teeth than the elephant. The personification of the animal is not simply the hallmark of the diviner's beliefs and world-view: it is a rather 'handy' cultural theme that occurs generally in traditional Xhosa story-tales (*iintsomi*) (cf. Theal 1882 and Scheub 1975), bird-lore (cf. Godfrey 1941), praise poetry (cf. Opland 1970, 1974 and 1983), riddles (cf. Sobukwe 1971), idioms and expressions (cf. Mahlasela 1973). Among other things, namely the spear and black rod, the hippo hide switch (*imvubu*) is the token of the diviner's authority as chief whip or spokesman of the spirits. Diviners sometimes use the switch (and/or black rod) to good effect when ejecting drunk or troublesome clients from their premises. As is the case with the antelope skins used in the diviner's skirt (*umthika*), the hippo hide of the switch reflects the subordinate position of the diviner in relation to the chief.

Diviners say that the fish (*intlanzi*) keeps the river clean by eating the dung of the hippopotamus. (Apparently, so do fish of the genus *Labeo* - cf. Dorst and Dandelot 1972 : 172.) The noun *intlanzi* (fish) is derived from the verb *ukuhlanza* which literally means to wash, cleanse or purify. In the diviner's traditionalist cosmology (see the 'river' myth in chapter 5), the river is syntagmatically linked to the life-giving element of
water (amanzi), which is paradigmatically associated with fermented sorghum beer as well as white clay, beads and ubulawu foam (see section 4.5) and, hence, with the colour white and the whole notion of ritual purity (see section 4.7). We recall, for example, that circumcision initiates wash at the river before being incorporated back into routine social life and that candidate diviners are called under the river in dreams and, occasionally, a couple even immerse themselves in a river (see chapter 3). In keeping with the more generalized beliefs about the ancestors among the Cape Nguni, the River People are both benign and malevolent: they reputedly protect the faithful and pure from affliction and withdraw their protection from the wayward and polluted who become afflicted with illness and misfortune. The River People are the tutelary spirits of healing that are closely associated with diviners in traditionalist Cape Nguni belief and ritual (see the intlwaynelelo rites in section 3.6). As previously noted (in section 4.3), the corpses of chiefs were sometimes buried in a tomb on the bank of a stream or river. Formerly, before the chief was buried, an old female member of the tribe was "smelt out" (ukunuka) in a witch-finding dance (umhlalahlo) conducted by the diviners (cf. Alberti 1807/1968: 48ff.). The old woman was not tortured to death in the manner usual for cases of witchcraft, involving stinging ants and stones heated in the fire (cf. Alberti 1807/1968: 51, Peires 1981: 129 and Peires 1989: 83), but she was simply suffocated or strangled. According to Mandla, the old woman's corpse was spread as a mat (ukwandlalela) upon which the chief's corpse was lain in the recess of the tomb (see also Hunter 1936: 397). As is the case in the intlwaynelelo rites (see section 3.6), pumpkin seeds and grains of millet and maize (all of a whitish hue) were thrown into the grave by a man who buried the corpse and as he did so, he said: "Give us millet, give us maize, give us pumpkins (usiphe amazimba, usiphe umbona, usiphe amathanga)" (Hunter 1936: 227). As it would appear, these burial rites linked to white
seeds were connected with fertility. Diviners and even ordinary people believe that the River People are efficacious in curing barrenness, impotency, menstrual and menopausal problems as well as interpersonal conflicts between generations in the family (see section 2.7 and chapter 3). Diviners point out that ordinary people sometimes believe that the River People are also responsible for causing stomach-ache (isisu) and skin rash (ukukhotelwa). However, diviners point out, these conditions are sometimes the result not of neglecting to perform traditional rituals but of drinking unboiled river water and, as such, have little to do with the River People. Now, let us attempt to unravel the deeper symbolic significance of the River People and their anomalous fish-tails.

It has already been noted that diviners abstain from eating the flesh of the animals the skins of which are worn in the regalia. Moreover, diviners point out that because they eat the ubulawu associated with the river, they avoid wearing the skins of the small sacred animals (izilwanyana) associated with the river. As a result of the close identity between the ancestors, medicines and sacred animals - an identity expressed in the complex concept of ooNomathotholo - the flesh of the plant is symbolically paired with the flesh of the animal and, as Evans-Pritchard (1940) long ago pointed out in connection with the cucumber and the ox, the one comes to stand for the other. Hence, diviners avoid (ukuzila) wearing the skins of the small sacred animals associated with the river, the sacred domain of the spirits associated with the calling, as though they had actually eaten the animals in question. In this way, the regalias of diviners called to the river (ukuthwetyulwa) are associated with the land mammals - the small sacred animals of the forest and grassland - since the varieties of ubulawu associated with these spatial categories are not considered intrinsic to the calling of 'river' diviners and the skins of forest and grassland animals are thus available for
use in their regalias. Apart from the fact that the pairing of river and land mammals symbolizes the essential ambiguity of the diviner who, part human and part beast, is 'betwixt and between' the concerns of the living in the terrestrial world and the concerns of the ancestors in the riverine underworld, this traditional convention of the profession is entirely coherent with what we already know concerning the regalias of chiefs and diviners. That is, the flesh of the animals making-up the regalia in question is avoided and not eaten by the person who wears the regalia. All of this is wrapped up with the concept of ancestrally sent luck or good fortune which is why it is efficacious to wear certain animal skins and artefacts in the first place; and this being the case, the wearer of the skins and artefacts avoids hunting, killing or eating the animals in question. To put the whole issue more abstractly, it is essentially the spiritual or sacred character of the animal that is being paired symbolically with the character of the office or role occupied by the wearer, whether chief or diviner, rather than the animal's profane nature as a carnal creature beyond the pale of societal and spiritual control, as is indeed the case with the unclean animals mentioned in the abominations of Leviticus (cf. Douglas 1966).

Now, turning to the River People, we have noted that their fish-tails extend from the waist down and consist of flesh or skin partitioned into sections or scales (see the description of the old mermaid in the 'river' myth in chapter 5). The diviner's skin skirt typically extends from the waist down and consists of sections, strips or flaps of skin with the hairy sides facing outward. Moreover, we recall, diviners avoid eating fish (although it is a cheap and readily available form of protein widely consumed in town and the rural areas) as well as the animals the skins of which are worn in the regalia. The fish-tail is thus a succinct metaphor for the diviner's skin skirt; and
both fish-tail and skin skirt symbolize or stand for the dietary asceticism of the diviner.

A most striking evocation of the power of the ancestors to harm or protect is contained in the metaphor of the changeable and fabulous snake iChanti which, according to diviners, is the messenger of death (isisithunywa sokubulala) of the River People and guards the entrance to their cavern under the river (see chapter 5). Diviners point out that candidate diviners who have not attended circumcision or female puberty rites and are thus considered polluted and/or whose kinsmen object to the calling are immediately killed by iChanti when they appear under the river. Sometimes this serves diviners as a 'handy' explanation for death by drowning and/or the reason for the dismemberment of the corpse of the victim. The fabulous snake iChanti is associated in traditionalist thought and belief with the olive-brown water snake (izilenzi) which, diviners point out, lives in pools in streams or rivers and is absolutely harmless (cf. FitzSimons 1974). However, according to diviners, ordinary people sometimes coming across the olive-brown water snake unexpectedly at or near the river, are very frightened by it and later get ill (ukugula). Diviners invariably deduce from this that the people so afflicted by a harmless snake owe ritual debts (amatyala) to the ancestors and have, in other words, neglected to perform traditional rituals. This is such a widespread phenomenon among ordinary people nowadays that, as diviners so accurately predict, it is usually the case.

The brown fly (impukane emdaka), i.e. the horse-fly of the genus Tabanus, is so small and inconspicuous it would hardly have attracted the interests of an anthropologist had it not been mentioned in Mandla's version of the 'river' myth (see chapter 5). According to diviners, the male brown fly is the messenger or herald responsible for summoning candidate diviners to the
river when they have been called there by the spirits. It reputedly comes into the homestead and attaches itself to the candidate's brow as if he or she is a beast. The brown fly reputedly lives in damp places near pools and streams. Firstly, according to diviners, it is a worm or slug living in the water. Then, it builds a house or pupa on grass or river reeds (imizi) (which, incidentally, are used to line the candidate diviner's seclusion hut or intondo in the intlwayelelelo rites - see section 3.6). Once the brown fly leaves the seclusion of the pupa as a winged insect, it gads about in the air or wind (umoya) just as the ancestral spirits are wont to do (see sections 4.3 and 4.5). According to diviners, the males of the species drink the nectar of flowers whereas the females, to some extent like impundulu (see section 4.8), live on the blood of men and animals and, like bees and wasps (oonomeva), reputedly have sharp stings. Diviners point out that all the ubulawu herbs are associated with distinctive flowers (iintyatyambo) and also that, before the brewing of sorghum beer became the accepted practice among the western Xhosa chiefdoms, a refreshing but intoxicating beverage, called icilika, was brewed from fermented herbs and honey which is still highly prized by some ordinary people and diviners in Albany district. Diviners say that the diviner is like a sunbird (ingcungcu) which, in the autumn, flits from one aloe to another drinking the nectar from the flowers. In other words, the diviner is constantly attending the traditional beer drinks and sacrifices of clients where there are tasty things like meat and beer to eat and drink (see section 3.6). The brown fly certainly is a symbol and small-scale model par excellence for the diviner (see section 4.1). Little wonder, then, that it is sometimes implicated in the calling as the herald or messenger of the River People that summons the candidate diviner to the river. We note the propensity of the symbol to change into a sign and so act as a cause eliciting certain effects, just as the brown fly calls the candidate to the river to become a diviner (see chapter 5).
Diviners point out that river ducks and fowls (amadada neenkuku zasemlanjeni) are wild birds and unlike the Cape wagtail, sparrow and swallow which frequent the homestead and cattle byre, river ducks and fowls only rarely come to the homestead. As observed during fieldwork, river ducks and fowls have their favoured spots along river courses usually in broad, slow flowing channels sheltered by bush: i.e. precisely the kind of spot a diviner is likely to choose for the performance of the intlwaynelelo rites (see section 3.6). The ducks have beautiful variegated colours of blue and green, and the fowls are a mottled brown and white. As observed several times during fieldwork, it happens that the intlwaynelelo procession making its way to the river in the early morning inadvertently disturbs the ducks and fowls on the river which immediately take to the air squawking and quacking. These birds circle round endlessly in the sky - even for some time after the procession has left the spot where the offerings (iminikelolo) were made to the River People (see section 3.6) - before settling down once more on the river. Diviners usually interpret this behaviour of the birds for the benefit of the ordinary people in the intlwaynelelo procession: it is a propitious omen (umhlola) indicating that the ancestors have accepted the offerings and thus have been successfully propitiated (ukucamagushwa). According to diviners, when river ducks and fowls come to the homestead, they are the messengers of the River People which inform members of the family that the candidate diviner, who was called by the spirits and immersed in the river, is now leaving the river for the homestead and that the final preparations for the traditional beer drink and dance must now be completed in time for the candidate's arrival back at the homestead (see the 'river' myth in chapter 5). River ducks and fowls, like the brown fly, are also anomalous creatures of the air or wind (umoya) above and of the river (umlambo) below. We recall how Sijamankungwini concluded the narrative of his dreams with the poetic image of the river fowl shaking its tail-
feathers up and down on the water (see section 4.5). This is a small but important detail. As previously noted (see section 3.6), the diviner only puts on his regalia in the intlwayelelo for the traditional dancing (and, of course, beer drinking) that concludes the ritual. Diviners point out that river ducks and fowls only leave the river when a person or animal disturbs or frightens them off. Since the candidate diviner reputedly submerges in the river and subsequently emerges again (see the 'river' myth in chapter 5), this apparently is enough to disturb the sensitive river ducks and fowls which, diviners point out, are not really accustomed to people. Diviners point out that river ducks and fowls fly round and round in the sky just as the dancers, in traditional dancing (umxhentso), move round the hearth (iziko) in the centre of the hut to the accompaniment of the hand-clapping of the audience. As observed several times during fieldwork, for the occasion the diviners dress up in their skin hats and skirts of variegated colours and during the dancing, the skin strips of their skirts flap up and down like the tail-feathers of the river fowl in Sijamankungwini's dream (or the springbok's tail previously mentioned). Thus here we see precisely the opposite to what we saw in relation to the brown fly: i.e. how the ritual sign (river ducks and fowls flying round and round is indicative of the candidate's return to the homestead and the contingent ritual preparations that must be completed) easily becomes a ritual symbol (river birds flying round = dancing and beer drinking). The message (i.e. dancing and beer drinking) and the message bearing entity (i.e. river ducks and fowls flying round in the sky quacking and squawking) are merely two aspects of the same thing so that the latter triggers the former in a mechanical automatic fashion like a signal (cf. Leach 1976: 12).

According to diviners, the frog (isele) and the nile monitor (uxam) are both anomalous creatures which live in holes in the
river and also move about on land. Let us deal with the frog first. Diviners and even ordinary people point out that the frog leaps (ukutsiba) about just like the springbok (ibhadi). Diviners say that when frogs croak after the offerings are made at the river in the intlwayelelo rites (see section 3.6), it is a good omen, meaning that the ancestors have accepted the offerings and thus have been successfully propitiated so that this event can now be appropriately celebrated with traditional beer drinking, dancing and singing back at the homestead. The croaking and leaping of the frog (which lives in a hole in the water) is symbolic, once again, of traditional beer drinking, singing and dancing. When a frog repeatedly enters a dwelling after having been put outside as in Nontando's case (see chapter 3), it is a signal that the person in question is being called to the river by the ancestors to become a diviner. It is a feature of the induction rites of the diviner (see section 3.6) that the candidate is secluded (as, for example, in the intlwayelelo rites) only to be reincorporated back into the homestead among the dancing, leaping throng of diviners and novices present on the occasion, and this occurs again in the intambo yosinga and goduswa rites. As observed several times during fieldwork, the diviners only start the dancing once they have had a good drink of fermented sorghum beer (utywala) and thus diviners always insist on being served their beaker (ibhekile) of beer while changing into their regalias (cf. De Jager and Gitywa 1963).

The nile monitor certainly has a wide reputation as an anomalous beast which, in some respects, is rather similar to the pangolin among the Lele (cf. Douglas 1975: 27-46). Some ordinary people and diviners inflate the reputation of the monitor considerably by referring to it as a crocodile (ingwenya), although it is now known that historically crocodiles did not occur in the rivers of the Eastern Cape (cf. Skead 1980). Although some ordinary people consider the nile monitor to be a sacred animal (isilo),
the general consensus of opinion among diviners is that it is a messenger (the whole problem of the meaning reputedly conveyed by a live monitor is well illustrated in Mandla’s account in Appendix 2.11). One has only to consider the appearance of the nile monitor to begin to understand its ambiguous nature. Since it is a four-legged creature with a long tail like a dog, diviners and even ordinary people refer to the nile monitor as "the dog of the river (inja yomlambo)". However, diviners point out that it also has clawed feet like a bird, a retractible forked-tongue like a snake, sharp teeth like a dog and a scaly skin like a snake, lizard or frog. Although an egg-layer, the monitor has a great reputation among diviners and ordinary people as an egg-eater and it is even said to raid the fowl-runs at homesteads in the rural areas in search of eggs. Diviners point out that when the monitor is cornered, it lashes out with its fearsome tail and can inflict serious injury on hunters and predators. The nile monitor is thus an anomalous lizard-like dog straddling the mammalian, reptilian and avian orders of the animal kingdom. According to diviners and ordinary people, the monitor lives in a hole in the river - very much like the River People (see the old mermaid in the 'river' myth in chapter 5) - which it lines with fresh cow dung (ubulonga) reputedly collected in the cattle byre (ubuhlanti) specially for this purpose. Apparently, this is a zoological fact based on naturalistic observation (cf. Rose 1950: 190). The monitor reputedly plasters its hole to keep it dry just as married women smear the floors of dwellings with fresh cow dung prior to social and ritual occasions even in town. Some old people and diviners say that sorghum beer (utywala) always ferments better when the container (igogogo) is placed on a freshly smeared dung floor. According to diviners, the monitor is also a resident of the mythical homestead under the river: i.e. the abode of the River People. Diviners add that the monitor is the messenger and servant (isicaka) of the River People. It reputedly herds their cattle.
to and from the river, brews beer for the River People and even keeps time for them when they dance under the river by beating the drum with its tail. Thus, the monitor is like the sturdy diviner's apprentice (e.g. a Nontando or Nobulawu - see chapter 2) who stands ready to assist the practitioner at every turn even with the housework if necessary. The monitor is also the spiritual watchdog of the River People, safeguarding their ethics and values and disciplining diviners who disregard or flaunt them. Diviners point out that the monitor has a reputation for striking with its tail those diviners who fail to avoid pollution (see section 4.7) when performing the intlwayelelo rites (see also the 'robbing game' in section 2.6). The monitor is thus something of a disciplinarian - in fact, like most diviners are to their novices and clients - ready to defend the ethical code of the River People. This is why people generally, including diviners, are afraid of the monitor. For a monitor to behave as a pet (as in Mandla's case in chapter 3) is extremely unusual. The usual reaction to the Nile monitor is, like Mvala's (see chapter 2 and Appendix 2.11), one of fear. Thus to have befriended not only one monitor but two, is clearly the sign of a potent and charismatic diviner. In fact, Mandla's antics with the Nile monitors is certainly a legend among the contemporaries of his generation in the townships. Diviners maintain that, although it is not unlucky to kill a poisonous snake - in fact, diviners and herbalists delight in killing poisonous puff-adders (amaramba) when picking medicines in the bush - it is extremely unlucky to kill a monitor, even by accident. A driver who accidently kills a Nile monitor on a country road will give it as a gift (usipho) to a diviner in order to avert any supernatural repercussions. Diviners make an oil or fat (amafutha) from the flesh and blood of the animal while the skin and claws are regarded as powerful protective charms (amakhubalo). Since the Nile monitor is likewise a symbol capable of acting as a sign for the intlwayelelo rites (connected as they
are with offerings made to the ancestors in a river pool as well as traditional dancing and beer drinking), we see how it can serve as an alternative to the horse-fly or the frog in the calling of the diviner. Although the monitor is technically speaking a messenger (isithunywa) - and diviners all agree on this point - it has become elevated in the beliefs of some ordinary people to the position of one of the sacred animals of the homestead (izilo zasekhaya) like the elephant and leopard. This serves to show that the diviner's classificatory schema is not static and it retains within its terms of specification its own history. Evidently, the symbolic animal is incorporated into myth and belief through experience (see Mandla's account in chapter 3) and, then, incorporated into the symbolic system through ritual addressed to the ancestors. In fact, this would seem to apply to most of the animals in the diviner's bestiary from the great and massive elephant to the lowly monitor, horse-fly and bee. The diversity of the animals involved in the diviner's cosmology is profound and fortuity evidently plays an important role in the diviner's symbolic relations with 'naturalistic' animals. All the animals, however, approximate in one way or another to the attributes of the "teeth bearers". Even the proboscidians - like the elephant, the bee and the horse-fly - seem to fall into this category not to mention the bird with beak and claws, the fish with its scales, the frog with its horny hide and antelope and domestic livestock with their horns and hooves. It is essentially through the slaughter of domestic cattle and goats (which, together with wild animals, share attributes of the "teeth bearers") that the candidate diviner is tamed or socialized (recall the white necklet put round the candidate's neck in the intambo yosinga rites - see section 3.6) and wild, uncontrollable nature (symbolized by the hat and skirt of wild animal skins eventually worn by the diviner) is domesticated for the candidate. Hence, the ferocious elephant turns into a kind, Jumbo-like creature more like a cartoon
character than the real live animal in the African bush; and the wild nile monitor becomes a pet (see chapter 3). Whereas in Leviticus and Deuteronomy (cf. Douglas 1966) the attributes of the antelope and domestic livestock (with horns and hooves) are used to divide up the animal order into the sacred and profane, in the diviner's cosmology these same attributes of the horned animals operate as a kind of polythetic principle (cf. Needham 1975) classifying wild and domestic animals in one sacred order, transforming the wild natural order into culture and taming it in the process. The reason for this, in the diviner's case, is that she or he occupies a specialized economic niche as healer and this necessarily entails certain extra-domestic concerns such as treating clients who, in the ordinary course of events, are neither kin, relatives, friends nor neighbours but, very often, strangers (at least, to begin with) not to mention the all important and sometimes dangerous activity of picking medicines in the bush (see sections 2.5 and 2.7).

Finally, this brings us to a consideration of avian messengers (izithunywa) of the homestead, forest and grassland. Without at least some reference to the bee (inyosi), the owl (isikhova), the Cape dikkop (ingqhanqholo), the blue swallow (inkonjane), the Cape sparrow (undlunkulu, unondlwane) and the Cape wagtail (umcelu, umvetshane), this account would be incomplete. Unlike all the wild avian messengers that convey messages from the ancestors exclusively by entering the domestic sphere of the homestead, the so-called homestead birds - the sparrow, wagtail and swallow - convey spiritual messages to the living by virtue of their absence, rather than presence, at the homestead. Diviners, herbalists and even some ordinary people say that when the sparrow, wagtail and swallow no longer visit the homestead - as is indeed the case, diviners point out, with the migratory blue swallow in the non-breeding winter months (cf. McLachlan and Liversidge 1976 : 340 : 497) - it is necessary to brew sorghum
beer, hold a traditional beer drink and make libations to the ancestors to ensure that the birds return once more to the homestead. According to diviners, it is significant that the sparrow, wagtail and swallow are (although not exclusively) grain-eaters and build their nests attached to or in the eaves of dwellings. Diviners point out that the vernacular names of the sparrow, undlunkulu and unondlwane, refer to "big house" and "cottage-dweller" respectively. We recall that the ancestors are reputed to brood over the eaves and threshold of the homestead (see section 4.3). Significantly, diviners point out, the vernacular term for the wagtail, umvetshane, refers to its habit of flicking its tail up and down. Hence, these birds are closely associated in thought and belief with the homestead, traditional beer brewing and drinking and the ancestors. However, in the estimation of diviners, these metaphorical relations between the ancestors, the homestead and traditional beer brewing and drinking are even better exemplified in the case of the bee.

The bee and the termite or ant (imbovane) have great reputations among healers and men generally for their industry and energy as well as the high degree of social differentiation evinced in the hive or termitary. According to diviners, both bee and termite are noted for their honey-combed dwellings. The termitary, diviners point out, provides a cement-like material which, among the Cape Nguni generally, is one of the chief ingredients women mix with cow dung and water for smearing the floors of dwellings. The bee, above all, produces from the nectar of flowers honey (ubusi) and beeswax, which diviners classify as fat (amafutha). Honey and beeswax are important ingredients in the cough and asthma remedies prepared by diviners and herbalists, not to mention the use of wild honey by ordinary people in the brewing of the alcoholic drink, icilika. Whereas the termite is a grassland animal, diviners point out, the bee is the messenger of the forest closely linked to the elephant. According to
diviners, the bee is a composite in miniature of the elephant and leopard. The bee reputedly resembles the elephant, because it has a tiny trunk with which to deliver its sting. Whereas the leopard reputedly has golden-brown spots, the bee has stripes of a similar hue. It still sometimes happens, both in town and the rural areas, that wild bees quite suddenly and inexplicably swarm into an inhabited dwelling and cluster on the inside of the roof or round the centre pole (intsika) supporting the roof. Such an event, even in the case of staunch Christians, is eventually bound to result in a consultation with a diviner in order to ascertain what to do about it. As a rule, diviners prescribe traditional beer brewing and drinking as the ritual prophylaxis for the problem and generally insist only that the siftings of grain (intsipho), which are strained from the beer just prior to serving it, be deposited in the cattle byre or, if in town, in the backyard of the infested dwelling. As observed during fieldwork, a few staunch Christians were most reluctant to take this advice which, in their estimation, seemed to involve something akin to magic (imilingo). However, once tried in practice, it generally works well even to the delight of the incredulous Christians. What actually happens is that the swarm of glucose starved bees are quickly informed by roving individual worker-bees of the mass of fermented sweetness contained in the beer siftings deposited outside and very soon the bees take every advantage of it. In fact, the bees even appear to become intoxicated and flop down among the people at the beer drink, falling into beakers of beer, pipes about to be lit, onto headdresses, hats and laps and even under foot. The people at the beer drink try their best to treat these tiny bloated creatures with consideration and take care not to harm them; picking them out of beakers of beer, lightly dusting them off heads, laps and pipes and carefully stepping over them. All of this adds a humourous touch to the proceedings which, of course, is not lost on the participants at the beer drink. Once recovered, however,
the swarm of bees usually takes off never to return. So, like the neglected spirits, the bees are at first ferocious and even sting their human hosts and generally make a nuisance of themselves. Once propitiated with libations of traditional sorghum beer (*utywala*), the bees, like the spirits, become quite harmless and even benign. At one and the same remove, the bees serve as a striking symbol for the agnatic group and a metaphor for the self.

Sometimes the messages delivered by avian messengers are negative rather than positive. According to diviners and even some ordinary people, when an owl or dikkop perches near a homestead or on a roof top at night and hoots or cries, this indicates that impending misfortune is about to overtake the homestead as a result of neglecting traditional rituals addressed to the ancestors. According to diviners, "the ancestors turn their backs (*izinyanya zinifulathele zimele pha*)" on their descendants when they neglect to perform the appropriate traditional rituals. Consequently, diviners point out, the ancestors withdraw their protection from the living leaving them open to the malevolence of witches and sorcerers (see section 4.8). Diviners point out that witches and sorcerers reputedly have their nocturnal gatherings out in the open where they consume human flesh and hoot and cry with delight. The owl and dikkop, however, are reputedly the messengers of the forest and grassland respectively. According to diviners, the owl is exclusively a flesh-eater but the dikkop eats seeds as well. Hence, these birds convey messages concerning neglected sacrifices and beer drinks. Diviners insist that these birds are not in any way associated with witchcraft and sorcery - notwithstanding their hoots and cries, they are quite benign animals and, like most of the messengers, quite harmless to man and beast - they simply convey messages from the ancestors to the living concerning neglected beer drinks and sacrifices. Diviners point out that, even when
thoroughly neglected, the ancestors do not simply cast off their descendants without first warning them that they intend to do so in the near future unless the neglected rituals are performed. In spite of the fact that diviners conclude from all this that the ancestors are generally benign and the messages conveyed by the messengers generally propitious, this attitude is by no means shared by most ordinary people who tend to regard as onerous the costs entailed in the performance of traditional rituals. As more than one educated Christian in the townships pointed out to me during fieldwork, the necessity to initiate a member of the family as a diviner, even on the grounds of healing alone, would spell economic disaster for the average householder in the townships nowadays and is thus regarded more as a blight than a blessing. However, this modern 'materialistic' attitude stems more from widespread poverty than the development of the capitalistic Protestant ethic (cf. Weber 1930) or declining interest in the ancestor cult as a result of widespread Christianization. It is essentially for economic reasons that many novices, both in town and the rural areas, never become fully initiated diviners (see chapter 2). Educated and well-off Christians who, for one or other reason, are converted to the ancestor cult usually become its staunchest adherents particularly in town. Ideas, concepts and beliefs culled from the diviner's traditionalist cosmology provide inspiration for the independent churches, the Zionist sects practicing full baptismal immersion in the river, not to mention the contemporary political movements such as Black Consciousness and the African National Congress whose well-known slogan is "Amandla!"

4.7 Pollution
As far as diviners and herbalists are concerned, purity is not only the conditio sine qua non of being bestowed with the charismatic power of the ancestors, but also the state of grace that lends spiritual efficacy to the treatment of the healer. The
'river' myth spells out the candidate diviner's inexorable movement towards power step for step: river water + white clay + emetic medicines = power (see chapter 5). As we saw in chapter three, diviners invariably draw attention in their life histories to the fact that they neither ate nor drank at the homestead thus implying that they were in a spiritual state of purity or grace before the calling actually took place. However, the whole notion of purity is also wrapped up with the idea of ritual order (cf. Douglas 1966 and Leach 1976). Before the candidate diviner can partake of the ubulawu in the cavern under the river (see chapter 5), the candidate must first smear on the white clay to by-pass the snake. In other words, diviners explicitly point out, before graduating as healers, candidates must first attend circumcision (ukwaluka) or female puberty rites (ingtonjane), as the case may be (see section 3.1). For it is in the context of adolescent initiation rites that the youth are introduced at first hand to the concept of pollution (umlaza) and the remedial medicinal measures associated with it.

Mandla: Pollution (umlaza) comes under the law (komthetho) which has been put to one that one must not do. Even if one is a diviner and one has gone to one's women, on one's return one washes [with medicines] in the morning before one handles medicines (amayeza). The name of that thing is pollution (umlaza).

When there are boys who have been circumcised there in the bush, there is a man who is called the officiator of the circumcision lodge (ikhankatha). This man abstains. To abstain (ukuzila) is to get away from pollution. He does not go to his
concubine (*inkazana*). What does he do that for? So that he does not go to the boys with pollution. The boys in the bush also abstain.

At female puberty rites (*intonjane*) people are brought together and there may be altogether fifty people, male and female. That is to say, 25 men and 25 women. It is not said that one makes love (i.e. has sexual intercourse) there in Xhosa. When female puberty rites are being done, it is said that one holds another (*mbhonjwa*). One does not sleep with one's girl-friend (*inkazana*). One is made to sleep with another girl one does not know. But she will not permit one to [perform] intercrural intercourse (*ukumetsha*) with her, for that will make pollution.

Diviners maintain that not only does pollution destroy the efficacy of traditional rituals addressed to the ancestors, the main aim of which is to enhance the power flowing from the ancestors, but it also destroys the power of medicines to heal and, if left unchecked, results in illness and death in man and beast.

Medicines and charms are treated in much the same way as domestic livestock and people: all are subject to the deleterious effects of pollution which are caused by certain natural and unavoidable human physiological processes - e.g. parturition, lactation, menstruation, sexual intercourse and death. After the death of a member of the family or a close kinsman, diviners observe a period of mourning during which they do not consult with or treat
clients nor, in fact, attend traditional rituals until the period of mourning is officially brought to a close with a formal beer drink after which practitioners are free to practise as before. The pollution which stems from parturition, lactation, menstruation and sexual intercourse can be avoided either by the affected person avoiding all social contact - which, except in the case of the candidate diviner or the adolescent initiate, is not a very practical measure - or simply by washing the body with a mixture of medicines and water. Diviners always wash with medicines before handling or picking medicines, conducting consultations with clients and attending traditional rituals. As Ngubane (1977 : 77-99) correctly points out, pollution is believed to be contagious and spreads from one person to another by means of contact. It is principally for this reason that diviners dislike people handling their materia medica and regalia other than a tried and trusted novice or a close colleague (see section 2.5).

A benign power emanates from the paternal ancestors like a river or stream that infuses healers and ordinary people and trickles into their possessions (see section 4.4). Thus, power inheres in people and the objects and possessions they regularly touch and handle. This benign power radiating from the ancestors is enhanced and reinforced by the regular performance of traditional rituals addressed to the ancestors. However, power is susceptible to periodic alterations brought about by unavoidable human physiological processes which cause people and things to become subject to pollution. Diviners believe that pollution brings about a decrease in the power of people and objects which is only offset by remedial measures of a medicinal and ritual nature. If left unchecked, however, pollution results in illness and death in much the same way as neglected traditional rituals result in illness and death as a result of the ancestors withdrawing their protection from the living and leaving them open to witchcraft.
fig. 4
Employing a notation developed by Leach (1961, 1976 and 1982), we see that the witch or sorcerer occupies a position at -1, i.e. beyond the social pale (see section 4.8); 'moral' man occupies a position at +1 diametrically opposed to witch or sorcerer; the ancestors - characteristically, the deceased senior males of the agnic group - and the diviners closely associated with them, occupy a position at 0 mediating between witch (-1) and 'moral' man (+1) (see figure 4 on the preceding page). Thus we see that the benign power of the ancestors registers at the positive moral pole of the scale (i.e. at +1). At the outset, pollution registers just beyond the median line towards the negative side of the scale between 0 and -1: i.e. 'betwixt and between' the ancestors and witches or sorcerers. However, if nothing is done to remedy the pollution by recourse to the appropriate medicinal and ritual measures, it in time draws closer to -1 until it finally occupies the negative moral pole associated with witch or sorcerer. At this stage, pollution is not only capable of neutralizing the benign power of the ancestors, but it is also malevolent and causes illness and death in man and beast: i.e. -1+1=0. Note that the ancestors occupy the median position in the scale located at 0. The physiological processes which result in pollution (e.g. parturition, lactation, menstruation, sexual intercourse and death) all involve the secretion of fluids at the extremities or boundaries of the body most likely to come into contact with people and things. This is obviously why washing the body with medicines is part of the antidote for pollution. The benign power of the paternal ancestors, on the other hand, is internal to the person, animal or plant - i.e. it is associated with the blood, liver and kidneys of the person or animal and with the sap of medicinal plants (see section 4.4). This not only explains why candidate diviners must ingest medicines, beef, goat's flesh and fermented sorghum beer to enhance their charismatic power (see section 3.6), but also why the river is such a powerfully apt organic
metaphor expressing the complex interrelations between the ancestors, man and the natural world (see the River People in section 4.6).

4.8 The messengers of the witch
Among the Cape Nguni, the distinction between witchcraft (ubuggwirha) - an innate psychic power to cause harm to others - and sorcery (ubuthakatha) - an activity involving various operations of a herbal and magical nature including incantations or spells - is blurred in thought and belief. Although diviners, herbalists and ordinary people in town and the rural areas point out that the female witch (iggwirhakazi) reputedly inherits the lightning bird (impundulu) from her mother and the male witch (iggwirha) reputedly inherits the fabulous river snake (umamlambo) from his father, they nevertheless say that these monstrous creatures and messengers (izithunywa) are made from various poisons (ubuthi, idliso) which, derived from vegetable and animal matter, are mixed with the body dirt (intsila), nail pairings, hair clippings or even threads taken from the clothing of the victim. Both witch and sorcerer (umthakathi) are reputedly anti-social people in the community who are motivated by jealousy or envy (umona) to harm others.

For good reason, as with the spirits, diviners and herbalists wish neither to confirm nor deny the 'reality' of witch/sorcerer and witchcraft/sorcery. Firstly, as previously noted, whereas many aspects of ancestor beliefs and rites are nowadays recondite for many laymen (which, as a result, makes these aspects part of the diviner's occult knowledge), many ordinary people still believe in witchcraft/sorcery and are even quite knowledgeable about the various methods and procedures reputedly involved. In fact, ordinary people resort to protective medicines and charms in a whole range of situations or activities in which the ultimate outcome or goal is generally uncertain to the actors.
concerned: e.g. obtaining a desired paramour; retaining the affections of a spouse or lover; obtaining employment; gaining promotion at work; starting or expanding a business or entrepreneurial undertaking; obtaining a favourable judgement in a criminal or civil court case; passing school or university examinations; in competing with others for local office in church or politics; etc. Thus, when some ordinary people encounter an unexpected difficulty or problem in their relations with others or quarrel or fight with their fellows, they are quick to interpret all their ensuing misfortunes and illnesses as being the result of witchcraft/sorcery perpetrated by a member or members of the opposing clique, faction or group. For example, men in town widely use love magic (*intando*) to obtain or keep the affections of a desired lover. However, when a nubile, school going adolescent female decides to move out of the family house and into her unemployed boyfriend's shack in the townships and she subsequently becomes hysterical (*ukuphambana; ukugeza*) when physically restrained from doing so, it is not uncommon for her parents to attribute her hysterical behaviour to her boyfriend's love magic. To say this among kith and kin is one thing, however, to make public accusations of witchcraft/sorcery is quite another matter.

Secondly, accusations of witchcraft/sorcery brought against an individual or individuals by a diviner or herbalist can and do incite clients to assault and/or murder (although I came across no such cases in Albany district during the fieldwork period nor since) which, in South African law, makes the accusing healer an accessory to a crime should it be proved subsequently in a court of law (cf. the Witchcraft Act 20 of 1895). Although diviners and herbalists are familiar with the letter of the law, it does not necessarily preclude them from giving a subtly worded description of the culprit(s), without mentioning names, where it is deemed appropriate. At the same time, they invariably warn their clients
of the legal consequences necessarily entailed in any recourse to violence. This enables them to charge for mystical responses such as "returning the evil to sender" without naming the sender.

Thirdly, diviners and herbalists are aware that while the witch/sorcerer is a kind of culturally stereotyped bogey-man without a human form, local identity and name, it is capable of exerting a 'free-floating' fear or anxiety on the minds of the people who believe in it. Thus, it can be used as a stick, particularly where the spirits fail to be the carrot, to coerce people into good conduct with their fellows. When clients persist in their allegations of witchcraft/sorcery diviners (on the principle that the pure should cast the first stone) round on them, proceeding to examine which traditional rituals they have neglected to perform and, as nowadays is generally the case, these are usually found to be many (see section 5.4 on divination). Once identified, however, the witch becomes the target for all the pent up emotions of the individual and/or group, with the result that the fear of witchcraft ceases to operate as an effective aversive conditioning stimulus for improper social conduct. In other words, to assault or kill a person identified as a witch - as formerly was the case (cf. Alberti 1807/1968 and Peires 1981 and 1989) - is to abandon the contemporary diviner's rules of the game which are to coerce people into good social relations. Experienced diviners in town point out that although there are troublesome and recalcitrant people in the community whose conduct and behaviour certainly play a role in the problems and afflictions of clients, rarely do they coincide with the stereotyped image of the witch/sorcerer in Cape Nguni belief. They are just ordinary people who are difficult to get along with. Experienced diviners point out that the conscientious diviner can churn ubulawu with a forked stick and stooping low over the rising foam in the beaker, whisper imploringly to the spirits requesting their assistance. However,
this is not likely to change the behaviour of the person(s) in question. Such a person, they say, is "raw" (okrwada) and can be influenced neither by people nor the spirits even in his or her own best interests. The best thing to do, experienced diviners say, is to approach this difficult person, preferably in public as, for example, in a busy supermarket in town on a Saturday morning (just in case the diviner is assaulted there are witnesses present), and tell the person in a few measured words that one knows what he or she is getting up to and it better stop. I accompanied Mandla on several of these Saturday morning errands during fieldwork. In this way, the diviner tries to mend interpersonal relations before resorting to a final breach in social relations between the people involved in a conflict, especially where they are members of the family, kin or relatives. There is certainly a great deal more to be said concerning the pattern of witchcraft accusations in town (cf. Marwick 1952, 1958b and 1967; Mitchell 1965 and Hammond-Tooke 1970). However, it is essentially the nature of the witch's animal-like familiars, as expressed in belief, that is of particular interest here.


We have already been introduced to uthikoloshe in chapter two. He is the small, dwarf-like creature with one buttock and a long penis draped over one shoulder. In fact, uthikoloshe closely approximates the 'half-man' or unilateral figures discussed by Needham (1978 : 17-40). Diviners and ordinary people point out that his face is covered with hair like that of a dog.
**Uthikoloshe** is essentially a wanderer and, hence, men in the townships and on the farms generally refer to him as **uHili**. Diviners frequently refer to themselves and their colleagues prior to becoming novice diviners as **amahili-hili**, i.e. vagabonds. For example, Mzingisi described himself as a vagabond prior to becoming a novice wandering round the grassland (*ithafa*) with stray dogs, not sleeping nor eating at home and so on (see chapter 3). These beliefs concerning the kinds of people who become diviners are widely disseminated among ordinary people in town who say that the future diviner is a vagabond, a thief (*isela*), an angry person (*unomsindo*), a person with umbilini (i.e. anxiety or fear), a rapist (*isidlwengu*) or a whore (*ihule*). **Uthikoloshe** reputedly lives in the gullies and ravines in the grassland. According to diviners, **uthikoloshe** carries a small round stone or pebble in his mouth which, when swallowed, makes him invisible to people. Diviners point out that **uthikoloshe** has a great fear of water and rivers and to substantiate this they cited a brief extract from the story-tales (*iintsomi*) dealing with the well-known Xhosa character, **uHlakanyana** (cf. Savory 1965: 71-5). One day, on one of his many journeys, so the story goes, **uHlakanyana** was walking along the river bank when he came across a round, shiny pebble looking like a marble. Without thinking, he picked it up and throwing it, it ricocheted across the water and landed on the opposite bank of the river. Suddenly, **uHili** appeared on the opposite bank of the river and thanked **uHlakanyana** for delivering him across the river safe and dry. According to diviners, **uhili/uthikoloshe** is a mischievous, rather than malevolent, character. When boys (**amakwedini**) do something that their parents consider very naughty - as, for example, using up the week's supply of groceries while at play one afternoon, or, staying away from home for three or four days and missing school - they sometimes explain themselves as having acted under the compulsion of **uthikoloshe**. However, during fieldwork, there was also a case of a young white boy residing in the Grahamstown
military base. His parents had recently been transferred to Grahamstown and he was having trouble adjusting himself to his new environment and school. He told me that he was afraid to leave the house because he saw uthikoloshe outside. Any attempt to obtain even a mere description of this fabulous creature was in this case, as in the two previously mentioned cases concerning black boys in the townships, met with an unremitting silence. A female in her early 20s and a confirmed methylated spirits drinker described to Nontando and myself delirious dreams of being raped and throttled by uthikoloshe and of his great weight that pressed down on her body making breathing difficult.

According to diviners, the river snake (umamlambo) is reputedly a kind of fabulous python capable of consuming all kinds of material wealth: e.g. land, cattle, money, cars, etc. Diviners and herbalists maintain that the term umamlambo is applicable, if not to the historical chiefs who are known to have "eaten up" people accused of witchcraft/sorcery and expropriated their livestock and possessions, then certainly to the man-made chiefs roaming round the homelands of Ciskei and Transkei nowadays and reputedly responsible for large scale corruption in public office. Some ordinary people use the term umamlambo to describe a local 'big man' such as a wealthy businessman or healer. However, this expression serves merely as a shorthand description of a person who has amassed extraordinary personal wealth and it does not necessarily carry derogatory connotations attaching to witchcraft/sorcery. Diviners point out that only a very wealthy man owns a fabulous river snake, which he keeps in his store-hut. Diviners say that umamlambo is capable of changing into a beautiful woman with whom the owner has sexual intercourse. According to diviners, the fabulous river snake, like some women in town, has an insatiable appetite for material goods and wealth and if it is not regularly fed with more goods and wealth, it eventually consumes its owner.
The so-called snake of women (*inyoka yabafazi*) which, according to diviners and herbalists, is a small two-headed snake a female witch keeps inside her vagina and, at night, she suckles it at her breast. Formerly, it was thought to be responsible, diviners and herbalists point out, for anthrax in children and cattle, but increasingly, nowadays, it is said to bite a man on the penis and is thus connected with venereal disease, gonorrhoea and the various infections contracted by newly circumcised youths who sometimes have sexual intercourse even before their wounds have healed. Diviners and herbalists have very effective remedies for the latter condition, but they generally insist that clients suffering from gonorrhoea (a few clients, during fieldwork, had contracted it as many as 5 or 6 times) obtain Western medical treatment at clinic or hospital.

We have also been introduced to the lightning bird (*impundulu*), the fabulous vampire-like creature which feeds on the blood of its victims. In the opinion of healers and many people in town and on the farms, no witch 'familiar' has a more profoundly evil reputation for its sheer maliciousness and malevolence in harming man or beast than the dreaded lightning bird (*impundulu*). According to diviners and herbalists, *impundulu* is a fabulous bird with a long beak, razor-sharp claws, red feathers and long, thin black legs. However, some healers usually add with a smile that, nowadays, it more frequently has white legs. The implication being, in other words, that witchcraft/sorcery is not only confined to Blacks but involves Whites as well. The lightning bird was and still is the vernacular Xhosa metaphor for the natural phenomenon of lightning. Sometimes lightning kills cattle, goats, sheep or even people and subsequently clients consult a diviner to identify the witch/sorcerer responsible. However, diviners say that God (*uThixo*) created the lightning (along with the earth and everything else in the cosmos) and that when it strikes, it has nothing to do with witches/sorcerers but
is an act of God. Formerly, as Hammond-Tooke (1970 : 28-9) points out, the lightning bird was associated with long wasting illnesses accompanied by coughing, stabbing pains and shortness of breath. Diviners point out that "being kicked by impundulu" is an old metaphor for pulmonary tuberculosis which, according to diviners, is nowadays effectively treated in the local T.B. clinic, with the result that this impundulu related complaint has virtually disappeared from the consulting-rooms of diviners and herbalists in town. Since the S.A.N.T.A. programme conducted in the early 1970s to educate local diviners and herbalists about T.B., healers in town refer suspected T.B. cases to the clinic for treatment. However, married women are still sometimes afflicted by impundulu particularly when husbands move out and in with their girlfriends and no longer support the homestead economically. According to diviners and herbalists, impundulu also has powers of metamorphosis and it reputedly changes into a handsome youth with whom the female witch has sexual relations. Like umamlambo, impundulu is also kept in the store-hut at the homestead. Nowadays, in town, impundulu also afflicts male alcoholics (either after having imbibed too much or when not having imbibed enough). On several occasions during fieldwork, I observed very distraught and bibulous young men trying to chase what they described as a bird (visible only to themselves) from the consulting-rooms of diviners. The treatment here is usually lengthy including purging and vomiting, cupping and leeching and steaming. However, in serious cases of alcoholism (as in the case of a newly returned male migrant worker in his early 30s who, in a state of alcoholic delirium and frenzy, destroyed all the household furniture with an axe and even threatened the lives of his parents and siblings because they refused to give him money to go drinking with his friends at a local shebeen), the healer sometimes has to wait a few weeks or even months before the client is physically well enough to be treated (see leeching or ukukhupha iintlanga in the foregoing section 4.1). We also recall
the connection between impundulu and the healer who poisons her/his clients merely for profit (see sections 2.6, 4.1 and 4.5).

According to diviners and herbalists, the baboon (imfene) is reputedly tamed from young by a female witch who not only captures it in the forest but even suckles it secretly in her store-hut at night. Healers say that the witch uses her baboon to ride about on at night. However, quite unlike the infant chacma baboon in the bush, the witch rides the baboon back-to-front and holding its tail. Diviners and herbalists maintain that men do not possess imfene, they merely use it to harm the cattle of their rivals. Diviners and herbalists insist that this is not a real or naturalistic baboon. They say that a guard can be mounted round the affected cattle byre and although no wild animal will be seen leaving or entering it, the udders and stomachs of the cattle will be found to be gored and bleeding. In other words, the witch's baboon is invisible.

Diviners and herbalists say that isithunzela is a corpse that has been magically disinterred from the grave. It is a kind of zombie with a stake driven through its head and its tongue is impaled with a bone (so that it cannot answer back like a wife, male healers sometimes say jocularly). It is the servant and messenger usually of a female witch, but healers reckon that a male witch could also make use of it. Diviners and herbalists point out that if the "dirty things" or poison used to make isithunzela is given to or ingested by a person, a kind of possession called ufufunyane reputedly results. This condition appears to be more prevalent in Ciskei and Transkei than in Albany district. Why this should be so is difficult to say in the absence of a detailed study on the subject (Schweitzer 1977 refers to ufufunyane; also see Sibisi 1975).
It would appear that the fabulous and monstrous messengers of the witch/sorcerer are obscene caricatures in miniature of the sacred animals (izilo) and messengers (izithunywa) associated with the ancestral spirits and diviners. The shades masquerade as animals and people and are half person and half beast very much like the diviner in full ceremonial regalia. However, among the witch 'familiars' we find 'half-men' like uthikoloshe and isithunzela. An important sacred animal (isilo) associated with the Xhosa paramountcy, we noted in section 4.6, was the Cape python. Here we find the python in the form of the umamlambo capable of consuming material goods and wealth where the real reptile would swallow its prey. Even the diviner's sacred animal, the chacma baboon (imfene), makes its appearance in the guise of witch 'familiar'. However, unlike the naturalistic baboon which can be seen in the bush, the witch's animal is invisible to ordinary people: the female witch suckles it at her breast and it lives in the store-hut in the homestead. Even the anomalous reptile-bird series, which are implicated in the diviner's calling as naturalistic animals, appear in the guise of the snake of women and the lightning bird. In fact, the ancestors' messenger of death, iChanti, which is reputed to have a changeable nature (see section 4.6 and chapter 5), provides the model for the witch 'familiars' - impundulu and umamlambo, for example - with their powers of metamorphosis. Whereas the diviner adopts a religious attitude to the sacred animal and avoids eating it, the witch characteristically has sexual relations with the 'familiar'. Whereas the sacred animals are conceived to be closely associated with the paternal spirits and generally have a protective significance for the living, the 'familiars' are essentially harmful to man and beast. The spirits are like scolding parents when they afflict their descendants: they do so to coerce the living into good social relations with their fellows. Thus the spirits are essentially moral and, as Hammond-Tooke (1975b) points out, deal out merited misfortune to their descendants.
However, the witch/sorcerer and the associated 'familiars' are essentially selfish figures meting out illness and misfortune arbitrarily to satisfy their anti-social feelings of envy and greed and, hence, are associated with unmerited misfortune. The shades stand for tamed domesticity masquerading as uncontrollable wildness when neglected by the living; the witch/sorcerer stands for uncontrollable wildness masquerading under the fictive cloak of domesticity. The spirits and the sacred animals are associated with the natural margins of the wild and the power and fearsomeness inherent in them. The witches and their 'familiars' are associated with the store-hut and homestead and, thus, are the enemies within the gate (cf. Mayer 1954: 17). Diviners and herbalists insist that the 'familiars' are only ever seen by the people whom they reputedly afflict and nobody else. Diviners point out that the sacred animals and messengers (even those no longer extant in Albany district nowadays but which nevertheless occur in the dreams of novices and diviners) can still be seen in the displays in the Albany Museum, when the circus comes to town, on television or in a book. However, diviners point out, the 'familiars' are not naturalistic animals and exist nowhere in the real world but in the beliefs of people. In other words, they are figments of the imagination: i.e. ideas, concepts and constructs in the mind. Herbalists pointed out that all these concepts - uthikoloshe, umamlambo, inyoka yabafazi, impundulu, etc. - are merely old professional euphemisms for the medicinal mixtures and treatments which are still sold to counteract witchcraft/sorcery. In fact, nowadays, one can order by mail little bottles of oil/fat which counteract uthikoloshe, impundulu, etc. and are even marketed under these names in bottles with printed labels (cf. Imvo, the Xhosa newspaper printed in King William's Town). In terms of the sacred animals and the 'familiars', an interesting distinction seems to be drawn between real interpersonal problems, on the one hand, and fictive or imaginary interpersonal problems, on the other hand. In the
case of ukuthwasa, for example, it appears that the future diviner sometimes suffers rather severe interpersonal problems with parents and even spouses (see chapter 3). However, in cases of witchcraft/sorcery, interpersonal problems arise between people as a result of anti-social conduct and morally objectionable individual behaviour. This is particularly interesting because ordinary people in the townships say (i.e. in 1990) of any physiological/medical problem treated by Western doctors which does not clear up to their satisfaction (as, for example, having a limb amputated - as recently happened when Nontando had her foot amputated) that it was caused by "Kaffir poison" (i.e. witchcraft/sorcery); and they say this even in spite of the doctor's medical diagnosis.

4.9 Hammond-Tooke's (1975b) model revisited
Hammond-Tooke (1975b) presents in concise and readable form basically everything the published literature has to say about God, the ancestors, witches, sacred animals and 'familiars'. It is a provocative paper raising some interesting questions not all of which are actually resolved in the course of it nor in terms of the model it posits. One has only to think of the connection Hammond-Tooke (1975b : 32) imputes between diviners and the maternal ancestors or the questions he raises concerning the chief's - not to mention the diviner's - reputed association with the wild and, we may add, ferocious sacred animals of the forest.

Turning to consider the model itself, Hammond-Tooke (1975b) is without question correct in describing the diviner's position as one characterized by 'structural freedom', although this is already apparent from Hunter's (1936) ethnography and so we are aware of it without even perusing the model. However, it would appear to be a 'structural freedom' more of the order 0/+1 or 0/-1 than of the order +1/-1 (see figure 4 in section 4.7). These differences in emphasis between Hammond-Tooke (1975b) and Hirst
(1990) need to be interpreted with considerable caution because, in my opinion, they describe the model at different points in its history and by no means is it a question of one view being 'right' and the other 'wrong'. Even unprecedented and dramatic historical, social and cultural changes do not necessarily cause us to abandon our 'pet' models of the world but merely to shift their emphasis and application. This is a familiar process readily observable in socio-political, religious and intellectual affairs all over the globe and at different times in history, and not least in contemporary South Africa.

The obvious shortcoming of Hammond-Tooke's (1975b) model is its failure to distinguish analytically between inversions, opposites or antitheses (e.g. witch-diviner) requiring the mediation of an additional term (e.g. the ancestors) and the enantiomorphs or mirror-images (e.g. diviner-ancestors), sacred animals-medicines, river-land mammals, etc. which, like homologies or analogies already correspond - i.e. already have several points in common - and are thus capable of interrelation and synthesis without requiring mediation. Some such distinction is really required, for, on the level of animal symbolism alone, the diviner, *qua* *bricoleur*, is clearly utilizing different modes to convey different messages and symbolic loads. On the one hand, the opposition diviner-witch concerns the 'timeless' moral absolutes of good and evil. On the other hand, the correspondences (i.e. diviner-ancestors-sacred animals-medicines) concern qualities, attributes and properties that are interrelated to the extent that, like the cucumber and the ox (Evans-Pritchard 1940), one element in the series can stand symbolically for another. Thus, as Whisson has pointed out, "if any one element in the series can stand for any other then there can be no structure - other than one intellectualised by the observer for the moment or the case" (personal communication, 1989). This is precisely the position of the healer whose task it is to re-create the social and
symbolic orders of clients. Diviners do this almost fortuitously utilizing the psychic experience of clients as well as the members of their domestic and agnatic groups. Since the moral 'absolutes' good and bad entail social consequences usually enshrined in 'law' and considered binding on the individual, these antinomies entail consequences that are primarily causal, synchronic and syntagmatic. The relations between symbolic correspondences is essentially associative, diachronic and paradigmatic. The opposition diviner-witch constitutes a model of (Geertz 1975: 93) in that it renders apprehensible in synoptic form the value structure, good-bad. The correspondences (diviner-ancestors-medicines-sacred animals) constitute a model for (Geertz 1975: 93) providing the symbolic specifications (ancestors-medicines-animals) for ordering social and interpersonal relations through ritual activity. Thus the switch in emphasis in the diviner's model referred to in the preceding paragraph involves a transformation from the syntagmatic model of to the paradigmatic model for. This links up with what was said previously concerning the switch in the diviner's role from witch-doctor to which-doctor (see chapter 2), and the change in the diviner's theory of disease to a theory of dis-ease (see chapter 3). Historically all illnesses (izifo) and misfortunes (amashwa) were causally explicable in terms of neglected ancestors or witchcraft/sorcery. The first set of causes involved the notion of an unintentional spiritual agency equivalent to that encompassed by the Western legalistic concept of force majeur and, therefore, required the propitiation of the ancestors. The second, that of intentional human agency equivalent to culpable homicide in Roman-Dutch law and treated accordingly: i.e. by the judicial murder of witches and sorcerers. Nowadays, diviners (and herbalists) treat a 'mixed bag' of psycho-social problems which not only do people bring unintentionally upon themselves and others but which also fall outside the effective therapeutic range of Western physical
medicine (see section 2.7). The ukuthwasa syndrome is a classic case in point (see chapter 3). Without entirely abandoning the original explanatory model, a paradigmatic or metaphorical linkage is established between psycho-social problems and the spirits, and an effective ritual strategy is evolved, utilizing the symbolic connections already present in belief and oral tradition (i.e. between medicines, wild and domestic animals and the spirits), to redress these problems on the social and interpersonal levels on which they are causally generated (see chapter 3). However, as a result in the shift in emphasis, the ancestors, like witches and sorcerers, lose much of their syntagmatic force in the process as ultimate causes affecting man or beast. Nevertheless, the ancestors reassert their prominence on the syntagmatic level, via the paradigmatic merry-go-round, by mediating symbolic connections between medicines, wild and domestic animals and man. In other words, as noted in section 4.1, the shift in the explanatory model is accomplished by means of a double-switch from the syntagmatic into the paradigmatic mode and back again into the syntagmatic mode. This double-switch, like the black rod (umngayi) and the hippo hide switch (imvubu), is closely associated with diviners and identified with the ancestors. On the level of animal symbolism, the double-switch is exemplified, on the one hand, by the sacred animals and messengers which are wild, extra-domestic, sometimes ferocious, even inimical and, yet, like the paternal spirits once they are propitiated, essentially protective to man and beast; and, on the other hand, by the witch 'familiars' which are reputedly very attractive individuals but with the ability to change into bizarre, unnatural monsters that feed indiscriminately on the blood of man and beast and so contravene the accepted socio-religious order symbolized by the shades, the sacred animals and the inter-connections between them and the agnatic group. The sacred animals and messengers trace the moral transformation from disorder to order, from merited misfortune to ancestrally sent
good fortune. This transformation is ultimately mediated by animal sacrifices and libations of sorghum beer (see sections 3.6 and 4.6). The witch 'familiars' trace the moral transformation from order to disorder, from luck to unmerited misfortune. This transformation is initially mediated by purification and protective medicines and charms (see ukukhupha iintlanga in section 4.1) and, nowadays, eventually resolved by recourse to traditional rituals. This was not the case in the nineteenth century when the witches themselves were executed. Since humans and animals interact in various ways and animals are an object of human aesthetic contemplation (cf. Berger 1971), animals are generally well suited to taking on the dual load as model of and model for. Moreover, it would appear, the enantiomorph or mirror-image is better suited for this purpose than the antinomy or contradiction, which represents an antithesis between terms requiring mediation, by virtue of the former's relational propensity for forming multiple connections at once ("killing two birds with one stone").

In both form and function, the diviner's classificatory schema turns out to be vastly different to that represented in Hammond-Tooke's model. This is hardly surprising for two main reasons. Firstly, Hammond-Tooke (1975b) is not consciously intent on laying bare the diviner's classificatory schema per se but rather on advancing a structuralist model interpretive of Cape Nguni cosmology as a whole. Secondly, as the custodians of tradition, diviners hardly require a model to interpret the very culture in which they grew up and, therefore, put their classificatory schema to more practical use the least important of which is interpretation. To adequately interpret the symbolic animal, the interpreter needs to be in possession of some basic naturalistic facts about the animal as well as the cultural beliefs relevant to it. On this level, the diviner or herbalist operates no differently from a Jungian analyst (cf. Jung et al. 1964).
Besides, on the methodological level, I am in full agreement with Sperber (1975) that classificatory systems should be studied empirically - by giving one's friends and informants various (kinship, plant or animal, etc.) terms and asking them to sort them into the relevant piles or categories - rather than simply inferred from sets of beliefs per se as would appear to be the case in Hammond-Tooke's (1975b) article. I noticed, in performing this task with diviners and ordinary people during fieldwork, that individuals sometimes tend to make explicit the implicit principles on which their classificatory schemata are based.

The diviner's principal spatial categories are river (umlambo), forest (ihlathi) and grassland (ithafa). Each of these domains is associated with the ancestors (see section 4.3), with 'sacred' animals (izilo), small 'sacred' animals (izilwanyana) and messengers (izithunywa). The large and small 'sacred' animals (izilo-izilwanyana) serve both as symbols of office as well as mnemonic devices for medicines, inter alia, the varieties of ubulawu roots. The animal messengers serve as ritual metaphors and signs particularly in the induction of the diviner. In the diviner's holistic world, the homestead (umzi) is not opposed to the wild spatial categories as it is in Hammond-Tooke's (1975b: 28) model, but it is included in the dominant spatial category associated with the paternal ancestors. Thus, for many diviners and ordinary people in Albany district the homestead is included in the spatial domain of the river. As already noted (in section 4.3), there are widespread beliefs concerning the great place and the homestead under the river. The situation changes in the rare case of a diviner called (ukucongiwe) to the forest or grassland and whose paternal ancestors are associated with the forest or grassland, for here the homestead would be included in the forest or grassland rather than the river. Just as the River, Forest or Grassland People are reputed to have fabulous herds of cattle and goats so domestic livestock is associated with the homestead.
under the river or in the forest or grassland, as the case may be.

For the diviner the classificatory schema serves at least two practical purposes. Firstly, medicinal plants grow in predictable but different niches in the environment. By pairing a medicinal plant with an animal in the appropriate spatial category coinciding with the habitat of the plant, it is possible to evolve a classificatory schema of the entire materia medica in a highly condensed fashion that can be readily conveyed to and remembered by novices. Secondly, the schema also represents a ritual mnemonic device whereby the dreams, the experience and the calling of the candidate diviner can be readily translated into ritual action in the appropriate symbolic and spatial modes. For example, we have already seen how dreaming of the lion, the paternal grandfather and a grassland species of ubulawu (as in Nobulawu's dream previously cited) conveys to the instructing diviner that the intlwayelelo rites for the candidate must be performed in the grassland (ethafeni) rather than in the river (emlanjeni) or forest (ehlathini). The schema is also a 'handy' device to work out other important details connected with the induction of the diviner: e.g. that if river or forest messengers are implicated in the calling, then the candidate is being called to the river or the forest, as the case may be, and this has certain repercussions on the skins chosen for inclusion in the regalia. Thus, Hammond-Tooke's (1975b) model turns out to be a highly simplified version of a rather complex, succinct, subtle and many-sided system.

Finally, this brings us to a consideration of Hammond-Tooke's (1975b: 32) Parthian shaft: why should chiefs (and diviners for that matter) be associated with ferocious wild animals of the forest? The answer to this question is rather straightforward considering that witches and sorcerers are associated with
ferocious, but invisible, monsters which devour moral men and
domestic beasts. The opposition between chiefs/diviners and
witches/sorcerers is explicable in terms of the cosmic struggle
between wild and ferocious 'naturalistic' animals, on the one
hand, and wild and ferocious 'imaginary' monsters, on the other
hand: i.e. between the morally neutral forest associated with
the shades and the morally ambiguous homestead with its
associations of witchcraft/sorcery. Although ferocious
'naturalistic' animals are no protection against invisible,
albeit imaginary, monsters, diviners and herbalists point out
that the 'naturalistic' animals are quite capable of eating or
injuring the witch/sorcerer who, for all his or her magical
powers, is a mortal human being like anyone else. Considered from
this perspective, it comes as no surprise that during the
nineteenth century, the elephant/leopard chief "ate up" the
witches/sorcerers "snelt out" by the baboon/jackal/antelope
diviners (cf. Alberti 1807/1968 : 49). According to diviners and
herbalists, it is much easier for a witch/sorcerer to obtain
poisons from diviners, herbalists or the shops that retail Xhosa
medicines in town than to pick them in the bush. The
witch/sorcerer, in other words, lacks adequate spiritual
protection to pick plants in the bush. Diviners point out that
this is why they practice divination (imvumisa) : i.e. in order
to test the intentions of clients consulting them before
supplying them with a herbal remedy. Diviners complain that
because herbalists do not perform divination, they thus
inadvertently assist witches/sorcerers with their nefarious work
in the community.

This concludes our "magical mystery tour" of the diviner's
cosmology. We have seen something of the extent of the diviner's
repertoire of signs and symbols as well as its limits. Now it is
appropriate to consider how the diviner, qua bricoleur, applies
this repertoire in myth and divination.
5.1 The 'river' myth in its social and historical context

Before presenting a version of the diviner's ubiquitous 'river' myth, it is necessary to take into account a few contingent social factors that have a direct bearing on the content and style of the oral narrative and the context of its performance. As most social anthropologists, including Levi-Strauss, are only too aware, no amount of abstract theorizing or deep intuition is capable of revealing these contingent social factors, which are only discoverable by means of fieldwork conducted in a particular place at a certain time. The Cape Nguni have a rich story-telling tradition (cf. Scheub 1975). Although the 'river' myth adopts the form and style common in these stories (iintsomi), the myth itself is generally not found in the repertoire of the ordinary story-teller (cf. Scheub 1975). This points to the myth's rather specialized application. Certainly the 'river' myth is well within the the ken of ordinary people in the community - during fieldwork I met many children, adolescents and adults in the townships who had heard about it - but its actual performance is the prerogative of the fully initiated diviner. According to diviners, the 'river' myth records what happened to the first diviner long ago and it constitutes the final part of the diviner's instruction to the candidate. Thus the narration of the myth formally concludes the candidate's apprenticeship and training. This important fact accounts for both the variable and invariable elements discernible in the different versions of the 'river' myth as well as certain stylistic features.

Every fully qualified diviner, whether in town or the rural areas, relates her or his own highly personalized version of the 'river' myth. Although the myth provides scope for personal
embellishment and the variation of a few small details, it nevertheless includes some standard features which are worth listing: e.g. stripping off on the river bank and going into or under the river; the white clay and the snake, iChanti; the medicines and ubulawu roots spread out on river reeds in the cavernous tomb under the river; the old female diviner who is half-human and half-fish as well as being the candidate diviner's great great grandfather's sister; reference is made to the brewing of fermented sorghum beer and the traditional singing and dancing which is attendant on the candidate's return to the homestead from the river in addition to the candidate's seclusion in the specially prepared and separate shelter or intondo, which is lined with river reeds and provided with a freshly prepared beaker of foamy white ubulawu; and, finally, mention is made of the dire consequences occasioned by the complaint or objection (ukukhala), emanating from the candidate's family and kin, which immediately results in the candidate being killed by the snake iChanti. The variable features of the myth generally include any of a number of animal messengers (see section 4.6) which can be selected for a particular purpose and these, typically, vary from one version to another. The variable features of the myth, Levi-Strauss (1966) suggests in his analysis of the bricoleur, allow diviners the opportunity to give expression to their personalities and to highlight their individual differences. The invariable features or "core-images" (Scheub 1975) of the myth relate to the time-honoured, occult and unalterable tenets of the traditionalist healing profession. The latter include the entire ritual charter of the profession down to and including several esoteric details relevant to the traditional burial customs of chiefs, a highly figurative explanation or parable of how divination is performed together with all the pertinent phenomenological details, explanations for illness and misfortune as well as the procedure by means of which it is possible for the candidate diviner to attain the charismatic grace or power
of the ancestors. In short, the 'river' myth contains virtually everything the candidate needs to know about being a diviner and it relates the many disparate parts of the candidate's experience and training into a concise and unified whole. The candidate diviner claims the myth as part of her or his experience along with the rest of the instruction received from the diviner. Precisely what takes place in the intimacy of the diviner-candidate relationship is not common public knowledge. Indeed, if it were, candidates could merely initiate themselves without bothering to undertake a formal apprenticeship to a practising healer and at considerably less expense to themselves. Ordinary people learn about matters connected with the profession more from hearsay or gossip than directly from the healers or novices themselves who tend to restrict their talk about professional matters to colleagues. As in the early Christian congregations and modern-day Freemasonry, 'secret' knowledge bonds together socially the people who share it.

The myth is invariably imparted to the candidate in the privacy of the instructing diviner's consulting-room or medicine-hut (intondo), containing the practitioner's skin regalia as well as supplies of medicinal roots and barks. This accounts for the liminal or timeless quality of the myth itself. Firstly, the 'river' myth looks backwards and recapitulates the candidate's vocational calling that emanates from the shades. Secondly, it looks forward to the future and the rites of induction culminating in the candidate's graduation as a fully qualified diviner. Thus the myth incorporates both ideological and utopian perspectives (cf. Mannheim 1972:86,n2). Whereas the ideological perspective conceals the present by attempting to comprehend it in terms of the past, the utopian perspective transcends the present and is oriented to the future. As a result of this double-switch, the myth suspends the present and brings about Kairos: i.e. "... the moment of time which is invaded by
eternity" (Niebuhr in Tillich 1932:138-9). By presenting the myth with its memorable images and evocative symbolism under psychologically suggestive conditions, the practitioner's intention, quite apart from asserting the eternal verity of the myth itself, is to engrave its essential content in the memory of the candidate. The main reason for this is that the fully qualified diviner is not only a healer but the instructor of novices as well. Thus, in addition to its important instructional aspects, the 'river' myth also acts as a kind of thermostat regulating the various activities performed and the training provided by diviners.

Diviners maintain that the 'river' myth recounts the actual experiences of some unknown paternal ancestor long ago in the past who was called by the ancestors to the river (ukuthwetyulwa). In addition to corroborating Levi-Strauss's point that the bricoleur builds up structures by fitting together the remains of events (see section 4.1), this fact also points out an interesting anomaly or paradox between mythological and social fact. As we see in Mandla's version of the myth presented later, the whole story begins at the river and ends with the candidate relating his experiences to the instructing diviner in the intondo back at the homestead. However, as I pointed out above, nowadays, and as far back as I have been able to trace in the nineteenth century (circa the 1870s and 1880s), the 'river' myth is related by the instructing diviner and imparted to the candidate towards the end of the initiation process and not vice versa as the myth seems to indicate. This suggests that the candidate whose experiences are recounted in the myth must have been a personage of considerable weight and influence for the tale to have become enshrined in oral tradition and transmitted from one generation of diviners to another down to the present. True enough, the 'river' myth is a particularly memorable tale with striking, if not jarring, images. The old woman masquerading
as a mermaid under the river is one such image which is sufficient to fix the tale in the memory of the hearer for ever. Among diviners, however, memorable tales are many. We already have had sufficient evidence of this in chapter three. Both Nontando and Mandla, in my opinion, present particularly memorable tales of their callings but neither have become enshrined in oral tradition and elevated to the same wide currency as the 'river' myth.

All of this seems to suggest that the originator of the 'river' myth was probably a chief. We know from documented history that the eighteenth century Xhosa Paramount chief Gcaleka was initiated as a diviner after being called to a pool in the Ngxingxolo stream near present day East London (see section 4.3). This appears to have taken place after a quarrel and fight with his half-brother, Rharhabe (cf. Soga 1930:142-5 and Hirst 1986a). As already mentioned (in section 4.3), Gcaleka disappeared in the same pool in the Ngxingxolo when he became ill in later life and his body was never recovered. As we see in more detail in section 5.3, the cavern in which the candidate diviner meets the old woman under the river is really the burial tomb of a chief. Moreover, as pointed out in section 4.3, the graves of Xhosa chiefs (e.g. Phalo and Rharhabe) were located on the banks of streams. Thus, whether or not these few historical facts are sufficient to implicate Gcaleka without a shadow of a doubt - probably, at best, they are merely suggestive - there can be no doubt about the implication of the chieftainship in the 'river' myth and the 'river' cultural complex as a whole. This would seem to cast considerable doubt on some of the details mentioned in Soga's (1930:143) classic account of Gcaleka's calling, namely the slaughter of the beast on the river bank. As we saw in section 3.6, no blood is shed in the sacrificial offerings made at the river where, fittingly, the scarlet and crimson colours of the dawn are reflected on the surface of the pool. As I have
pointed out elsewhere (Hirst 1986a:7), Soga (1930:142-5) has perpetuated a negative view of Gcaleka in that he, like most of his successors (cf. Peires 1981:46-7), overlooked and ignored the positive side of Gcaleka's initiation as a diviner which was that it brought a diverse range of healers, war-doctors, rainmakers, etc. - employing different skills and techniques and wandering from tribe to tribe hawking their services (cf. Alberti 1807/1968:52) - under the authority and control of the paramountcy (and this ties up with the points made earlier in sections 3.6 and 4.6 concerning the diviner's subordinate position in relation to the chief). This was achieved not simply by means of an act of law but in sacred and spiritual terms - embodied in the sacred person of a senior chief "called" by the shades to become a diviner - subsequently widely embraced and shared by practising healers. As I indicated in section 3.6, in accepting the vocational call of the ancestors, the diviner bypasses the formal structure of the segmentary system, and the chieftainship provided the sole legal means legitimating the authority and position of healers in tribal society. We are now in a good position to explicate the 'river' myth itself.

5.2 Mandla's version of the 'river' myth

The original Xhosa text of this account is in Appendix 4.

Mandla: When one belongs to the river, one is called [to the river] not by accident but because one has been called by the ancestors: for one is going to become a diviner. I am not talking about drowning. It happens [that] one is not thinking of going into [the river] with [one's] clothes on. One goes into [the river] as if by magic, undressing as though one is going to swim, but one is out of one's mind.

What happens to one first, a brown fly sticks onto one's forehead. That is the one that is calling [one when] one is
being called to the river.

Where one enters there is a path by which one goes into the river. One does not enter just anyhow when one is called here. One does not drown; one goes in [and] one does not die. One dies after the complaint which comes from one's people when it is heard that one is in the river. Should one's people complain when one has been called to become a diviner by the ancestors; if there is any objection at this point, one will die. One will be taken out there (i.e. at the river) with an eye that has been disgorged, or an ear or the genitals having been bitten off.

Yet again, when one enters there one passes a big oval grindstone with the white clay called *ifutha* which is smeared [on the face and body] by diviners. When one has gone past there, one will see a snake. There is a snake that resides in that place. Beyond the snake there are medicines which have been spread out. These are spread out on the grass. Beyond the grass there is a human being, an old woman, wearing a girdle round her waist, who lives there. She will come to see one to inquire what one wants here. Now this old woman is the one who initiates diviners at the river.

The snake is a messenger that kills; it kills one if one is a person who does not belong to the river, or if there has been a complaint. It (i.e. the snake) cries because bad things are in store for one.

If one's people complain when one appears at the river [and] one has gone past that stone having proceeded further on, one has not been called by the ancestors to become a diviner. If when one suddenly appears at the stone the
white ochre (ifutha) becomes visible to one, one smears one's face with it [and] one goes past the snake. That snake now knows that one belongs to that place. Now one goes to the medicines which have been spread out [on the grass]. If the complaint comes after one has smeared one's face that snake will spit at one. Now, then, one has moved back to the place [one came from].

That old woman is a human being in the upper part [of the body] and a fish in the lower part. Her hair reaches her back, [and] her skin is a scaly covering with no flesh thereon. She is a fish but a fish which is a human being in the upper part [of the body]. She is a person of the river. This old woman is the one who resides in the river; she is the female diviner of that place who has favoured one when one has met the ancestors of the river.

One is shown what one will see if one goes in there at the river; one sees that white clay which is wet. When one has been called to thwasa it is not a case of one having sustained some injury, but that one will become a diviner. One smears it [on] first [i.e. the white clay], one does it oneself, nobody smears it [on] for one. Having proceeded further on, one is now being shown [the medicines spread out on the grass]. One cannot go past that white clay [without smearing it on]. If one should go past that white clay [and] go past that person, one will be frightened by that snake. That [i.e. the white clay] shows [the snake] that one belongs there. When one goes past now, having smeared oneself first [with the white clay], one will see this snake. The snake will not harm one. On one's passing now one will see medicines there. Medicines which have been spread out. Now one will go to the ubulawu so that one can talk to this old woman.
If no complaint starts there among one's people, and having come upon that white clay, the one for the propitiatory offering of the diviners, one will go past that snake. Some say it is called *iChanti*. It can injure one's eyes [and] it spits at others and makes them blind [and] thus they are driven away from the river.

Having gone past this, one is going to that *ubulawu* of one's home; that same one is there in the river, the one that is eaten by the *ooNomathotholo*. From there now one proceeds to the old woman, the one that is called upon even now by everybody who is a diviner. They are called old women, that is how they are called at the river, it is those old women residing there. But there is one called for the amaNgqosini, another called for the amaMzangwa or such and such clan (*isiduko*) - people who have *thwasa'd* at the river. This one [i.e. the old woman] is going to tell one what has called one there - it is one's ancestors. "Here are your ancestors; to go past that snake in bad conditions. On earth I am this," she is going to say, "I am your great, great grandparent. But I was put there in the river because I must reside here. Then, go home now, you are going to be a diviner, heal your people and other people." Now, then, one has been called by the ancestors to become a diviner.

Now, then, we know about that thing - we being my elder brother, my father's sister and my younger brother - that you disappeared in the river. Let you come out of the river and not go home; "Let us go for divination at the diviner," or [perhaps] we know that you have sunk down in the river - ducks will come, river fowls will arrive here at home. They indicate that you have come out of the river. We must brew beer here now and dance. We take a tin beaker of...
with us [and] white beads to the spot where you submerged. We arrive [and] put in those things. [When] we see you it is to be said, "There he is, he sank down here." You return to the surface [and] you stay [there] a moment and you sink down, and so on for about three days. On the third day, we will find you at dawn when the beer is ready at home. You have shown now that you are alive [and] not dead. Now let me say that you are separate in the form of a disinterred corpse (isithunzela) but it is necessary that we prepare things for you so that you can go home. You are scared [and] you don't want to meet people. Then we brew beer, we go to pour those white beads and that beer. Even if it is the two of us, an elder and a younger brother, we will not call any people. When you arrive at home we direct you into the house with your ubulawu, with your tin beaker of ubulawu and that grass (i.e. imizi). You will start talking to us now.

Now then having returned there, you mention those things that were not done; that propitiatory offering of yours that was provided by us - there we provided those white beads without any beer and only ubulawu. When you arrive here at home now beer will be prepared here at home. People start to dance even before your arrival. If those beads were provided when you were repeatedly seen to disappear [in the river], ducks and fowls arrive [and] there is going to be brewing at that time.

Beer is brewed now [and] that house (i.e. intondo) is to be opened. One will arrive at dawn or at sunset. One doesn't talk to anybody. One is going to turn to that tin beaker of ubulawu. Now, then, this diviner is going to say this: "Here is your tin beaker of ubulawu." One will go in and eat one's ubulawu, [and] one stays in that house alone.
5.3 Commentary and analysis

Much of what was said in the preceding chapter concerning the *bricoleur* and the overarching spatial category of the river interrelating the paternal ancestors and the agnatic group, is immediately borne out in the first few lines of Mandla's version of the 'river' myth (see Appendix 4 for the original Xhosa text). The compound term *ungowasemlanjeni* (the second word in the first line of the Xhosa version) literally means one who goes along or is associated with the river. It was Mandla himself who suggested the colloquial English usage "belongs to the river" which I have used in the English translation. The passive verb *ukuthwetyulwa* (in the second line of the Xhosa version) is a complex and technical term of the divining profession. It literally means "to be stripped off (as of flesh from a hide or bark from a tree), set apart and submerged under water in the river (or sea)". Owing to the latter connotation, the term *ukuthwetyulwa* would not strictly apply to a candidate diviner called to the grassland or forest. The technical term applicable to the latter context is *ukucongiwe*, which is also a verb used in the passive. In the technical sense used by diviners, the term *ukuthwetyulwa* means to be called by the paternal ancestors of the river (or the River People) to the river for the purposes of being inducted as a diviner. Similarly, the technical term *ukucongiwe*, which literally means "to be seen from afar or set aside for office", means to be called by the paternal ancestors of the forest (or grassland) to the forest (or grassland) for the purposes of being inducted as a diviner. Mandla's first sentence expresses an interesting synchronicity because one is called to the river by the ancestors of the river in order to become a diviner by virtue of the fact that one belongs to the river. The candidate diviner is even reputedly summoned or "called" by the harmless male horse-fly, which is an excellent 'model in miniature' (Levi-
Strauss 1966) of the myth as a whole because it is associated with water, feeds on the nectar of flowers and undergoes a transformation in its develop (see section 4.6). The arrival of the horse-fly in the myth appears, like the calling itself, completely fortuitous and, as previously pointed out (in section 5.1), it is one of those details concerning the animal messengers which can vary from one version to another. Now 'to belong to the river' would be merely tautological if it were not for the fact that 'river' in the phrase "belongs to the river" is used in a figurative, rather than a literal, sense. The candidate belongs to the 'river' because the ancestors of the agnic group (to which the candidate belongs) are associated with the river as a result (as previously pointed out in sections 4.3 and 5.1) of a set of historical events and related experiences in a particular ecological context. This is supported by the metaphorical association between the candidate diviner and the male horse-fly which serves as a model for becoming a diviner and being bestowed with the charismatic power of the shades.

Throughout the Eastern Cape, Ciskei and Transkei, the rivers rise in the relic indigenous forests in the Drakensberg-Winterberg mountain range and flow down to the Indian Ocean. Although the geography of the eastern coastal belt and hinterland is criss-crossed by many streams and rivers, water is a precious substance periodically in short supply in the drylands of Ciskei and Albany district as a result of recurrent periods of drought. Grahamstown suffers periodic water shortages because of its transitional position (close to the 600mm isohyet) between the summer rainfall region to the east and the all year rainfall area of the south coast (Daniel 1985:7). Sudden heavy rains can cause the rivers to come down in spate and from time to time drownings occur. On the 27th April 1989, for example, nineteen people on the back of a tractor drawn trailer were washed away by the swollen Gaga River while crossing a bridge near the town of Alice.
in Ciskei (cf. the Daily Dispatch 29/05/89 page 1). The river carries within itself the seeds of a potent metaphor and symbol of the ancestors and the agnatic group and the flow of prestations, knowledge and traditions between the two (see Turner's 1977a: 48-52 discussion of "flow"). Just as a river in spate, the ancestors can be malevolent and afflict the living particularly when they neglect to perform traditional rituals. In other words (see section 4.7), "the ancestors turn their backs on" and withdraw their protection from their living descendants because of their failure to perform the appropriate ancestor cult rituals, with the result that the living become prone to illness and misfortune. This power to protect and afflict is also expressed on the level of the agnatic group itself in the old belief that senior males have the power to wash their hands (ukuhlambile) of juniors for a breach of respect behaviour (intlonipho) and so afflict them with illness, misfortune and even death. Just as rivers rise in the heights of the escarpment and flow, bearing their precious life-giving contents, down to the low places to fill up that common body of water called the sea, so too clan membership, oral traditions, culture in general, procreative power and life itself flow from senior males to their junior male and female offspring in the agnatic group: in much the same way that charismatic power and protection flow from the paternal ancestors to their living descendants. However, without the required reciprocity between the living and the dead involving various prestations of meat and fermented sorghum beer, the tight synchronistic interrelation between man, nature and the spirits comes unstuck at the seams. Instead of the ancestors protecting the living, for example, they allow them to be drowned unexpectedly and without warning in a river spate. This is precisely what happens in the 'river' myth if the candidate diviner's family and kin raise a complaint or objection about the calling: i.e. the guardian of the cavern under the river, iChanti, the messenger of death, kills the candidate whose
drowned corpse is subsequently retrieved from the river minus an eye, ear or genitals. Hence, as the symbol of the ancestors' malevolence, *ichanti*, unlike *umamlambo*, is not arbitrary in meting out punishment to the living: it harms only those who have neglected to propitiate the spirits or who have rejected them entirely.

In relating the two central ideas of the myth in the first sentence - i.e. belonging to the 'river' and being called to the river by the ancestors to become a diviner - Mandla thrusts between them a seemingly ambiguous interlocutor, "[it happens to] one not by accident or misfortune" (*ungenzakalanga*), which he immediately goes on to elaborate in the next sentence: i.e. "I am not talking about drowning". In other words, although the calling has the appearance of an unfortunate accident, it is nothing of the sort and it takes place as a result of the spiritual design or 'divine plan' of the ancestors. We can even see this 'divine plan' of the ancestors operating on the level of the myth itself, for the syntagmatic or causal connections stated in the first sentence - belonging to the 'river' and being called by the ancestors, etc. to become a diviner - and the accompanying paradigmatic association, "not drowning", are restated in reverse order and slightly elaborated form in the old woman's few spoken words to the candidate (see lines 88 - 94 of the English translation). Notice how the paradigmatic association "not drowning by accident or misfortune" is elaborated into the symbol of the propitiatory white clay (*ifutha*) - the charismatic power (*amandla*) of the ancestors in material form - which, when smeared on the body, enables the candidate to pass the snake *ichanti*. In proceeding then to state the distant kinship connections between the candidate and the old woman, Mandla leaves no doubt that the old woman is a member of the candidate's clan (*isiduko*), for he has already stated this explicitly in the preceding lines of the myth (see lines 84 - 87 of the English translation).
Moreover, these old women under the river - each of whom is associated with a different clan - are all "... people who have thwasa'd at the river" (see lines 86 - 87 of the English translation). As I have already indicated (in section 4.3), it is impossible, by virtue of clan exogamy, for members of the same clan (isiduko) to be, at the same time, maternal relatives. Both in town and the rural areas today, the Cape Nguni are still extraordinarily fastidious regarding the principle of exogamy and a man is not permitted to marry a female member or 'sister' of the clan, even in the absence of a direct biological tie. Formerly, a man was not permitted to marry any woman belonging to the clans of all four grandparents, but this is not strictly adhered to anymore. Not only were such unions regarded as incestuous, but exogamy was and still is an important means of establishing alliances between neighbouring groups (cf. Leach 1982:176ff and Kuper 1982 : 32-3, 55-8). All of this information pertaining to clan exogamy is very neatly and aptly expressed in the symbolism of the old woman's fish-tail girdle (see section 4.6).

This extended image of the calling I have been describing in the last few paragraphs - in fact, everything that is said in Mandla's first paragraph (e.g. stripping off one's clothes, being submerged in the river and not drowning) right down to the lines (i.e. 84-95) we have just discussed (i.e. smearing on the white clay, passing the snake unharmed and meeting the old female representative of the paternal ancestors under the river) - is simply an exegesis of the connotations already present in the complex technical terms ungowasemlanjeni and ukuthwetyulwa which, taken together, express the essential paradox of the diviner's role and status: i.e. belonging to the agnatic group and being set apart from it in the process of becoming a diviner. As I pointed out in the foregoing sections 3.6 and 4.6, the diviner is neither fish nor flesh, like the old woman in her fish-tail
girdle, by virtue of a close and intimate association with the ancestors which is explicitly expressed in the divinatory consultation or 'seance' (imvumisa) (see below). The candidate's meeting with the old woman under the river is, in effect, a parable of the divinatory consultation since the old woman, like the diviner in imvumisa (see below and in Appendix 3), does most of the talking in the interaction. It is becoming apparent that what is happening on the literal, vertical and syntagmatic dimension of the myth is at the same time related to what is happening on the figurative, horizontal and paradigmatic dimension. In fact, each word, phrase and sentence of the tale folds onto the words, phrases and sentences that follow by means of a river-like process of extension, which is not unlimited since the myth eventually reaches a conclusion (in the same way that the river flows into the sea), but, paradoxically, it is merely the beginning of the rites inducting the candidate as a diviner. Thus the diviner, qua bricoleur, uses the myth to convey a plethora of 'meaning' by using a plurality of codes which deal with several problems simultaneously by showing how they are analogous to one another. "Each code brings out latent properties in a given realm of experience, allowing ... a translation from realm to realm" (Levi-Strauss 1988: 171). Now let us attempt to plumb a deeper and more esoteric level of the myth.

One obtains the impression in the first paragraph of Mandla's version of the myth that being submerged in the river or going under the river is merely a cleverly contrived and apt metaphor for the whole process involved in the calling which is, in effect, a kind of psycho-social drama, to slightly adapt Turner's (1968a) famous phrase, not altogether unlike Dante's travels across the River Styx. Firstly, Mandla says: "one goes into the river as if by magic" (ungena oku komlingo) (see lines 6 - 7 of the English translation). Then, a little further on (see lines 11 and 14), he says: "where one enters there is a path by which
one goes into the river" (apho ungene khona kukho indlela ongena ngayo phaya emlanjeni) and "one does not drown; one goes in [and] one does not die" (akweyeli ungena akufi). Hammond-Tooke (1975b:29) refers to this interesting paradox, namely that the River People live under the water "but visitors to them emerge from the river dry". According to Mandla, the path whereby the candidate enters the river and the cavern under the river in which the old woman comports herself are twin references to the traditional burial tomb of the chief which consisted of two inter-leading chambers: i.e. a main chamber with a recess dug into one of the sides to receive the body (see section 4.6). In other words, the path is a reference to the outer chamber of the tomb and the cavern in which the old woman resides is a reference to the recessed grave of the chief.

As previously noted (in section 4.6), an old female commoner was "smelt out" as a witch and suffocated, and her corpse was reputedly spread as a mat in the recess of the tomb and the chief's corpse was interred on top of her. We also noted the associations between the chief's tomb, not to mention the River People, and fertility. So, the old mermaid responsible for initiating aspirant diviners under the river, notwithstanding her magical fish-like attributes, was nevertheless subordinate to the chief in status, as reflected in the burial customs mentioned above, in much the same way that commoners in the tribe were generally subordinate in status to members of the royal amaTshawe clan. The old mermaid is really the representative of the predominantly male shades and she is the mediator between the senior spirits and the junior candidate. As even children in the townships know let alone diviners, a fish suffocates and dies when it is removed from its watery element. According to the 'river' myth, the candidate diviner also dies and is forcibly ejected from the river after family and kin raise an objection to the calling. So, as with the complex river motif or iChanti,
for example, here again we encounter the neat synchronistic, even organic, interrelation between sign and symbol, historical cause and mythological effect, ends and means all of which is artfully combined in the anomalous metaphorical figure of the old woman who is part human and part fish (see section 4.6).

In the 'river' myth, Mandla makes three separate references to the propitiatory offerings (iminikelo) namely, the white beads (iintsimbi ezimhlophe) and the ubulawu (see lines 103-4, 123-4 and 126-7 of the English translation), which are made at the spot where the candidate submerged in the river in order to get the ancestors or River People to release the candidate from the river. Mandla also mentions the fermented sorghum beer (utywala) but since it is not yet ready for drinking, it is not included among the offerings of white beads and ubulawu. The beer will be included among the offerings of melon and pumpkin seeds, the grains of white millet, the tobacco, the white clay, etc. subsequently made on behalf of the candidate in the full-scale propitiatory rites of the intlwayelelo (see section 3.6). As we have seen, the intlwayelelo offerings are linked to those involved in the traditional burial of the chief which were concerned with fertility. Unlike nowadays in town and increasingly in the rural areas where the dead are buried in the local grave-yard, in tribal times only the chief was buried and apart from the old woman reputedly interred with him, the corpses of commoners were generally abandoned to the scavengers and the elements (cf. Alberti 1807/1968: 93ff. and Soga 1932:320).

The number three is a recurring figure in Mandla's version of the myth. Here are a few examples: belonging to the river, being called to the river by the ancestors and becoming a diviner (see lines 1 - 3 of the English translation); not by accident, not drowning and not dying (lines 2, 4 and 13 - 15); the brown fly (impukane emdaka), the snake (ichanti) and the old woman who is
half-human and half-fish (lines 8, 24, 32 and 47 - 54); the
disgorged eye, ear or genitals (lines 18 - 20); the oval
grindstone (*imbokothwe*), the white clay (*ifutha*) and the *ubulawu*
roots under the river (lines 21 - 23, 25 - 27, 69 - 71 and 78 -
80); the old woman is described as the candidate's paternal great
aunt thrice removed (lines 90 - 91); elder brother, younger
brother and father's sister (lines 96 - 97); surfacing,
submerging and so on for three days (lines 107 - 108); "on the
third day" (lines 108 - 109); the candidate and his elder and
younger brothers (lines 115 - 117); the offerings of white beads
and *ubulawu* "without any beer" (lines 123 - 124); the ducks and
river fowls arrive at the homestead (lines 101 - 102 and lines
128 - 129); and the candidate and the beaker of *ubulawu* in the
*intondo* (lines 132 - 136). The recurring figure three is a
metaphorical allusion to the traditional rituals (*amasiko*)
whereby the candidate is inducted as a diviner which (as we saw
in section 3.6) are three in number: i.e. the *intlwayelelo*, the
*intambo yosinga*, and the *goduswa*. In section 3.1, I pointed to
the connection between the induction of the diviner and
circumcision rites (*ukwaluka*). The latter also involve three
sacrificial rituals: i.e. the *ukungcamisa*, the *ukojiswa*, and the
final coming out ceremony or *umgidi*. The first two involve the
immolation of a white goat without blemish and the final one an
ox (*cf.* Wilson 1952:199-220). The transitional rites of
separation, marginality and integration necessarily imply two
opposites (separation and integration) and a mediator
(marginality): i.e. the Hegelian thesis, antithesis and
synthesis. This selfsame structure inherent in transitional rites
is revealed in the course and development of the myth: firstly,
the stripping off and going under the river (thesis); secondly,
meeting the old woman who is part human and part fish under the
river (antithesis); and, thirdly, the person's ritual
incorporation back into the homestead as a candidate diviner —
i.e. being placed in the *intondo* and so on (synthesis).
The cavern or burial tomb under the river is paradigmatically associated with the shelter or intondo in which the candidate diviner is secluded on returning from the river (see lines 130-6). Notice how the interior of the intondo is lined with river reeds (imizi) and stocked with the necessary ubulawu just like the old woman's abode under the river in the myth (lines 25 - 27 and lines 78 - 80). Now the intondo, like the circumcision hut (ibhuma) in the bush, is associated with fasting (ukuzila), seclusion, death and rebirth. Very often, during the period of seclusion in the intlwayelelo, the candidate diviner has a profusion of dreams in which the paternal grandfather or great grandfather appears accompanied by a retinue (isihlwele) of ancestors and dead relatives. Historically circumcision was held only when a chief's son was to be circumcised and the latter chose the members of his retinue (isihlwele) from among those youths circumcised with him (cf. Wilson 1982 : 119).

Some very important causal connections radiate from the great shade, be he chief or clan founder, who is buried in the tomb on the river bank (see sections 4.3 and 4.5). According to Mandla, the shade's personality, physical characterstics and charismatic power are transmitted, via the blood of his immediate offspring, to all his subsequent descendants. His flesh and bones rot in the tomb and eventually stimulate the growth of herbs and medicines particularly, as far as Mandla is concerned, the psychically potent riverine species of ubulawu called undlela ziimhlophe (Silene capensis). These various herbs and medicines are eaten by sacred animals - e.g. cattle, elephant, carnivores, antelope, baboon etc. - and, in turn, by man. Not only does this syntagmatic chain explain the synchronicity between the candidate's experience (i.e. "going under the river") and memorable historical events in the past, but it also asserts causal connections of power linking the shade, the medicine, the animal and the candidate diviner (see chapter 4). This is
precisely the set or complex we encounter in the 'river' myth. Before meeting with the old woman who is part human and part fish and is associated with the medicines and ubulawu under the river, the candidate diviner must eat the ubulawu of the clan which is eaten by the high-pitched spirit voices (oonomathotholo) of the river who are ancestors of the agnostic group masquerading in the dreams of their descendants inter-changeably, as the occasion demands, as animals (izilo) or people (abantu) (see Nobulawu's dream in section 4.5, for example). As a result of these events, the candidate subsequently becomes a diviner who is invested with a regalia of animal skins and is transformed into a person who is half-beast. In other words, by means of the induction process, the diviner not only becomes identified with the old woman under the river but also adopts her characteristics. Why it is a female, rather than a male, role model is simply that the nurturing female - who is responsible for child-rearing, preparing food and, traditionally, cultivating the gardens and fields - serves as a more appropriate metaphor for the diviner who is not only more often female rather than male (see chapter 2), but also a healer responsible for parenting clients and novices (see chapter 3).

This gives us the following interrelationships, which are worth noting, on the level of the myth: the spirits are associated with medicines as medicines are associated with animals as animals are associated with the spirits. On the other hand, the candidate diviner is associated with the medicines as the medicines are associated with the animals as the animals are associated with the spirits as the spirits are associated with the candidate diviner. The 'river' myth leaves no doubt that the spirits and the diviner are equivalents, for Mandla describes the condition of the emergent candidate metaphorically in the myth as "separate in the form of a disinterred corpse (isithunzela)" (see lines 111 - 113): i.e. according to Mandla, as the "ghost" of a deceased
person which has separated from the body. As a result of the calling and the subsequent induction into the profession, the diviner is also separated from the social body of the agnatic group and ordinary people at large. To use a more schematic analogy (cf. Leach 1961, 1976 and 1982), this leaves us with a square of interacting elements (see figure 5 on the preceding page): i.e. the diviner (A), the ancestors (B), the medicines (C) and the animals (D) each at different corners of the square. The diviner and the animals are related (line A-D) as are the ancestors and the medicines (line B-C). Notice that lines A-D (diviner-animals) and B-C (ancestors-medicines) intersect midway between line A-B (diviner-ancestors). Put another way, triangle A-C-D has its mirror image C-D-B below it (see figure 6 on the preceding page). This gives us the river reflecting the sky above and the vegetation on its banks; the diviner above and the ancestors below - the diviner's medicine-hut (intondo) in the homestead and the cavern, tomb or homestead of the old female diviner under the river; the old woman's long hair hanging down to her back and her fish-tail girdle; and the diviner's peaked, skin hat (isidlokolo) and skin skirt (umthika) made from strips of wild animal skins.

Thus the 'river' myth spells out the candidate diviner's step by step movement from lowliness to power. Firstly, the candidate strips off his clothes and enters the river as one about to swim. Secondly, having smeared on the white clay, the candidate is able to pass unharmed the snake iChanti guarding the entrance to the cavern or tomb under the river. Note that if the candidate does not put on the white clay or his kinsmen object to the calling, the snake prevents the candidate from passing into the presence of the old mermaid responsible for initiating aspirant diviners under the river. Thirdly, before being bestowed with the charismatic power of the paternal ancestors by the old mermaid under the river, the candidate must first eat the emetic ubulawu
roots associated with the agnatic group or clan. We have already noted the inter-connections between water, white clay, ubulawu, fermented sorghum beer, etc. and purity and power (see sections 4.4, 4.5 and 4.7).

On both the literal and figurative levels, the 'river' myth is replete with redundant references to traditional rituals - not to mention the paternal ancestors - involved in the induction of the diviner including adolescent initiation rites, the intlwayelelo and by means of the allusive figure three, also the intambo yosinga and the goduswa (see section 3.6). I pointed out (in section 5.1) that the 'river' myth is narrated to the candidate prior to being inducted as a fully fledged diviner. Thus a few metaphorical 'nods and winks' suffice to convey the relevant messages to someone already, more or less, in the know. By fitting together the remains of events, the bricoleur builds up an appropriate 'artistic' structure (cf. Douglas 1975) for ritual action (see section 4.1). In section 5.1, among other things, it was said that the 'river' myth offers a highly figurative parable of the procedure involved in divination, which still remains the diviner's principal and most lucrative activity (see section 2.5). This brings us to a consideration of the overarching import of the diviner's 'river' myth and the pinnacle of the bricoleur's craft namely, divination. Once we understand the culture, "there is no end to the number of meanings which can be read into a good myth" (Douglas 1975 : 167).

5.4 Divination
Clients usually consult the diviner at home in small groups composed of kin, relatives, neighbours, co-workers, friends, etc. who are thoroughly familiar with the concern or problem. These small groups of consultees (see chapter 1) vary in size, depending on the nature of the concern or problem, from as few as 2 or 3 to as many as 9 or 12 people. For example, Nontando's
client (see the full divinatory text in Appendix 3C), a farm labourer in his 70s seeking treatment for sexual impotency, was accompanied by his wife (in her 50s) and a small child of about 2 or 3 years old whom the wife was minding for her sister who also lived on the farm in Alexandria district but was shopping in town. Mandla's client (i.e. Xasa mentioned in section 2.7) had been a migrant worker in East London for 9 years until he had been hospitalized for a duodenal ulcer and had subsequently returned home to the farm in Albany district where his wife and children lived with whom he had had no contact during his absence and he now seemed to be having some difficulty fitting back into the family circle. He was accompanied by his wife and his deceased father's brother's son and his wife, all of whom lived on the farm just outside Grahamstown.

On arrival at the diviner's house, the consultees always greet the practitioner in the conventional way, "Camagu!". The diviner immediately knows from this that the group have come for a consultation (imvumisa). The consultees divest themselves of headgear, walking sticks, coats and sometimes even their shoes and deposit these near the door or just outside the door. Sometimes very smartly dressed clients excuse themselves for not stripping off but diviners, very often, instruct them to make a token gesture and undo their shoe laces.

Now, the consultees seat themselves down on the floor and arrange themselves in a rough semi-circle round the diviner who sits on a low wooden stool. The stipulated fee is then placed at the diviner's feet, where it usually remains until the consultation is concluded. If the consultees are dissatisfied with the divination and say as much, they are entitled to take up their money and go and consult another diviner. However, if the consultees report their satisfaction as usually is the case, the diviner is entitled to keep the fee.
Then the consultation begins. The diviner and the consultees clap hands and simultaneously chant "vuma, siya vuma (agree, we agree)" and they may do this 2 or 3 times until the diviner considers it loud enough. Now, the diviner will begin to make oracular statements neatly juxtaposed between the repetitive hand clapping and chanting.

Nontando: Do you mean to tell me that there is a figure here who my father begot, besides myself alone. (1)
When you discuss [this matter], you say that I am the only issue of my father. (2)
You are the sole male issue of your father. (3)
Besides yourself, there is someone else born of your father. (4)
Now, then, it is not said it is a male. (5)

At this point, (line 21 in Appendix 3C), Nontando's client agrees with her in the conventional way by saying "phosa" (throw, i.e. throw it behind you or, in other words, I agree) and thus indicates that what she has been saying is correct. The diviner goes on to say:

Nontando: Now, then, they say that the oracle is about a woman. (6)

Then the client raises a question:

Madala: Where is that woman? (7)

However, the diviner points out:
Nontando: We are not going to look at her now, still those things have been brought to light by me, [my] equal.(8)
She is no longer present, [my] equal.(9)
She is dead.(10)

Madala: Throw, throw (i.e. I agree, I agree).

Nontando: How old was this woman at her death, [my] equal?(11)
Who is older, you or that woman, [my] equal?(12)
Strike [your hands], [my] equal, it is really you.(13)
And she comes after you, [my] equal.(14)

Madala: Throw (I agree).

Nontando: Just say you ask at this point.(15)
Where, then, is your mother who begot you?(16)
Strike [your hands], she also died, my equal.(17)

Now let us take a brief look at Mandla's divination (see Appendix 3A).

Mandla: We are from home now, Sir.(1)
What is it? It's a person.(2)
That's why we have come to you.(3)

Ndoda: Throw (I agree).
Mandla: What kind of person? It sounds as if it's a male, it sounds as if a male brought you here to the diviner.(5)

Nontando: Throw (I agree).

Mandla: They say this male is dead but I say he's not dead.(6)
I say he is not dead.(7)
He is still alive.(8)

Ndoda: Throw (I agree).

Mandla: Father, you are asking, for where is he?(9)
I say this troubles [you] at home.(10)
But the oracle says you have brought him along.(11)
We have not left him at home.(12)
He decided to come himself.(13)
Is it so, father?(14)

Ndoda: Throw (I agree).(15)

The focus here is on culture as a mode of communication (cf. Leach 1976 and Levi-Strauss 1966 and 1973a) that expresses and addresses the self and the world, involves both verbal and non-verbal behaviour and, in fact, not only has a logic (cf. Leach 1976), but a dialogic of its own (cf. Marcus and Fischer 1986:45-76). Although diviners make use of a highly stylized rhetoric in divination utilizing an arcane and allusive language (cf. Evans-Pritchard 1937:169ff.), speech itself is only part of the total communication strategy that also involves non-verbal behaviour (e.g. various gestures and repetitive hand-clapping and
chanting). As we have seen, the diviner is the main performer in the consultation and does most of the talking. However, it is a rhetorical performance framed, statement for statement, by the hand-clapping and chanting "siya vuma (we agree)" of the consultees which, in fact, can be repeated anywhere between 150 and 300 times per consultation. Moreover, it is a rhetorical performance shaped and modified in the ensuing interaction by the consultees' affirmation or denial of the oracular statements made by the diviner as well as by the questions the consultees, or the diviner, might raise. Nevertheless, the diviner's rhetorical performance has a structure or arrangement - 'loose' enough to enable the incorporation of spontaneous intuitions, feelings, deductions and inspired guesswork in general, yet, 'tight' enough to move the discourse through its successive stages passing from the identification of the 'patient' or client, the exact nature of the problem or concern, its social context and causes to a consideration of the appropriate remedial measures invariably involving herbal medicines and traditional rituals. All of this is well illustrated by the two divinatory texts contained in Appendix 3.

Both Mandla and Nontando immediately identify their clients as male. However, here they diverge. Mandla immediately proceeds to state that the client has a stomach-ache (see line 73 in Appendix 3A). Nontando declines to identify the problem immediately because she uncovers the fact that the client's deceased sister was a diviner called to the river and she correctly intuits that this is connected with the client's problem (see lines 254-64 in Appendix 3C). Both diviners give a lot of attention to the causes of the problems and without much difficulty uncover lists of neglected traditional rituals in the familial background of their clients that require to be performed and in what order. Nontando, in fact, is speaking so fast (her entire performance from beginning to end lasted exactly 12 minutes and the transcription
of the Xhosa text took 6 weeks) that she makes a slip in starting to list the order of the rituals and has to correct herself (see divinatory statements 113 and 114). Both diviners carefully reiterate the remedial measures towards the end of the consultation for the benefit of their clients. It is really only at this stage of the proceedings that Nontando explicitly broaches the client's problem for the first time in reply to a question raised by the client and she explains that she has feminine reasons for demurring to mention the client's sexual impotency directly and explicitly. Both healers treat their clients with considerable finesse. Nontando's client wanted his sexual impotency treated, but she suggested that he should consult a herbalist. Afterwards, she admitted to me that she was reluctant to take on the case as it was a hopeless one which would only involve the client in unnecessary expense without relieving the problem caused, as she believed it was, simply by old age. Mandla rather astutely prescribed *ibuka*, the *ubulawu* used only for washing (see section 4.5), because he was afraid that any herbal diffusion taken internally would both interfere with Xasa's medication (i.e. from the outpatients' hospital) and exacerbate his duodenal ulcer. The foregoing analysis of the two divinatory texts contained in Appendix 3 by no means exhausts everything one could say about them. Nevertheless, the analysis serves to illustrate the flexible structure of the divinatory consultation which can immediately adapt itself to meet any unexpected contingency.

It has already been pointed out (in sections 2.7 and 3.1) that, nowadays, diviners know right from the start that the problem or concern under consideration in the consultation is generally not a medical problem *per se* but a problem in social relations afflicting the person and/or group. The initial choice of a particular diviner, the social composition of the consultation and the associated interrogative procedures, arcane and allusive
language, symbolism and ritual remedial measures are all related to the problem or concern for which the consultation is a mechanism of social redress (cf. Turner 1975a:235). Thus, the diviner elaborates and delimits meanings which are socially negotiated with the consultees in the interaction (cf. Werbner 1973). It therefore comes as no surprise that the diviner reveals matters which all along have been well-known to the consultees. In fact, Nontando's client says precisely this at the end of the consultation:

Madala: (Laughs.) He-he-he-ee-ee-he-he-he
No, no, Madam. You speak well. To me also, for that thing is known to this person. Yes, we speak about it every day.(152)

The consultees confirm the facts as they emerge and the diviner, *qua bricoleur*, links them together to form a coherent picture of events in such a way that, at each step in the proceedings, responses are elicited from the consultees which only give further clues to the pattern of current tensions in the group (cf. Turner 1975a:235). For their part the clients have a preconceived view of the particular problem or concern at issue in the consultation which is formed in informal discussions with co-workers, friends and neighbours and in more formal discussions in the local domestic and/or agnatic group (cf. Turner 1975a:234). On the one hand, the diviner is a liminal, marginal figure set apart by vocation and 'betwixt and between' the formal structure of the segmentary system (cf. Turner 1969). On the other hand, the *imvumisa* consultation is situated temporally and spatially 'betwixt and between' the genesis of the problem or concern and attempts to redress or resolve it (cf. Turner 1975a:234). Diviners generally speak as though their communications in the consultation issue directly from the paternal ancestors – Mandla repeatedly says "Jamangile says so",

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and this is a reference to his deceased paternal grandfather who was a diviner (see chapter 2), and Nontando constantly repeats the phrase "men of the earth (amadoda asemahlabathini)" which likewise is a reference to the ancestors.

The correspondences which arise between the paternal ancestors, the diviner, the client, the nature of the problem and the context of the consultation which is performed in the diviner's medicine-hut all contribute to an explanation of the sacred character of divination: e.g. the use of hand-clapping percussion is symbolically resorted to in communication with the spirits (cf. Needham 1981:41); the various oblique and direct references to the paternal ancestors; the terms of respect (intlonipho) the consultees use in addressing and thanking the diviner (e.g. camagu); the repetitive emphasis on agreement (i.e. the chanting of "siya vuma, we agree") and 'communitas' (cf. Turner 1970); why the consultees divest themselves of certain articles of clothing (e.g. shoes, headgear, walking sticks, etc.) before the commencement of the consultation as well as why the fee (umkhonto) paid to the diviner at the conclusion of the consultation is equivalent to 'crossing the palm with silver', an offering rather than a purely commercial transaction. These are all symbolic legitimations sanctioning the mystical authority of the diviner as the spokesman of the shades.

Divinatory oratory, praise poetry and speech-making all draw on a common repertoire of idioms, proverbs, metaphors and symbols. Yet, in spite of this, they are very different modes of speech. Both the diviner and the praise poet (imbongi) adopt an ecstatic mode of rendition speaking fast and in a breathless manner (cf. Opland 1983). The content of what is said, however, differs vastly. The divinatory mode deals with the seamier side of social life and broaches very personal and intimate issues that would be impolite and impolitic to discuss openly and directly in most
ordinary social contexts. Moreover, diviners adopt an overbearing, truculent and critical attitude at times towards the participants that would be entirely unacceptable in most speech-making and ordinary speech. Divinatory oratory, therefore, has a bearing on the current debate in and around rhetoric (cf. Werbner 1977).

Bloch (1975b) has argued that the formalisation of oratory is a coercive tool of traditionalist authority by which "one is caught... into accepting without the possibility of question what is proposed" (1975b:9). Werbner (1977) has criticised this view on a number of important grounds including, among others, that Bloch (1975b) takes us back to the view that "Custom is King" and Weber's (1964:296) "inviolable norm of conduct". Werbner (1973) posits the view that the diviner elaborates and delimits meanings about concerns, and these meanings are socially negotiated with the participants in the interaction. Distant diviners start off from a position of total anonymity, without past familiarity of the participants and their concerns (Werbner 1973:1416). In the ordinary course of events, the participants in the imvumisa consultation are at liberty, as we have seen (see also Appendix 3), to confirm or deny the accuracy of the statements made by the diviner. In fact, diviners encourage the participants to raise pertinent questions in response to their statements. However, this must not be simply taken to imply that diviners merely confirm the preconceptions of the participants. Although this is to some extent true, diviners also adopt a critical pose and apportion blame in scathing tones. In the two examples cited in Appendix 3, the diviners criticised the participants for not clapping loud enough, not asking enough questions and in Mandla's case, for neglecting the family. Here the only authority legitimating the diviner's position is the traditionalist authority of the paternal ancestors. Thus the views of Bloch (1975b) and Werbner (1973) are not mutually exclusive as they
would appear at first sight. After all, this is the exciting possibility ethnography has to offer social anthropology - all it requires is a different case to bring hitherto opposed theoretical views into an entirely new relation.

Turning to consider the 'river' myth once more (see section 5.2 and Appendix 4), we read it with cleansed eyes and a new vision. Just as the candidate diviner strips off his clothes on the river bank, so the people consulting the diviner strip off their headgear and shoes, for example, before entering the diviner's medicine-hut for the divinatory consultation. Under the river there is a large oval stone (imbokothwe); white clay; the snake ichanti with a forked tongue; medicines and ubulawu; and an old woman with a fish-tail girdle. These are all references to the diviner, who is more often than not female rather than male (see chapter 2), the diviner's regalia (which, as we saw in section 4.6, is symbolized by the fish-tail girdle), the diviner's medicines, the medicine grinding stones and the forked medicine mixing-stick (ixhayi). As previously pointed out, the diviner's intondo is symbolically equivalent to the tomb-like cavern under the river where the old mermaid representative of the paternal ancestors dwells. Under the river the candidate communes with the representative of the shades only to find that a traditional ritual, the intlwayelelo, must be performed involving various offerings made at the river, beer brewing and dancing (see section 3.6). This is precisely what the consultees discover in the imvumisa consultation: i.e. they have neglected to perform certain traditional rituals (amasiko) addressed to the shades.

It is stated early on in the myth (see the first paragraph of the English translation in Appendix 4) that the candidate does not enter the river as a result of drowning accidentally but nevertheless is "out of his senses" and called to the river by the paternal ancestors. So, the myth poses a relevant divinatory
riddle right from the start: i.e. what is wrong with the candidate? In the consultation, the diviner is usually confronted by a small group consisting of between 2 and 12 people. Thus, in practice, the diviner refines the bald question of the myth to: who is the client and what is wrong with him or her? This is well illustrated in the two divinatory texts in Appendix 3. The diviner strips off and enters and goes under the river. In other words, the diviner strips off all social preconceptions from mind and enters the intuitive domain of the spirits (i.e. the unconscious) beyond the social pale. When the diviner emerges again into the light of consciousness it is found that the client has neglected to perform certain traditional rituals the performance of which is recommended as the only therapy for the problem. Thus, it is quite clear, as previously pointed out (see section 2.7), that the precise nature of the psycho-social problems and the associated psychosomatic symptoms is not really the point at issue here - this is really a matter for the Western medical practitioner to sort out diagnostically - and different rituals can serve as therapy for the same problems. In the divinatory texts (see Appendix 3), both clients complain of sexual impotency but different rituals are recommended as therapy - in Mandla's case, it is the imbeleko that is required and, in Nontando's case, the intlwanyelelo. Equally, the same ritual can serve quite different problems (e.g. the intlwanyelelo applies both to the initiation of the candidate diviner and to the treatment of umlambo or "river sickness" in the family - see sections 2.7 and 3.6). After repeatedly submerging and emerging in the river, the candidate diviner is finally released to return to the homestead but not before offerings are made to the paternal ancestors in the river (see section 5.2 and Mandla's version of the myth in Appendix 4). This is precisely what happens after the divinatory consultation: i.e. the diviner's fee (umkhonto) must be paid (see Mandla's account in Appendix 2). Clearly, the 'river' is also a symbol for the diviner, who
mediates the flow of power and prestation between the living and the dead. Thus, in quite another sense, "going under the river" is also a metaphor describing how the candidate is placed in a subordinate position "under the authority" of the instructing diviner during the apprenticeship period. The subordination of the pupil to the teacher comes to an end with the performance of the *goduswa* graduation ceremony (see section 3.6).

Now, I also pointed out in section 5.1, that the 'river' myth contains the roots of explanations that can apply in certain situations. The first is fairly obvious and applies to drowning and the mutilation of the corpse retrieved from the river: i.e. the person or persons were called to the river but because a complaint or objection was raised by family and kin drowning was the result. Also, the myth explains why, when a particular ritual is performed, the problem does not clear up: i.e. the problem is not resolved because the correct ritual order was not followed and the necessary purificatory ablutions omitted. This emerges very clearly in Nontando's divination (see Appendix 3 lines 375–471) where the old man had performed the necessary *intlwayelelo* but his sexual impotency remained: Nontando explained that the correct herbal measures and abstentions were not properly applied and this was why the *intlwayelelo* was not efficacious in this case. This affirms what has already been said in connection with ritual therapy (see section 3.6): i.e. if rituals are really therapeutic it is not only because offerings are made to the spirits of the dead, but primarily because rituals involve a psycho-social complex of activity offering multiple opportunities for selective social conditioning to take place under optimal conditions of strong social reinforcement.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

Considered in the context of the economically depressed townships of Grahamstown (see chapters 1 and 2), the deprivation hypothesis advanced by Lewis (1966, 1971, 1986) to explain possession has considerable relevance and validity. Firstly, those who 'domesticate' possession and bring it under voluntary control are eventually inducted as diviners, attain the status and prestige of healer and even make a living out of healing. In terms of what people of equal age and education could earn at that time, diviners earning over about R40 per month were certainly making a living out of healing (cf. Whisson 1985:141-2). Secondly, those who become the novices and followers of the fully fledged and charismatic diviners attain the attention and respect due to the possessed and are treated with consideration. As Whisson (1964: 302-3) points out, the taboos, the dress, and the need to keep in contact with the healer help to build a supernatural wall around the patient and make other people in the home a little wary of her or him. The importance of social factors in maintaining the health of the patient is underlined by the repeated warnings to the patient and members of the household to maintain good and harmonious relations by behaving in a correct and charitable manner. All this behaviour is sanctioned by the threat that another attack may be made by the spirits if the taboos are not observed. The patient must henceforth be treated with consideration and respect lest the dreaded affliction recur with all the attendant costs. Lewis also recognizes the multitude of possible secondary gains which are available to the possessed person who becomes a diviner or novice - not least of which are remission from troubling symptoms, the manipulation of interpersonal relations in the family to achieve desired ends and the achievement of independence both in the household and from
the long hours and drudgery of employment in lowly paid and subordinate positions in the white-dominated economy. According to Lewis (1986: ix), the extent of the involvement of wives in possession cults may become an index of *embourgeoisement* and male respectability and so become linked to the changing status of women (see the case-study of Makhulu in chapter 3).

Also relevant is Lewis's (1971) suggestion that the diviner is a 'wounded healer', for here is solid ethnographic evidence to support Hunter's (1936) original observations that the diviner suffers a "trouble" (*inkathazo*) which necessitates induction as a healer. As pointed out in detail in chapter three, it is in the course of being treated for an affliction associated with problems in interpersonal relations, particularly in the family but not necessarily limited to it (see chapter 3), that the candidate diviner becomes an expert in interpersonal and social relations solving problems and concerns connected with them through ritual activity (see sections 3.6 and 5.4). Clearly, in so doing, the diviner functions as kind of *bricoleur* (see chapters 4 and 5) who is consummate in the art of manipulating concepts, metaphors, symbols, images and beliefs expressive of the self and the agnatic group in the process of communicating with clients regarding their problems and concerns. The particular hallmark of the *bricoleur* is to utilize multivalent and thus ambiguous communications precisely in order to allow clients to negotiate the meanings which they hold to be significant, very much as Werbner (1973) suggests. However, as Bloch (1975b) suggests, diviners use their spiritually legitimated authority to endorse the ritual solutions they provide to clients. Thus the analysis of the diviner's 'seance' (see section 5.4) reconciles two opposing theoretical views, Werbner (1977) and Bloch (1975b), in the current debate in and around rhetoric. The question remains, however, why so many women become healers?
The agnatic group is an organizational unit having both male and female members. As pointed out earlier in section 3.6, traditional rituals addressed to the ancestors accompany every stage in the life-cycle from birth through adolescence to death. Generally speaking, most agnatic groups, both in town and the rural areas, tend to place a greater emphasis on the socialization of males than on females. This is suggested by the fact that while male circumcision rites continue unabated in town and the rural areas, female puberty rites are rarely performed (see section 3.1). The fact that circumcision still continues in spite of unprecedented sociocultural change and the spread of Christianity, education and modern health services suggests that economic factors and widespread poverty might be important in causing the decline of female puberty rites. However, the same socio-economic factors affect all ritual practices, and some succumb while others survive. Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that giving a selective preference to the formal socialization of males rather than females, apart from ensuring the continuity of the agnatic group in rapidly declining and increasingly difficult economic circumstances, ensures in the long run that more females than males encounter difficulties in their maturational and social development. By extrapolation and extension, this not only explains the numerical preponderance of females among diviners but also the preponderance of females in the established and independent churches. It also explains why these movements in particular and healing and millenarian movements in general throughout Africa proliferate in male-dominated societies: i.e. to redress the imbalances in the socialization of the sexes (particularly females) brought about by a general selective preference operating in favour of males, an attitude instilled by the very organisational principles of society itself. The diviner's 'river' myth evokes throughout an attitude of compliance to the will of the ancestors and of religious piety in the extreme. The mood of rebellion so strongly
evinced in the Swazi Ncwala, for example (cf. Lincoln 1987), is entirely absent from the rites inducting the candidate as a diviner which, as we have seen in section 3.6, have aspects reminiscent of the confessional and the sackcloth and ashes of the penitent - elements found in Zionism and Christianity in general. Although men are increasingly insecure as women begin to demand equality and reject marriage, minor challenges to male dominance provoked by possession in the long run merely reinforce male control of the ritual apparatus and authority in general. However, what is at issue here is not the challenge to male dominance in general but the escape from the dominance of specific males by specific women through the autonomy and amandla provided by the diviner's status (see chapter 3). We are familiar with this "cult of feminine frailty" (Lewis 1971:85-6) from the "invalid" role of Victorian women and the attacks of the vapours which enabled them to opt out of boring, humiliating social routines (cf. Pearsall 1972:508-45). However, as Peter Wilson (1967:359) reminds us, any adequate explanation of spirit possession must account for why the phenomenon occurs among males (though much less often) and females. Lewis (1971:117) meets this problem well in the view that the men and women who experience possession afflictions do so regularly in situations of stress and conflict with their superiors and, in the attention and respect which they temporarily attract, influence their masters (see chapter 3). Thus for the subordinate, the powerless and the oppressed, spirit possession represents an oblique strategy of attack directed at society's more fortunate members.

This way of looking at possession - i.e. as an oblique strategy of attack - immediately ranks it with witchcraft and sorcery accusations which, as is well known, are similarly employed to explain distress and disease in situations of strife and tension (cf. Lewis 1971:117-8 and Hammond-Tooke 1970, 1974, 1975b). However, possession and witchcraft represent different styles of
attack - accusing an enemy of witchcraft is pursuing a direct strategy of attack (cf. Lewis 1971:118). Nevertheless both strategies function to rally social support and succour to the side of the subject. In witchcraft the possessing spirit is cast out by exorcism rather than 'domesticated', and the victim is not inducted as a healer or into a cult group (cf. Lewis 1971:123). Among the Cape Nguni, the victim of witchcraft is considered blameless. However, spirit possession always carries the implication of blameworthiness and the novice diviner must confess his or her sins as part of the therapy connected with induction as a healer (cf. also Hammond-Tooke 1975b). The victim of witchcraft, although ostensibly blameless, receives aversive therapy equivalent to insulin/electric shock treatment in the West (see ukukhupha iintlanga in section 4.1). The person who is spirit possessed, although blameworthy, obtains strong social reinforcement and is inducted as a healer into the cult of diviners (see chapter 3). Also, as Lewis (1971:33) correctly predicts, those who, as masters of spirits, diagnose and treat illness in others, are themselves in danger of being accused as witches and this is a means of keeping ambitious healers in check (see section 2.6).

While both the diviners and the Zionist healers synthesize ideological and utopian elements in various ways in their religious beliefs and practices, the diviners appear to be principally concerned with interpreting the old in terms of the new - Sijamankungwini's, Mandla's and Nobulawu's dreams (see pages 107 and 182-3) bear a strong resemblance to 1 Samuel 3:v3-6, Genesis 37:v5ff. and Job 10:v16 respectively - and the Zionists with interpreting the new in terms of the old (cf. Sundkler 1961). Nevertheless, both diviners and Zionists embrace a nationalism of the "blood and soil" type (cf. Oosthuizen 1968) and as Spencer (1990:283) has recently pointed out, "... nationalism is, like anthropology itself, above all a mode of
cultural self-consciousness". Since the beliefs and practices of the diviners - no less than those of the Zionists - are a contemporary cultural production embracing the 'other world' of the supernatural in order to obtain material benefits in this world here and now, it can no longer simply be assumed that the religious beliefs and practices of diviners merely constitute "survivals" from pre-Christian times. Lewis (1986:94ff) points out how the official classification of marginal, local possession cults as "survivals" contributes to the dynamic process of adjustment by which universal world religions define and redefine metropolitan orthodoxy by contrasting it to "primitive superstition". "The price centrality pays to marginality for providing this service is, in effect, the ambiguous power it cedes to the latter" (Lewis 1986:ix).

Metaphors and symbols will always exert a powerful force in healing (and medical practitioners can make this part of their bedside manner without any further to do or inhibition) both because they communicate pronouncements and illustrate them graphically. Castaneda's (1970) important contribution is to recognize the indigenous healer as a 'man of knowledge', for it is really a broad knowledge of nature and society with their many masks or faces that enables the healer to re-create and articulate metaphors and symbols. The hallmark of the ambiguous communicative mode utilized by the healer is that it acts as a kaleidoscope or mask made out of iridescent plastic which shows a different face every time a ray of light strikes it from another angle. This always reminds me of the interesting visual illusion in Salvador Dali's painting "The Virtues of Tradition": one moment one sees a group of women wearing traditional Flemish costume and the next, the women are transformed into the bust of Voltaire. It is physiologically impossible to see both these images simultaneously. If we see them at all, we see them serially one after the other. This is precisely the nature of the
'meaning' conveyed by the healer's ambiguous communications and of belief, myth and ritual in general. When people are suddenly confronted with a numinous myth or ritual - or a painting, symphony or poem - they initially find it difficult to articulate in words. We know that the picture or music is communicating with us, but we may wish to rehearse our answers to any spontaneous questions on the matter. However, like the artist, the healer approaches the whole problem of meaning by using numinous and ambiguous materials and, as in art, people are expected to find and articulate their own meanings. People must find and articulate their own meanings, for it is precisely in the absence of them that contemporary man, not to mention the politically subordinate and oppressed masses, is assailed by his own sense of isolation and alienation. The diviner is a combination or hybrid of Levi-Strauss and Castaneda - the ability of the former to invert, mirror or utilise analogies from linguistics to make everything meaningful and the ability of the latter to creatively bend reality - noting that for some the former and for many the latter are among the great charlatans in the business (see section 2.6 on the 'robbing game').

It is principally from the foregoing perspective that it is naive to talk blindly about licensing diviners or integrating them into the medical profession. Legalisation may only make indigenous healing more open to abuse than it already is, whereas bringing it under the control of the medical profession will simply cause it to lose its force and raison d'etre. It is like turning "informal" economic sector activity - e.g. car washing - into a major national industry while still expecting it to continue on the same scale. The paradox of development is that the diviner and her/his "bag of tricks" is bound to disappear. The best we can do is to try to learn as much as possible before the historical demise of the profession in the modern world.
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APPENDIX 1


Izinyanya ezi, khona zezibekho kaloku ootat' omkhulu aba badalwe nguThixo. Izinyanya zam zisebenzisana kunye noThixo. Andiboni mahluko ku Qamatha noThixo kuba isiko likhona naseBayibileni. uThixo wathi ekundidaleni kwakhe, wandidala ukuba ndibe ligqirha. Isipho sam ndakuba ligqirha.
APPENDIX 2


2.3 Sijamankungwini: Ebethanda ukuba yedwa ngokungathi akaxolanga xa ephakathi kwabanye kubengathi kukho into esengqondweni apha kuye. Be simnika lomntwana ukutya okuninzi kodwa abe ebityile.


2.6 **Si jamankungwini:** Mna nomfazi besizibona izenzo zabanan twana. Mhlawumi abantwana bayadlala: uNontand o ebedlala ngokungathi uliggirhakazi avumise. Phakathi kwam nomfazi omnye wobeka isandla elisweni aye kuye abuze: "Yintoni engalunganga elisweni lam?" uNontando ebeya athi: "Hayi, akukhonto ingalunganga eneliso lakho."


"Yintoni mntwana wam?"
"Andiboni tata."
"Yintoni?"
"Ngamehlo akalili akanalutho. Andiphumeleli ke ngoko esikolweni andiboni."

"Mmh, hayi ke, mntwana wam, usemncinci uyakuthini ukuyeka esikolweni."


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Ndafika ekhaya wathi umama: "Yihlo, makhe siye emntwini ngalento yalo mntwana. Uyakhumbule ukuba lo mntwana yayi ngumntu onamaphupha? Yayi yintoni kakade lonto, yihlo?"

Utata wabuza: "Ngumntu wantoni?"
Waphendula, "Ligqirha."
"Eh, kuyakufuneka khe ndidibane nomninawa."
"Hayi, yihlo, khawuyeke umninawa wakho, makhe sihambe sobabini. Lo mninawa wakho unghle ufike engekho, ube nina kakade anikholelwa kakuhle ngama gqirha."


"Wangathi uyanyanisa noko," watsho utata.  
"Nguwe kanye bawo lo, kwakufuneka uligqirha kudala wena. Wena wakhe wonzakala apha emilenzeni, wawuye kufuna iinkomo iintsuku ezintathu wangena eludakeni. Kudala ngoko, usenoyihlo wakho."
Utata, "Phosangasemva, mhlekazi, lonto yayithetha ntoni?" "Wasinda wena ekuthwetyulweni, intsuku ezi ntathu ukohlwe kukuphuma eludakeni, zange ungene ngaphantsi emlanjeni. Kunjalo, xh ego?"
"Ewe, mhlekazi, kunjalo."
"Nantso ke lento imenzileyo lo mntwana. Ulukhuni wena kodwa amasiko uyawazi. Uyawazi amaggirha apha kowenu?"
"Ewe, mhlekazi."
"Yayi ngubani?"
"Ngutata, uJamangile."
"Khangela ke, xhego lam, ambokumnikela lo mntwana koyise mkhulu, bayamfuna!"
"Hayi ke, mhlekazi, ndivile. Kuza kuthi wani ke?"
"Kulungile, ndakuye pha kowenu. Bowo, ndifuna umkhonto, unyuke nengalo ngalo mntwana, ndikunyangele yena."
"Ewe, mhlekazi, ndingavuya," kutsho utata egqirheni uMoni. "We mfazi, khawukhangele etyesini sikhuphe umkhonto weggirha."


Ndarabula, ndasela.

Ndemnka ke kwakusa ndabayela egqirheni nalo bhekile yam nexhayi, kodwa ndiyiggibile ukuyitwa. Landishiya apha ekhaya igqirha, ndalandela kwakusa neengubo zam.


Kumhla wabaleka uMvala wandishiya ethafeni wathi, "Hayi, andinakho ukuhamba nezizinto."


"Malunga. Nantoni, mhlekazi?"

"Ukuthathela kwaba xam, abaxam abakudanga ekuguleni kwakho,
mntwana wam. Ke mna andizange ndiye emlanjeni mna. Kuya kufuneke ndithethe noyihlo, ndikugqibile mna ngoku nokwam."
"Kulungile ke, mhlekazi."
"Andinakunceda. Uzuthi pha kuyihlo ndifuna ukumbona ngomso omnye."

Hayi utata akasayi kubakho ngomso mnye.


Wafika utata ngo mvulo bayakuhlala phantsi kwemqwehle enkulu ngasebuhlanti. Kwathethwa apho ngalencazo naba xam.

"Hayi, mntwana wam, zizinto zaseemlanjeni ezo, mhlekazi."
Utata uyazazi.

"Bawo, inkwenkwe iyavumisa. Ngethamsanga ngoku, utata, ekhoya katha abantu."

Ebesithi ndingu Wagxabhaza utata endibiza esithi ndisisingxami.
"Na ba abantu, kwedini."

"Gqiba-gqiba, mfo wam. Khangela ke, umfo wam."

Ahleke utata phandle apha nomhlekazi.

"Inene bawo," atsho umhlekazi, "ndim gqibile ndiyaphehelelela mna."
Kuhlekwe lonto.

"Ke, masingene entweni, bawo mfo ka Mandla."
Kuba waye ndala utata.

"Ewe, mhlekazi, ndize kusabela."

"Bawo, ndiyakukhulela umtwana ngoku mna, nawe uyamva."

"Andazi, kaloku mna, mhlekazi, ndijonge kuwe."

"Uzakumthatha ke, bawo, mandikuxelele inyaniso. Uzakumfunela umntu, mna azange khe ndiye emlanjeni mfo wakwe Mandla. Lo mntwana ighina elikhulu lakhe kukuba aye
kugubungelwa emlanjeni."


Afike utata nam apha ekhaya. Utata waye neenkomno ezimbini, inkabi ne dyongosi.

"Ndicinga oku kuba, Nofayile, makukhululwe la mfo, anikwe inkomo yakhe. Azokukwazi ukubonana nalo mntwana kuba kuya xhentselwana nokuxhentselwana."


Mandla: My mother and father told me that I used to like to dream [when I was a boy]. I would tell [my parents these] things (i.e. the dreams) and I would be laughed at. My father would ask my mother, "What kind of child is this, Nofayile?"

Now, I was still a pupil at school [and] I did not know myself. When I rose [in the morning], I would explain these things (i.e. the dreams) [and] for this I would be laughed at.

"How will this child be, Nofayile?" [my father would ask my mother.]
Every night I would dream [but] I did not know the reason for my dreaming and I would tell this [dream] to [my parents], for I did not know [how] to interpret its meaning.

No, when I started this, I was a pupil in standard 4 at school. Now, in those days, standard 4s were given [school-leaving] certificates. I had no problems with my studies, I was bright at school and the school-teachers were very fond of me [and] everything. Our teacher would ask me to look after the children and everything else when she had to leave the room, and I would stand beside that black-board [and] write. So, now it happened that I could not see properly with my eyes. My eyes were neither wet nor painful. [When] I looked at a book, I could not see. For when it became clear that I would never succeed at school, I had to leave. [But] I left school peacefully [and I did not quarrel] with my teacher. The teacher said: "No, you are ill, young boy, your father must take you to a diviner or European doctor [and] buy you spectacles."
[But] I did not believe in these [diviners and doctors] [and I feared that] spectacles would make me go blind. The only trouble was that [when] I looked at a book everything would become misty. So, I went home.

"What is it, my child?" [my father asked me when I arrived home.]
"I cannot see, Father."
"What is it?"
"It is my eyes: they are not wet and there is nothing [wrong with them]. Now, then, I can't carry on at school [because] I can't see."
"Mmh, no then, my child you are still too young to be saying that you are [going] to leave school."
I stayed at home and did part-time jobs. Some afternoons I worked for Mr Page, the taxi-driver. Other afternoons, I worked for Mr Harbet: I washed his motor-car and afterwards, I collected firewood. I even cooked glue in his furniture shop. On Wednesday's I used to work for Mr Pittaway [and] I sorted coir [for making mattresses]. So it went on in this way for some time. No I did not want to go to work now, [for] I was not on good terms with Whites [and] I was afraid. I would be fetched by car at home (i.e. by his White employers). No, I was afraid. "Alas, my child, what do you say?" asked father.

Now I was not on good terms with the people there at home. I departed, I used to go down to a place here that was called Samenteni (i.e. the old cement weir below Tantyi) [and] I would stay there the whole day. I did not study a book [and] I [would] swim continually in the water [at the weir]. I say [when] I was tired I would come out [and] I would lie sunning myself alone on the grass. Sometimes people (i.e. friends) would accompany me [and] return [leaving me] alone at this place called Samenteni. Alas, now, here at home I did not want to eat. I just wanted to stay alone. I straightaway became very thin there. Now I did not talk to people, I did not eat [and] was not hungry [and] I only drank water at that time.

I was taken by my mother and father to see the [white] doctor at the hospital. Now there at hospital I did not eat [and] I did not drink medicines, I was given sour milk and pills to be taken. No, I did not eat [these]. A person said to me as I was sleeping: "Go home, young boy, and tell your father to make you a necklet of goat's hair. You are wanted at your homestead."

At hospital they took it as if I had been seized [with
madness] [or] was going to die. I said that by all means hasten to summon my father here to the hospital. They took it that I had been seized as if I was going mad. I said: "No, I am not mad."

My father arrived [and] I put on clothes white all over - the cap on the head, the trousers were white [and] the shirt was white. For it made me wonder where these clothes came from: I said it was as if I worked [as] a dairyboy.

I arrived at home [and] my mother said: "Father, let us go and see someone about this child. Do you still remember how this child is a person who dreams? Tell me, Father, what was that?"

My father asked: "What kind of person [are we to take this child to]?

[My mother] replied, "It is a diviner."

"Oh, I'll have to get together with my younger brother about this."

"No, Father, leave your younger brother [and] let us two go together. You may not find that younger brother of yours [and] you people don't believe greatly in diviners."

No my father was not pleased, but he took me to Moni in Victoria Road. Now that was long ago [and] my father, Moni, was still alive then. Yet, Moni was not a fully qualified diviner. Moni performed divination: "Alas, Father, you have wasted this child's time [because] he is a diviner. This person is ill on both sides."

"You speak the truth," said my father.

"It is you, Father, who, once long ago, was sought to be a diviner. You complained about your legs here. You were searching for cattle [and] you got stuck in the mud for three days. Now that was long ago [and] you still had your father."
My father [said]: "Throw it behind you, Sir, what do you mean to say?"
"You escaped the diviner’s calling, you did not enter under the river [but] for three days you could not come out of the mud. Is it so, old man?"
"Yes, Sir, it is so."
"Now that is what makes this child as he is. You are stubborn, but you know your traditional rituals. You do know that [there are] diviners among your people?"
"Yes, Sir."
"Who was he?"
"It was my father, Jamangile."
"Then, look here, my old man, go hand over this child to his grandfathers, they want him!"
"No, then, Sir, I have heard. But what is going to be done?"
"Right, I will accompany you to your homestead. Father, I want [my] fee [and] you must take up the matter of this child with me [so that] I can treat him."
"Yes, Sir, I will be happy to," my father said to the diviner Moni.

"Wife, have a look in the chest we must take out the diviner's fee."
Now it was £1-5 shillings together with a bottle of brandy. Then, the diviner arrived [and] this was given to him [and] he said:
"Let's go into the cattle byre. Here is the beaker of ubulawu. Kneel down and drink."
I knelt down [and] I drank.

The next day, I went back to visit the diviner with my beaker and forked [medicine mixing] stick but I had finished eating [the ubulawu]. The diviner had left me here
at home [but now] I followed him carrying my blankets.

Now the diviner [had] a kraal and a herd of cattle. His youngest son was called Leyton [and] he came after Makhwenkwe – they were the children of the diviner. He was married to a woman, MamQocwa, the daughter of Zisini Klaas Tyhume of the amaQocwa. She was a very kind hearted old woman. I stayed there with her, the children and the diviner. Now, then, clearly because I was an intelligent person, I helped to look after the diviner's cattle and I rounded up [the oxen] when we inspanned [them to the waggon and] we fetched firewood at Tyelerha. There were three male initiates here: there was a fellow of the amaNgwevu and a fellow of the amaVala [and] there was myself. There was a girl [, too,] a daughter of the amaNggosini of Nyawe.

I crossed the grassland [behind Makana's Kop and] suddenly a nile monitor (Varanus niloticus) [appeared] behind me: "What is this going behind me? Am I not going with a dog or a cat? Mmh, this is a nile monitor." When I stopped [it stopped] behind [and] when I went forward it followed. Just as I was passing that big dam in the grassland at King's Flats another nile monitor suddenly appeared. I saw it in the direction of [the clump of bluegum trees called] eKhitsini, "The Kitchen", [for] I had just crossed the national road which [in those days] was not tarred for motor-cars. "So, what are these things which follow me? These are nile monitors."

I was going to speak of the place where [the cattle] were watered at Burnett's farm. I arrived there [and] collected the cattle that were wanted [and] drove them back [to Moni's place]. These things escorted here, one on either side, [and] I said to myself: "Alas, they are nile monitors."
As I approached the old rifle butts, eziTikitini, [the monitors] crossed the [national] road [and] went into the dam. I arrived [and] told this to the diviner, "Sir, there are two small wild animals that I have seen: nile monitors." The diviner laughed.

"Mvala, tomorrow let us go together to herd the cattle." That was the day Mvala ran away and left me in the grassland [and] he said, "No, I cannot go together with these things." But I was not afraid [of them]! I was used [to them]. [These monitors] were like people to me [and] it was as if they were guarding me in my mind. I never thought that they were associated with my illness. Mvala told [the diviner] straight out and [he] just laughed. Mvala said, "No, I will never go [and herd cattle] with this young boy."

On Sundays we washed with ubulawu and smeared [ourselves] with medicines. One Sunday, one sought a medicine to vomit with it. Another Sunday, one says one wants a medicine to move [the bowls] [and] another Sunday, a medicine to drain the head [i.e. the sinuses]. I started to do divination though I was a young boy. A long time after I started to do divination [the diviner said to me]: "Young boy, your father has to do something for you. I cannot waste anymore of your time. There is a thing I [must] do [which] I have not done [and] that is to be directed towards the river."

"Right, for what reason, Sir?"

"To follow in the tracks of those nile monitors, these monitors are associated with your illness, my child. Well, I was never taken to the river. I have to talk to your father, for I have finished my part [of the work] now."

"Right, then, Sir."

"I cannot help you [any further]. You must [go] there [and] tell your father that I want to see him alone tomorrow."
No my father could not go there that day [as it was a Saturday and he was working].

"No, then, my child, right. You will see your father there alone the day after tomorrow. No, then, I will go on Monday."

For my father was not working then.

In the morning my father arrived [and] they sat down under the big wagon near the cattle byre. There those nile monitors were to be discussed and explained. "No, my child, these things are of the river, Sir."

My father knew [that].

"Father, the young boy performs divination. Fortunately now, Father, people are coming [for a divinatory consultation]."

My father used to call me Wagxbhaza as I was always in a hurry when doing things.

"Here are people, young boy," [the diviner called].

"Finish up, my fellow. Examine then, my fellow," [my father said].

My father laughed out there with [the diviner].

"[Your son] is my right-hand man, Father," said [the diviner], "I have finished initiating him myself."

[They] laughed [about] this.

"Then, to business, Father of the fellow Mandla."

For my father was old.

"Yes, Sir, I've come to listen to you."

"Father, I am going to let you have your child now, you have [heard him] divining yourself."

"I don't know, Sir, I am looking to you [to advise me]."

"I will tell then, Father, let me tell you the truth. You must find a person [for] your fellow Mandla, [for] I never went to the river. This child [has] a large knot because he has to be covered at the river."
"Sir, I hear. After [that] then I ought to say to you what [your] worth is - [what fee] have you sought - because you say you have finished at that place. So I must meet with my people there at home so [that] we [can] discuss [the matter]."
"No, then, good."

My father and I arrived there at home. My father had two cattle and a young bull.

"So that I think, Nofayile, let that fellow be released [and] be given his beast," [said my father.] "So that he will see the child at dances, for [diviners] invite each other to dances."
Whenever I performed divination the diviner gave me a tickey [i.e. the old sterling threepenny piece] [and] a string of beads would be bound here. For whenever I divined [the diviner] gave me a tickey [and] now I went to buy the renowned [white] beads with this tickey. Now these beads were in very long strands here on me. One of these [was] here round my neck [and] another [was] on my head - both were strings of beads. No, then, so [I] remained.
"Call his excellency [the diviner]," [said my father.] "Let us release him. Let me give thanks to [this] fellow of the amaKhwemta, let us give [him] this calf. Mkhwemte of mine, I am thanking you for what you have done for my child."

2.12 Mandla: Ngoku igqirha: "Makwedini, andina mali, le imali ndininyo iyakuphela eBatisi, kwabe sekukufatshane eCawa."
Sihleke lonto.
"Hayi, nakuhamba nivumisa, makwedini."
Kanti sibhozo nyani-nyani savumisa eBatisi, savisa nokuvisa, sakuthenga isonka kuba singenawo umphako. Kuhlwile lonto zanga sibe sakhwele ngoku.
A. Mandla’s divination (imvumisa)

Mandla: Let us clap our hands first now.
We are from home now, Sir. (1)
Clap [hands]! We, agree!
What is it? It's a person. (2)

Agree! We agree!
That's why we have come to you. (3)
Agree with me! We agree!
Perhaps you should shout louder then.

Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: Don't agree alone. Even you, you must second
him. (4)
Agree! We agree!
What kind of person? It sounds as if it's a male, it
sounds as if a male brought you here to the diviner. (5)

Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: Clap hands and sing for me! We agree!
They say this male is dead but I say he's not dead. (6)
Clap hands and sing for me! We agree!
I say he is not dead. (7)

Agree! We agree!
He is still alive. Agree with me! (8)

Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: Clap hands and sing for me! We agree!
Father, you are asking, for where is he? (9)

Clap [hands]! We agree!
I say this troubles [you] at home. (10)
Agree! We agree!
But the oracle says you have brought him along. (11)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

30 We have not left him at home. (12)
Agree with me! We agree!
He decided to come himself. (13)
Agree nicely! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw.

35 Mandla: Is it so, Father? (14)

Ndoda: Throw. (15)

Mandla: Clap hands and sing for me!
Eh, what does this male say when he has been called there, Sir? (16)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
We don't say Jamangile is the son there at home. (17)
Agree! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: These males are too many, they are going to confuse us. (18)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
It is to be said that the one is circumcised and the other still a boy. (19)
Agree with me! We agree!

50 Ndoda: Throw. Throw [it] behind [you].

Mandla: Is it so, Father? (20)
Ndoda: Throw. (21)

Mandla: Clap hands and sing for me!
I have not told you the cause; now I'm making the oracle right. (22)
Agree! We agree!
There is something which we have queried. (23)
Clap [hands]! Agree! We agree!
And yet it is health. (24)
Agree with me! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: There are things we can see with our own eyes.(25)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
On the other hand, he also has various things to say to us.(26)
Agree! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: What does he say here to Mother? (27)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
What does he say here to Father? (28)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
I don't feel well here about the stomach. (29)
Agree! We agree!
That is where the cause is. (30)
Agree with me! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw.
Mandla: What does he say it does to the stomach here? (31)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

80 No, I have something moving up and down in the stomach which causes dizziness. (32)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
This thing is biting my insides and it wants to go up here to my mind. (33)
Agree! We agree!
Now that causes me to leave out some of my meals. (34)
Agree with me! We agree!
These things do not agree with me now; they disturb me. (35)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: Clap hands and sing for me! We agree!
What is this, Jamangile? (36)
That thing causes me to have thwasa now. (37)
Agree! We agree!
That thing causes me to lose weight. (38)
Agree! We agree!
When he explains, he says: "There is something in my waist." (39)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
There are even things in between the shoulder blades. (40)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
"The arms are getting weak," he says now. (41)
Agree with me! We agree!

100 Ndoda: Throw, throw.

Mandla: And yet that matter causes us to leave our home and come here. (42)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
It is the nausea caused by a lump that goes up and down. (43)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
When it occurs, it seems as if I'm going to faint. (44)
Clap! We agree!
That causes me to be taken to hospital. (45)

Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: Is it so? (46)

Ndoda: Throw, throw [it] behind [you]. (47)

Mandla: Do not agree so persistently even when the diviner is telling lies. (48)

Ndoda: No, no. Throw. (49)

Mandla: Is it so? (50)

Ndoda: Yes, it is so, Diviner. (51)

Mandla: Clap hands and sing for me! We agree!

Now another thing, Jamangile, I have not felt well for a long time. (52)

Clap [hands]! We agree!
Agree, you say you've had it a long time: "It's not the first time I have been taken to this person (i.e. a doctor)." (53)

Agree! We agree!
It started as though I had hiccups eating my own things. (54)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!

135 Ndoda: Throw [it] behind [you].

Mandla: Hi? (55)

Ndoda: Throw [it] behind [you]. (56)

Mandla: What's wrong with you? (57)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

140 You say this, Mother, when questioning: do you understand the diviners who are going to finish this thing? (58)
We agree!
Sir, I've got poison. (59)

145 Agree! We agree!
It seems as if it's like the wind. (60)
Agree! We agree!
I ate poison. (61)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

150 But, now, this poison is of love. (62)
It was made for us to love each other. (63)
Agree! We agree!
When it entered, it was not brought by the wife of my father's younger brother. (64)

155 Agree with me! We agree!
Nor by grandmother. Agree nicely! We agree! (65)
That thing causes my penis to appear weak. (66)
Agree! We agree!
Don't forget that point. Ask, I'm referring to you. (67)

160 Agree with me!

Ndoda: Throw. Throw [it] behind [you]. (68)
Mandla: Is it so? (69)

Ndoda: Throw. (70)

Mandla: Clap hands and sing for me! We agree!

I am not referring to your wives, it seems as if it's your sweetheart. (71)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
I never paid brideprice [for] this person. (72)
Clap [your] hands! We agree!

Let me say, friend-thing. (73)
Clap hands and sing! We Agree!

Ndoda: Throw [it] behind [you]. Throw. (74)

Mandla: I have nothing else [to say], this person (i.e. the girlfriend) doesn't need a traditional ritual. (75)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
The thing that is finishing him inside must be taken out of the stomach. (76)
Agree with me! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw.

Mandla: Look for another point [and] ask. (77)

Ndoda: We throw. Explain to me the purpose of this traditional ritual. (78)

Mandla: Agree! We agree!
No, Jamangile, is it not this that is troubling him?

You must listen now, Wife (79)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
I see there from the time he was taken out of the
I can mention those things [but] it's not them. (81)

There is also this matter with him here. (82)

There it is done by them, but to me here nothing was done. (83)

Agree! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw.

Mandla: The traditional imbeleko ritual of the Xhosa. (84)

Clap [hands]! We agree!

So says Jamangile,"You were never taken out of the house." (85)

Agree! We agree!

It's not him alone. Is it so? (86)

Agree nicely! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw.

Mandla: That is another thing now, it is not the one that is biting in the stomach. (87)

Clap [hands]! We agree!

Now a goat should have been slaughtered for you when you were born. (88)

Clap hands and sing! We agree!

Only that was never done. (89)

Clap your hands and sing! We agree!

There is another one. (90)

Ndoda: Throw, throw.
Mandla: But it is not this biting me now. (91)
Agree with me! We agree!
But what is this biting me? (92)

I am being [subjected] to malice. (93) Agree! We agree!
Something has got into me; I have that ritual debt. (94)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
That is also necessary to be done. (95)
Clap your hands! We agree!

Because there will be no relief until this is done. (96)
Agree with me! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw.

Mandla: The first thing there at home. (97)
Agree! We agree!

I've got to be taken out of the house, now I am troubled by
these many things. (98)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
Now my penis should also become right. (99)
Agree! We agree!

That thing must be done. (100)
Agree! We agree!
I need this thing to be taken out, I am to be purged [and]
everything. (101)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!

Even that ritual debt was never settled. (102)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
Now a thong has been tied round the thing. (103)
Agree nicely! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw.

Mandla: Now, Sir, I am adding another one. (104)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
Concerning being taken out of the house, I say that it is not only him. (105)
Agree! We agree!

I see that we should have slaughtered a beast now. (106)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
Because we, who have not been taken out, are many. (107)
Agree with me! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw. He-ee, he-ee-he.

Mandla: Answer, Father. (108)

Ndoda: No, you are still going well. No, you are still going well. (109)

Mandla: No, I am coming back to you. I am not going away from you. I am coming from there now. I smell this person.

I say that it is you: you have an old ritual debt with your fathers that is not connected with this poison now. (110)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: But it went on [and] on until it got mixed up with the poison. (111)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Since it is necessary to do that thing for you alone, it would be a disgrace there at home. I do not slaughter a goat now; it is necessary [that] I slaughter a beast, I have delayed. (112)

Ndoda: Camagu.
Mandla: He, agree! We agree!
Am I the child of an unmarried woman? No I am a child of a married woman. (113)

Agree! We agree!

Who failed, is it father? (114)
Agree! We agree!
He did not act promptly. (115)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw [it] behind you.

Mandla: My father is being smelt. (116)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
It is said he is dead, I am lying, he is alive. (117)
Agree! We agree!

Hi-i! Clap hands and sing for me! We agree.
Here is my father's younger brother, he knows this thing. (118)
Agree! We agree!
Your father is dead. (119)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

This comes from him. (120)
Agree nicely! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: But there is another man similar to Father. (121)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

There at home. (122)
Agree with me!

Ndoda: Throw.
Mandla: Him from whom I come from never did a thing. (123)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!

300 Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: Now it is necessary to come to you. (124)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
Now it is necessary to come to you. (125)
Clap hands! We agree!

305 Because children of my elder brother, my elder brother never did a thing. (126)
Agree! We agree!
No, Boy, I saw nothing. (127)
Clap hands! We agree!

310 Even the man who's there at present is crying. (128)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
But he never named the one who was never taken out of the house. (129)
Agree with me! We agree!

315 Jamangile says, "It's not only you." (130)
Agree nicely! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw. Is father dead? (131)

Mandla: Ee, agree! We agree!
Mmh, Jamangile agrees your father is dead, [but] he lives. (132)
Agree! We agree!
Clap hands! We agree!
Because he deserted us. (133)
Clap hands! We agree!
But we never put a stone on his grave. (134)
Agree! We agree!
Our own father. (135)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
I have no father, Sir. (136)
Agree! We agree!

330 Ndoda: We throw ([it] behind [us]). Throw. (137)

Mandla: Ask then. (138)

Ndoda: We have no living father. Now, then, what did we do when our father died? (139)

Mandla: Ee, agree! We agree!

335 No, Jamangile, it's of no use to tell you something about it. (140)
He-e, agree! We agree!
It seems as if the father is said to be you; no you did not beget us. (141)

340 Agree! We agree!
But you are our father. (142)
Clap hands! We agree!
We grew up [and] we didn't understand each other: we had two clan-names. (143)

345 Agree! We agree!
Let me tell you a secret. (144)
Agree with me! We agree!

Ndoda: We throw ([it] behind [us]). We throw.

Mandla: Now that thing wants you. (145)

350 Clap your hands! We agree!
You tell me clearly that my clan-name is known as so and so. (146)
Agree! We agree!
They have returned to me here. (147)
Clap hands! We agree!

Ndoda: We throw. Camagu, mhle. But it seems to me at least things are coming right now. (148)

Mandla: Camagu, Father, it seems as if I am going to question further. (149)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: My father really had nothing done for him; he never really did anything for us. You can ask him for us what he ever did for the children [and] people. (150)
Ee, agree! We agree!

No, I don't talk about accompanying or bringing back my father. (151)
Clap hands! We agree!
I'm talking about children of mine. (152)
Agree with me! We agree!

I will come later to the part where my father had nothing done for him. (153)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
We do not talk about father now. (154)
Agree nicely! We agree!

I start with this child without a father. (155)
Agree! We agree!
I say his father is dead. (156)
Agree nicely! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw.

Mandla: These ritual debts of yours are many. (157)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
They can be put right by those who are still breathing.
Agree! We agree!
Even if it's by father's sister. (159)

Clap hands! We agree!
You will do this [traditional ritual] of father's together. (160)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
We say father should be accompanied, nothing was done for him. (161)
Agree! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw.

Mandla: Clap hands and sing! We agree!
He, this is another piece of work now. (162)

Clap hands! We agree!
It is not the one causing you to be ill. (163)
Agree nicely! We agree!
You people say it's making him ill, his body is rotten. (164)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

The one who knows (i.e. the diviner) says I have poison [and] I was never taken out of the house. (165)
Clap hands! We agree!
My father was never accompanied nor brought back [to the homestead]. (166)

Agree! We agree!
Those are your own things. (167)
Clap hands! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw. Throw [it] behind [you].

Mandla: Let's first start with this poison in the stomach. (168)
Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Let's go into this matter of being taken out of the house. (169)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: I want a beast. (170)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: I must collect these children. (171)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Just listen: it means you'll buy goats, even if it's eleven or however many. (172)

Ndoda: Yhu, Yhu-u!

Mandla: Yes, indeed, when you count the cattle the first one you call grandfather. You take yourself out of the house and you call father's sister and younger brother. This beast is slaughtered for you, Boy, and you and you, because we were never taken out of the house [and] nothing [was done for us]. That is the first thing. Is it so, Mother? (173)

Ndoda: Throw. Throw. Camagu, mhle. Do you mean to tell me that now he is ill, and we haven't got an ox nor money for a beast, is there nothing we can do for him? (174)

Mandla: Ee, agree! We agree!

No, nothing is to be done, here's a Coloured mixture. (175)
Agree! We agree!
Our ages are not the same, he's older than us. (176)

Clap [hands]! We agree!
Jamangile says, "This is so there at home." (177)
Agree! Agree!

Ndoda: Throw. Throw.

Mandla: Ee, clap hands and sing for me! We agree!

It seems to me you must make a noise [and] beg pardon [of
the shades]. (178)
Agree! We agree!
You wait, we will hear on the side of traditional ritual.
(179)
Agree! We agree!

A small pot of beer will be brewed there. (180)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
I have heard, Father, for you there are the great one who
begat me. (181)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

I am going to do that which was never done to me by my
father. (182)
Agree! We agree!
He must not be done alone, he will be added to those
goats. (183)

Clap [hands]! We agree!
We are not going to select [a goat] now, we beg pardon. (184)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
Let this "knee" (i.e. penis) of mine get well please. (185)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!

I've heard, I am going to do this thing. (186)
Agree with me! We agree!
We are going to do it grandfather. (187)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
Because, please, my "knee" can't go up. (188)

465 Clap hands! We agree!
Yet he is not the only one. (189)
Agree with me! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw. He-e, throw.

Mandla: Just ask, Father. It's really you, you must talk.

470 Pardon, Father, are there other children? (190)

Ndoda: There is nothing to ask. (191)

Mandla: Ee, agree! We agree!
Father has got children; I don't mean the sick one beside me. (192)

475 Agree! We agree!
I am talking about the dead one. (193)
Agree with me! We agree!
The one who never did anything for us. (194)
Agree! We agree!

480 What is your question, Father? (195)

Ndoda: No, then, I'm asking the same question. (196)

Mandla: Ee, clap hands and sing! We agree!
Because I've got children. (197)
Agree! We agree!

485 I mean here at the waist. (198)
Agree with me! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw. Throw [it] behind [you].

Mandla: They have ritual debts too. (199)
Agree! We agree!
They must be done first. (200)
Clap hands! We agree!

Ndoda: Talk to him: how come they are at the waist? (201)

Mandla: Ee, clap hands and sing for me! We agree!
Oo, my equal, you have many children. (202)

Clap hands! We agree!
You do not understand well this point I am speaking of. (203)
Agree with me! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw, throw. You said that he can't be done first. (204)

Mandla: Ee, agree! We agree!
No, you ask about the sick one. (205)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
Are there his children? I say this myself, there are his children. (206)

Agree! We agree!
Who are from his waist here. (207)
Agree with me! We agree!
And yet I don't mean his children only. (208)
Agree! We agree!

Now I am going to continue. (209)
Agree! We agree!
There are his children, they are also going to have this poison-trail. (210)
Agree! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw. Throw.

Mandla: There are people left behind [at home] who have pig's lice [and are] disliked. (211)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
The one says here is my penis. (212)

520 Clap hands and sing! We agree!
No, I started having pig-lice. (213)
Agree! We agree!
The other one says my children have pimples. (214)
Agree with me! We agree!

525 You were not seeking divination now about this. (215)
Agree! We agree!
I am making that Father right. (216)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

Ndoda: I don't understand [you] at that point, really, Sir. (217)

530 Mandla: Father?

Ndoda: I don't understand [you] at that point, really.
This bit about pig's lice. (218)

Mandla: No, no. Don't start to deny. Father said he has got poison. And yet it wasn't poison that caused his illness. To start with, [it was] this traditional imbeleko ritual. (219)

Ndoda: What is to be done to his children? (220)

Mandla: Ee, agree! We agree!
You're asking another question now. The diviner says,

540 "Leave this point I myself [made] about us." (221)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
Agree, he says: "There is one who has been done." (222)
Agree! We agree!
He says, "Some have been done." (223)
Clap hands! We agree!
The diviner says, "He never touched a thing." (224)
Agree! We agree!
On top of [the matter concerning] the children. (225)
Agree with me! We agree!

550 **Ndoda:** Throw, then, in that case.

**Mandla:** No!
Clap [hands]! We agree!
You can't be circumcised; I myself am still a boy. (226)
Agree! We agree!

555 You can't be circumcised if you don't want to [be] circumcised. (227)
Ee, clap hands and sing for me! We agree!
I can't help [it if] father never did anything. (228)
Agree! We agree!

560 Clap hands and sing for me! We agree!
I mean something there interferes, because it's necessary that we do it here [at home] first. (229)
Agree! We agree!
Now it seems as though I am looking about in fear here at home [and] I am going to die. (230)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
Yes, I was also supposed to be done. (231)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!

**Ndoda:** My fellow, just investigate this yourself. (232)

570 **Mandla:** Now I continue: I am going to another homestead. (233)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
I can't stand being unmarried; I am beautiful; I want to be married. (234)
Agree! We agree!

It is me who is really wanted [and] not this person being kissed. (235)
Agree! We agree!
You'll be a married man later. (236)
Clap hands! We agree!

580 All my children have been taken out of the house. (237)
Agree! We agree!
And yet nothing was done for me. (238)
Agree! We agree!

Ndoda: He-e, throw. We throw [it behind us].

585 Mandla: Ee, clap hands and sing! We agree!
The diviner says that that part was done incorrectly. You were supposed to have been done first, then your children. (239)
Clap hands! We agree!

Ndoda: Just explain to me what caused this whole thing. (240)

590 Mandla: Mmh, clap hands and sing for me! We agree!
No it's because of my absence at home. (241)
Agree! We agree!
I say that in my own mind. (242)
Agree with me! We agree!

595 Eee, I was a play-boy, Father. (243)
Agree! We agree!
I still don't follow you. (244)
Agree with me! We agree!
We didn't wait, we did them. (245)

600 Agree! We agree!
Ndoda: Throw. Throw, Sir.

Mandla: He did not do us. (246)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
We've done ourselves because we know we belong to such and
such clan. (247)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
We did not wait for the vagabond. (248)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
You acted foolishly. (249)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
You neglected your wife. (250)
Clap [hands]! We agree!

Ndoda: We throw [it behind us]. He is always being smelled. (251)

Mandla: Ee, clap hands and sing! We agree!
615 Do you mean while you are busy eating money in East London? (252)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
I am going to marry here, I won't stay alone. (253)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
I am really going to marry, I won't wait for you while you
are busy eating money. (254)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
I want a wife now. (255)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
This is how this thing of yours goes. (256)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
You never followed; the children did [the traditional
ritual] themselves. (257)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
You begat them. (258)

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Agree nicely! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw. Throw.

Mandla: And yet their father did nothing [i.e. for his children]. (259)

Clap [hands]! We agree!

They did themselves. (260)

Agree nicely! We agree!

Clap [hands]! Agree then! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw. Throw.

Mandla: We can't wait for you when you aren't here.

We are dying here. (261)

Ndoda: We are dying. He-he-he-ee-e. We are dying. (262)

Mandla: That point you were asking about, Boy: what made us do ourselves? (263)

Ndoda: Camagu. There it is. Tsi-i-i, he-e-he-he-e.

Ooh, it's only this stomach troubling this Father, are you starting with this? (264)

Mandla: Ee, agree! We agree!

You are a target now. (265)

Clap hands and sing! We agree!

They say you have butterflies [in the stomach] when you explain. (266)

Clap [hands]! We agree!

This diviner says that it is only this stomach of yours. (267) Agree! We agree!
It arises here in the gall bladder. (268)
Agree! We agree!
It certainly goes together with his gall bladder. (269)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
When I look at it well, I see it can't be helped now. (270)
Clap [hands]! We agree!
It is causing constipation [and] you are going to die. (271)
Clap hands and sing! We agree!
This poison of ours must be purged; it can't come out now.
(272)
Agree! We agree!
You will merely dilute that small pot. (273)
Agree! We agree!

Ndoda: Throw. When the stomach recovers, we'll come back to find out something else. (274)

Mandla: Don't agree, just wait. (275)

Ndoda: He is not going to die. He won't die. (276)

Mandla: Agree to what you know. The diviner says, "You were never taken out of the house." Now, wherever I go, I am beaten. And so I complain I have been poisoned and everything else; now my shades have forsaken me. (277)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: A bird's life. (278)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: It is caused by you and you don't care. (279)
Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: If he likes something, he says: "No." (280)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: He says: "No." (281)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: This thing happens on its own there in him; so he is a ready target. (282)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Father, you didn't ask. I want you, I want that old man! Father, is there something you are dissatisfied with on this point? (283)

Xasa: No. (284)

Mandla: We are changing seats now. If there is a matter, speak. Don't shake with fear, old man, speak. You must shake your ubulawu, whatever kind you have. You must taste that beaker of your shades. Talk [and] also work after those medicines for the poison. There are barks, ubulawu and medicines. Old man, it is necessary to make a noise first, to enter into the matter. Pardon, Father, is everybody there at home? (285)

Xasa: No, there are imposters there at home; vagabonds that took after him all over. Say so, Sir. Even in our conversation we do not agree about that thing. One goes out this way, the other goes out that way. No, this one is
rushing me. They form a conspiracy against this one. No, how can this be decreased? (286)

705 **Mandla:** I wonder where the vagabonds are now? (287)

**Xasa:** They are there now. (288)

**Mandla:** Are they there? (289)

**Ndoda:** *Camagu, camagu.* (290)

**Mandla:** It is necessary that grandfather be brought back as well as these vagabonds. (291)

**Ndoda:** *Camagu, camagu*

**Mandla:** Your father must be accompanied and brought back, that is a separate matter. But number one - he was never taken out of the house - [and] the propitiatory sacrifice there at home comes after you have been taken out. To come to that pot of medicines, it must be used to wash out the poison. Let me say: "We are Coloureds!" (292)

**Ndoda:** *Camagu.* Go no further, we are crushed. (293)

**Mandla:** I say I have finished that matter. This thing doesn't need me at all. It wants you now, you and the people of such and such clan. Now I will tell you another thing. Mother, you were never taken out of the house. (294)

**Ndoda:** *Camagu.*

**Mandla:** But I came from you. (295)
Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Is this right? (296)

Ndoda: Camagu. No, it's not right. (297)

Mandla: Now that is what happened to you. Your children were taken out of the house [but] you were never taken out [of the house]. Is it so? (298)

Ndoda: It is so, Sir. (299)

Mandla: If your son asks you, what would you say happened? It is you: you were absent. Now they have done it themselves. (300)

Ndoda: Oh, my buttocks is hot now sitting on this cement [floor]. God, I am going to sit there beside the white-man. (301)

Mandla: Change seats. Other [people] want to sit here now. We bring back father. To start his work. Father was not accompanied. He was not brought back. (302)

Ndoda: I'm listening. (303)

Mandla: I am going to give you that thing now. You asked for it. (304)

Ndoda: Give it to this one. What is it? (305)

Mandla: It is the ubulawu to wash with. The propitiatory sacrifice must be done there at home, for your father was never taken out of the house. Your children have taken
themselves out [of the house]: you didn't take them out [of the house]. Now, then, you are going to beg pardon and take ubulawu, called ibuka and imbiza, for smearing. (306)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: We are going to do that thing, Grandfather, but it's not him alone. There are three in all. His father died; he was never brought back. Now those are your ritual debts there at home. (307)
B. The original Xhosa text of Mandla's divination

Mandla: Makhe sibetheni izandla qala kaloku.
Sisuke khaya ke, mhlekazi. (1)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Yintoni ngumntu? (2)

Vuma! Siya vuma!
Ukuze ke size apha egqirheni. (3)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!
Ingathi uya phakamisa ke.

Ndoda: Phosa.

Vuma! Siya vuma!
Yintoni ngumntu mni kakhali liduna, kakhali duna
ukuze size apha egqirheni. (5)

Ndoda: Phosa.

Mandla: Ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Kuthwa eliduna libhubhile yini mna alibhubhanga. (6)
Ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Mna alibhubhanga. (7)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

Kuthi lisaphefumla. Ndivumele! (8)

Ndoda: Phosa.

Mandla: Ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Ubawo uya buza ukuba liphil? (9)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

Mna likhathaza ekhaya. (10)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Kodwa umhlola uthi size nalo. (11)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

349
Asilihlalisanga ekhaya. (12)

Ndivumele! Siya vuma!
Lithe malize ngokwalo. (13)
Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa.

Mandla: Kunjalo bawo? (14)

Ndoda: Phosa. (15)

Mandla: Ndombhelele!
Eh, duna lithiwani xa libizwa pha mhlekazi? (16)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Asik'athi ujamangile yena ngunyana pha kowalo. (17)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa.

Mandla: Lamaduna aza kusixaka maninzi. (18)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Kuthw' eli ngolukanga elinye liyithi. (19)

Ndoda: Phosa. Phosangasemva.

Mandla: Kunjalo, bawo? (20)

Ndoda: Phosa. (21)

Mandla: Ndombhelele!

Andikaxeli ntsusa ke ndilungisa umhlola. (22)

Vuma! Siya vuma!
Kukhwinto esigxeke yona ke. (23)
Qhwaba! Vuma! Siya vuma!
Yimpilo phofu. (24)

Ndoda: Phosa.

Kukhwinto esigxeke yona ke. (23)
Qhwaba! Vuma! Siya vuma!
Yimpilo phofu. (24)
Mandla: Loo nto sinezinto esizibonayo nangamehlo. (25)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Kanti nalo line nto elizithethayo kuthi. (26)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa!

Mandla: Lithini apha kumama. (27)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Lisithini apha kutata. (28)

Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Andiphilanga ngase siswini apha. (29)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Apho intsusa ikhona. (30)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, phosa.

Mandla: Lithi yenza ntoni siswini apha? (31)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Hayi ndine ntw'enyukayo yenze incilikithi. (32)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

Ndiya lunywa le nto isuke ifun' ukuze
nggondweni apha. (33)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Loo nto ndine nto ngoku ekufuneka ukuba
ndilunyulwe ndingunyulwe kuzo ngoku. (34)

Ndivumele! Siya vuma!
Andidibani nazo ezinye ngoku ziyandiphambhanisa. (35)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa.

Mandla: Ndombhelele! Siya vuma!

Yintoni ke le, Jamangile? (36)
Loo nto suke ndibe nentwaso ngoku. (37)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

351
Loo nto suke ndaphela umzimba. (38)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

90 Uthi xa yichaza: "Kukho nentw'ezise singeni ngoku." (39)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Kukho nentweziphakathi kwa magxa. (40)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
"Nengalo ziya wa," utsho ngoku. (41)

95 Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, phosa.

Mandla: Kanti la nto yenze ukuba sisuke ekhaya pha. (42)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Sesa sicafu-cafu salangqhukuvu. (43)

100 Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Ithi yakundifikela sekubonakale ukuba ndiza
kuyoba ngelixesha. (44)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Kubonakale ukuba mandisiwe ehospitali. (45)

105 Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa.

Mandla: Kunjalo? (46)

Ndoda: Phosa, phosangasemva. (47)

Mandla: Ungaphosi qho, qho, qho kanti igqirha liyaxoka.(48)

110 Ndoda: Hayi, hayi. Phosa. (49)

Mandla: Kunjalo? (50)

Ndoda: Ewe, kunjalo, ggirha. (51)

Mandla: Ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Loo nto ke, Jamangile, ndithuba ngaka nam

115 ndingaphilanga. (52)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Vuma uthi sendine thuba, andiqali kusiwa mntwini. (53)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

120 Ndakha ndangathi ndiyakhutywa, ndisitya izinto zam. (54)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosangasemva.

Mandla: Hi? (55)

Ndoda: Phosangasemva. (56)

125 Mandla: Yintoni le unayo? (57)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Uthi lo, mama, xa ebuzyo:uyavama namagqirha aza yiggibela lento? (58)
Siya vuma!

130 Mhlekazi, ndinedliso. (59)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Imo le yalo ngathi ngumoya. (60)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Ndatyi ityhefu. (61)

135 Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Kodwa ke letyhefu ngeba yintando. (62)
Kwakufunwa ukuba masithanda ne wena. (63)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Ukungena kwayo, ayizanga ngomama omncinci. (64)

140 Ndivumele! Siya vuma!
Nangomakhulu. Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma! (65)
Loo nto yasike yafun' ubudoda obu ukubuxhwa. (66)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Sukuyilibala loo ndawo. Yibuze, ndibhekisa kuwe. (67)

145 Ndivumele!

Ndoda: Phosa. Phosangasemva, mhlekazi. (68)

Mandla: Kunjalo? (69)
Ndoda: Phosa. (70)

Mandla: Ndombhelele! Siya vuma!

150 Andivumiseli bafazi bakho, yayi ngathi ngumasihlalisane
ngumfazi. (71)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Zange ndimlobole lo mntu. (72)
Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!

155 Mandithi mfo into. (73)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosangasemva. Phosa. (74)

Mandla: Andinanto yimbi, akafuni siko
lo mntu. (75)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

160 Makukhutshwe lenzo imgqibayo qha ilaph'esiswini
kuwe. (76)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa. Phosa.

Mandla: Khanikhangele eny'indawo buzani. (77)

165 Ndoda: Siya phosa. Kha undicacisele ke apha kweli cala
kule ndawo yesiko? (78)

Mandla: Vuma! Siya vuma!
Hayi, Jamangile, ayililo eli limkhathazayo? Uzu mamele
ke, mfazi. (79)

170 Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Ndiya bona pha ekusukeni eku khutshweni endlini. (80)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Ndingaya kwezo nto ayiyo le. (81)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!

175 Ikho naleyo indawo kuye apha. (82)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!
Ikhe yenziwa pha kowabo, kodwa kum apha
zange yenziwe. (83)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

180 Ndoda: Phosa, phosa.

Mandla: Imbeleko ngesiXhosa. (84)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Utsh' uJamangile zangu khutshwe endlini. (85)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

185 Ayi nguye yedwa. Kunjalo? (86)
Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, phosa.

Mandla: Iyodwa ke leyo, ayiyo le ikuluma esiswini. (87)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

190 Ke funek' uxhelelewe ibokhwe ukuvela kwakho. (88)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Zange yenziwe wedwa. (89)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Kukho nomnye. (90)

195 Yombhela! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, phosa.

Mandla: Phofu ayiyo le indilumayo ke ngoku. (91)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!
Kodwa yintoni le indilumayo? (92)

200 Ndiyalunywa. Vuma! Siya vuma! (93)
Ndingenwe yinto, ndinelotyala. (94)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Iya funeka yenziwe naleyo. (95)
Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!

205 Ngokuba aku kakhululeka ingenziwanga
le nto. (96)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, phosa.

Mandla: Eyo kugala pha kowethu. (97)

210 Vuma! Siya vuma!
Kufuneka ndikhutshwe endlini, sendidibana nezi zinto nje ngoku. (98)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Ngoku ndifanelwe nale yobudoda. (99)

215 Vuma! Siya vuma!
Iya funeka na loo nto. (100)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Kufuneka ndikhutshwe nale nto, ndirudiswe, ndithweni. (101)

220 Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Nela tyala zange lenziwe nto. (102)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Ngoku sekuthwe rintyi into. (103)
Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, phosa.

Mandla: Ngoku, umhlekazi, undidibanisa nomnye. (104)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Ndithi asinguye yedwa kwela cala ke lokukhutshwa endlini. (105)

230 Vuma! Siya vuma!
Ndiyabona ukuba kwakufuneka sixhel' inkomo ngoku. (106)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Ngokuba sibaninzi ase nziwanga. (107)
Ndiveumele! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, phosa. He-ee-he-he-he.

Mandla: Phendula, bawo. (108)

Ndoda: Hayi, usa hamba kakhle. Hayi, usahamba kakhle. (109)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Kodwa lihambe, lahamba la dibana netyhefu. (111)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Kodwa laa nto kufuneka nenze yona nodwa, suke naziphoxa pha ekhaya. Anikuxhela bokhwe ngoku, kufuneka nixhele inkomomo, nidukisile. (112)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: He, vuma! Siya vuma!
Ndingumba' nenkazana? Hayi ndingi womfazi. (113)

Vuma! Siya vuma!
Kubani kuleru utata? (114)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Zangakhwuleze. (115)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, phosangasemva.

Mandla: Kunuk'utata wam. (116)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Kuthwa wabhubha, niya xoka, uhleli. (117)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

Hi-i, ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Nanku tat' omnncinci, uyayazi lento. (118)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Utata wakho yena wabhubha. (119)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

Eli phuma kuye. (120)
Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma!

357
Ndoda: Phosa.

Mandla: Kodwa ukhona omnye umntu ekuthwa tata kuye. (121)

270 Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Kwa pha ekhayeni. (122)
Ndivumele!

Ndoda: Phosa.

Mandla: Lo ndandiphuma kuye zange asenzele nto. (123)

275 Yombhela! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa.

Mandla: Ngoku kufuneka size kuwe. (124)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Ngoku kufuneka size kuwe. (125)

280 Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!
Kuba abantwana bakamkhuluwa, umkhuluwa zange enze nto. (126)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Hayi, kwedini, inam zange ndibon'. (127)

285 Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!
Lu khoyo ke ngoku naye uyingxaki. (128)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Kodwa zanga abize lo wayekhutshwe 'ndlini. (129)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

290 Uth' uJamangile, asinguwe wedwa. (130)
Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, phosa. Utata wabhubha? (131)

Mandla: Ee, vuma! Siya vuma!
Mmh, Jamangile vuma wabhubha, ehleli. (132)

295 Vuma! Siya vuma!
Kuba wasishiya. (133)

358
Beth' izandla! Siya vuma!
Kodwa khange siyobeka litye kuye. (134)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

300 Utat' esiphuma kuye. (135)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Andinaye, mhlekazi. (136)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Siyaphosa. Phosa. (137)

305 Mandla: Buza ke. (138)

Ndoda: Asinaye utat' osahleliyo. Saze sathini ke ngoku akubeni ebhubhile utata? (139)

Mandla: Ee, vuma! Siya vuma! Hayi, Jamangile, akuncedi nto ukufana ndimisele into kuwe. (140)

310 He-e, vuma! Siya vuma!
Ingathi ngutata ekuthiwa nguwe, hayi asizalwa nguwe. (141)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Kodwa ke ungurat' ethu. (142)

315 Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!
Sikhule ngoku singazigondi, siziduko zibini. (143)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Mandithi ukuhlebela. (144)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

320 Ndoda: Siyaphosa. Siyaphosa.

Mandla: Ngoku ifuna wena loo nto. (145)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Uyixela kakuhle wena ukuba ndingu Mnantsi mna. (146)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

325 Babuye nam apha. (147)
Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!
Ndoda: Siyaphosa. Camagu, mhle, kodwa ngathi toro into zihamba kakuhle nathi. (148)

Mandla: Camagu, tata, ingathi ndizakunyukela ukubuza. (149)

330 Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Utata lo yena kanene, kanene akazange enzelwe nto; azange asenzele nto. Ungandibuzela apho kanye utata yena wakhe wathini nto mntana bantu. (150)

335 Ee, vuma! Siya vuma!
Hayi, akuthethwa ngokukhatshwa nokubuyiswa kutata. (151)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Ndithetha ngabantwana aba mna. (152)

340 Ndivele! Siya vuma!
Ndiza kube ndiyingene eyokuba utata azange enzelwe nto. (153)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Asithethi ngatata ngoku. (154)

345 Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma!
Ndisusela kulo mntana ungena yise. (155)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Ndithu uyise wabhubha. (156)
Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma!

350 Ndoda: Phosa.

Mandla: Maninzi la matyala enu. (157)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Angalungiswa ngulowo uphefumlayo. (158)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

355 Nokuba ngu dad'obawo. (159)
Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!
Eliya likatata niya kulenza kunye. (160)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Sithi utata makakhatshwe, zange enziwe nto. (161)

360 Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa. Phosa.

Mandla: Yombhela! Siya vuma!
He, ny'indima ngoku leyo. (162)
Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!

365 Ayi yona igulisa wena. (163)
Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma!
Kwa nina iyamgulisa bathi umzimba ubolile. (164)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Uth' usiyazi ndinedliso zange ndikhutshwe endlini. (165)

370 Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Utat'am zang' akhatshwe zange abuyiswe. (166)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Zinto zakho ezo. (167)
Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!

375 Ndoda: Phosa. Phosangasemva.

Mandla: Makhe kuthwe qhwi lento kugala ekwesi sisu. (168)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Kungenwe kule yokukhutshwa endlini. (169)

Ndoda: Camagu.

380 Mandla: Nifuni nkomo. (170)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Nibadibanise aba bantwana. (171)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Kha nimeni: kube ke nakuthengi bokhwe nokuba ziyi
385 leven nokuba zingaphi. (172)
Ndoda: Yhu, yhu-u.

Mandla: Ewe, kaloku, xa nibala iinkomo nibize eyokuqala nibale nithi: utat'omkhulu. Wena uzikhuphe ngokwakhe endlini ubize udad'obawo lo notat'omncinci.

Le nkomo siyiwisela wena, kwedini, nawe, nawe, nawe kuba zange sikhutshwe endlini, nksi. Yinto yokuqala leyo. Kunjalo, mama? (173)

Ndoda: Phosa, phosa. Camagu, mhle, uthetha nto kuba nje ngokuba egula nje ke ngoku xa singe kabi nayo imali yenkomo, akukho nto singamenzela yona? (174)

Mandla: Ee, vuma! Siya vuma!
Hayi, akwenziwa nksi, intw'apha chwama. (175)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Asilingani, yinkulu le bethu. (176)

Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Uth' uJamangile yiy le ekhaya pha. (177)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa. Phosa.

Mandla: Ee, ndombhelele! Siya vuma!

Mna bendisithi makha ungxole wenze ingxengxezo. (178)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Uvare kuza kuviwa kweliya cala lasemasikweni. (179)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

Kwenziwi mbizana pha. (180)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Ndivele, bawo, kuba umkhulu undizala pha. (181)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Ndiza kwenza laa nto ingazange yenziwe

ngutata kum. (182)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Angenziwa yedwa, uyakungena kwa kweza bokhwe. (183)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

420 Asiyo nkethe ngoku, ithi ngxee. (184)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Mandiphile, toro, eli dolo lam. (185)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Ndivile ndiza kuyenza lento. (186)

425 Ndivumele! Siya vuma!
Siza kuzenza bawomkhulu. (187)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Ngokuba, toro, idolo lam alinakunyuka. (188)
Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!

430 Kanti ayinguye yedwa. (189)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa. He-e, phosa.

Mandla: Kha ubuze, bawo. Nguwe kanye, makuthethe wena kanye. Uxolo, bawo, bakho abanye abantwana? (190)

Ndoda: Akukho nto ndinokuyibuza. (191)

Mandla: Ee, vuma! Siya vuma!
Ubawo unabo abantwana, andithethi ngalo ugulayo mna ukufuphi. (192)

440 Vuma! Siya vuma!
Ndithetha ngalo ubuhileyo mna.(193)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!
Lo ungakhange azenze lento. (194)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

445 Ubuza wuphi ke wena tata? (195)
Ndoda: Hayi, ke, ndibuza lowo.(196)

Mandla: Ee, yombhela! Siya vuma!
Ngoba ndinabo abantwana. (197)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

Nditsho aphe singeni. (198)

Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa. Phosangasemva.

Mandla: Banetyala nabo. (199)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

Kunokuqalwa ngabo. (200)

Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Thetha naye, basesingeni njani? (201)

Mandla: Ee, ndombhelele! Siya vuma!

Oo, untangam, uzele mosi. (202)

Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!

Akuyifumani kakuhle le ndawu endiyithethayo ndiyithethile. (203)

Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, phosa. Uthe kanene akuna kugala ngaye kungekenziwa. (204)

Mandla: Ee, vuma! Siya vuma!

Hayi, ubuza ukuba lo ugulayo. (205)

Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

Unabo na abantwana? Lithe lam,

unabo abantwana. (206)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

Aba phuma aphe singeni sakhe. (207)

Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Kanti ke ndingathethi ngabantwana bakhe nkgo. (208)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ngoku ndiya phumela. (209)

Vuma! Siya vuma!
Unabo abantwana bakhe, nabo baza

480 kuba nalomkhondo. (210)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa. Phosa.

Mandla: Nabo bangenwa zintwala zehagu
imiggwaliso. (211)

485 Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

Uth'omnye nantsi nepipi yam.(212)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Hayi, mna ndasuke nda nee ntwala zehagu. (213)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

490 Uth'omnye mna ndinamaghakuva abantwana bakhe. (214)
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!
Beningavumiseli loo nto noko ke ngoku. (215)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

495 Ndisalungis' utata lo. (216)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Andiva ku loo ndawo, tu, mhlekazi. (217)

Mandla: Tata?

Ndoda: Andiva ku loo ndawo, tu. Kwesi sithuba sentwala zehagu. (218)


Ndoda: Abantwana bakhe abakayeniwa? (220)

500 Mandla: Ee, vuma! Siya vuma!

Ubuze enye ke ngoku, uth' umhekazi yilandule engathi ikhaba mna. (221)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Vuma uthi ukhona omnye owenziweyo. (222)

510 Vuma! Siya vuma!

Uthi abanye benziwe. (223)

Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!

Yen' uthi umhlekazi zange aphathe nto yena. (224)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

515 Phezu kwabantwana, mhlekazi. (225)

Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa, ke, phofu.

Mandla: Hayi khona!

Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

520 Akuna koluka wena, mna ndiyinkwenkwe. (226)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

Andinakoluka xa wena ungafuni ukoluka.(227)

Ee, ndombhelele! Siya vuma!

Andina kuzinceda utata zange andenze. (228)

525 Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ndombhelele! Siya vuma!

Ndithethi ntwe pha kungxameni, ngokuba into kufuneka ukuba siyenze apha kuqala. (229)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

530 Ngoku sekungathi ndiya khabeka apha ekhaya ndizakubhubha. (230)

Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

Ewe, bekufuneka ukuba khe ndenziwe nam. (231)

Yombhela! Siya vuma!

535 Ndoda: Mfondini, yikhangele ngokwakho. (232)

Mandla: Ngoku ndiyazenza: ndiya komnye umzi. (233)

Yombhela! Siya vuma!

Andina kungendi, mna ndimhle, ze ndingalotyolwa. (234)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

540 Kufunwa mna, mosi, akufunwa wena lo mntu uphuzwayo. (235)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Uya kwenda mva wena. (236)
Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!
Lilonke abantwana bam bakhutshwa endlini. (237)

545 Vuma! Siya vuma!
Kanti ke mna ke andikenziwa nto. (238)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: He-e, phosa. Siyaphosa.

Mandla: Ee, yombhela! Siya vuma!

550 Uth' umhlekazi ke loo ndawo yenzeke gaso.
Bekufuneka kuqalwe kuwe apha ze kwensiwe ababantwana. (239)
Bethi zandla! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Kha ukhe undichazele ukuba into eyabangela loo nto ukuba yinto nina? (240)

Mandla: Mmh, ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Hayi, ukungabikho kwam ekhaya. (241)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Khe nditsho napha engqondweni yam. (242)

560 Nd'ivumele! Siya vuma!
Eee, kwahula mna, tata. (243)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Andikabi nanto ndiyilandelayo. (244)
Nd'ivumele! Siya vuma!

565 Asavara sazenza. (245)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa. Phosa, mhlekazi.

Mandla: Asenziwanga nguye. (246)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!

570 Sizenzile thina siyazazi ukuba singamaNantsi. (247)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Asilindela hili-hili. (248)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Kwakuhiliza wena lo. (249)

575 Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Ungahoyanga nto ngalo mfazi. (250)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Siyaphosa. Uyanukwa qho. (251)

Mandla: Ee, yombhela! Siya vuma!

580 Utheth' uba xa wena ulibele kukuty' imali pha eMonti? (252)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Ndiza kuzeka mna apha, andizohlalela. (253)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!

585 Ndiza kuzeka, mosi, andizolinda wena ulibele kukuty' imali. (254)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Ndifun' umfazi ke, mosi, mna. (255)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!

590 Yenzeka njalo ke le nto yakho. (256)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Zangulandele wena bazenza abantwana. (257)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Baphum' apha kuwe. (258)

595 Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa. Phosa.

Mandla: Kanti nina khange nenziwe nguyihlo. (259)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Aba bazenzile. (260)

600 Vuma kamnandi! Siya vuma!
Qhwaba! Kha uvume! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa. Phosa.
Mandla: Asina kulinda wena ke xa ungekho apha. Siyafa apha thina. (261)

Ndoda: Siyafa. He-he-he-ee-e. Siyafa. (262)

Mandla: La ndawo, kwedini, ubuyibuza: kwathinina ze sizenze? (263)

Ndoda: Camagu. Yiyoyo leyo. Tsi-i-i, he-e-he-he-e. Ooh, sesi sisu sodwa esi sikulo tata,

kugalwe ngaphi na? (264)

Mandla: Ee, vuma! Siya vuma!
Usisulu ngoku. (265)
Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Bathi unamabhadi xa ayichazayo. (266)

Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Uyatsho umhlekazi uthi sesi sisu sodwa esi. (267)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Sisuka apha enyongweni. (268)
Vuma! Siya vuma!

Sidibene nala nyongo yakhe kanye. (269)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Ndakukhangela kakuhle asinyangeki ngoku. (270)
Qhwaba! Siya vuma!
Sighinekile ngathi uzakufa. (271)

Yombhela! Siya vuma!
Nela dliso angaliruda alithini, alu kuphuma ngoku. (272)
Vuma! Siya vuma!
Uya kungxenga nje la mbizana. (273)

Vuma! Siya vuma!

Ndoda: Phosa. Ukuba isisu siphilile, sakube sibuye sizo kuva enye. (274)

Mandla: Ungavumi vara. (275)
Ndoda: Akazo kufa. Soz' afe. (276)

Mandla: Vuma into le uyaziyo. Uth' umhleka zange ukhutshwe endlini. Ngoku ndihamba ndibethwa nje ndisonzakala ndidliswa ndisithwani; ngoku amawethu angathi andilahlile. (277)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Ubomi bentaka. (278)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Aziwa kuza ngawe ze ujike ungazikhathaleli. (279)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Uba into uya yithanda, uthi: "Hayi." (280)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Uthi: "Hayi." (281)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Le into iya zeyazenzekela nje pha kuye usisulu. (282)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Bawo, khang' ubuze wena. Ndifuna wena, ndifuni ixhego eli! Bawo, ikhona enye into oyikrokrelayo pha kula ndawo? (283)

Xasa: Hayi. (284)


Xasa: Hayi, kukhw' amatshivela pha kwelakhaya, amahili-hili afuze yena kuthe saa.


Mandla: Ingaba amahili-hili aphi ngoku? (287)

Xasa: Akhona ngoku. (288)

Mandla: Akhona ngoku? (289)

Ndoda: Camagu, camagu. (290)

Mandla: Kufuneka kubuyiswe utat' omkhulu wala mahili-hili. (291)

Ndoda: Camagu, camagu.


manditsho! (292)

Ndoda: Camagu. Ningabi sayipikica. (293)


Wena, mama, akuka khutshwa endlini. (294)
Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Kodwa ndiphuma kuwe. (295)

Ndoda: Camagu.

Mandla: Ilungile njalo? (296)

Ndoda: Camagu. Hayi, ayilunganga. (297)


Ndoda: Kunjalo, mhlekazi. (299)


Ndoda: Kwekhu, impundu zam zishushu ngoku yilesamente. Thixo, ndiza kuhlala pha ngasemlungwini. (301)


Ndoda: Ndikho. (303)

Mandla: Ndikunika laa nto ke ngoku wena. Ibibizwe nguwe. (304)

Ndoda: Yinike lo. Yinto ni leyo? (305)

Ndoda: Camagu.

C. Nontando’s divination (imvumisa)

Nontando: The men of the earth, [my] equals. Intercept! We agree!
Do you mean to tell me that there is a figure here who my father begot, besides myself alone. (1)
We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree!
When you discuss [this matter], you say that I am the only issue of my father. (2)
We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree!
So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.
Intercept! We agree!
You are the sole male issue of your father. (3)
We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree!
Oo, fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]! We agree!
Besides yourself, there is someone else born of your father. (4)
We have traced [it]. Agree with me! We agree!
So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.
Intercept! We agree!
Now, then, it is not said it is a male. (5)
We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw.

Nontando: Clap hands and sing for [me]! We agree!
Now, then, they say that the oracle is about a woman. (6)
Intercept! We agree!
So says that old grey-haired man of the earth, [my] equals.
Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Where is that woman? (7)

Nontando: Yes, fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]!
We agree!
We are not going to look at her now, still those things have been brought to light by me, [my] equal. (8)
Intercept! We agree!
Strike [your hands] then it is this.

Intercept! We agree!
She is no longer present, [my] equal. (9)
Intercept! We agree!
She is dead. (10)
So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.

Agree with me! We agree!

Madala: Throw, throw.

Nontando: Oo, fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]!
We agree!
Those men long under the earth keep on saying.

Intercept! We agree!
How old was this woman at her death, [my] equal? (11)
Intercept! We agree!
Who is older, you or that woman, [my] equal? (12)
Intercept! We agree!

Strike [your hands], [my] equal, it is really you. (13)
Intercept! We agree!
And she comes after you, [my] equal. (14)
Intercept! We agree!
So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.

Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw.

Nontando: Yes, fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]!
We agree!
Just say you ask at this point. (15)
We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree! Where, then, is your mother who begot you, my equal? (16) Intercept! Agree! Strike [your hands], she also died, my equal. (17) Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw.

Nontando: Oo, fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]! We agree! Who died first, was it your father or your mother? (18) We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree! Strike [your hands], it was your father. (19) We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree! So say those young men of the earth, [my] equals. Intercept! We agree! Madala: Throw.

Nontando: Oo, clap hands and sing for [me]! We agree! Your mother died later, [my] equal. (20) Intercept! We agree! For that matter, your father died while away from home, [my] equal. (21) Intercept! We agree! So say those men of the earth, [my] equals. Intercept! We agree! I don't even know my father's grave. (22) We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw.

Nontando: Oo, fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]! While you look you say, then I am sick today, Diviner. (23) Intercept! We agree!
I have my own children at my homestead, [my] equal. (24)

Intercept! We agree!

Now I want to examine my homestead, [my] equal. (25)

Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw.

Nontando: Oo, fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]!

95 We agree!

When you inquired about this point of the diviner here. (26)

We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree!

I occupied my father's homestead, [and] I begot children. (27)

We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree!

There are bad omens in that homestead of yours, [my] equal. (28)

Intercept! We agree!

Because at night there is the cry of the Cape dikkop (Burhinus capensis), Diviner. (29)

At other times, the owl echoes in reply, [my] equal. (30)

Intercept! We agree!

So say those young men of the earth, [my] equals.

Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw.

Nontando: Oo, fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]!

We agree!

Alas, what bad omen occurs at night? (31)

Intercept! We agree!

[My] fellow! We have bad dreams, Diviner. (32)

Intercept! We agree!

Tell us, [my] fellow, what is your interpretation? (33)
Agree with me! We agree!

**Madala:** Throw.

120 **Nontando:** Clap hands and sing for [me]! We agree! So say those young men of the earth, [my] equals. Intercept! We agree! Therefore, try and find out because I dream badly in my homestead with my children, Diviner. (34)

125 Intercept! We agree! Then this is something new; it only came yesterday, Diviner. (35) Intercept! We agree! So say those young men of the earth, [my] equals.

130 Intercept! We agree! There is no diviner who ever said that my mother was practising witchcraft, [my] equals! (36) Intercept! We agree! Nor has there ever been a diviner who said that my wife is practising witchcraft, [my] equals! (37) Intercept! We agree! So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.

135 Intercept! We agree!

**Madala:** Throw.

140 **Nontando:** Wait a moment, I am going to find out about this lack of success there in this homestead of mine. What is the reason for it [and] what is its name? Exactly, exactly. (38)

**Madala:** Look, Madam. (39)
Nontando: I am going to go for a while to urinate and smoke a cigarette. (40)

(A two-minute interval)

Nontando: Good! Clap hands and sing for [me]! We agree! So say those young men of the earth, [my] equals. Intercept! We agree!

150 Alas, clap hands and sing for [me]! We agree! Now, then, you say you must inquire of the diviner about this lack of success there at your homestead; because it happens that we wake up feeling apprehensive after we have dreamed and we are scared to go outside, [my] equal. (41) Intercept! We agree! So says that old grey-haired man of the earth, [my] equals. Intercept! We agree!

160 Madala: Throw.

Nontando: Oh, my fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]! We agree! So says that old grey-haired man of the earth, [my] equals. Intercept! We agree!

165 No, how can my homestead be fearsome to me and my children, Diviner? (42) Their health is wanting within [the homestead], Diviner.(43) Intercept! We agree! So says that old grey-haired man of the earth, [my] equals. Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw.
Nontando: Oh, my fellow, clap hands and sing! We agree! I am going to pause for a while. Now, then, we address the same matter, [my] equal. (44)

175 Intercept! We agree!
We are going to see that these things are of the same sort, Diviner. (45)

Intercept! We agree!
So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.

180 Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw.

Nontando: I say to you: it is necessary that we reveal them all. (46)

Madala: That is what is required, Diviner. (47)

185 Nontando: Good! Clap [hands] and sing for [me]! We agree!
So says that old grey-haired man of the earth, [my] equals. Intercept! We agree!
Let us start with [your] father first. (48)

190 No, the reason why [your] father deserted [the homestead] is that he was beckoned by wordly attractions, [my] equals. (49)

Intercept! We agree!
Something took him out of his house. (50)

195 We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree!
He was the victim of his own actions, [my] equal. (51)

Intercept! We agree!
What do I do now in the circumstances? So says your question to the diviner, [my] equal. (52)

200 Intercept! We agree!
Your father flew as a bird with a small portion
and he did not perform the customs of his family, [my] equal. (53)
Intercept! We agree!

205 He has left you with onerous tasks, [my] equal. (54)
Intercept! We agree!
Your father never slaughtered a beast to accompany this person to the ancestors, [my] equal. (55)

210 Good! We agree!
How do you mean he never slaughtered a beast to accompany [this person] to the ancestors, Diviner? (56)
Intercept! We agree!

215 Just wait so that we can interpret properly for him, [my] equal. (57)
Intercept! We agree!
No, his situation is the same as yours, [my] equal. (58)

220 Intercept! We agree!
You merely started the task and left it halfway. (59)
He also never slaughtered a beast to bring back the spirit of his dead father as an ancestor to the homestead, [my] equal. (60)

225 Intercept! We agree!
You only managed to slaughter a beast to accompany [your] father to the ancestors, Diviner. (61)

230 Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw, Madam.

Nontando: Oo, fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]!
We agree!
Moreover, in this homestead mention is made of "river sickness" (umlambo), Diviner. (62)

Intercept! We agree!

Furthermore, in this homestead mention is made of the zila beast (slaughtered to accompany the spirit of the deceased household head to the ancestors), [my] equal. (63)

Intercept! We agree!

So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.

Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw.

Nontando: Your father left you with that task since you are the only one, Diviner. (64)

Intercept! We agree!

So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.

Intercept! We agree!

You see, then, it would have been good if it were just the matters of your home to finish, [my] equal. (65)

Intercept! We agree!

Now you must start at the river, Diviner. (66)

Intercept! We agree!

On behalf of that girl of this home who was initiated as a diviner at the river, [my] equal. (67)

Intercept! We agree!

Do not spill blood again at this homestead of yours, Diviner. (68)

Intercept! We agree!

You should make for the river in the trail of that girl, [my] equal. (69)

Intercept! We agree!

On your return you should ignore your father
and you should not slaughter to bring his spirit back [to the homestead], [my] equal. (70)
Intercept! We agree!

Get hold of the zila beast as it is important that you get hold of it, [my] equal. (71)
Intercept! We agree!
So as to enable him to return home to the sacred animals (izilo), [my] equal. (72)
Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw. Where do your [suggestions] lead, Madam? (73)

Nontando: Good! Intercept! Clap hands and sing for [me]! We agree!
Wait then, before you start all those things there at your home, [my] equal. (74)
Intercept! We agree!

Before you make offerings at the river and slaughter a beast, [my] equal. (75)
Intercept! We agree!
Now dirty things have invaded, [my] equal. (76)
Intercept! We agree!

Now your homestead is as land lying fallow, [my] equal. (77)
Intercept! We agree!
For there is nothing to keep dirty things from entering. (78)

Intercept! We agree!
Those owls, those dikkops, [my] equal. (79)
Intercept! We agree!
Just wait, those are not the sacred animals

383
(izilo) of this home, [my] equal. (80)

300 Intercept! We agree!
Oo, I have seen that this is the enemy now, [my] equal. (81)
Intercept! We agree!
Which is destroying your homestead now, [my] equal. (82)

305 Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw.

Nontando: Oo, fellow, clap hands and sing for [me]! We agree!
From which direction does it come, [my] equal? (83)

310 Intercept! We agree!
Oo, you are surrounded by enemies, [my] equal. (84)
Intercept! We agree!
Strike [your hands] so say the men, [my] equal.
Intercept! We agree!

315 Who are persecuting me in the place where I live! (85)
Intercept! We agree!
Strike [your hands] at this place.
Intercept! We agree!
Now, then, the enemy enters and adds

to the ritual omissions of my home which
I already had and did not dispute in
any case, [my] equal. (86)
Intercept! We agree!
So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.

325 Intercept! We agree!
That point is the reason why your homestead is on
the verge of destruction; money runs through
your fingers and it is evident that your homestead
is not going to progress, instead of progressing

330 it is deteriorating. (87)
Intercept! We agree!
Now the ancestors have turned their backs on you and stand aloof because you have many ritual omissions here. (88)

335 Intercept! We agree!
So say those men of the earth, [my] equals. Intercept! We agree!
Now you must agree, agree, agree and act, [my] equal. (89)

340 But you must not start with those things; you must purify that homestead and drive away those dirty things. (90)
Intercept! We agree!
Thereafter you can start with the task,
345 [my] equal. (91)
Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Camagu, Madam.

Nontando: (Aside.) Phucukile, my child, please bring me some water in a small mug. (She takes a drink of water and then continues.)

350 Let us refer to you personally, [my] equal. (92)
Intercept! We agree!
There are many things in you, [my] equal. (93)
Intercept! We agree!
You are hindered by the intwaso of your family, [my] equal. (94)
Intercept! We agree!
It is connected with the river in your case, [my] equal. (95)
Intercept! We agree!

360 That is why, after you have drunk sorghum beer (utywala), it seems as if

385
you have swallowed poison and you become ill, [my] equal. (96)
Intercept! We agree!

That is why your ancestors leave everything else and seize your penis, [my] equal. (97)
Intercept! We agree!
I see that you were not bewitched there, [my] equal. (98)

Intercept! We agree!

Madala: (Laughs.) He-He-he-e-e-hehe-he.

Nontando: Good! Agree! We agree!
So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.
Intercept! We agree!

Did you notice your ancestors suddenly grab you and seize your penis? (99)
We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree!
You see, then, those two men [i.e. the testicles] are unequal in size today. (100)

Intercept! We agree!
No this is "river sickness" (umlambo), [my] equal. (101)
Intercept! We agree!
That is water. If one were to pierce there [i.e. the scrotum] water would flow out, Diviner. (102)

Intercept! We agree!

Madala: Throw. It is you who sees. (103)

Nontando: You are not going to be purged of the "river sickness" (umlambo) alone, it is necessary that you be purged together with your children,
Diviner. (104)
Intercept! We agree!
Having cleansed this homestead, it should be
sprinkled with medicines. (105)
We have traced [it]. Intercept! We agree!
You should be personally attended to; you
should be made to vomit, [your] bowels should be purged
and you should be given medicines to drink, [my] equal. (106)
Intercept! We agree!
Thereafter, you proceed to the river, [my]
equal. (107)
Intercept! We agree!
Then you return to get that bullock, [my]
equal. (108)
Intercept! We agree!
So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.
Intercept! We agree!
You go back and remember your father,
Diviner. (109)
Intercept! We agree!
So say those men of the earth, [my] equals.
Intercept! We agree!
Remember that your grandfather also
wants his own beast, [my] equals. (110)
Intercept! We agree!
For he wants to be brought back [to the
homestead], Diviner. (111)
Intercept! We agree!
These three beasts must be slaughtered, [my] equal. (112)
Intercept! We agree!
Mmm. It is the zila [beast], the one to accompany
your father [and] the one to bring back your
grandfather. (113)
Good! We agree!
It is the zila [beast], [and] I am going to bring back both my father and grandfather. (114)

Intercept! We agree!

I have seen that you must slaughter these three beasts, [my] equal. (115)

Intercept! We agree!

So say these men of the earth, [my] equals.

These two [sacrifices] you have been left with are the fault of your father. (116)

We have traced [it]. Intercept! We Agree!

Madala: Throw, Madam. Is what you are recommending really going to be for the first time, has this [ceremony] of the river not been conducted before? (117)

Nontando: Good! Intercept! We agree!

Oo, fellow, you have just scratched the surface, [my] equal. (118)

Intercept! We agree!

Listen to my suggestion, [my] equal, you followed that sham of going to the river. (119)

Intercept! We agree!

You cannot be taken in one month and be told that you are to be taken to the river, or in one week, unless you have been purified and so on, [my] equal. (120)

Intercept! We agree!

You did not abstain (ukuzila) [from food and drink], [my] equal. (121)

Intercept! We agree!

That cannot happen. (122)

Intercept! We agree!
Indeed, .... (123)

Nontando: Good, agree! We agree!

460 Even your observance of that very river
[ceremony]. (124)
Intercept! We agree!
You washed neither the homestead nor
the people. (125)

465 Intercept! We agree!
You were just taken and told that there
is going to be a river ritual (intlwayelelo),
[my] equal. (126)
Intercept! We agree!

470 As if you were sowing seeds in the
field, [my] equal. (127).
Intercept! We agree!
So say these men of the earth, [my] equals.
Intercept! We agree!

475 Madala: Throw. Throw.

Nontando: Mmm. Even now we are not just going
to say we are going to the river; first the
dirt has to be removed [and] having done so,
then these dirty things have to be driven
480 away. (128)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Now, then, to go back to [the previous
point made], the dirt has to be removed from
yourself. (129)
Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: When that has been done you go away from here and when you arrive there at the byre of your family, (130)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Say: "My ancestors, I have been to the diviner, I have heard all I must do within this homestead and I am going to do it." (131)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: You should get a herbalist (ixhwele) to make right that homestead. (132)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: When he has finished doing so, he should also remove the dirt from yourself. (133)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: A large container (igogogo) of sorghum beer (utywala) should be brewed. (134)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Then you invite the old men of the home to come and spit here. (135)

Madala: Camagu.
Nontando: For I look ahead [and] I am going to perform the task. (136)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Ritual debts (amatyala) have been left to me by my father. (137)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: For my ritual debt is but one - it is my father, it is him. (138)

Madala: Camagu. Madam, you explain well to me. By the way, with which of these old men did you say I should start? (139)

Nontando: Of these old men. Before you bring back these two old men you have not brought back, you must perform the river ceremony first. (140)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Do not spill blood. (141)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Having performed the river ceremony, you must then slaughter that zila beast. (142)

Madala: Camagu.
Nontando: Where are these people going to come back to? When you bring them back, are you going to bring them back to yourself? Where are the sacred animals (izilo) of this place? (143)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Get hold of that bullock, the zila beast, brew some sorghum beer and there should also be that tin beaker of ubulawu. You are not going to drink from that beaker of ubulawu, you are going to wash with it. (144)

Madala: Camagu, camagu.

Nontando: When you have finished then your father will be the last. You are now going to get hold of that zila beast. (145)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: You bring back his father, your grandfather. (146)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Having finished, then you bring back your father now. (147)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Alas! Now this is a big job you perform on behalf of your father. (148)
Madala: By the way, you say in regard to the "eyes" (i.e. the testicles)? (149)

Nontando: Alas! This is "river sickness" (umlambo). It is connected with those "two young men" (the testicles), the one big and the other small, who leave each other in succession. (150)

Madala: (Laughs.) He-he-he-he.

Nontando: When you say "fetch 'em" to that thing, I did not want to mention it by name, this dog does not bite, it is a hopeless case, your penis is useless. (151)

Madala: (Laughs). He-he-he-ee-ee-he-he-he. No, no, Madam. You speak well. To me also, for that thing is known to this person. Yes, we speak about it every day. (152)

Nontando: Let us change seats, it is full outside here. (153)
D. The original Xhosa text of Nontando's divination

Nontando: Amadoda asemahlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Uthetha ukuba ukhona umthinzi ongaba utata
uwuzele apha ngaphandle kwam ngedwa? (1)

Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Uthi wena xa uxoxa, ndim ngedwa kubawo ozelweyo. (2)
Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Nontando: Atsho la madoda emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Ndwisedwa iduna pha kuyihlo. (3)
Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Oo mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Ukhona omnye ngaphandle kwakho ozelwe ngubawo. (4)
Silandile. Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Atsho la madoda emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Akutshiwo ke duna ngoku. (5)
Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa

Nontando: Ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Bathi umhlola usebhingeni ke ngoku ke. (6)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Itsho la ngwevu emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Liphi lona elo bhinga? (7)

Nontando: Awu mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Asizikulikhangela ke ngoku, se zivunjululwa ndim ezo zinto, ntanga. (8)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Betha ke ikhona le.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Alisekho nalo, ntanga. (9)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Labhubha ke nalo. (10)

Ndivumele! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda ezintlabathini, zintanga.
Ndivumele! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa, phosa.

Nontando: Oo mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Amanesitsho la madoda entlab-a-zikande.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Kuba libhubha lingakanani lona, ntanga? (11)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Nguwuphi omkhulu mna naye nalo ela bhinga, ntanga? (12)

Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Betha nguwe duna kanye, ntanga. (13)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Lona lize mveni kwakho, ntanga. (14)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda ezintlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa.

Nontando: Awu mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Kha uthi ubuza kule ndawo. (15)

Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Uphi ke umama ozala wena, ntanga? (16)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Betha, wabhubha ke naye, ntanga. (17)

395
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

60 Madala: Phosa

Nontando: Oo mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Ngowuphi obhube kuqala uyihi loonyoko? (18)

Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Betha ngubawo. (19)

65 Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa.

Nontando: Oo ndombhelele! Siya vuma!

70 Umama uzekubhubha mva yena, ntanga. (20)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Loo nto ubowo uzekubhubhela esithubeni yena,
ntanga. (21)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

75 Atsho la madoda emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Andilazi nenchwaba likabawo. (22)
Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa.

80 Nontando: Oo mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Kha uthi ukhangelagalo, kugula mna ke namhlanje, ggirha. (23)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ndinabantwana bjam emzini nam, ntanga. (24)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

85 Ngoku ndifun' ukuwukhangelagalo ke lo mzi wam, ntanga. (25)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Madala: Phosa.

Nontando: Oo mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma! Xa ububuza ke kule ndawo eggirheni apha. (26)

Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ndawuma ke lo mzi kabawo, ndabazala abantwana. (27)
Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Kukhw' izimbo mzi wakho, ntanga. (28)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Kub' ebusuku kutsh' ingqhangqho, ggirha. (29)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ngamanye amaxesha, siphendule isikhova, ntanga. (30)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madodana ezintlabathini, zintanga.

Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa.

Nontando: Oo mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Maye ebusuku senza ntoni isimbo? (31)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Mfondini! Siphupha kakubi, ggirha. (32)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Kha utsho mfondini xa utolikayo? (33)
Ndívumele! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa.

Nontando: Ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Atsho ke la madodana emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Kha uthi ukukhangela ke nje ngokuba ndiphupha kakubi nje kulo mzi wam nabantwana bam, ggirha. (34)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Yeyabumini ke le nto, ifike izolo, gqirha. (35)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madodana ezintlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

120 Akukho negqirha elakha lathi umama wayethakatha zintanga! (36)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma! Lingekho negqirha elakha lathi umkam uyathakatha, zintanga! (37)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

125 Atsho ke la madoda emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa.

Nontando: Yima ndizokukhangela obu bubhutyu phakathi kwalo mzi wam. Yintoni igama labo? Kanye, kanye. (38)

130 Madala: Khangelwa, mhlekazi. (39)

Nontando: Kha niyokuchama kancinci zekhe nitshaye nithi thaphu-thaphu. (40)

Nontando: Heke! Qhwaba usombhelele! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda asemahlabathini, zintanga.

135 Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Awu ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Uthi ke ngoku ma ukhe uzobuza eggirheni obu bhutyu benzekayo phakathi kwalo mzi ngokuba sekuthi khatha into yokuba, sakubeni ukuba siphuphile, sakuvuka sinombilini, siyoyika nokuphuma phandle, ntanga. (41)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Itsho la ngwevu ezintlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Nontando: Awu mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Itsho ke la ngwevu ezintlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Hayi lo mzi wam uykuthini ukuthinza kum nasebantwaneni bam, gqirha? (42)

Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Yaye impilo ingekho ngaphakathi, gqirha. (43)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Itsho la ngwevu ezintlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Nontando: Awu mfondini yombhela! Siya vuma!
Ndiza kukhe ndime kancinci. Sibheke ekoneni ke ngoku, ntanga. (44)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Sizokukhangela ezi zinto ludidi lunye na, gqirha. (45)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda asemhlabeni, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Nontando: Ndithi kuni kufuneka sizigubhulule zonke. (46)

Madala: Kufuneka loo nto, gqirha. (47)

Nontando: Heke! Qhwaba ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Itsho la ngwevu ezintlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Makhe sigale pha kutata kugala. (48)
Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Hayi into eyabangela utata makatshiphe ugujwe lilizwe, ntanga. (49)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
175 Waye khutshwa yinto endlwini. (50)
Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Azenze ngokwakhe yena, ntanga. (51)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Mandilithini ke? Utsho umbuzo wakho egqirheni, ntanga. (52)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma! Uyihlo ubaleke nesijungge akawenza amasiko akowabo, ntanga. (53)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ukushiyi neminyadala yemisebenzi, ntanga. (54)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma! Uyihlo akazange amkhaphe lo mntu, ntanga. (55)
185 Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Heke! Siya vuma!
Uthetha njani ukungamkhapi, ggirha? (56)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Khaume simtolikele kakuhle, ntanga. (57)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Hayi ikwasesi sakho, ntanga. (58)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
190 Wavula nje umsebenzi wawuyeka phakathi. (59)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Naye zanga ambuyise owakh' uyise, ntanga. (60)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Wanela kumkhapha, ggirha. (61)
200 Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa, mhlekazi.
Nontando: Oo mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Yaye kulo mzi kukhankanywa ngomlambo, gqirha. (62)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

205 Yaye kulo mzi kukhankanywa ngenkomo yezila, ntanga. (63)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda ezintlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

210 Madala: Phosa.

Nontando: Washiya apho ke ubawo nalo mnyadala, awe inguwe ke kuphela kwakho, gqirha. (64)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho ke la madoda ezintlabathini, zintanga.

215 Yabona ke, ngekulunge kanye ukuba ibe ibizezi zinto zasekhaya zodwa kuphela, ntanga. (65)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ngoku kufuneka uphuthume emlanjeni, gqirha. (66)

220 Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Egameni la lantombazana yayithwase emlanjeni yase kahy' apha, ntanga. (67)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ungabuphinde uphalaze gazi kulo mzi wakho, gqirha. (68)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Zuk' ukhumbule emlanjeni ekhondweni la lantombi, ntanga. (69)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

230 Uth' ukubuya kwakho zukh' umyek e noyiло lowo ungambuyisi, ntanga. (70)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ukhubambe lankom' ezila kufuneka ukuba xa
uyibambile, ntanga. (71)

235 Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Akwaz' ukuthi ukubuya naye aze ekhaya ezilweni, ntanga. (72)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa. Iyaph' eyakho, mhlekazi? (73)

240 Nontando: Heke! Qhiwula! Ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Yima ke, phambi kokuba wenze ezo zinto zonke pha kwela khaye lakho, ntanga. (74)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Phamb' uhlwayelele, uxhel' inkomo, ntanga. (75)

245 Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ngoku sekungenelele nentw' ezimdaka, ntanga. (76)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Umzi wakho ulifusi ngoku, ntanga. (77)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

250 Kuba akukhont' ibiyileyo ukuba makungezi ntw' ezimdaka. (78)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Eza zikhova, eza ngghanholo, ntanga. (79)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

255 Khaume ayizona kuthwa zizilo zasekhaya apha ezo, ntanga. (80)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Oo ndibone ukuba lutshaba ke ngoku ke, ntanga. (81)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

260 Ngoku olubhangisa umzi wakho, ntanga. (82)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa.
Nontando: Oo mfondini ndombhelele! Siya vuma!
Luthi gqi ngaphi, ntanga? (83)

265 Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Oo nihlala namazenjana, ntanga. (84)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Betha atsho amadoa, ntanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

270 Luya nditshutshisa kule ndawo ndihleli kuyo! (85)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Betha kule ndawo.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Kungenelela ke ngoku ke utshaba kumatyala

275 ebendinawo awalapha ekhaya, ndingawakhanyela mna
ke, ntanga. (86)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho ke la madoda emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

280 La ndawo ibangela ukuba umzi wakho ufune
ukuvuthuluka, imali iphume phakathi kwezinwe,
umzi wakho kucace ukuba awuzokubheka phambili,
endaweni yokuba ubheke phambili, ubuya umva. (87)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

285 Kaloku izinyanya zininfulathele zimele pha kuba
ninamatyala apha. (88)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

290 Kaloku kufuneka uvume, uvume, uvume wenze,
ntanga. (89)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Kodwa akusafuneki ukuba uqale ngezonto, kufuneka
ukuba ukhe uwugutyule la mzi, ukhe uchile ezi
295 zinto zimدaka. (90)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Wandule ke ngoku ukungena emsebenzini, ntanga. (91)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Camagu, mhlekazi.

300 Nontando: Phucukile kha undiphatheleni amanzi apho mntanam ngxekwati.
Masize apha kuwe esiqwini, ntanga. (92)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Zininzi ezi zinto zilapha kuwe, ntanga. (93)

Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Uphethwe yintwaso yakowenu, ntanga. (94)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Iphatheleni emlanjeni apha kuwe, ntanga. (95)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

310 Yiyo le nto uthi wakutya utywala ingathi uye ityhefu isuk' ikugulise, ntanga. (96)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Kungoko ke ayeke yonke le nto la mawenu akubambe ngojinoyi, ntanga. (97)

Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ndibone ukuba akubulawanga pha, gqirha. (98)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: He-he-he-e-e-hehe-he.

Nontando: He! Vuma! Siya vuma!

320 Atsho la madoda' emahlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Wabonile amawenu? Akuthi qhwakra, la akubambe ngojinoyi? (99)
Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

325 Uyabona ke, la madoda mabini ashiya-shiyanayo namhlanje. (100)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Hayi ngumlambo lo, ntanga. (101)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

330 Ngamanzi la. Kungathi ukuba kunokuhlatsywa pha kumphume amanzi pha, ggirha. (102)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa. Nguwe obonayo. (103)

Nontando: Umlambo awuzi kuxikixwa kuwe wedwa, kufuneka u xikixwe kunye nenzala yakho, ggirha. (104)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Kwakuggitywa ukuhlanjwa lo mzi, utshizwe. (105)
Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Manikhunjulwe ezigwini; nigajiswe, nirhudiswe,
340 nisezwe, ntanga. (106)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Kwandule ke ngoku kuyiwe emlanjeni, ntanga. (107)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ubuye ulande lankab' enkomo, ntanga. (108)

Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda ezintlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ubuy' ukhumbhule kuyihlo, ggirha. (109)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Atsho la madoda emhlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ukhumbule ke notat' omkhulu uyayifun'eyakh' inkomo, ntanga. (110)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Kubu uyafun' ukubuyiswa, ggirha. (111)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ezi nkomo kufuneka zibe ntathu ozixhelileyo,
ntanga. (112)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

360 Mmm. Yeyezila, yeyokukhaphuyihlo, yeyokubuyis' utatomkhulu. (113)
Heke! Siya vuma!
Zizila, ndizakubuyis' utata, ndibuyis' utatomkhulu. (114)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

365 Ndibone ukuba ezi nkomo zintathu kufuneka uzixhelile, ntanga. (115)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda asemahlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

370 Ezimbhini uzishiywe nazo, ityala likuyihlo. (116)
Silandile. Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Madala: Phosa, mhlekazi. Kanene kuyaqala na le nto uyithethayo, akuzange ke kuviswe le yasemlanjeni? (117)

Nontando: Heke! Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

375 Oo mfondini wakrwelwa phezulu, ntanga. (118)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Yiva ukuba ndikuvisa, naniwenzile loo singa wokuya emlanjeni, ntanga. (119)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

380 Anina kuthathwa ngenyang' enye kuthiwe nisiwe emlanjeni okanye ngevek' enye ningakhange nigutyulwe nithiweni, ntanga. (120)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ze ningaziliswa, ntanga. (121)

385 Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Ngunongekhe-yenzeke loo nto. (122)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Kaloku .... (123)
Nontando: Heke vuma! Siya vuma!
Kwanokwenza kwenu nkqu loo mlambo lowo. (124)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Khange nihlambe mzi, khange nihlambe bantu. (125)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!

Nithathwe nje, kwathiwa kuyahlwayelelwa, ntanga. (126)
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Okunye nokuba nanihlwayelela imbewu emasimini, ntanga. (127)

Qhiwula! Siya vuma!
Atsho la madoda emahlabathini, zintanga.
Qhiwula! Siya vuma!


Nontando: Mmm. Nangoku akuzikuthathwa nje ngokuthiwa kuyiwa emlanjeni, kuza khe kugutyulwe kugala, kuggitywe, kuchilwe eza nto zimdaka zibheke pha. (128)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Kubuye ke ngoku kugutyulwe apha eziqwini kuni. (129)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Kwa kuggitywa loo nto, wena wakusuka apha, wakufika pha kowenu ebuhlanti. (130)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Yithi: "Mawethu, ndiyile egqirheni ndiyivile yonke into ekufanele ndiyenzile phakathi kwalo mzi, ndiza kuyenza." (131)
Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Ufune ixhwele lilungise lamzi. (132)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Lithi lakuggiba linigutyule nani apha eziqwini. (133)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Kusilwe igogogo lotywala. (134)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Uthi ubiza amaxhego asekhay'apha ukuba makaze kutshica apha. (135)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Kuba ndakh' imikhanya, ndizakusebenza. (136)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Amatyala ashiywe ngubawo. (137)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Kuba ityala lam linye mna, ngubawo nguye. (138)


Nontando: Kula maxhego laa. Phambi kokuba laa maxhego.
uwabuyise omabini, khange uwabuyise omabini, kha uhlwayele kuqala. (140)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Ungaphalazi gazi. (141)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Uze uthi emveni kokuba uhlwayelele, uxhele la nkomo yezila. (142)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Baza kubuyela phi aba bantu? Xa uza kubabuyisa, uza kuba buyisa ubazise kuwe? Ziphizalapha? (143)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Ithi ngaku la nkabi, yenkomo yezila, ibe nobatywala, ibe nala bhekile yobulawu. Akuzukuyitya la bhekile yobulawu, uza kuhlamba ngayo. (144)

Madala: Camagu, camagu.

Nontando: Uthi wakugqiba ke, utata lo ngowa mva. Uza kubambha ke la nkomo yezila. (145)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Ubuyise utat' akhe lo utat' omkhulu. (146)

Madala: Camagu.
Nontando: Uthi wakuggiba, ubuyise utat' akho ke ngoku. (147)

Madala: Camagu.

Nontando: Tsii! Ngumsebenzi ke ngoku ke lo. Uwenzelwe ngutat' akho. (148)

Madala: Uthi kanene le ndawo yala mehlo? (149)

Nontando: Tyhini! Ngumlambo lo. Udibene kwakunye naaba bafana babini bashiya-shiyano, omnye mkhulu omnye mncinci. (150)

Madala: He-he-he-he.

Nontando: Xa kuthi 'thsaa' laa nto bendisayikwekwa, ayityi le nja, kuphandle, ujinoyi lo kuphandle. (151)

Madala: He-he-he-ee-ee-he-he-he. Hayi, hayi, mhlekazi. Utsho kamnandi. Nam, kuba yonke le nto iyaziwa ngulo mntu lo. Ewe, siyithetha yonke le mihla. (152)

Nontando: Masitshintshe izikhundla kuzele phandl' apha. (153)

Into yokugala eyenzekayo kuwe kuthi nca impukane emdaka apha ebunzi kuwe. Yiyo ke le ikubizayo uya bizwa emlanjeni.


Inyoka yona isisithunywa sokubulala, sokubulala wena ukuba akungomntu wapha emlanjeni okanye ukuba kukhaliwe. Kukhale yona kuba into ezizakahlela zimbhi. Ukuba kukhaliwe kokwenu uza kutyiwa yila nyoka.


Ukuba ke ngoku ke kungalilwanga kugala pha ngaphandle ngabantu bakowenu, wafumana nala mbhol' imhlophe, le ye Camagu yamagqirha, uya kaggitha kula nyoka. Abanye bathi liChanti ukubizwa kwayo. Liyatyhaphaza omnye liyamtshicela ungaboni ube uyagxothwa emlanjeni.
Wakugqitha kulo ke uya koba bulawu bakowenu ke ngoko

bukhona pha emlanjeni, okuya kutiwa ngoNomathotholo.


ekhaya, sikungenise pha kula ndlu inobulawu, inalabhekile yakho yobulawu nala ncha. Uza kugala ke ukuthetha nathi ngoku.

95 Ukuba ke ngoku uthe wakubuya phaya akwenziwa ezi zinto; elaCamagu lakho lokuba kusiwe-kwakusiwe la ntsimbi phaya kungasilwanga tywala nobulawu qha. Uthi wakufika apha ekhaya kakhona kuza kwenziwa utywala ke ngoku ahp' ekhaya, kuxhentswe ngabantu ungekafiki nokufika. Ukuba kusiwe eza ntsimbi nje ubuman' ubonwa utshonele ubonwe utshonele, kufike nalamadada nezankuku kuya silwa ngelo xesha.

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