

IINTLOMBE ZAMAGQIRHA

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE MEANING AND VALUE
OF XHOSA-SPEAKING DIVINERS' SONGS**

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January 2003**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
HUMANITIES, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN, IN FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF MUSIC.**

Supervised by Dr DD Hansen

**CAPE TOWN
January 2003**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation, submitted in fulfilment of the requirement of the degree of Master of Music at the University of Cape Town, has not been submitted by me previously for a degree at another University.

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JANUARY 2003

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the Most High and my Ancestors for having guided my research and writing; and for opening up my mind to more knowledge and understanding of 'The World of diviners'.

My biggest debt is to all the diviners and their novices whose voices I recorded at various séances. From my informants I must mention Baw' uGxarha (who became my educator and mentor), MaDlamini, MamNcotshe, Miranda, Monica (who welcomed me kindly to their séance to record the ritual proceedings), Mhinki, Tshamano Sebe, Nofenishala, Lunga, Mfo ka Mathunzi (the Zionist) who gave freely of their time to let me interview them. To all these people I say *Camagu! Ze kuded' ubumnyama* ('Thank you! May the darkness move away and the light prevail!'). The knowledge you have shared is for the 'People'. And will contribute much towards South African cultural awareness.

I owe special thanks to Rev. Manyaka and his congregation who permitted me to record their *Umjikelo* service of the Zionists.

My special gratitude goes to my Supervisor Dr. D.D. Hansen whose *ubuntu* ('humanity') and understanding of my culture saved me from deregistering from the University. Her keenness to avail herself whenever I needed her parental and academic support, her encouraging words, her constructive criticism and expert suggestions on my first stages of writing up my dissertation and final draft have contributed a great deal to make this work invaluable. *Nangamso* 'Nobuntu'!

Professor Russell Kaschula and Mr. Z. Jama of the Southern African Languages have provided invaluable assistance combined with criticisms and creative suggestions. My gratitude to them is boundless. On the same note I am also grateful to my husband's cousin, Gerry Platt in the UK who has been supportive and provided some helpful material.

Sincere appreciation is expressed to the following Authors: Professor S. Satyo, Mr A. Nyamende, and Carol Kaufmann (for providing me with their material).

I wish to thank Dr Ashley-Totana (of the Woodstock Institute of Interpretation of African Symbols) for the indigenous knowledge he passed on to me.

To my Releasers Isa and Yolanda, Dianne Cooke, Lucille Kent thanks for the unconditional love and light. Also a special thanks goes to Mrs Ingrid Mollard for her prayers. On the same note I want to thank Father Peter Whitehead for having permitted me to interview the *thwasa* at the Rectory.

To my personal diviner, Mpumi whose divinatory powers have been of great help to me and saved me from being lured to the practice of diviners by hoax diviners. *Kuza kulunga!* (It will be all right!).

A special word of appreciation goes to my friends who have been so supportive. James Chavinda, Mbuyi Rhodolo, Ingrid Askew, Harriet Pacaud, Bukelwa Voko-Nobathana, Victor Ngaleka, Duma Manyela, Kenneth Gibe, Vukile Ndudane. Thanks to Reverend Nqiwa and Nokuzola Mndende for their help.

I wish to thank the Sponsors who greatly contributed towards my education these are: SAMRO, KIRBY, UCS, NFR and The School for International Training Bursary. Without these sponsors there would have been no research undertaken. On the same note I also wish to thank Paula Foley at UCT Post Graduate Financial Office who always showed good energy to students.

I am grateful to my brother Robert Trunz and sister Libera Benedetti-Trunz for having lent me field equipment to begin my fieldwork and for being very supportive (financially).

I wish to thank Robert Johnson of UCT (SA College of Music) for assisting with audio transfers.

Special thanks must go to my brother in-law, Chris Lewis, who freely contributed so much of his time, employing his recording equipment in the field, editing and mastering the audio and filming and editing the video. I hope that, going to townships has contributed knowledge about South African experiences, *amaXhosa* in particular.

To my maternal grandmother, my aunt Ntsiki, my parents Grace and Thami Pezi and my cousins - thanks for your great support.

Simon Lewis, my husband, has provided so much to make my research work a great success. I wish to thank him for taking the photographs of the diviners at various séances, for sponsoring me with the air ticket to come over to England so as to be able to complete my work under conducive conditions. I wish to thank him for being supportive and having financially contributed greatly towards my education. Finally, I want to thank him for showing interest and respect towards my culture.

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ABSTRACT

Traditional Xhosa speaking diviners operate within the broad framework of traditional 'Nguni' thought patterns. They use standard methods and techniques of treating and involving practices in which the diviner works with the assistance of the ancestors. They also use diviners' songs either from the established repertory or their own, original songs based on these models. However, these people practice their profession at the beginning of the twentyfirst century in city and rural localities, mingling with people of different cultural and educational backgrounds. As traditional healers, diviners use a whole range of treatments at hand, and the inevitable mixing of resources, languages and customs which occurs when coping with 'mixed' communities, means that the attitudes and methods of diviners are not exactly the same. Because of their different and individual experiences, diviners tend to develop different views and strategies to achieve effective healing, and this impacts on the music they use. Thus the same song may have different meanings for different diviners. Archaic songs like *uNonkala* and *uNomathotholo*, e.g. have 'official', cultural and symbolic meanings, but at a personal level they also have idiosyncratic ideas, imputed to them by individual diviners. These private meanings arise from the private experiences of the diviners who use them. It is this aspect of diviners' songs that is the focus of this study, with special attention paid to the sociological/anthropological relationships of the songs to their social context and their meanings in relation to specific ritual action.

PREFACE

Various studies concerning diviners and divination have been conducted by anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, medical practitioners, religious scholars and ethnomusicologists, all focusing on specific aspects pertaining to their particular field of study. Xhosa divination songs have been analyzed ethnomusicologically by a number of researchers, the emphasis being on the investigation into the musicological aspects of the songs and associated processes of composition, and the social contexts in which the songs are commonly performed, and the impact of western religious institutional music on these songs and performance. While these analyses are extensive, and have explored the process of creation in composition, they have not explored, in any depth, their meaning and function in rituals, or the notions and experiences of the individuals who created the songs.

This study is based on extensive fieldwork, and informal and ongoing discussions with diviners and trainee diviners, about observable fact in ritual actions, and fundamental Xhosa religious and musical concepts. Obtaining the information also involved participation in many rituals. In this dissertation I focus on the following areas of study, adopting an integrated approach to my topic, as proposed by Gerhard Kubik (1987:1):

- Sociology/anthropology (the relationship of the songs to their social context, and their meaning in relation to specific ritual action).
- Psychology (how the songs are imparted and learnt, and their meaning and value for individual diviners).
- Literature Science (the language and meaning of the song texts)
- Linguistics (language-music interrelationship and the use of special ritual-related terms and phrases).

Diviners and their novices were the targets of my study. I believe that by recording their explanations and the accounts of their songs they are given by their ancestors to be used in rituals, I may be able to throw some light on some of the misconceptions created by many scholars -including anthropologists, psychologists and other investigators who have written about diviners and their traditional rituals and ceremonies. During my research for a Bmus. (Honours) degree, I observed the mixing of two religious practices, Zionist Christian and African Traditional Religion at a séance I attended in New Cross Roads. Makhos' uGcaleka, the presiding diviner, was wearing divination regalia, and later added a red cloak with a large white cross (signifying Christianity) appliqued on the back.

The performance at this séance also involved a musical shift from older traditional diviners' songs to Zionist church songs. This was my very first encounter with such a ritual act. Because of my superficial knowledge of divination practice, I had always believed that, if one is in this practice, one would not be associated with Christianity. The dramatic changes in which Makhos'uGcaleka engaged himself that evening presented me with many questions that had to be answered, and sparked my interest in gaining more insight into contemporary divination practice.

Research Methodology:

When I commenced this research, I worked from an emic/intercultural standpoint, as I had done in my previous research. (This is the 'insider' standpoint, and part of the emic/etic theoretical model that has its origins in cultural anthropology). I had applied in my Bmus (Honours) investigations - the emic and etic approach which have been basic to ethnomusicology inquiry for some time. I established good working relationships with my informants and other individuals in the divination profession. By being honest in sharing my intent with prospective informants, and respectful of their work as diviners and their standing in their communities, I gained access to various séances. I also met many diviners and their initiates who were very willing to talk about their experiences, and about their songs that are an integral part of their work. Diviners are song authorities who not only compose and practice the traditional songs but also talk about them when approached with trust and confidence. Their vast traditional musical knowledge is not readily available to cultural outsiders, and to experience and understand the total enactment of séance rituals I became a participant observer. To gather information at these ritual ceremonies I used a mini disc recorder, and sometimes my field assistant supplemented my recordings with the use of a video camera. As a participant observer, I would have the opportunity to sing and clap and sometimes dance with the initiates. During these periods, my field assistant would do the recording.

As an observer, I made a practice of arriving early for a séance, so that I could conduct interviews (recorded with audio tape, and in my field diaries) with diviners who were present before the ceremony began. For the more extended (case study) interviews, appointments would be scheduled in advance and would be audio recorded. The accounts of my informants were obtained through personal and intensive local observation.

These accounts provide a very accurate description of the uses and functions of older traditional song styles, and syncretic styles demonstrating the interaction between the older cultural music, and the music of the mission, Baptist-Pentecostal, -and Zionist-type churches) and ritual activity in séance context. Since '...any music acquires its meaning from culture,' and since different cultures interpret music differently, I have presented my findings in a direct English translation from the original Xhosa transcripts of the recorded interviews. I chose to do this because I believe that music should be understood in its own terms i.e. as the people who make the music understand it. The same applies for the related non-musical data for which I have respectfully retained my informants' meanings and evaluations as well as the atmosphere and the personal relationships that some of their accounts convey. Additional information was obtained from published literature, the mass media (Radio, Television and Press) on the subject of Xhosa cultural patterns, music and various other sources that are cited in the Bibliography.

Field Recordings:

I made field recordings using a mini-disc recorder for improved sound quality. When the recordings were complete I contacted Robert Johnson, the SA College of Music sound engineer, to assist me with the transference on to a DAT (digital audio tape). First, the location and duration of the selected material was noted during playback sessions, then, selections were transferred digitally from mini-disc to DAT in the required order. Editing notes were made from each track and were sent over with the DAT to Chris Lewis (in England). Because of the high level of concentration needed, this work was spread over a period of several weeks, in 2hr sessions. Chris compiled a CD using Pro Tools software on a Macintosh computer to make an edited master, which he sent back to me. According to him the entire work took about 8 hours in total. There are two CD's submitted with the dissertation. CD 1 entitled '*Iintlombe Zamagqirha*' is compiled of 36 tracks from divination songs and supplications to ancestors. The total time of the recording is 67 minutes. CD 2 '*Iingoma ZamaZiyoni*' is compiled of 28 tracks from the Zionist-type church songs and short sermons. The total time of the recording is 59 minutes. Chris Lewis accompanied me to several séances to Khayelitsha and Gugulethu where he filmed 6 hours of footage. This was edited in England in 2002 using Apple iMovie software to produce the final 30 minutes of video and DVD-R.

Presentation of research material:

The dissertation has an Abstract, which appears before the Preface and introduces the dissertation and its aims. This is followed by the sequence of eight chapters and their contents, followed by photo plates and the notes. The Bibliography appears before a glossary and index.

Chapter One:

Is an introduction which provides some information on the historical and socio-cultural background of the music of Xhosa-speaking diviners, and contains references to the expansion of the repertoire mainly through interaction with other musical styles in the Southern African region, notably those associated with the mission-churches and education, with labour-migration experiences, and those of urbanizing African peoples, migration and other determining factors. It also includes certain viewpoints by other ethnomusicology scholars.

Chapter Two:

Is concerned with cultural customs that are observed by Xhosa-speaking people, specifically those entering the divination practice. Included are: animal sacrifices and how they are conducted; misunderstandings and misconceptions of traditional belief systems by European missionaries and scholars; the debate between Christian and African Traditional Religion adherents; procedures of *ukukhapha* ('the accompanying of the deceased's soul to the spirit world') and *ukubuyisa* ('the bringing back of the deceased to be the home ancestor'); misfortunes sent by ancestors to their descendants for neglecting necessary rituals, and the appeasement of the ancestors through ritual enactment.

Chapter Three:

This chapter focuses on Xhosa-speaking diviners i.e.

- Their classification
- Historical overview of divination practice and major implications
- The importance of divination regalia.

Chapter Four:

Is concerned with categories of illnesses which are ascribed to ancestor activity (involving divination calling and practice) and witchcraft.

Chapter Five:

Provides information on how diviners acquire their songs; the uses and functions of *iingoma zamathongo* ('ancestral dreamt songs') and social songs at séances; the role that is played by ancestors in music making. This chapter provides information on the structural organisation of Xhosa divination songs; the importance of séance songs to trainer diviners; and the use of church songs (of the Zionist-type, Baptist, Pentecostal and Mission churches) in séances. Divination songs are cyclic in form, with (commonly) an internal antiphonal structure of Call and Response alternations. I have not included any musical transcriptions. Only the song texts appear, and I have arranged them thematically. The Call (leader's) part is represented with the letter 'L' and the followers' part with the letter 'F'.

Chapter Six:

Deals with the Xhosa classification of séances. The number given here should not be taken to be the standard number in Xhosa culture (there could well be more than the number I have given). The number of séances I have given are what I encountered and learned about in my research; and the songs are discussed with references to contexts and their meanings in relation to ritual action.

Chapter Seven:

Presents eight case studies of people who were 'called' to the profession of diviner. One of them is a member of a Zionist-type church who experienced a 'calling' but did not follow through with the obligatory training and graduation. This particular experience provides additional information on this topic of recruitment to the profession, and resistance to a 'calling'. The information provided by informants concerns their individual experiences of the 'calling' and the importance of their *amathongo* songs in such a situation.

The text is dialogic in places, i.e. conversational, and it appears in a bilingual format, with the Xhosa conversations appearing in the Appendices (under separate cover) to the dissertation and the literal translation in English in the main script, with the relevant page numbers for easy reference.

Chapter Eight:

This last chapter is concerned with the findings.

.....

I began my research work in April 1998 by collecting information from numerous informants in various social situations. Since I had difficulty in finding diviners willing to be interviewed, I decided to register for courses in the Interpretation of African Symbols (*Ntethology*) which were run by the local (Woodstock) Mashigo Institute and most were more related to the practice of diviners. This was where some of the diviners had registered to do African Mathematics and analyze and share more knowledge on medicinal plants. Attendance at this institute was an opportunity for me to have extended conversations with diviners, herbalists and other cultural activists with whom I studied. Because of the interest in indigenous 'sciences', I was invited by Dr. Wally Serote (Chair person of Indigenous Knowledge Systems at Parliament) to present a paper on my research (Music of Xhosa diviners) which was very well received. After the presentation, it was suggested by the committee that I become a Resource person in their Institutes' programmes. The paper I presented was reviewed in 'Network', a quarterly publication of the Khululekani Institute for Democracy in Cape Town.

At this stage, it was difficult for me to attend *iintlombe* ('séances') without having been introduced to any diviner who would be the convener. It was only in April 1998 that I made a decision to contact Mhinki (a diviner), to interview her on her involvement in the training of diviners (cf. ch. Seven case study one). In the course of the interview, I asked her to allow me to accompany her when she attended divination ceremonies, so that I could record their songs. We attended a diviners' ceremony which was *intlombe yokothula umthwalo* ('a séance of 'off-loading' the baggage') in New Cross Roads, in the Western Cape Province.

This was hosted by a diviner called MaDlamini being performed for Nontobeko, a trainer diviner. The séance had a big audience that incorporated novices who were obviously intoxicated. The singing was not too good and interspersed with speeches; the highlights of these have been transcribed in chapter six (p.167, 169). At this séance I used a stereo Walkman to record the songs and the results were not good, the sound that was produced was full of static noise.

I spoke to Dizu Plaatjies, leader of the internationally acclaimed African music group, Amampondo, who is also a lecturer in African Performance at the University of Cape Town's College of Music, and told him of my poor recording tools. At the same time I gently reminded him of a promise he had made long before I embarked on field work, that he would allow me the use of his Digital Audio Tape (Dat) and video camera to record the musical performances of diviners. He remembered the promise and affirmed that he was still interested in assisting me and told me to come to his home on the following Saturday, and from there we would go to the second *intlombe*. In the process I also contacted Fanie Jason, a friend and Media Photographer, and asked him to drive me to Dizu's home, and then on to *intlombe*. We confirmed the time of arrival at Dizu's home for the appointed Saturday ritual event. However, on arriving at the house, we were told by a relative, Latozi Mpahleni (an internationally acclaimed traditional musician and storyteller popularly known as Madosini) that Dizu had left shortly before our arrival, and had not divulged his destination to her.

After an hours wait, we left the house and went on to *intlombe*, but of course I was unable to make any recordings having no equipment. It was a huge disappointment, and it left me somewhat disillusioned, and very worried, since I was faced with a problem many novice researchers in my position face -no adequate recording equipment, and no financial means with which to purchase it. I never found out why my arrangement with Dizu failed, but I realized that I would have to rely on my own resources if I wanted to make some headway in my work. The question was how? However, life is full of surprises, and not all of them are negative in impact. With the help of Craig Inglis (a friend from England on a visit to South Africa), who was very interested in the kind of work I was doing, my circumstances improved. Craig informed his host Robert Trunz (Director at the MELT 2000, London based Music Recording Company) about my dilemma, and asked him to assist me with the proper field recording equipment.

Mr Trunz generously lent me his Sony Portable Mini Disc digital recorder, and promised to ask his sound engineer (Chris Lewis) to help me as well during the period he was going to be in South Africa. Chris was expected to arrive in South Africa from London in the second week of March 1999. As it turned out Mr. Trunz was true to his word, and I am deeply grateful for his sympathetic views and his generosity, without which my research work would not have been possible

Having reliable recording equipment on 10/03/99 I approached one novice Nosipho by name (who worked in Rondebosch close to where I lived) and made an appointment to interview her on diviners' *iintlombe*. Since the interview was done during her lunchtime I had to base my questions on *intlombe yemvuma kufa yakulomama* ('a séance of the maternal death acceptance' cf. p157) because this does not occur very often. As we rounded off our interview, I asked Nosipho if she knew of any diviners who would be having *iintlombe* in the next weeks to come. She informed me that her trainer diviner MamNcotshe was going to convene *intlombe yokuhlamba iintsimbi* ('a séance of bead washing') in Gugulethu. The séance was held on the 21st and 22nd of March. I attended this séance with Chris who video recorded the ritual event. It was highly characterized by the singing of church hymns and songs, including one Zionist-type church song. After the main ritual ceremony diviners entertained themselves by singing social songs which were interspersed with mock divining (which was done for Chris in English). This also gives a clear demonstration on how the *vumisa* (which is in a call and response) is conducted. For this *vumisa*, (cf.p.42-43) the other example that is based on my experience. On the 23rd of March I had an interview with MamNcotshe based on the séance she convened (see ch. six p.186) and I requested her to inform me on other kinds of séances. This interview was also based on how she entered the profession of diviner, the experiences of her calling and the significance of her dreamt songs (see case study four p.217).

In April 1999, I made a plan to go to Cradock to attend *intlombe yemvuma kufa yakulotata* ('a séance of paternal 'death acceptance'') of my aunt. It was held at her home in Mongo Street and was convened by two novices. The experiences at this séance were the invasion of evil agents and the fact that it was hosted by trainer diviners brought its level down. It went on for two days beginning on Friday until Sunday. As I went to Cradock I decided to include a side trip to Lady Frere village. My intention was to meet and speak with a group of Xhosa women who are internationally acclaimed musicians.

They worked closely with Professor Dave Dargie (Head of the music Department at Fort Hare University) and Pops Mohammed (an internationally known musician who specializes in African string instruments). I wanted them (Lady Frere women) to introduce me to the diviners in their area, Ngqoko village.

On Monday afternoon following my aunt's *intlombe*, I made my way to Queenstown, initially by hitching a ride to that town. Since I did not have any contact information for the Ngqoko women I just took my chances and paid them an impromptu visit. At the local hitchhiking spot in Cradock, I met a man who introduced himself to me as a herbalist from Uganda, who was also hitching a ride to Queenstown. While we were talking, a truck heavily loaded with steel pulled over to the side of the road. I approached the truck driver and requested him to give us both a lift to Queenstown and he agreed to do so. He introduced himself, and then became silent, as if expecting us to do the same and introduced ourselves. Since it was after sundown, and I was alone with two men, I introduced myself as someone who worked very closely with diviners. I did this to protect myself, and it worked, because the driver assumed that I was in fact a diviner.

My mere mention of my affiliation, and his prompt response indicated this, because he asked my help with a problem he had. He said that a snake was lodged in his throat and that its forked tongue was sucking at his soft palate. This prevented him from swallowing any food, and so made him starve. He added that he had suffered in this way for approximately two years. During this period he consulted a medical practitioner, who told him that he had possibly swallowed a fish bone but an x-ray did not detect the presence of such an object. Then he consulted a traditional healer who told him that he was given an accursed apple by the wife of a co-worker. This was done out of jealousy over his recent job promotion. To treat this, the traditional healer gave him some medicines, but they had no effect. Therefore, he asked if I could help him, and said that he was prepared to pay any amount of consultation fee because he wanted the snake to be removed from his throat. As he spoke, I noticed that he massaged his throat, as if to force the snake to move downward, away from its fixed position. I asked the Ugandan healer for some advice. He said that once we had arrived in Queenstown he would give the truck driver some medicinal plants that he would use as soon as he got back home.

The latter urged that the snake should be removed that very evening because he had a long journey ahead of him (from Queenstown, to Sterkspruit, then East London and Cape Town, and then all the way to Pietermaritzburg in KwaZulu Natal, where he lived) and he was undernourished from the enforced starvation.

When we arrived in Queenstown I asked the truck driver to drop me off at the house of a friend, who is a diviner, and to follow me into her home. She was not in, as her house manager informed us, and asked us to wait for her return. I asked the truck driver to do so while I took my travel bag to the house of another friend, (Nombuyiselo by name) who was to accompany me to Lady Frere on the following day. While en route to Nombuyiselo's house I met the diviner, and told her that someone awaited her in her house, and she went on her way to see him. After an hour, Nombuyiselo and I returned to the healer's house. As soon as I made my appearance in her consulting room, the truck driver came forward and thanked me profusely. He was about to undergo treatment and since this was to be a protracted procedure, the healer advised us to be on our way. I left the truck driver with contact phone numbers, to let me know in due course about his situation; I knew I would not meet up with him again. When I spoke with the diviner's house manager the following morning she informed me that the truck driver was well, and had eaten breakfast before his departure. After three weeks he contacted me to say that the snake was gone and he was feeling healthy. He is still in touch with the diviner and continues to stay in touch with me.

At 10h00 Nombuyiselo and I continued the journey to Lady Frere. On arriving there we got a ride to the village of Ngqoko and to the home of Nofinishi, who is the leader of the Ngqoko musicians. We chatted a while, and then she sent for the other members of the music group, to meet me. They gave an impromptu performance of certain popular songs '*Latshon'ilanga*' for girls' initiation celebrations. One of these, had been broadcast on Radio Xhosa (now *Umhlobo Wenene* i.e. the True Companion) and also recorded by David Dargie as material for his Doctoral dissertation, from which a book entitled 'Xhosa music and technique' was assembled, and published (1988). We spent much of the time talking about the songs, and the Ngqoko women explained their reputed origins, and their (implicit) meanings. I gave them the reason for my trip to their village, and they were very interested to hear about my research.

I also felt very guilty because I had nothing to give them. However, they understood my situation and were sympathetic towards me, and my precarious financial state. The situation at Ngqoko haunted me for some time after my visit, and I felt I had to do something about it. I contacted my friend Mrs Libera Trunz (the wife to Mr Robert Trunz) in London, and requested financial aid from her. Mr and Mrs Trunz asked their manager in South Africa -Patrick Horgan- to sign a cheque for them (Ngqoko women). Three months later after my visit I was able to return to Lady Frere to present the Ngqoko ladies with an amount of money, and explain that it was a gift from Mr and Mrs Trunz. It would at least temporarily alleviate the plight of these remarkable Xhosa musicians for a period of time. Even though they are internationally acclaimed musicians, their musicianship does not bring in a regular income; indeed. I believe they are among the many traditionalist musicians whose output is being exploited, a practice all too prevalent in this country.

When I arrived in Cape Town, back from my (Ngqoko) first field trip I received a message that a diviner MaDlamini by name was going to have a séance of recovery (*'intlombe yokuphila'*) which was on the 30th of April 1999. The séance was enacted for MaDlamini's trainer diviner, Alfred (see ch.six p.178-184) and it was held in Khayelitsha. Once more Chris availed himself for two evenings and video recorded this séance. On the first evening it was attended only by MaDlamini's novices and the family of Alfred. At this *intlombe* I fully participated, by this I mean that I gave a ritual speech and participated in ritual dancing with the novices (this was a subtle instruction from the host diviner). This is not usually done by non-diviners as I believe I am one of them. For this see the video and cf. transcribed speech (on p.182). The following evening the séance had a great audience and the singing was at very high spiritual level. This was the biggest séance that I ever attended. This made the video recording difficult because Chris was confined to one corner and was only free to move when we were to leave.

MaDlamini contacted me during the month of May to inform me about another séance of her novice, Thobeka, which she was going to conduct at New Cross Roads on the 6th of June. It was *intlombe yokothula umthwalo* ('a séance of off-loading the baggage'= cf. p.167-168). This séance was characterised by excessive drinking of beer on the part of the novices.

This made the séance become disorderly, but later it was successfully controlled by the host diviner since she is a serious and thoughtful person. The power of the singing was such that at a certain stage it drew sobs from a novice, but this is what *ihlombe* (joyful excitement) sometimes does to 'white people' (i.e. diviners and their novices).

During this period in June 1999 a puzzling event occurred that I did not foresee. It is part of an experience that subsequently changed many lives, and profoundly affected my own life and my work, which came to a standstill for many weeks. My immersion in this event came after I recalled Baw' uGxarha's (my first informant when I was doing an Honours programme) words when he asked me if I was doing this sort of research for fun or if I was serious about it. To understand the main theme of this story, one needs to understand the Xhosa concept of *ukuthwetyulwa* (from the verb meaning to tear off bark, or bits of meat) (J. McLaren 1996: 171). As a religious concept it denotes metaphysical or spiritual 'abduction'. This could be the work of the ancestors. For example, when one is submerged in a river, and is therefore 'called' by the river people for various reasons, this is a spiritual abduction. The process may incur a period of a day, or longer, it all depends on the ancestors and when they wish to release the 'abducted' person. When this happens people are not supposed to shed tears because the 'abducted' person might not re-emerge and if he/she does, portions of flesh will have been torn (removed) from the body by the ancestors. When a person undergoes a spiritual submersion, all the cattle of the homestead will be driven to the river, and allowed to move along the riverbank, and around the deep pool where the person was submerged. A beast from the herd will move into the deep pool and the person will then re-emerge. *Ukuthwetyulwa* can also be the work of witches, as when they illegally remove a person from his family, employing their evil magic and making him/her a zombie in another place where the family cannot locate him/ her. This kind of evil abduction has been attempted several times on my uncle, Monde. This has been a great concern for my family as we are very close.

It was a mid-week morning in June 1999 and I was jogging through Rondebosch Park when I saw two men sitting on separate benches. One was reading the newspaper, and he possessed a resemblance to my uncle Monde. The closer I got the more convinced I was that it was him. Within a matter of seconds many thoughts began to flash through my mind. Is it true what my eyes are seeing? Is this really uncle Monde sitting on this bench? How did he get here? Had witches successfully abducted him?

At that moment in time and space everything seemed surreal. I started to panic and cry but as I moved close up to him, it was then that I realised that he was not my uncle. The other gentleman, noticing my emotional state, asked what was the matter. I told him that I thought the gentleman reading the paper was my uncle. The man who resembled my uncle responded: “No man I’m not her uncle”, and his Western Cape Coloured accent confirmed this.

After the response from this man, I did not have the energy to jog anymore. As I was approaching the Liesbeeck river bridge, I wondered why this had happened to me? Were my ancestors trying to show me something? Just as I reached the middle of the bridge I heard a voice coming from below it, it seemed to be coming from a very deep and primal place. As I turned to look, I saw a man standing in the Liesbeeck river, wearing a charcoal grey, tattered and torn sleeveless jacket held together in front with wire clamps. I said: What now! What does this all mean? I stood there for a while watching him making strange gestures with his hands. After watching him for some time I proceeded to my residence. The condition of this man haunted me so much that I was unable to sleep. The next morning I got up to go and look for him at the same spot and I took a decision that he would be my responsibility. I found him standing behind the Riverside Shopping Centre in Rondebosch. I gave him the food parcel and introduced myself to him and told him that I was from Cradock. I asked him to tell me who he was, and his clan name. He said that his name was Mbuyiselo Hlazo of the Qwathi clan from Herschel (in the Eastern Cape Province), from Upington (Northern Cape), and from Worcester. I returned to my residence wanting to know more about this lost soul.

His naming of all these places had left me feeling confused, even bewildered. At the time I had no idea that, in the weeks to come I would be able to obtain enough information from him to reunite him with his family. I established a friendly relationship with him, and during the eight weeks of our encounter I was able to find his family and assist in his return to them. During that period I found it very difficult to concentrate on my dissertation. This man’s situation haunted me day and night. I worried about his health and safety. Sometimes I would find him perched close by behind a hedge, outside a European’s house. On one occasion I called him to come out from the solace he sought from the hedge and gave him the food parcel I had brought him. I visited him at least once or twice a day and I solicited help from my friend Bukelwa Voko-Nobathana to do this when I needed to be away.

I asked a certain healer to help in restoring his health, but he told me that healing such a person would cost R800.00. I found this response unacceptable. I could not understand why there had to be such a huge payment, and why the healer could not render his services gratis.

For the next seven weeks, it became extremely difficult to concentrate fully on my work; I thought and worried about Mbuyiselo (Mbuyi) day and night. I obtained the help of a friend Tshamano Sebe, a local actor and Venda-speaking novice diviner, to assist me in caring for him. We would take him clothing and warm food, and spend time talking to him, trying to get more information as to how he ended up living under a bridge in Rondebosch. This was no easy task because Mbuyi was withdrawn and sometimes he would speak no more than one or two words at a time. He would often appear catatonic and stare into space for long periods. During these episodes he would focus on the sky, or on an inanimate object, or his hands, and become frozen in a trance for sometime hours on end. He would be engaged in an activity such as washing his clothes, or eating, and enter this state of stillness mid-action. If someone were with him they could talk him out of it by simply suggesting, swallow Mbuyi and he would swallow and say *ja!* (yes!) sure, sure Manivo! (Manivo is the name he gave me and when I enquired from him about the meaning his response was: "*ja! ja! ja! Manivo*". He did not bother himself with the question. I decided later on to use it as my soul name and gave it a meaning employing a numeric system I learnt about at the Mashigo Institute. The answer I came up with was 'life' and as a person who shows a kind and generous disposition towards people, I therefore had a responsibility of bringing Mbuyi to his normal life).

If he were alone he would remain in this condition until he was distracted by outside factors. Here was a human being who had become disconnected from humanity and forced to learn to cope on the periphery of society. Mbuyi had no friends, no one to talk to, except the ones who would throw spare change at him, or the ones who looked at him with disgust, and shouted at him to move on, or to get out of their way. One evening he was hit by middle aged European for being a down-and-out and weird. He further torn Mbuyi's grey sleeveless jacket that he used as blanket at night. I imagine that this kind of treatment on a daily basis would make someone draw further into himself and shut out the world, for self-protection. We continued to visit him and began to gain his trust. We discovered after some weeks of prodding and coaxing that he had been estranged from his family for twenty years. He had left home in 1979 at the age of fifteen to pick apples on a farm in Worcester, without the knowledge of his family.

When things did not work out on the farm he made his way towards Cape Town. There were many experiences during this man's journey that contributed to his becoming the shattered soul I found living under a bridge. Living in the violent reality of the urban areas of Apartheid South Africa, on the streets with no shelter from the elements, under bridges, train stations, woods, and the cruel treatment rendered during two prison terms for vagrancy and not having a passbook, it is a wonder that he managed to survive. He began to share more of his personal journey with us and finally told us where he was actually from. I knew he was from the Eastern Cape but he had been very vague about exactly where, when asked some weeks before. I guessed I had finally gained his trust when he told us that he was from Fish River (a hamlet) near Cradock! The very town that I was from! I could not believe my ears. I called my mother and father and shared this information. My mother told me she thought that she knew the family. Towards the end of July I decided to make a trip to his family in Cradock on my own and pay them a visit.

I enquired among the people I knew after the Hlazo family, and was to direct them. Later: It turned out to be a Hlazo family, but of different clan name to that of Mbuyi's (which is Qwathi). The sister thought that Mbuyi might be a brother to a Lady teacher Nomathemba that she grew up with. She informed me that only the week before, Nomathemba had come to her home to talk about her brother, who had left his family twenty years ago. The sister told me that Nomathemba's concern was whether or not her brother was alive. Her father had died the previous year, speaking about his lost son. She helped me to locate the family by giving me the address of Mbuyi's sister. I went to Nomathemba and shared my information with her and let her listen to a recording of a taped interview I had with Mbuyi where he talked about his family and growing up in Fish River (near Cradock), and about his father who worked on the railway. As Mbuyiselo's sister listened, she began to cry hysterically and thanked me profusely for bringing this news. She said her family had contacted the police to inquire of his whereabouts, but there was no information and so they had given him up for dead. She said she wanted him to come home, and so her husband and I made arrangements for him to come to Cape Town to fetch him.

On the day his brother-in-law was to arrive, Tshamano and I outfitted Mbuyi with clean clothes (that I was given by his sister) and took him to my residence for a bath and he was in the bathroom for sometime. I imagine he was trying to wash away twenty years of loneliness, hardship, and trauma or perhaps he was indulging in the healing affects of water, trying to nurture his soul.

After this, we accompanied him and his brother in-law to the bus station. This was an emotionally happy day for all of us, and I felt that the ancestors were pleased as well. Mbuyi had never undergone initiation, so on returning home, he went into the 'bush' (circumcision). I still keep in touch with him and his family who are lovingly caring for him. Though he will probably never recover 100% from twenty years of trauma, his spirit is calm and he seems to be finally at peace with his life. Mbuyiselo is a Xhosa word that means, 'to make restitution'. The word is derived from the verb *ukubuyisela* -to restore.

In July 1999 while I was taking care of Mbuyi my friend Bukelwa Voko-Nobathana requested me to accompany her to Ashton, which was a blessing for me because there I met a brother who informed me that he belonged to a Zionist-type church. I invited him into the car where the interview took place (see case study two p.201). The other interview I had was on 10/09/1999 with Monica who was a newly graduated diviner then. The interview was about on her 'calling' to the training of diviners. It also included questions that were based on an eTV documentary where she and her former trainer MaDlamini were involved in helping a European who had a problem of *umamlambo* ('a mystical snake') that belonged to his father. Two months after I had attended various séances, MamNcotshe relayed a message to me about a séance she was going to enact for an initiate, and it was to be *intlombe yemvuma kufa yakulotata*. This séance was held in Gugulethu on 09/10/99 (cf. p.139-149). A notable aspect of this séance was the dance conflict caused by a *sangoma* (trained in Swaziland), who was the séance hosts' neighbour, and who attended uninvited. Her style of dancing, which features elements of kicking and stamping that resembles *indlamu* dancing, is different from the ritual dance style of Xhosa diviners, demanding extra space for the spirited movements. The *sangoma* was joined by four other diviners, and their energetic, almost frenzied actions threatened the dancing spaces of Xhosa diviners, and cramped their style. However, on the whole, the séance was an orderly affair.

The other séance of MamNcotshe I attended was on 03/11/99 being *intlombe yokuphila* ('a séance of recovery'= p.184-185). The ceremony was held at Upper Zangqokwe village in Whittle-sea. MamNcotshe strongly advised me to attend it so as to compare the village séances with the ones that are performed in towns and cities. I took this trip with Simon Lewis (London based professional photographer who came to South Africa to photograph the musical group Amampondo for their CD Vuyani) who also became my field assistant.

Prior to the trip, Simon and I approached MamNcotshe for approval since I knew her to be a strict person and somebody who reveres her ancestors and is also respectful towards the practice of diviners. She did not have a problem with our request. We left for the village on Thursday with the hope that we would arrive in time for other major ritual happenings, one of which was to be done on a Friday (the ritual slaughtering of a beast). However, we were in time for the graduation ceremony that began after midday Saturday. I noticed at the village that MamNcotshe favoured Simon, because she permitted him to enter the cattle byre and take photographs of the ceremonial proceedings therein. Personally, I was not pleased with this sort of arrangement since I regard the cattle byre as one of the most important sacred places. However, there was nothing I could do about it, and probably MamNcotshe knew there would be no negative repercussions.

After this séance we stayed in Queenstown and we proceeded with our journey to Madosini's village Umkhankatho in Libode. I introduced Madosini to Simon, and she welcomed him warmly, having already become acquainted with his brother, Chris Lewis. Our arrival at her home after sunset threw Madosini into a panic, because she was at a loss as to what to give for refreshment. When I told her we would eat whatever was available, she remained perturbed, and asked me if we would be on our way that evening. Seeing her obvious anxiety, I quietly told Simon about it, who replied that we would be sleeping in her hut. Madosini was not pleased to hear this, and advised us to go to the Umtata Holiday Inn. When Simon insisted that we sleep in her hut, she eventually succumbed to his gentle insistence. We then joined Madosini, Baw' uKhathula (her male friend), a niece, a female relative and various grandchildren in the hut that night, and ate a light supper with them. Afterwards, Madosini asked me to tell Simon that she was going to perform with *uhadi* (unbraced gourd resonated struck musical bow) and play it 'until the string breaks'.

She played for us all in the total darkness of the hut (a traditional context for this kind of music, which was used for self-accompanied 'solo' song, and through which women often expressed their deepest feelings about their personal lives, about their husbands who were usually absent as migrant workers in industrial areas, and other situations). Apparently, *uhadi* was not played in the daytime, one reason being its likelihood of encouraging husbands to leave their families (see plate 12 p.302 of Madosini playing *uhadi*). Madosini played for quite some time, until the music put us into sleep.

At about 4h00 I was awoken by a conversation that Madosini and her female relative were engaged in. She stood up to prepare coffee and carried on with their conversation. Some two hours later (6h00) Madosini told me to rouse Simon so that he could photograph her sieving the traditional beer. She made it very clear that people in the villages are early risers, and that if Simon was to sleep until 9h00, there would be nothing left to photograph. As he bestirred himself, the village people began to assemble for beer, and commenced to sing for quite some time. Later that morning, when we took our departure and said our farewells, the people seemed sad to see us go, as we were to leave. When Simon and I drove to Libode, Dizu Plaatjies requested us to take Madosini with us back to Cape Town. We agreed willingly, and she became our passenger and co-traveller.

As we drove out of the village we passed the Higher Primary School, where we stopped to allow Madosini to address the learners, and share with them her musical knowledge, and her experiences on her overseas music tours. I did this so that she could stimulate a love and interest in traditional Xhosa music and instruments, and become a cultural resource for her village, and indeed, for the entire Eastern Cape Province. As she played and talked she encouraged them to be serious about their studies and to become future 'professionals' who will bring about many beneficial changes in the village. On our way to Queenstown I informed Madosini that we were going to drive to Lady Frere because she had expressed a wish to meet the Ngqoko women. In the afternoon of that same day these remarkable Xhosa musicians finally met. They sang for Madosini a song (*Latshon' ilanga*) that she recognised from hearing on Radio, and which was used as a theme song for a Xhosa story, but she did not realise that they were the ones in the recording! When I told her that they were the singers (as Nofinishi's daughter informed me), she became very excited. A good laugh was had by all. When it was Madosini's turn to play, she played a song with *umrhubhe* (unbraced, mouth-resonated, friction-sounded bow), and the Ngqoko Women recognised it as a theme song for a former Radio Xhosa play 'Aa! Nkosazana Nosizwe' (which according to Madosini, had been used by the Radio station without her knowledge). In the Radio play, the song was played by a 'young girl' who in reality was Madosini, and all the women had a good laugh about this. (Cf. plate 11 p. 301 Madosini and Nogcinile playing *umrhubhe*). From the information obtained from Madosini on *umrhubhe* musical bow, and recorded by me for M.E.L.T 2000 in 1999, she states:

"...it was regarded as the most important instrument among girls at that time. We used to play *umrhubhe* when we went to fight on Fridays by the gullies and streams –little fights, fighting over the boys or young men.

Friday was the day set by other older girls for fighting. The occasion was called *isihlanu* (number 5 –here meaning the fifth day of the week)...The girl who played *umrhubhe* would lead other girls, moving in a line walking a distance of about 5 kms. They would move to the rhythm of *umrhubhe* (song). The movement was called *ukujeka* ('to stamp and move forwards and backwards to the rhythm'). The playing used to shorten the long distance (to the fighting place), and it gave strength to the fighter."

Madosini and the Lady Frere women continued to share their music and she taught them some of her songs, and they in turn improvised with *ukungqokola* ('gruff singing'). Later their leader, Mpayipheli by name, came to see what was going on at Nogcinile's house (one of the singers). He was at first uncomfortable at finding strangers there but on meeting Madosini, he relaxed and enjoyed the proceedings. After spending time conversing, and Simon taking photographs, we went to sleep at Nombuyiselo's house, and the following day we left for Cape Town. In December Madosini and the Lady Frere women met again at the Parliament of Worlds Religion (International Interfaith Conference held in Cape Town in December 1999) where they gave an impromptu performance at St. Marks Church in District Six. To be given the honour of bringing these extraordinary women together was for me, a gift from my ancestors. This whole research undertaking was so much more than a process of acquiring and documenting data for a postgraduate degree. It was a most auspicious journey that availed me of many opportunities to meet people with many gifts, talents and skills. What is more, I had the privilege, and the pleasure, of connecting people to each other in ways that were lasting, that established deep bonds of friendship and people like the women of Ngqoko Village, Lady Frere and Madosini.

When Simon and I again came back from the Eastern Cape we attended another séance of MamNcotshe where she was initiating a middle aged man into divination training. This was the smallest séance I ever attended but the spirit of *ihlombe* was high, to an extent that a novice became 'sick' in the process; this state of *ihlombe* is evident in a photograph of MamNcotshe who is evidently in a trance-like state. After this séance some invited diviners made announcements about their ritual ceremonies they would be hosting. A séance that I chose to go to was of a diviner called Deliwe (and was on 21/11/99) since she was going to initiate a coloured woman (see p.149(b)-156). This séance went well though it was not 'hot' compared to others.

It brought the spirit of diviners to a low level because of the issue of language translations (from Xhosa to Afrikaans). Most of the diviners attending, and also audience members, were particularly keen to observe how Deliwe was going to handle the ritual proceedings in the Afrikaans language.

In the year 2000 while I was in the process of organising the data I had accumulated, a diviner, Miranda by name who graduated under MamNcotshe's tutelage (who later in July 2000 gave me time to interview her on her 'calling' experience cf. case study seven p.242) invited me to attend a séance she was going to host. This was going to be her first time to convene a séance since she graduated as a fully-fledged diviner. She thought therefore that was a great achievement. She enacted this séance for her relative because the latter left her former trainer for reasons known to her. It was called *intlombe yokuqhela* ('a séance of getting accustomed' = p.159-166). The spirit of *ihlombe* at this séance was at a very high level to an extent that a row cropped up, novices argued about the power of singing that was not equally exercised among them as they supplicated to their ancestors. I have recorded the argument and included it as one of the tracks on the CD1 (that is accompanying the dissertation) to show how importantly and seriously the music and supplication are taken in 'world' of 'white people'. The written transcription of this argument is also included in p.162. (see also p.99 other examples related to the song argument).

In 2001 February I had my last interview with Lunga Sali which I believe is of great importance and might bring about some sort of transformation especially in racially mixed learning institutions (cf. ch. seven study case eight p.253). In June that same year I visited a Zionist-type church to observe and record their music. The aim was also to look at the similarities between their songs and *iintlombe* songs, since the Zionist songs are used in séances and there are diviners who belong to the Zionist-type churches. The Zionist type-church I went to was the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion under Rev. Manyaka and, one of his church members was a diviner. The service was of *umjikelo* (see end note 13 of ch. five p.309). Though this service was hosted by Rev. Manyaka, he made arrangements earlier in the week with the Bishop of Bethani Zionist church in order to hold the service at his (the Bishop's) church, since a large number of people was expected to attend. Most Zionist-type churches have no formal church structures, classroom schools, houses and shacks are used as sanctuaries. This *umjikelo* was held in a shack, which was erected behind the main house of the Bishop.

As the service was about to begin people started taking off their shoes (placing them in the corner near the door entrance) and putting on their church robes. Meanwhile the seats were moved to the sides of the room and also up in front where the Bishops, the Priests and the church secretaries (*oonobhala*) were going to sit. In front of their bench there was a long table covered with a white cloth on which seven candles were placed (cf. end note no.5 of ch.six p.310). A church member who was carrying a drum put it on the ground and leaned it against the strut (for the drummer) that was erected in the centre of the holy place. Some choir members who were going to participate in dancing stood in a circle around the drummer.

At the beginning of the service I noticed the secretary locking the door and putting the key in his pocket, and that made me feel uncomfortable. The Zionist-type church (this one in particular) doors of the sanctuary are always kept locked during the entire service. This is done so that demons may not enter the Holy place. This is unclear and difficult to understand because during the healing service demons are exorcized and, if the doors are locked and the windows are closed, they will linger around until they enter another victim. The closed windows, the locked door, the seven lit candles, the smell from the shoes, the odour from the perspiration of the dancers, the loud extempore preaching and singing, made me felt dizzy. I wanted to go out for some fresh air but since the door was locked for demons I had no alternative but to suffocate. The entire service was interesting and highly dramatic and because of this I decided to record the entire proceedings, so that it (*umjikelo*) could not loose its essence. Some of the tracks are preceded by extempore sermons, which were interspersed with songs, exclamations and shouts of Amen! Halleluya! This is done to enhance the powerful effect of the preacher's sermon (in this case it was to enhance the master of ceremonies' remarks as he confronted the host pastor and his congregation). It is also an indication that the congregation approves and endorses it (the preaching/remarks). However, of all the songs that were sung, I investigated the meanings of three of them, which I had heard sung at séances.

As my fieldwork continued, so did my experiences, and some were pleasant, while others were shocking, even frightening; it was with great difficulty that I distanced myself from these and from being intimidated by them. Collecting, collating, and assembling masses of data was not immune from all kinds of problems, but they were goals to be achieved which would be culmination -and termination of several years of cultural research. However, they could in no way reduce the profound and lasting impact all this research work has had on my own life.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study is a continuation of an earlier, open-ended study of diviners' songs which was submitted for the degree of BMus Honours (1997). In this current study I adhere to the same main objectives, being an assessment of the meaning and value of diviners' songs. Although I renewed acquaintances with a few previous informants, the majority in this study are new, and in gathering and collating my research material, I have incorporated new knowledge about my topic; and while capitalising on the findings of the earlier study I have made use of some new interpretative insights in this work, to produce a much more comprehensive survey of the ritual songs in terms of their contemporary manifestations.

Previous studies of Xhosa diviners' songs have been made by (Hansen 1981 unpublished Ph.D. Thesis; Dargie: 1988). There are also two unpublished Masters dissertations that amount to extensive ethnomusicological surveys by two former postgraduate students of the University of Cape Town (Coppenthal, 1990 and Stinson: 1998). Their main informants were diviners working in and around Cape Town, but who regularly travelled further afield in the pursuit of their duties. While my dissertation is also concerned with current Xhosa ritual divination practice and associated music, my research included diviners resident in the Western and Eastern Cape Provinces, and was carried out entirely in the language of my informants and myself -*isiXhosa*.

The following facts contribute to this work:

Firstly, I researched as a cultural insider but also used the outsider's approach. By an outsider, I do not confine it to racial boundaries or ethnic differences. One can be an outsider within one's own culture. For example, being a cultural insider did not allow me full access into the 'World' of Xhosa-speaking diviners though I have been a participant in their rituals for many years. I remained an outsider in their 'World'. The two perspectives (the insider/outsider dichotomy) I employed in conducting my research made it more successful than it would have been, had I worked purely emically i.e. from an insider perspective.

Secondly, being of Xhosa cultural origin, I grew up with the knowledge and profound respect and reverence for the Xhosa world-view and system of beliefs. I believe that I am justified in claiming that the field of this study should be richer than that of the earlier studies, which were made by cultural outsiders who were researching in a cultural system other than their own, employing interpreters. In other instances when interpreters are used, the questions and answers are often altered in the process of an interview. And in other cases the interviewees assume that they are compelled to answer questions that they do not really have answers for. In this way the interviewer is misinformed. However, also in certain cases, being a cultural insider does not guarantee that the results could be superior to those of other researchers. This happens because some researchers who are cultural insiders sometimes tend to ignore essential facts and attach lesser value to such issues, which could be of greater importance to others and to one's research.

However, studying *emically* is a good thing -it means one studies on the bases of one's language. For example, as I was transcribing the songs of diviners, I requested Kenneth Gibe (a Sotho-speaking Ethnomusicology Honours student) to assist me and so I gave him translations of the recorded songs. Though Kenneth grew up speaking his mother tongue, Xhosa (in Gauteng Province), there were certain terms that he was not familiar with. When we listened to CD1 track no. 4, entitled '*uNonkala ngasemlanjeni*' ('the crab by the riverside') (for the meaning of the song cf. p.100), the diviner who led off the song did not sing the complete phrase; what Kenneth and I clearly heard was *unonkalanga* (*unonkala-nga* = 'the crab by'). As a cultural insider, I immediately knew that the song leader omitted *sem lanjeni* (locative, meaning at the riverside) deliberately to be completed by the followers.

To Kenneth, *unonkala-nga* sounded as though it was one word that could mean something else and this could easily distort what the messenger is trying to convey. He was then curious to know what *unonkala-nga* meant because he thought that it was someone's name. On my asking why he thought of it as being somebody's name, his response was: 'Most names for Xhosa girls begin with a prefix *uNo*.' However, there are boys names that begin with the prefix *-No-*, in Cradock there was a coloured boy who was Nonkala by name, he obtained the name because of his facial looks. The feminine technonymic prefix *uNo* -is to be found in many things.

It is a contraction of *unina ka...* ('Mother of...'), which results from the shortening of *unina ka* into *una*. This in turn becomes *uno* by coalescence of the vowels *a+u = o* e.g. *uNa + umsa = uNomsa* ('mother of kindness'), (Kuse 1973:25).

When Kenneth pronounced the word *nonkalanga*, I imagined a type of bird similar to *ixhalanga* ('vulture'). To Professor Kaschula (in the Department of Southern African Languages) the word also sounded like the name of a bird though he knew there was a word that was supposed to be placed after *nga*. Professor Kaschula is a Xhosa-speaking European¹ (he considers himself to be a cultural insider in Xhosa culture) who was born in the Eastern Cape Province, he grew up speaking Xhosa and playing with young Xhosa boys; also attending Xhosa traditional ceremonies. When he worked in Umtata (Eastern Cape Province), he was once requested by a Xhosa family to act as a surrogate for a young male who was to undergo *ulwaluko* (circumcision) rite. So the notion that individuals belong to specific cultures all their lives is not a reality, because, in the course of life, one inevitably experiences aspects of other cultures, and other languages, and these impact on, and change one's personal cultural identity. Nevertheless, being a cultural insider means more than this; an insider must have performed all the necessary rituals that the ancestors need one to enact. As I have already indicated in (p.1) there are cultural boundaries within one's culture that will result in one not being able to access esoteric information/knowledge. Professor Kaschula as a cultural insider might have undergone *ulwaluko* rite but not *imbeleko* ('birth ritual').²

For some 25 years the emic/etic dichotomy was important in ethnomusicological research; it implied cultural insider/outsider approaches to the study of cultural systems, like music. However, this distinction is no longer viewed as significant or even binding today. Gerhard Kubik put it forcefully in his article, which appeared in the *Journal of Ethnomusicology* (vol.44 no.1; 2000: 12) when he wrote:

"Modern ethnomusicology must be aware that...nobody today, even in isolated communities, belongs to one culture from birth to death.... No one can be a hundred percent insider in any conceivable context, nor a permanent outsider for that matter."

The reason for this, Kubik asserts, lies in the realities of human existence. One might be born into a particular cultural environment, but this does not mean that one adheres to that cultural membership all one's lifetime. He continues:

“The realities of human life are too complex to be reduced to binary models (emic and etic dichotomy for one) and cultural profiles inevitably change.”

This is particularly of our world in the twenty first century, when virtually all-human societies are globally interlinked. Given the individuality of diviners, who are traditional doctors who work within the traditional belief system, and who also operate in ethnically mixed populations and communities, and who bring their own personal views into the traditional world-view (Hammond-Tooke: 1989; Prins: 1996), and who use and manipulate older traditional songs and their symbolic/metaphoric language, this study cannot be regarded as a single comprehensive study of Xhosa ritual music today. The specific topics which I focus on, and which I took up with my informants, were to a great extent selected as a result of circumstances and issues which emerged in field work, but all of them have in terms of substance -the main objective- an assessment of the meaning and value of diviners' songs in specific contexts.

Some of my key informants are practising diviners, while others are in training for the profession (the duration of which varies for certain reasons). A number of informants are country-rooted, while others are urban-situated. Structurally, one could describe the former as being culturally traditionalist i.e. their home is in a rural community. However, one thing all my informants have in common, whether they are urban or rural-situated, they are Western in orientation and way of life to a greater or lesser extent. The Red³ School dichotomy is no longer distinct today, and people live in a much wider society. In the country areas, people have already begun to balance the particularism of 'traditionalism' to which they may adhere in varying degrees with more universal norms of Western-oriented Xhosa. My informants include traditionalists who have become internationally acclaimed 'professional folk musicians', and who have membership in common organisations such as the Zionist-type churches, and also some highly educated professionals. Whether they are rural or urban-located, they are all inextricably involved in economic relations with one another (and many have kinship and lineage links), and so they are all brought within a common socio-ritual field.

The contexts of rituals in this study include also those, which are not presided over by diviners. The inclusion of these kinds of rituals was done for a number of reasons. Anyone who wants to be a diviner must carry no ritual debts, that is to say, he/she must have undergone the necessary rites marking liminal stages in the life cycle e.g. *imbeleko*, and (for males) *ulwaluko*. Since the calling to divination training has no age limit, a young boy may receive an ancestral calling and training. Patrick, who became my main informant, received an ancestral calling when he was ten years of age. In such a case, he informed me, a boy may begin initial training, but once he reaches a suitable age he must undergo the rite of circumcision; after that he resumes his divination training until he is 'released' (by his ancestors). He affirmed this by saying: '*Alikho igqirha eliyinkwenkwe, ukuba li nganomkhwetha lingakwazi njani ukumenzela imisebenzi? Inkwenkwe zange yaphatha siko.* ('There is no diviner who is a boy (i.e. who has not been to the 'bush'/circumcision school), if he can have a novice-diviner how will he begin to perform ritual works for his client? A boy has never officiated at the ritual ceremonies').

Ulwaluko is an essential rite among Xhosa males. A former UCT student who one afternoon found me sitting and waiting for Mr Cliff Dikeni (lecturer in Southern African Languages Department) in his office, told me how improper his *ulwaluko* rite was done and subsequently led him in being admitted to Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital. The rituals have to have been properly performed, and as this study shows, the invalidity of certain rituals, notably *imbeleko*, is something that is more common than has been realised. Then, too, ritual debts may be incurred by the neglect or improper observance of obligatory rituals to honour and appease the ancestors (at which the main officiate is the senior male family member) and diviners are frequently called upon to resolve problematic situations, which are attributed to such ancestral neglect. As the individual case studies will demonstrate, individuals are 'called' to the profession of *ubugqirha* ('divinership') in certain ways, and the career is never a choice.

Music (*ingoma*= 'song' involving the integration of singing, dancing, clapping and drumming) is essential for diviners, for their *iintlombe* (séance rituals), and also for the therapeutic treatment of trainees during the training period. In this study I am not so much concerned with technical musical aspects of form and structure, although these aspects are described as non-variable elements in the ritual music; I am concerned with the description and explanation of the central role of specific songs in certain ritual contexts.

I aim to answer the question, what does the song mean for the diviner or adherent who chose to sing it in a particular context, and for those who help to perform it? As ethnomusicological studies have shown, music is a key resource for realising personal as well as collective identities (Turino vol.43 no.2; pp.221-225: 1999). It is a highly effective and articulate medium for expressing human emotions and experiences, which cannot be adequately verbalised. As John Blacking put it:

“Music... is a metaphorical expression of feeling.... It helps to articulate the unsayable... but it can communicate nothing to unprepared and unreceptive minds (1995:35).”

What Blacking asserts is, music cannot affect people or express anything extra musical, unless people are socially and culturally disposed to respond to it. This is particularly true for Xhosa diviners' songs, which have the greatest effect on diviners, and especially with their novices who are training to be servants of the ancestors. This style of music is easily distinguishable from other styles of Xhosa music, but its characteristic drum rhythms in relation to distinctive tonal-melodic vocal patterns, and its sound, affects people in varying degrees, according to their particular association with this kind of music. It is a powerful and essential medium for ancestor communion. As diviners continually stress: only *ombela*⁴ (ritual musical performance) can express it when we want to talk with the ancestors. Diviners as individuals manipulate aspects of the traditional belief system (Stinson 1998; Prins 1996) and since they work in ethnically mixed communities, the songs they use include musical properties from other community organisations. Examples of these are discussed in this study.

What I have become aware of through my research is the sheer volume and the vitality of diviners' songs in predominantly Xhosa-speaking communities. This testifies to the remarkable richness, and above all the resilience of the indigenous musical culture, and how it can on occasion transform into a vital new type of syncretic ritual music that is both modern, yet at the same time grounded in habit and tradition. It is not a case of the older music putting on trappings to make it appropriate for the context. This syncretic music, which is performed in diviners' rituals and Zionist-type church services, represents a coming together of two types of cultural traditions -African and Western Christian and reflects a pattern of acceptance that is evident in both contexts.

As this study demonstrates, both traditions are seen as compatible by some, not by others, but much that is traditional to certain branches of Christianity is shared by large numbers of Africans. Quite a number of diviners, and traditionalist adherents are also nominal or committed Christians and attend orthodox churches, and also the Roman Catholic, and Zionist-type churches.

One of the principal aims of my fieldwork was to cover new ground by providing informative commentaries on certain events and incidents, and providing insights into issues raised by informants, concerning situations or predicaments in which they found themselves. As an adherent, I also sometimes found myself in such situations, and one of these is part of a case study (cf. Appendix 6; vol.2 p.16) in this survey. In these contexts I focus always on the issue of the music being used on the occasion. I did not limit myself to considering diviners and adherents in the framework of other communities, but I also fraternised with community members whose perspectives contributed much to those of my major informants. There is a huge amount of documentation on Xhosa traditional religious practices and it continues to grow, with African authors contributing to what was for so long a literature by European scholars. I have included an overview of the traditional cosmology, drawn from the existing literature, in order to introduce the physical, social and religious environment of my informers, and in order to provide a balanced account of the various types of ritual procedures in which my informants participated. It should be noted that, for reasons stated earlier, not all the rituals have songs, but all diviners' séances have songs. These are performed selectively by diviners, and have to do with what they want to achieve, and usually in relation to their particular set of ancestors.

Much of my fieldwork comprised extended conversations with informants who talked about their particular songs in relation to its performance process in a particular situation. Their commentaries often included personal and sometimes 'tribal/traditional', history, and song form and function, all of this relating to the immediate performance of the song under discussion. My narrative representations of conversations appear in both Xhosa and English, since all my informants communicated in Xhosa. The text is heavily dialogic in places i.e. conversational, and it appears in a bilingual format, with the Xhosa conversations appearing in the Appendices (under separate cover: Vol.2) to the dissertation, and the literal translation in English in the main script, with the relevant page numbers for easy reference.

This format lends itself to promoting the directness of an interview, which I experienced as a researcher. I wanted to convey to the reader, something of this, and the freedom from intervention which marked so many of my discussions with informants. I was prompted to take this approach after I had read Tara Browner's application of a "bio-analytical methodology", which she used in her study of Native American Indian (NAI) Music (vol.44 no.2; pp. 214-233 (2000)). Because of the length of my conversations, I did not pair the translations page by page, as Browner did in her work.

This is a shift from the usual theoretical analytical ethnographic approach in which the trend has been to write mainly in English. Since my interviews are essentially dialogic, I find the entirely bilingual format appropriate. What is significant is that it gives prominence to the commentaries of the informants, while the interviewer (myself), who also provides more academic-oriented commentaries and explanations on issues emerging from the interviews, stands somewhat apart in the discourse (but not above it). The format enables the reader to read and hear the Xhosa informants directly, without simply reading English text for which there is no real proof of accurate translation and interpretation. I think that this is a much better way of presenting African ethnographic material. In the past, writings on the subject have been aimed at non-African readership, but within the past 8–10 years this has been changing e.g. Moya Malamusi's studies of 1990 (vol.10 no.4; pp.223-238) and 1996.

The dialogic method is appropriate to Africans and non-Africans alike. It embraces the standard emic and etic approaches adopted by ethnomusicologists, and at the same time, it secures the understanding of both realms as being equally valid. The information is directly available to Xhosa-speakers, and the songs are not just explained as reflecting existing values and beliefs and social structures; they are part of an immediate social experience, and activity. As such, they are also recreations and reinterpretations of older cultural forms. I did not use interpreters in my interviews, but for the translations, I consulted certain Xhosa linguists (in the Dept. of Southern African Languages UCT), to clarify comments, to find accurate translations, and to converse about the texts with my informants. By presenting the interviews in the form of conversation I have placed myself as much as possible within the narrative rather than above it.

Among new insights generated by this recent scholarship is the idea to ground the ethnography in the informants' concrete experiences. In this way, one is able to avoid any inference that the researcher has more knowledge about issues and songs than those who actually used and discussed them. The essential knowledge comes from them, and this methodology allows one to assign the specific information and opinions to those people who gave it.

* In the context of this dissertation the pronoun 'she' is used to refer to feminine and masculine genders since female diviners dominate in this practice, and is also used to maintain the flow of discussion.

CHAPTER TWO

THE XHOSA TRADITIONAL BELIEF SYSTEM

2.0 Introduction:

This chapter is concerned with Xhosa customs (involving animal sacrifices) that are observed by Xhosa-speaking people, more particularly those who are 'entering' the practice of diviners. As they (diviners) are the 'servants' of the ancestors, more knowledge concerning sacrificial customs, is mainly revealed to them by the ancestors. The sacrificial customs are part of Xhosa traditional religious beliefs and values which were solemnly observed and practised whenever the need arose to make a connection with *Qamata/Thixo*¹ ('God'=) through their ancestral spirits. Through sacrifices ('*amadini*') ritual offerings ('*iintlwayelelo*')² rituals and ceremonies ('*amasiko*') Xhosa-speaking people acknowledge *Thixo* as the provider of mercies, the moulder, the protector, and the guardian. The observance of religious practices thus plays a vital role in moulding human lives and gives people a sense of belonging in their lineage as well as in the society. In cases of religious observance, spirit beings (i.e. the ancestral spirits) act as a conveyer belt between *Thixo* and the living because they know and understand their people's needs, and had experienced such when they were living in the natural world. In turn, the human intermediaries or religious officiates act as a link between people and their ancestors. These officiates in Xhosa religious rituals are individuals who are traditionally responsible for the observance of traditional rituals and customs, sanctioned by the ancestors. The officiates for example refer to the following:

- The head of the homestead who is responsible for the homestead's religious practices. He therefore acts on behalf of the family.
- *Intlabi*³, a senior lineage male family member, who is responsible for the ritual slaughtering of a sacrificial animal and acts on behalf of the lineage.
- The chiefs who act on behalf of the communities when a need arises to make sacrifices and ritual offerings at their places e.g. in times of drought, when praying for the rain.
- Diviners who officiate at divination rites and ceremonies and in other homestead traditional rituals (*imicimbi yekhaya*).

2.1 The significance of sacrificial rituals to diviners

Xhosa-speaking people who neglect to perform the necessary sacrificial traditional rituals are said to have ritual debts (an outstanding ritual enactment). A ritual debt is something that one must not have or carry especially if one is a diviner who is responsible for mediation between the living and the ancestors. They are also the ones who become responsible for diagnosing and detecting various problems that their clients encounter. Some of these problems involve the neglect of an obligatory enactment of their sacrificial customs. According to my informants some of the ritual debts, depending on their number, are performed before one is initiated into divination training, the others are ritually paid up (ritually met). One of my informants, Lunga Sali, is currently experiencing this problem of making atonement to offended ancestral spirits of the Gaba clan who were neglected by his male family members (see p.262). There is also a European diviner, (a Tulbagh farmer) Mr Pieter von Maltitz (will be discussed later), who is also carrying a ritual debt. Mr Von Maltitz underwent Xhosa divination training with a controversial diviner, Dr. Khubukeli, at Macassar informal settlement in Khayelitsha. Doctor Khubukeli is the Head of the African Healers' Association of the Western Cape.

In an interview I had with Mr Von Maltitz in August 1998, I asked if he had ever observed *imbeleko* ('birth ritual') or if Dr. Khubukeli had enacted one for him since anyone who enters the diviners' profession must have undergone this ritual. His response was, when he was young, his Dutch Reformed Church parson baptised him. I told him that there were diviners who were nominally Christian, who had undergone baptism according to their church denominations, but had also had their *imbeleko* rituals performed since it is an important and obligatory custom for all Xhosa-speaking people. Moreover, diviners (*amagqirha*) are the last people who should carry such a ritual debt because they would not be true diviners and therefore unacceptable to the ancestors and unable to secure their aid. Apart from *imbeleko*, there are other traditional ritual customs that involve animal sacrifices that need the presence of a diviner depending on the family concerned (this happens in cases whereby a diviner has been consulted first). MamNcotshe, a diviner who became my informant, says that diviners are supposed to have a vast knowledge of all Xhosa customs and traditional rituals (*amasiko nezithethe*) that are part of their cosmology because they solve the problems of people generally, and they also have to instruct initiates who belong to different clans, and therefore have different clan names.

She went on to say that Xhosa diviners are also guided by certain customs that they must adhere to. It is those customs that make them call themselves *amagqirha esiXhosa* (Xhosa-speaking diviners) and not *izangoma* (Zulu diviners) or *itangoma* (Swazi diviners). She gave an example and said that Xhosa-speaking diviners do not incorporate the ritual slaughtering of fowls⁴ in their practice, as do Zulu and Swazi diviners. I witnessed this (the slaughtering of a fowl) being performed by a diviner called 'Chief' Makhos' uGcaleka (cf. p.33), who also became one of my informants when I was doing my Honours programme. In this context, the title 'Chief' is not political but one adopted by Doctor Gcaleka who, as a diviner, recognised realms of ancestors of both Xhosa and 'foreign' cultural origin, and perceived himself as a 'Chief' of all the ancestors (Stinson:1998). 'Chief' Makhos' uGcaleka took Kathy Stinson, a former M.Mus (Ethnomusicology) UCT student, and I to a shanty settlement near Langa where he was to divine for a young man who had been involved in a car accident. Chief/Makhos' uGcaleka diagnosed him as being possessed by the Ndau spirits (the 'undesirable spirits' possessed by Tsonga-Shangana patients also cf. end note 7 of ch. four p.307). He himself possessed four spirits, of aMakhosi (Swazi/Zulu spirits), Ndau, *Izizwe* (the spirits of White nation/Europeans), *Izizwana* (diminutive =denoting the spirits of the Coloured People). The adoption of his divination techniques and the songs he employed in his practice made him appear to be a bricoleur. The latter term was used by Prins (1996:217) to refer to diviners who employed and manipulated 'foreign' concepts, which are introduced into the traditionalist world-view and cosmology.

The divination for the client (mentioned above) was then followed by the slaughtering of a fowl by Makhos' uGcaleka. He let the blood trickle into a small bowl, mixed it with water and asked the client to take a sip. He then daubed the client's body with the substance and sprinkled it about the yard and on top of the roof of the house. He informed me that Ndau spirits are very fond of fowls. Makhos' uGcaleka's divination profession incorporated strange and hair-raising practices. On another occasion he gave me some rather intimidating information: when he initiates someone into divination training, the sacrificial goat which is to be slaughtered for the initiand is first taken by him (Gcaleka) to the graveyard to meet *amadlozi/amadloti* (Zulu and Swazi ancestors respectively). This information came as a shock to me since it is not the custom for diviners to enter graveyards, or even attend funerals. Should they do so, as some do nowadays, they would have to undergo ritual cleansing before entering an abode.

The notion of Makhos' uGcaleka enacting a ritual in a graveyard is something beyond my understanding and experience. Diviners are permitted to enter only those environments that are particularly associated with the ancestors -rivers and forests (Prins: 1996:216; Buhrmann: 1984: 29), for more information (see p.23). When I mentioned this act of Makhos' uGcaleka to Baw' uGxarha (who became my chief informant when I was doing my honours programme on the 'songs of Xhosa-speaking diviners' in 1996), his response was:

“Soze! Soz’ uyibone loo nto isenziwa esiXhoseni. Ndiqinisekile naloo makhosi kaMakhos’ uGcaleka enziwe ngemithi yamangcwaba, yiloo nto esi ezo bhokhwe emangcwabeni kuqala. Into yalo mntu inonyawu lwemfene. Ngeny’ imin’ uyoz’ uth’ uBaw’ uGxarha watsho. Zange amagqirha athetha ngoomakhos’ ubani kwinto yengulo yesiXhosa.”

(‘Never! You will never see that (kind of an act) being done in Xhosa culture. I am certain that even those *makhosi* of Makhos' uGcaleka have been ‘manufactured’ out of the grave plants (that have been picked from the graveyard) hence those goats are to be taken to the graveyard first before they are ritually killed for an initiate. The ‘thing’ (behavioural pattern accompanying his divination acts) of this person (Makhos' uGcaleka) has treacherous schemes. One day you will confirm (this) and proclaim that Baw' uGxarha said so. At no time in the past had Xhosa-speaking diviners spoken of *makhosi* so-and-so in a ‘Xhosa sickness’).

One may add here that though Makhos' uGcaleka was of Xhosa origin his divination practice was foreign and left most Xhosa-speaking diviners very suspicious. This diviner was a highly controversial figure who underwent his training in Swaziland, and who subsequently incorporated some aspects of Swazi and Ndaui divinership into his Xhosa-based rituals. He was, and still is, regarded with suspicion and even disdain by *amaXhosa*, who perceive him to be ‘*umntu othweleyo*’⁵ (‘a person who has a magic spell and uses it in order to enrich himself’). The same diviner acquired a certain notoriety when he travelled to Scotland in February 1996 and returned with a skull, purportedly of Hintsu,⁶ which had been removed by British soldiers who shot him in 1835, and took his head back to Britain as a trophy. To partially finish the matter of sacrificial rituals: this aspect of the traditional belief system was grossly misunderstood by Europeans generally, and by the early missionaries in particular, who viewed the Xhosa as a ‘godless’ people who worshipped dead relatives (ancestors).

They were labelled superstitious, a people without a true religion, fetishists, pagans, and a nation that practices witchcraft (Mndende, 2000: 28). As a result of missionary and colonial endeavour, Xhosa people were persuaded to abandon trusted practices which they regarded as essential to earthly prosperity and well-being.⁷ People who wanted to embrace Christianity had to renounce their established traditional practices. Some chose what they wanted to incorporate, and blended it with their cultural beliefs, which meant more slight changes in Xhosa cultural patterns. If one considers the earlier European and American scholarship on divination in Africa, one will note that diviners tended to be given marginal status in human affairs. When one reads about divination the authors bring in words like 'religion and magic' -implying that divination is magical in nature. For example, Laubscher (1937:57) fell under the category of such authors, who treated Xhosa religious practices with disdain. He states that *iggirha* is an important component of pagan native culture and his prestige is attained by three functions, which he fulfils in this setting. One (of them) being the mysterious knowledge of magic and witchcraft medicines (that he has).

2.2 Diviners embracing two Religions

Some Xhosa people adopted Christianity but remained traditionalist at heart. Some of them are diviners, who have no difficulty in identifying with both religious systems. They are in fact mutually beneficial in that they provide adherents with two large hosts or 'multitudes' of ancestors, those who are traditionalist Xhosa, and those who are of the Church. It should be noted that not all Xhosa speakers support this kind of association, and many individuals are adamant that there is the possibility of discord between the two realms. In this exhortation, the diviner alludes to the division between traditionalists and churchgoers, with the former accusing the latter of forsaking their cultural traditions. However, the diviner also calls on people to be aware of the advantages in embracing both belief systems, and not to despise one or the other. The following extract is from MaDlamini a diviner:

"Abantu balahla izithethe zabo, izithethe zakwantu. Abantu babaleka neeCawa. Camagwini mabandla, ngoku nditshoyo ke nathi sihamba iiCawa. Izihlwele zomntu zibini ke. Sikhona esalapha kula mathambo alal' ukufa, sikhona esaseCaweni. Ngoku uhamba nesasecaweni, siyakhweleta esiya sasekhaya." ('People abandoned their established traditional customs. People ran with the churches. Be pacified the cohorts! As I say so, we also are churchgoers. One's 'multitudes' are then two.

There is one that belongs to these bones that are 'sleeping dead' (the ancestors), there is one that belongs to the church. As you are taking care of the church one, the traditionalist one gets jealous').

There are many people who accommodate traditionalist and Christian beliefs in their daily lives without any difficulty. G.M. Setiloane's article/paper (1986) gives short case studies of certain individuals who exemplify a state of peaceful co-existence between African Traditional Religious beliefs, and Christianity. Two of them are diviners following the Sotho method of divining by casting and reading 'bones', but are also professed Christians. One of them is a staunch Methodist Church, and of a Women's Federation (*uManyano*)⁸ member, who experienced *ukuthwasa* type of sickness and ultimately became a diviner. None of these individuals feel in anyway culturally 'estranged'. There is no conflict between the two beliefs systems for these individuals do not overlook the fact that emotionalism was part of early Methodism and is still perpetuated in African Methodist churches. It is an aspect of worship, which is in 'harmony' with the emotionalism tradition that is part of traditional ritual. There is also a growing amount of evidence that indicates that adherents to both religions -traditionalist and Christian- can be problematic. This emerged from interviews that Nokuzola Mndende had with diviners at KTC, Khayelitsha, Worcester and Willovale all of whom were also full church members, and who confirmed that:

"...most *amagqirha* would say, '*intwaso yandikhupha eCaweni*' -my call to divination forced me out of the church."

Mndende (2000: 31) qualifies this by saying:

"An *igqirha* cannot have divided loyalty, that is, to the ancestors and to Christ, or to the healing power of the blood of a sacrificial animal and to that of Christ- only one heals."

2.3 Radio debate on Religious incompatibility

This religious incompatibility was the subject of a late night 'Umhlobo Wenene' ('True companion') Radio programme, which was hosted by Mr Saba Mbixane, (in the year 2000) from midnight until 04h30. I was asleep, with the radio switched on (my usual procedure) when I was awakened by a male voice loudly proclaiming over the air.

Below is the English Translation and for the original Xhosa (see Appendix 1; vol.2 p.1):

“Saba I say these two things do not blend. Divination practice and a church will never blend, I say never; these two things are water and paraffin or again I can say they are (like) the East and the West.”

I immediately set about recording the rest of the debate, which was conducted by telephone via the Radio station, the topic being ‘*Ubugqirha buyadibana na nenkolo yobuKrestu?*’ (‘Can divination practice blend with Christianity?’). I found it extremely interesting and I have included the comments of six people from those who contributed to the discussion. It took the form of short debates between two discussants one of whom was a Born Again Christian (BAC) and the other a diviner called MaDlamini, who considers the two religions to be totally incompatible.

Their debate proceeded thus:

MaDlamini: People who always crush divination practice have a serious problem. I have just said these two religions cannot blend but you come up so bravely criticising diviners saying that they are heathens. What do you mean exactly?

BAC: Mama, I was saying these two should not be mixed because once people mix them, they become insane; honestly, one gets sick and becomes mad. Heathens, mama, are the people who still believe in ancestral spirits, people who have not yet received the light of Christianity. These are the people whom the preachers always try to tell that they should get converted because the Kingdom of ‘Heaven’ (i.e. God) is nigh and so that they must not be judged.

From what I was told by my informants, people who become insane or mad are those who get punishment from the ancestors for the neglect of certain rituals that are to be enacted and those who do not want to accept the ancestral calling. This is therefore one of the punishment that is meted out to such people who do not revere their ancestors. The other madness can be caused by witches or sorcerers who could be practising Christianity; they inflict also those who are Christians. The latter will then go and consult the so-called ‘heathens’ (diviners) for help at night (secretly) so that she cannot be seen by other Christians.

MaDlamini: I do not want to be at cross-purposes at all with you, I want us to enjoy this debate. There is only one thing that I want to tell you, I am not going to transform from what I am now. Firstly, I am a creature that has been created by God that is similar to a ‘Christian creature’ He created.

You see as you say, diviners are heathens, well, I am a heathen and I am going to settle on this side of paganism. The one who is sitting on the roof will sit on it even on the judgement day. You know what *tata?* ('father') I was once a church member, but I went out and was taken out by something.

BAC: Come back *mama* (mother) Jesus is coming.

MaDlamini: I will never go back.

BAC: Come back so that you do not die being in the dark.

MaDlamini: I am in the great light. What makes me to say this is, people who are Christians theorise a lot, and one will not see any action in them. The 'heathens' talk and act because, whatever they use, has been created by God.

BAC: No *mama*, at least, you, who had once been in the light, should come back so that your sins should be forgiven.

MaDlamini: Thank you Saba (she put the phone down).

[Reverend Bangani was the next speaker]:

Rev: I greet all the listeners of twelve down. The Christians go with Jeremiah Chapter 1 Verse 10:

"And I am sending you with authority to speak to the nations for me. You will tell them of doom and destruction, and of rising and rebuilding again." (I have only given the English version here, as the Xhosa version is not relevant at this stage).

The reason why they get angry with the healers is because they know that they do not have a right to leave the 'programme' of God or to leave people to discuss something that is not God's will. It is therefore our duty that whenever our nation gets lost we have to show them the way.

Saba: What makes then *intwaso* (a state of being 'called' to divinership) to be taken as something evil? As you heard, people tried to get closer to Jesus as a way of running away from a divination 'calling' but it took them out of their churches. It has even inflicted the Priests. Why do you Christians push this practice away as if it is a dirty job?

Rev: No, child of Mbixane I am phoning to respond exactly to that. First of all child of Mbixane and South African listeners of twelve down, it is something that will never happen to mix the two. I say s,o,z,e, *soze!* (i.e. 'never') not to a person who had genuinely accepted Jesus and again all of a sudden allows himself to be captured in another religion. Let me make an example about myself, you see as soon as Bangani is taken out of the church by a divination 'calling'; be certain that Bangani was not a believer yet. I mean the Holy Spirit of God had not entered him yet.

Listeners of twelve down, if a mother or a father has been entered by the power of the Holy Spirit of God, and after that she or he goes to *intwaso*, it means that God's Holy Spirit did not exist in him or her. Divination spirit does not concur with the power of God. I repeat Zawa (Saba's clan name) s,o,z,e *soze!* You cannot, having been entered by the spirit of God first and again, go to *intwaso*.

At all the séances I had attended the word of God and of Jesus was hailed in the diviners' prayers when they opened their ceremonies. When they supplicated to the ancestral spirits or exhorted the initiates the word God would be employed. Listen to track no. 24 entitled *Sicel' amandla* ('We ask for power') the words of which are an extract from the Lord's prayer (*Sicel' amandla ngawakho, nobungwalisa bobakho* = 'We ask for power (that) is Yours, and Thy sanctification is Yours (see pp.83, 164). This song is subsequently followed by a prayer (from one of the invited diviners and is interspersed with a diviner's belch which is one of the signs of a 'white sickness' and which according to her the belching was a sign that the Holy spirit and that of the ancestors were working on her) to God; the same God and Jesus Christ of the Born Again Christians and of Rev. Bangani:

Mthetheleli

Sibhekisa kuwe ke Thixo

Xa abantwana bancinane ingabam

Ndibabeka kuwe ke Thixo, Miranda

Xa inguwe kanye malusi olungileyo ophakathi kwelikhaya

Kusetyenzwa uThemabakazi

Ndiqonda kakuhle izinyanya zakuthi izikhawukhawuli zibuyile

Zibuyile empumalanga nazi Yesu wamadinga ndizibone kwayizolo

Sebenzani Themabakazi into inye 'zucel' imali

'Zucel' ukunonelela uMiranda. Konke kuyakulunga ngalowo wasifelayo uYesu

Krestu

'Councillor

We refer to you then, God

When these little children are mine

I bring them before thee God, Miranda (in particular).

When thee, good shepherd whose presence is in the midst of this home

As this ritual work is being enacted for Themabakazi

I have a feeling that our ancestral spirits; our great powerful ancestors are back

They are back from the east, here are they, Jesus, the fulfiller of promises, and I felt their presence from yesterday

Themabakazi (and others) work hard, there is only but one thing, you must request

money You must ask for perseverance Miranda. And all will go well through Him who died for us, Jesus Christ.

[Baw' uMotsoene was the next caller]:

Baw' uMotsoene: There is a lot of misrepresentation especially when it comes to African Traditional Religion (ATR), the Bible will be quoted out of context and that is a very big mistake. I do not know why people are so accustomed to doing this thing. It is true that normally most people who are diviners do not go for Christianity because they avoid a cultural clash. Christianity has been viewed from the Western culture i.e. European culture and Asia. That is why most diviners become more comfortable in ATR because it speaks the language they understand. ATR never said and will never say the ancestral spirit is God. But people, more particularly Blacks still maintain that people worship the ancestors, that is a misrepresentation. People worship God -they revere the ancestral spirits. People say it is not possible to talk to God, a Great being as he is, so those who are nearer to God are the ancestral spirits who are the conveyer belt.

They say to the ancestral spirits, please talk on our behalf because we are still far away from God and you are nearer. Coming again to the question of Christianity and ATR, you will find out that in both religions there is a common cause. Both groups talk about the same thing saying there is a Great Being above us all that we should worship. They only differ where they are supposed to convey the messages. We have to look at things, I think it is incorrect and intolerant for a person to say when one is a diviner one cannot be a Christian. If a diviner wants to be a Christian no one should stand on his/her way or criticise as long as the Christian Faith is not going to be preached in a way that will lead people astray. If it is for a good purpose it is right. My grandmother was a diviner and a Christian and my grandfather was a Priest. So I do not understand all this that people are saying, (criticising diviners who are Christians). One can be a diviner while one is a Christian if one feels comfortable with that. These two religions do not clash.

[Baw' uMvandaba responded contending against Baw' uMotsoene]:

Baw' uMvandaba: Saba, this divination practice of theirs is outdated. They must just get converted into Christianity. These diviners, Saba, had been floating in huge expenses and they are still wandering. Money is completely finished, shoes are worn out. They did not reap anything out of what they had been doing. Their money has been exhausted and even their novices have also expended large sums in their training. They have obtained absolutely nothing. After some have discovered that they have wasted their time, they threw away the beads and went to church. I am just sorry about those who are leaving the church for divination practice. Lastly, it is wrong to mix them anyway.

The stereotype that a diviner is a fraud who manipulates clients -is widespread- not only among Europeans, but among Africans who espouse Christianity. What is not appreciated is the importance of diviners and divination for the well-being of people, for their health, for their social relations.

Baw' uZulu: God has given people different talents. I have not been told yet of a diviner, who died and did not enter heaven, this applies as well to a Christian. It is only God who knows. I think people should start focusing on their gifts that God gave them. I am a diviner and I do go to church, no one will stand in my way and no one has a right to judge. It is God who knows and will decide if I am doing the right thing by blending African Traditional religion with Christianity.

Listener: Zawa I am not going to respond to what one has said I am just going to put down something they did not know of so that there could be the presence of a little light. I am going to take (talk about) Doctor Luke. All the Christian believers know that he was a Doctor and I will take again a man that the Bible says he specialised in healing, and that was Simon. These men employed the same plants in healing -however the difference was: Simon was not a converted (Christian) person and Luke was the follower of Jesus but they both used the same method of healing i.e. roots, tree barks and leaves. So now people make a big mistake they think as the Bible talks of Doctor Luke maybe it is referring to a Doctor that was using a stethoscope like the Doctors we see nowadays. A stethoscope has just been recently invented; historians and medical people know that. Penicillin, ether or anaesthetic, X-rays have been recently invented a long, long time after Doctor Luke had died. These things were not used during the time of Doctor Luke; tablets were not used during the time of Luke. I have an evidence of what I am talking about. I have been to 'museums' where I saw things with my naked eye and was also shown the places Doctor Luke use to go to. So it is dangerous for one to say that when one is not cured by a western medical treatment then one must just throw the illness problem to God and that there is nothing else that can be of help.

Such talks mislead some other people that if tablets cannot help a person, then that thing (illness) should just be thrown to God. One would then die and be killed by that thing, if it kills. You will hear people say God has agreed (has allowed it (the death) to happen), that is dangerous. The problem is, people view these medicinal plants that are dug out of the soil as unclean things. Diviners who blend the two religions are just right because it was not a wrong thing for Luke to be the follower of Jesus and at the same time a Doctor. Why is it now perceived to be wrong to be a diviner who is a Christian? Thank you.

What comes out of this debate are three points which of view, which individuals choose to support. They are:

- (a) Diviners who profess that people should follow one religion.
- (b) Born Again Christians who do not compromise and command that people should forget about Traditional Religion and be saved.
- (c) People who embrace both religions and assert that they can co-exist and are compatible.

It may be reasonable to say that the third point of view is what is tenable in the present debate. Traditional belief systems of the Xhosa pre-existed the Western Christianity hence when the Xhosa were brainwashed (and coerced) to accept the Western Christian by the missionaries they did not completely abandon their traditional practices which are a great part of African Traditional Religion.

Earlier reports and studies of divination were very superficial and condemnatory. Some people who wrote about African Religion did not treat it as a system -which it is- but as a whole 'medley' of somewhat bizarre rituals enacted by a grossly dressed officiate (the witchdoctor) on certain occasions, for reasons which had to do with its 'superstitions' and 'magical' nature. Alberti (1807: 47) was convinced that:

"Among the Kaffirs there is simply no conception of God, or an invisible Being, to whom they ascribe a powerful influence over themselves or on nature in general...Religious ceremonies and priests are completely unknown to them."

The obvious aggression in this statement echoes in statements of other early observers, who wrote about African rituals. However, a number of early authors held less extreme views and maintained that the concept of a Supreme Being was in fact traditional to the Xhosa, being an essential aspect of their cosmology (see Le Valliant 1780-85, Damberger 1781-97; and Lichtenstein 1803-6 cited in Hodgson (1982)). In a letter to his superiors in the London Missionary Society, in 1804, Theophilus Van der Kemp, the first missionary to the Xhosa, informed his clergymen that the Xhosa believed in 'god' who resided in an anchor which had been salvaged from a shipwreck in the Keiskama River mouth (see Mndende 2000: 28). As Mndende explains, the Europeans came to Southern Africa in a ship and brought with them the Christian religion that they preached to the Xhosa. Perhaps the notion of (Christian) 'God' being in an anchor arose from Xhosa people's perception of the arrival of the new religion to their country -in a ship.

The concept of God was not entirely foreign to the Xhosa who acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being and or *Qamata*, a word somewhat vague and elusive to Europeans, including the missionaries. This word, *Qamata* was too sacred to be used freely by amaXhosa, since they strictly observed the custom of *ukuhlonipha*,⁹ this involves linguistic avoidance of words containing certain syllables occurring in a name or language used to demonstrate respect and reverence).

With the advent of Christian religion and western education to the Xhosa, the Christian God replaced *Qamata* and was given the name *Thixo* (*tiquoa*) the Khoi-name, (Mndende: 2000). It was John Henderson Soga, son of the first ordained African clergyman in South Africa, Tiyo Soga, who demystified the 'god' myth that Alberti and others had helped to invent ({1931}: 149: 50):

“The Xhosa-speaking people have a conception of a Supreme Being clearly defined: A God who is the creator of all things, who controls and governs all, and as such is the rewarder of good and the punisher of evil. Worship is never directly offered to Him, but through the medium of *iminyanya* ('ancestral spirits'), who in the unseen world are nearer to Him, and know more than men on earth.”

The following is an extract from a ritual supplication that was delivered at a séance that was held at Macassar in 1998 by a certain diviner, addressing the natural and the supernatural worlds, and entreating the ancestors to convey his supplication to God (*Thixo*) (The Christian God). Thus the ancestors are mediators between the living and the dead (who reside in the supernatural realm):

*Ndiyabulela kwaba semaNgxongweni
Ndibulise kwabakwaTshezi
NesakwaGcina noCube nesasemaNcotsheni
Le bhekile uyiphehlayo ize ingasetyenzwa nguwe wena usisithunywa
Thina akho nto siyaziyo.
Singabantu abathunyiweyo, sizizicaka
Sisihlwele into ebaleka phambili iyo kunkqonkqoza
Sithi Thixo nokuba ube yinkwenkwe okanye intombi lo mntu ndifuna
ukumsebenzisa
Ndicela la magqirha asiphetheyo ize ibengawo asebenzayo
Nawo aze abhekise kuThixo yena mnini weento zonke
Xa nditshoyo ke ndithandaza nyani
Ndicela ke izihlwele zeziwathathe onke la mazwi, ziwabhekise kuThixo yena mnini
wee nto zonke*

Translation:

*'I am grateful to those (ancestors) of the Ngxongo clan
And greet those of the Tshezi clan
And those of Gcina, of Cube and of the Ncotshe clan
This billycan (of ubulawu) that you are churning up, must not be taken care of by you,
you are just a messenger
We know nothing, we are just people who have been sent, and we are the servants
It is the ancestral spirit that runs first and knocks*

*And says: "God (Christian God) regardless of whether it is boy or a girl I want to use that person
I request that these diviners who are supervising us should be the ones who are doing the work
They should also talk to God who is the omnipotent, when I say so I earnestly pray
I request the 'multitudes' (ancestors) to receive all these words, and direct them to God the omnipotent'.*

2.4 The spirit world:

Ancestors inhabit a supernatural world in which they are endowed with the capacity to influence mystically the orderly life of their living descendants for whom they assume structural or instrumental significance. In religious terms their function is to be supportive and protective of the living, to ensure an order and fruitful existence for them (Kiernan:1995:22). According to Prins (1996: 216); Buhrmann: (1984:29) the ancestors in Xhosa cosmology are classified into two categories:

- (1) Those ancestors who are identified as members of the clan and are always near to their living descendants and are referred to as *izihlwele zekhaya* ('the 'multitudes' of the homestead'). The areas the ancestors favour at the homestead are *entla* ('an area opposite the only entrance door in the main hut), *eziko* ('at the hearth'), *entungo* ('in the eaves'), *ebuhlanti* ('in the cattle byre'), *enkudleni* ('in the courtyard').
- (2a) *Izihlwele zengethe/zehlathi* (i.e. 'the 'multitudes' of the Forest').
- (2b) *Izihlwele zomzi omkhulu/umlambo* (lit 'the 'multitudes' of the Great House i.e. the river).

There are also other, more remote ancestors who are identified with:

- (3) *Umzi ongxolayo/umqolomba* (i.e. 'the cave').
- (4) *Emaweni* ('on the precipice').
- (5) *Emathafeni* ('in the wild').

2.5 The spirit journey:

Death does not immediately bestow the office of mediator upon a deceased person. The ancestors can become an effective ancestral spirit only after all the mandatory burial rites have been performed. This involves proper burial, the 'accompanying' (*ukukhapha*) of the deceased to the spirit world and the 'bringing back home' (*ukubuyisa*) of the deceased's spirit to the ancestral realm, some 6–12 months after the burial.

In most cases the period of accompanying or bringing back of the deceased depends on that particular family which has to perform the 'work'. In this way the deceased person's spirit takes its rightful place in the ancestral realm and may become involved in the affairs of his/her living descendants. There was, and still is, an important ritual that is performed for a deceased person, the details of which depend on his/her social status. In the case of the senior male member of a family the journey to the spirit world ritual is called *ukukhapha*, and it is followed, at a later stage, by that ritual which returns the deceased spirit to the realm of his ancestors, it is called *ukubuyisa*. These rituals and the attendant ceremonies are of vital importance in Xhosa life and they always involve *idini* (i.e. the sacrifice/ritual killing of a beast). An important, initial sacrifice is that of *idini elikhulu* ('a big sacrifice') involving the ritual slaughter of *inkabi yenkomo* ('an ox). Alan Mountain (1998:28) states:

In the first (*umkhapho*), a white goat without blemish is slaughtered to accompany (*ukukhapha*) the spirit of the deceased to the shades.

Ukukhapha is not categorised as Alan states when he talks about 'in the first (*umkhapho*)' as if there is a second one. The family head is not 'accompanied' twice to the spirit world and is not, nor ever will be 'accompanied' by a goat. The goat or a sheep (as other clans do) involves or is used for *idini elincinci* ('a small sacrifice'), the purpose being *ukutshayela/ukwendlalela inkudla* (lit. 'sweeping of the courtyard' i.e. preliminary sacrificial ceremony. The meaning is shedding blood of a small sacrificed animal in order to remove dark forces or energies that surround the homestead before the actual ritual work of a beast is enacted). These small sacrifices are of great importance since they precede the major ritual. The deceased head of the homestead is 'accompanied' by a beast. In cases whereby a ritual is re-enacted it is when the animal probably did not cry for reasons known to that particular family. Once more Alan Mountain speaks of the second (*umbuyiso*) as if there was the first one. Mountain had been misinformed by his informants and he in turn has misinformed the world about Xhosa custom of *ukukhapha* and *ukubuyisa*. For more details about *ukukhapha* and *ukubuyisa* see '*Izixingaxi zamaXhosa*', Sityana (1978).

2.6 The procedure of *ukukhapha* and *ukubuyisa*:

The ritual of *ukukhapha* was traditionally performed on the same day that the deceased was buried; for this purpose an ox was ritually slaughtered and its skin removed, to be used as a shroud for the deceased.

According to one of my informants, Doctor Ashley Totana, (a custodian of indigenous knowledge) of ‘The Woodstock Interpretation of African Symbols and Dreams’:

“There were certain objects and artefacts which were supposed to be placed in the burial place with the deceased. For example, the head of the family would be buried with his spear, and with a sprig of millet, so that he may tend his own millet crop on his soul’s journey. His pipe and tobacco pouch would also be interred with him, so that he may enjoy these on his spiritual journey. This interment with personal objects and the millet was referred to as *umphako wendlela* (lit. the provision of the road/journey). According to Xhosa belief the journey of a soul took from three to six months and even a year to reach the spirit world; hence the need was for a man to be buried with his most personal possessions to see him on his journey. It ensured that the soul of the deceased was accompanied on its journey to the spiritual realm. After a specified time (3–12 months), the spirit of the deceased had to be ‘brought back’ (*-buyiswa*) in order to take its rightful place in the greater family of the homestead’s ancestors, who protect their living descendants, from malevolent forces, and promote their health and prosperity. The ‘bringing back’ ritual involved another ritual slaughter for which traditional beer was brewed, and consumed.”

Any lineage member who neglected to perform *ukukhapha* and *ukubuyisa* rituals, and any others which might be revealed to him in a dream, suffered the displeasure of his ancestors, who usually punished him with an illness, or misfortune which however, was essentially curable (subject to reparation on the part of the transgressing person). The missionary influence also had an impact on some Xhosa; the custom of *ukukhapha* also slowly changed. Prophet Ntsikana¹⁰ was the first black man to be buried in a western style (Mndende: 2000:25). Tradition has it that when he felt death approaching (1821), he asked his family to bury him in the ground in the Christian manner (Peires: 1981:73). However, the *khapha* ritual is still done but the procedure depends on *isithethe* of that particular family concerned.

According to my informants (diviners) some of the misfortunes sent by ancestors to their descendants who have fallen into disfavour with them for having neglected to enact obligatory sacrificial rituals are:

- (a) Illness/disease that will not respond to any conventional or western medical treatment e.g. *ingulo emhlophe* (‘white sickness’) which is mentioned later on, in the next chapter, *amafufunyane*¹¹ (‘lesser evil spirits/demons’) and bewitchment).
- (b) Mental sickness (*impambano*)
- (c) Incarceration in jail
- (d) Penury and the life style of a vagrant which often results

My informants also said some of the above misfortunes were experienced by them, and also by their patients, before entering divination practice. They stated clearly that these misfortunes are not always the result of an ancestral punishment to everyone, only in certain cases that have been diagnosed. However, one novice diviner at one *intlombe* ('a séance') I attended sang a 'confession' song (which could be an example of (d)) called *Yho! Ndazenza* ('Oh, I got myself into this!') when she was going to implore her ancestors (listen to CD1 track no. 1). The text of the song went as follows:

L: <i>Hee! Noyongo ndinjenje</i>	Hey! Noyongo as I am like this
<i>Hee! Noyongo haa! hee!</i>	Hey! Noyongo <i>haa! hee!</i>
<i>Yho! yintliziyo yam</i>	Oh! It is my heart
F: <i>Inamangongo iyawangongozela</i>	It has 'thumps' and is throbbing
L: <i>Uxolo toto, uxolo toto</i>	I am sorry <i>toto</i> , I am sorry <i>toto</i>
F: <i>Intliziyo yam</i>	My heart
<i>inamangongo iyawangongozela</i>	it has 'thumps' and it is throbbing
L: <i>Ewe! Yho! Ndazenza</i>	Oh yes! I regret in that I got myself into this
F: <i>Intliziyo yam</i>	My heart
<i>inamangongo iyawangongozela</i>	it has 'thumps' and it is throbbing

After the singing she confessed (as to how she was taken out of vagrancy by her trainer diviner) and said:

"Ndiya camagusha ndinqula elaa gqirha laa ndithatha emgqomeni ndisitya amaphepha landihlamba landenza ibala elinye ndamhlophe kwathiwa ndingumntwana wokugula."

('I propitiate, and supplicate to that diviner who took me 'out of the rubbish bin', 'eating papers', and 'washed and made me one colour' and then it was said: I am the child of the 'sickness').

She supplicated to the ancestors of her trainer diviner who saved her life, cleansed her and initiated her into divination training and was then referred to as a novice.

The meaning of the song *Ndazenza*:

This is a confession song, in which the supplicant regrets having caused her own predicament (known to her). She is telling Noyongo that her heart is pounding (which might be caused by *umbilini* (the anxiety that she is experiencing)). She entreats Toto (a nickname) to forgive her of wrong actions she made.

There is also a song of *amafufunyane* that was sung at *intlombe yokuhlanjwa kweentsimbi* (lit. 'a séance of spilling of the beads') by the initiates in their preliminary séance in Gugulethu. This *intlombe* was convened by MamNcotshe (cf. p.185 =6.3.7). See video clip (A) for the song. The text is as follows:

L: <i>Ndikhathazwa lifufunyana</i>	I am being troubled by the lesser evil spirit
F: <i>Owu! hay' ukugula kunamanyala,</i> <i>Owu! hay' ukugula</i>	Oh no! the 'sickness' possesses 'filth' Oh no! the 'sickness'
L: <i>Waphela lo mzi katata</i>	My father's household is finished
F: <i>Owu! hay' ukugula kunamanyala,</i> <i>Owu! hay' ukugula</i>	Oh no! the 'sickness' possesses 'filth' Oh no! the 'sickness'

The meaning of the song:

Intwaso/ukugula ('the state of being 'called' into the practice of diviners/the 'sickness') can lower someone's dignity should one refuse to accept it. The 'filth' can refer to the immoral behaviour that one is forced into, not of one's own choice, but by being compelled to this by *intwaso* state.

Magibisela (1994:18) says about people who are being afflicted with *intwaso*:

"Abanye ababhinqileyo badla ngokuthanda amadoda, yonke indoda le yeyakhe angakhathali nokuba sele izalana nayo...ngokunjalo nase ndodeni iwenza izifebe....Abanye ibenza amasela, izigwinta kanti ikwabanga nempambano nobudlwengu."

('Others who are females usually become whores, each and every man is hers, she will not care whether or not she is related to him...same applies to a man, it (*intwaso*) makes him dissolute.... It makes others to become thieves, murderers and yet it also causes insanity and also one becomes constantly involved in rape activities).

When the song maker says she is being troubled by *ifufunyane* she means that she has been 'hit' Xhosa *uchaniwe* ('to get someone') meaning a state or condition of being harmed by a sorcerer using any means of affliction. In this context it refers to a person who is trying to hinder the afflicted person from being *ithwasa*.

Regarding this kind of sickness (*ifufunyane*), Buhrmann (1984:35), quoting Mr Tiso's (her informant), group, says of them:

“they regard *amafufunyane* with distaste, as it is ascribed to sorcery in which the use of ‘dirty medicine’ is involved....The terms they use for people afflicted...are among others, ‘an evil spirit or demon has been put inside you by persons envious of you.’”

Hammond-Tooke (1975) states that *amafufunyane* is a special type of illness, and began when there was an influx of migrant workers into South Africa. Many stayed, took Zulu wives, and so swelled the demands for living resources. Thomas (1999: 67) citing (Pauw 1975: 272; Ngubane 1977) states:

“*Amafufunyane* is a unique demonic illness generated by (evil) spirits inhabiting human bodies.”

Ngubane (1977:144) goes on to say:

“A person with *ufufunyane* in its worst form usually behaves as if mentally deranged. She becomes hysterical and weeps around uncontrollably throws herself on the ground, tears off her clothes, runs in a frenzy, and usually attempts to commit suicide. She reacts violently and aggressively to those who try to calm her.”

The following is the translation of the information I obtained from Baw' uGxarha about how *amafufunyane* and *amakhosi* are ‘manufactured’ (see Appendix 2; vol.2 p. 5) for original Xhosa:

(‘I am skilled and also had accustomed myself to curing people afflicted with *amafufunyane*. They come to this block of flats stark raving mad. At that time the victim is panting heavily and is also all trembly. You would see another one looking very wild as though one is about to break into a sudden sprint because *amafufunyane* do not ‘mingle’ with medicinal plants that are for healing purposes. The person who is inflicted with *amafufunyane* becomes so obstinate and refuses vehemently to be given help and wants to set on a fight. To such a person one is supposed to be pitiless and give her a violent slap that will ‘enter’ and settle in the face, thereafter she will be peaceful and still. Following this, she would be heavily sedated and left to sleep for hours. Once after those long hours she becomes conscious, she would be divined for and also be treated whilst she is still at the house of the diviner so that the she may be observed well.

Depending on her health condition she might even be discharged after a few weeks once she has undoubtedly recovered. During the observation period, she becomes one of *oononkonkxa*¹² ('a diviner's patients other than those who have an ancestral calling') who assist in *ukombela* for the initiates.

When the witches prepare this charm of *amafufunyane*, they add:

- a tot of gin or brandy
- the bile of a goat that has been slaughtered
- sweetmeat
- perms
- ants of the grave (taken from the graveyard)
- the plants of the grave (picked from the graveyard)
- and other 'filthy' medicinal plants

All this *rhamosh* ('gemors' = an Afrikaans term meaning 'rubbish') is mixed together and pounded on a boulder until it is crushed into a powdered form. During the process of pounding this *mthi* is given some praise names like: *Goloza* ('sit solitarily –wait for'), *Mfutshan' akafikeleli phezulu* ('he is short he cannot reach high up') *uChoph' eluphondweni* ('that which perches itself on a horn'). A song is also *ombelwa*-ed at the time this *fufunyane* charm is being pounded and given these praise names. After that it is poured into an intricately beaded calabash, and a whistle is blown for it, and is then told to carry the instructions it has been given. Following this, it (the *fufunyane* calabash) is taken to the graveyard and is left there the whole night to be fetched the next day. This is the procedure that has to be followed before it can be employed for those who would become victims.

This incident of one finding oneself being a victim of *amafufunyane* happens under certain conditions where the victim has happened to get sick, and was unfortunately directed to a wrong 'person' (a witch who is disguised under the pretence of *isangoma*) for consultation. These '*zangoma*' have been trained to do evil work to their clients and their novices under the pretext of 'white' sickness. The sufferer is then given medicinal plants to administer that are said to be helpful (whereas they are not) and, amongst them there would be a powdered one (*umgubo*) that she would be instructed to lick, before she leaves the *isangoma*'s house. Once this *fufunyane* charm infiltrates the blood cells it would be *unamename wononca* ('adhesive' -it will never easily give up).

From there, once the treatment is not properly followed the victim's liver would acquire some sores; you will just hear people saying, she (the victim) has cancer. It then becomes necessary that one should keep on churning up and ingesting *isilawu* (of the *fufunyane*), and then one will keep on belching, and belching something that one does not even know what it is.

This afflicted person then becomes that thing which suffers from frequent bouts of epileptic fits and talks incoherently, all the rubbish you can think of. In fact, all this nonsense is uttered by the *fufunyane* charm in the victim's stomach, and which is at the time queasy. Should the victim have clandestine sexual intercourse, those things (*amafufunyane*) would tell it all as it had happened, in the presence of people or the victim's partner. You will hear them (*amafufunyane*) say: "We are satisfied with so and so because he satisfies us, and you (the cheated partner) are 'blind' you do not know that we have a love relationship with her." Once she gains her consciousness, she becomes confused and does not know what had initially occurred. One thing you must take note of (referring to me), *amafufunyane* speak Zulu and will never express themselves in Xhosa, though the victim could be Xhosa-speaking. It is not any diviner that knows how to, or likes to cure, a person who is inflicted with *amafufunyane*.

The family of the victim is usually directed to the person who does not have a problem of exorcising or transforming these *mafufunyane* into *amadoda* ('men') or *amakhosi*, which would overpower them. These people who possess *amakhosi* use them as a divining tool and it also becomes a duty of *amakhosi* to protect and guide the possessor. They are very powerful and can detect a policeman (who has come to arrest someone who happened to be in the possessor's company) at a distance. You see these are *amafufunyane* which have been transformed into *amakhosi*, as you sometimes hear people shout out *Makhosi!* and *Makhos' uGcaleka!* But there are *amakhosi* that are authentic (that have not been 'manufactured' with *umthi*) which are for connecting *izangoma* with their *amadlozi*. The 'manufactured' ones are even choosy, there are times they demand meat, sweet meat or a glass of brandy and funnily enough you will never see a person who possess *amafufunyane* being drunk. But should they demand and say, they need that particular thing, then, they want it (and they must get it by hook or by crook) period! When they do not want something, they flatly reject it. For example, if there has been a man who wanted to date her and has been not liked by *amakhosi*, there will not be any feelings from her side for that man. You will hear the possessor saying: *amakhosi* do not like you, you must therefore welcome them and give them a bottle of brandy, or not so, you must go and buy a fowl and slaughter it for them. Once more, if the possessor wants to establish a sexual relationship with someone and that person shows no interest, he lies, he will never resist the possessor as he is wanted by their *amakhosi*').

The misfortunes could also result from the work of witches or sorcerers, and have to be diagnosed by diviners, who advise treatment. If the cause is diagnosed as the neglect of an important ritual, the diviner will advise his/her client to go and perform *umsebenzi* ('ritual work'), in order to appease the offended ancestors, and to restore health and well being to the client and family. The possible causes of any disease are of crucial importance to its treatment. As Mbiti has pointed out (1991:139):

"Disease is not just a physical condition, according to African interpretation and experience. It is also a religious matter. Therefore, to deal with it people revert to religious practices. They use religion to find out the mystical cause of the disease, to find out who has been responsible for it...They use religion to prescribe the right cure, part of which is the enactment of certain rituals that the diviner may prescribe."

2.7 Appeasing the ancestors:

In most cases, it was and still is, essential to appease the ancestors with a ritual slaughtering. When such an occasion arises, the senior member of the immediate family concerned, or the head of the lineage, will send a young man to deliver a message to the elderly members of the lineage (known as *imilowo*), asking them to assemble at his place in order to discuss and plan the necessities for the ritual slaughtering. Sityana (1978:2) explains it in greater detail:

"Wakuba umhla lowo ufikile kwakho imilowo iyahlangana ...ibonisane ngeendawo ezingaba zilibalekile. Kweso sithuba iinkomo nanziya qelele apho emzini zilindele ukujika komhla.... Xa zingene indoda enkulu yaloo mzi inxibe isidlokolo ihamba iye kuma esangweni ibambelele exhantini...ijonge emthonyameni. Ethubeni elingephi iyawabuyisa amehlo ijonge ngqo kuloo nkabi yenkomo ithethe la mazwi: "Nantso ke namhla inkabi yenkomo ibikade ifuneka okokuba yenzelwe ubawo ongubani, esenzelwa ngubani oyinto ethile kuye. Namhla iyawiswa. Maze kubekho icamagu kwizinto ezingaqondakaliyo ezivelayo zicace siya kuzihlangabeza." Akuba egqibile athi kumadoda lawo: "Yibambeni niyiwise!" Enjenjalo amadoda, ilaliswe ngeli cala lasekhohlo ibotshwe imilenze nemikhono."

('Once the actual day comes, *imilowo* (patrilineal kinsmen whose task is to convene ritual meetings and also take decisions) meet to discuss the issues that might not have been previously concluded. At that point in time the cattle would be at a distance to the homestead waiting for the sun to set...)

Once they are in, the head of the homestead, wearing the head-dress, goes and stands at the kraal entrance, and hold the gatepost and looks towards *umthonyama*. Shortly thereafter, he shifts his gaze and directly focuses on the ox and utters these words: "There! is the ox today, that has been needed to be ritually killed for father so-and-so, the ritual being performed by so-and-so who is related in the filial line. Today it will 'fall' (it is going to be ritually killed). May there be appeasement to all things which are obscure and which are being semi-revealed, and they should be transparent, we will respond positively to them". When he has finished he then says (to the men in the cattle-byre): Hold it! Let it fall! The men do as they are bid, lie the ox on its left side, tie its forelegs'.

It is then prodded (by *intlabi* see. page.10) in the stomach area with a ritual spear ('*umkhonto*') so that it begins to bellow loudly, or bleat loudly if it is a goat that is sacrificed. *Isikhalo* ('the loud cry') is significant and it must occur, since it is believed to be an ancestral voice indicating approval - *icamagu livumile*- (meaning 'the ancestral spirits have approved of the ritual killing') and thereafter it is ritually killed. After *isikhalo* the men present shout *camagu* (Be appeased!).¹³ If the 'cry' is weak or absent, the ritual slaughtering is discontinued immediately, and the males in the family have to consult a diviner to find out the cause. Mndende, on her talk show (Umhlobo wenene Radio Station) in 1999 once stated: '...some of the Xhosa- speaking people pay no serious attention to the 'cry' and continue to ritually kill the cow even if it 'hums'.' A sacrificial animal must 'cry' loudly and forcefully, because this signifies *impilo entle* ('good health') to the person for whom the ritual is being performed. Among certain clans a loud 'cry' is given additional connotations e.g. it is an indication that the blood must flow i.e. the actual ritual slaughter must ensue. The blood of the animal symbolises health and vigour, a life force containing a divine energy and unity between the person who is the officiate in the ritual work and the ancestral spirits whose bones have long become part of the soil. As Mbiti (1991) so aptly explains:

"In African society life is closely associated with blood. When blood is shed in making a sacrifice, it means that animal life is being given to God who is in fact the ultimate source of all life."

It was, and still is, important in Xhosa-proper ritual killings that the shed blood, which is used as a libation, 'irrigate' the soil so as to 'move' the ancestral bones (*ukushukumisa amathambo*) (i.e. to invoke the ancestors) in order to attract their attention, to appease to them and also make requests to protect the lineage members.

It is therefore a Xhosa custom that the ritual killing always be performed out of doors (to 'irrigate' the soil) and before sunset. A proper sacrificial killing is preceptive and the Xhosa always observe it in detail. I witnessed a contravention of this important Xhosa custom in March 1996, when I observed a ritual work presided over by diviner Makhos' uGcaleka, who, though of Xhosa cultural origin, and claiming descent from the Xhosa King Hintsa kaPhalo, performed the ritual killing in the living-room of a house in which many people and members of his entourage had assembled. This took place late at night, and I found the circumstances and the ritual itself, very disturbing, since it blatantly contravened traditional religious conventions.

To return to the conventional ritual slaughtering: The animal is skinned and thereafter *intsonyama*¹⁴ -the muscle above the right front fore-leg which is about the size of two hands joined together, and is of special ritual significance (Hammond-Tooke: 1989:70) is removed and broiled on the fire that has been prepared in the cattle-byre. Once this has been done the head of the homestead assembles all the lineage members (which include the female members belonging to the family, and *abatshana* i.e. 'nieces and nephews') inside the cattle-byre. All other females present, including those who married into the lineage, are not permitted to enter the cattle-byre. Each of the lineage members is given a small piece of broiled *intsonyama* to eat -an act of ritual tasting. This is known as *ukushwama*¹⁵ and is a customary way of opening a ritual feast, in which the other invited clan members may also eat of the apportioned meat. The sacrificial rite and its attendant ceremony functions on a collective or communal basis, in that it involves neighbours and community members, and is not confined to family members. But those who will eat a portion of the sacrificed animals are those who are free of ritual debts (i.e. they have undergone obligatory rituals such as *imbeleko*). However, their presence at this ritual is very significant. According to Xhosa beliefs each person who attends a ritual work is automatically accompanied by both her paternal and maternal ancestors, all of whom bestow blessings on the ritual work of the family. The ancestors are believed to play a vital role in warding off negative influences and bringing good fortune to the homestead where the rite is enacted. There is an archaic ritual invocation that the Xhosa use in all their ritual addresses when they make ritual speeches or supplicate their ancestral spirits:

'Makuded' ubumnyama kuvel' ukhanya.'
 ('Let the darkness move away and the light appear').

This is an urgent and emotional plea to the ancestors to ward off evil forces, remove all ritual impurity/pollution (*'isimnyama'*)¹⁶ and restore health, happiness and solace to the family concerned. The day after this ritual is referred to as the day of *izipheko* ('cooking' and feasting) on which the bones of the sacrificed animal are collected and placed in the room (where the head of the family used to sleep) together with the skin, and other residual parts, until the entire ritual has been completed. After the day of *izipheko*, the burning of the bones (*ukutshiswa kwamathambo*) takes place to indicate that the ritual work has been successfully done. Traditionally the skin of the sacrificed animal was used for *umnweba womninimzi* (kaross of the homestead head -a burial shroud, as stated earlier in p.25). Some parts of the skin were used to make arm and wrists bands for family members. Following colonisation the custom underwent changes and the skin of the sacrificed animal was usually sold to the Europeans. The money was used to purchase *ingcawa*, which replaced the traditional burial skin.

Another very important *idini* (sacrificial ceremony) among the Xhosa-speaking is *imbeleko*. Traditionally, it is customary for every Xhosa child to undergo the sacrifice of a goat, or of a beast, in the case of the twins. The birth ritual enactment was performed when the child was a few days old. By this the ancestors were thanked and were also asked to protect the child. The rite gave the child a place in the lineage and placed it under the care of specific ancestors. Since details of the custom vary, from one clan to another, either sheep or cattle could be used or a goat. In the Qwathi clan, for example, a beast is slaughtered as part of the ritual held for all the children of the homestead, some time after the last child is born. This information was given to me by an informant who had obtained it from her trainer diviner, MamKwayi by name. The informant, Elizabeth, grew up in the knowledge that she belonged to the Khuma clan, and her birth ritual was performed under that name. This became a problem for her when she was experiencing *umbilini*¹⁷ inflicted by her ancestors. MamKwayi told her that the Khuma *imbeleko* was invalid, and that she had in fact never undergone the ritual. This is a serious omission for any Xhosa person but for Elizabeth it was an obstacle to her initiation into the profession of a diviner. She was carrying a ritual debt and was therefore automatically excluded from the divination profession until she paid the ritual debt, which she did, to pacify her ancestral spirits (*'waya kungxengeza'*). Similarly, a Xhosa youth would be precluded from male initiation if he had not undergone *imbeleko*.

The case of Elizabeth is an interesting one, for another reason. Information concerning the birth ritual revealed that the Qwathi slaughter a beast for smaller (and larger) rituals, and Xhosa slaughter a beast only for larger more important ones. The Qwathi practice is not in accordance with Xhosa traditional customs. It is in these differences in details of custom that the Qwathi demonstrate that they are not 'Xhosa-proper'. It is a well-documented historical fact that the Qwathi have Zulu cultural connections. The intermarriage that occurred among peoples fleeing southward from the effects of Shaka (1816-1828), and sought refuge among established Xhosa chiefdoms, or were forcibly inducted into them, did not make them abandon or reject their original cultural customs. The absorption of various peoples into extant chiefdoms, and the establishment of new ones, made the Xhosa-speaking peoples something of a 'mixed' nation. Peires (1981:16) explains how this expansion and formation of Xhosa speakers happened among Xhosa-speakers, who have been classified by anthropologist into 12 chiefdom clusters:

"Some clans joined Xhosa voluntarily by immigrating into land ruled over by the *amaTshawe*, namely Maya and Qocwa (Thembu), the Ntshilibe (Sotho), the Ngwevu (Mpondomise), the Giqwa (Khoi) and the Ngqosini (Khoi or Sotho)...Other clans were incorporated involuntarily when the territory they occupied was invaded by the expanding *amaTshawe*. Many of these were Khoisan: the Sukwini, Gqwashu, Nqarwane (Khoi); the Cete (Khoi or Bantu); and the *isiThathu* (mixed Khoi and San)."

Because of the assimilation that had occurred, *amaXhosa* incorporated some religious concepts and cultural practices from Khoisan. Prins (1996) states:

"A symbiotic relationship established by San and Khoi with the *amaXhosa* led to intermarriages which, opened the way to cultural diffusion and the adoption of their religious ideas by *amaXhosa*. The fact that the Xhosa term for *igqirha* (pl. *amagqirha*) -diviners, is phonetically similar to the San term- *!gi:xa*- seems to suggest the level of association between San worldview and beliefs, and those of Xhosa diviners."

Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1989:32) also explains in detail that:

"The word *igqirha* is phonetically identical to the Southern/Xam Bushmen word for healer (shaman) *!gi:xa*. The first part of the word, -*!gi-* means 'potency', and the suffix, *-xa-* means 'full of', as in English 'powerful'.

This potency resides in the Bushmen healer (hence the appellation *!gi:xa*), and is activated in trance dances for healing purposes. It may be compared with the Xhosa concept of *umbilini* an energy source residing in people generally and in the diviners and their novices especially.”

Other evidence of cultural assimilations is the early Khoisan and Mbo influences on Xhosa religious practices. The Khoisan influences included cutting off the tip of the little finger (*ingqiti*) and throwing stones on wayside cairns (*izivivane*) Peires (1981: 65). The *abaMbo*¹⁸ influence on Xhosa religious practice was *utywala* (traditional beer).

Sityana (1978: 54) writes:

“Kuze kubakho amazimba kwakuba kufike abaMbo...utywala kwaku ngafane buphele kuba yayi yeyona nto ithandwayo ngabadala abantu, xa wona amaXhosa ayexabise iimvaba zamasi, engazi nto ngatywala.”

(‘The millet came into existence after the arrival of Mbo people...traditional beer was seldom allowed to get finished because it was the main thing that was liked by the elderly people, whereas Xhosa people valued the calabashes of curdled milk, and knew nothing about traditional beer’).

The above statement means that the Xhosa people knew nothing about traditional beer until *abaMbo* people introduced it to them. They used to drink curdled milk. Apart from being used as food and at *ezimbarheni* (‘beer gatherings’), it should be noted that the sorghum beer was, and still is, offered as a libation at ceremonial rituals, in honour of the ancestors. This custom has not completely changed; there is an addition of the European liquor brandy that is also offered as a libation after the traditional one has been poured on the ground. The Xhosa-speaking diviners use traditional beer as well as gin for their rituals.

2.8 Summary

The main issues in this chapter concern: the ancient and fundamental aspects of Xhosa traditional religious practices, which remain a vital part of contemporary Xhosa life, and continues to prescribe strict conventions and obligatory roles for Xhosa diviners themselves, and in relation to the communities they serve.

-the incorporation of 'outside' concepts into traditional belief system and worldview, largely as a result of social and political changes and the broader experiences of diviners who treat clients from diverse cultural and language backgrounds.

-the cleavage between staunch adherents of the traditional religion and those of Christianity, evident in ongoing debates on the compatibility/non-compatibility of the two, and on which issue diviners are particularly vocal.

Ubugqirha has its roots deep in the past history of the Xhosa, and a number of cases involving important figures in earlier times have been transmitted orally, and/or documented by several writers. History has it that Chief Gcaleka the son of the famous paramount Chief Phalo had a 'calling' to the profession shortly after he had undergone the rite of circumcision. He went and submerged ('*wathwetyulwa*')¹ in the Ngxingolo River, Komga district (Eastern Cape Province), which procedure qualified him as a diviner. Another significant historical figure was Mlanjeni who was a diviner with the additional status of 'war-doctor'. During the 1840's he built up a reputation as a witch-finder, and continually pressured people to cleanse themselves of witchcraft and sorcery (Soga {1931}: 229). Then there was Nxele,² also known as Makana or Makanda, who experienced symptoms diagnosed as the 'white sickness'. He established himself as a diviner and also a powerful and influential war-doctor. Nxele's beliefs and general outlook were to some extent expanded by his exposure to Christianity, and he became a church member, abandoned divination practice for a time, and began to speak out against polygyny, warfare and adultery. But in time Nxele relinquished this aggressive stand, and reverted to divination practice, applying red ochre to himself and dancing the diviners' ritual dance, practices he had temporarily discarded (Peires: 1982).

Another important diviner in the second half of the nineteenth century was Mhlakaza (active 1853-57), the uncle of the notorious Xhosa Nongqause whose visions precipitated the so-called 'cattle killing delusion', and who became her trainer diviner. Cf. Mhlakaza, Mndende cites Sweitzer saying (2000: 29):

"Mhlakaza (Willem Goliath) was the first Xhosa to receive the Anglican Holy Communion and be confirmed as the full member of the church under the tutelage of the missionary, Merriman (Sweitzer: 1993: 68)."

Ubugqirha is a Xhosa religious profession that has never been eclipsed though there have been attempts by colonial administrators to stifle, and even eradicate it. Lamla (1975: 25) pointed out:

"The British High Commissioner to South Africa and Governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith, took more positive steps to eliminate divination when he abruptly decreed in 1848 that 'smelling out' should end...As could be expected, diviners, perhaps instigated by chiefs, incited the people to oppose this proclamation by Sir Harry Smith."

After Sir Harry Smith's proclamation diviners went ahead with their duties. Mlanjeni who was a diviner of high rank, urged the Xhosa to prepare themselves for what became known as the Eighth Frontier War (1850) or War of Mlanjeni. He himself 'doctored' the Xhosa armies employing the *ukukhafula* method. Mlanjeni convinced the armies that he, a powerful war-doctor (*itola*)³ had powers to make them invincible, to fill the white men's guns with water, and to drive the whites out of the country, provided each and every Xhosa warrior made a sacrifice to his ancestors and wore the medicines that were given to them (Davenport: 1985).

3.1 Classification of diviners:

Diviners were traditionally named according to the principal methods they used to divine and diagnose. According to the literature on the subject, which is endorsed by oral information, there are four classes of diviners:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (a) <i>Amagqirha emvumisa /ngxilongo</i> | ('the diviners which cause to assent') |
| (b) <i>Ambululayo</i> | ('the revealers') |
| (c) <i>Aqubulayo</i> | ('the extractors') |
| (d) <i>Amatola</i> | ('the war doctors') |

According to my diviner informants, diviners in classes (a)–(c) are collectively called *amagqirha eentlombe* (lit. diviners of séances meaning that these diviners have undergone all the necessary steps of divination practice and the enactment of séances). The same informants aver that, class (d) is obsolete, *amatola* having been replaced by, or merged with, the profession of herbalists. There was also a class of diviners, who were referred to as the rainmakers, but they were not part of the treating or healing practitioners. In time the duties of the rainmakers were taken over by African Christian clergymen who, in times of drought, would go to the mountain on Sunday afternoon with their congregations to pray for the rain. The last prayer for rain I witnessed was in 1974 in Cradock.

3.1.1 *Amagqirha emvumisa:*

Ukuvumisa is a causative form from the verb *-vuma-* ('assent/agree or to sing') and has two meanings. The secondary meaning of *ukuvumisa* is a musical one; it implies, causing two or more people to sing ('*vuma*') which is preferably referred to by diviners, *ukombela* (i.e. to sing and clap for and, can also involve drumming).

To *vuma*, there must be *umhlabeli* ('song leader') who begins *ingoma* ('a song'), and leads off the chorus, who will *vuma* (lit. 'agree' meaning to sing) in response to the song leader's initial phrase. Thus the song leader's action is known as *ukuhlabela* ('to start off a song'). The chorus response is that of 'agreeing' or *ukulandela* 'to follow'. It is not surprising then, that the singing of two or more people is described as *ukuvuma*, a term that also stresses the harmonic, polyphonic aspect of Xhosa music (Hansen: 1981: 116). *Ukulandela* can also be musical, implying the 'tracing' or 'tracking' the song leader's vocal phrase. The chorus phrase is not an independent autonomous one, but it complements the song leader's phrase, and the 2 vocal phrases (=one pair of phrases) constitute the most common, basic, antiphonal structure of a Xhosa song. A song may also incur 2, 3, and even 4 phrase-pairs, which then constitute its total pattern respectively. The initial *ukuvumisa* ('to cause to agree') has non-musical meaning. From it derives a word *invumisa* ('a divinatory consultation') to investigate the cause. It involves statements and queries from the diviner, to which her client and other people should respond positively or negatively to the findings. Positive responses are framed in stereotyped phrases like *siyavuma!* usually accompanied by one or two short claps to endorse the concurrence with the diviner's statements. Disagreement is expressed with appropriate responses like *asiva!* and is not accompanied by claps. The diviner is initially consulted in order to answer the questions of the client who would want to know:

- The reason one became sick/'troubling' (e.g. being physically and mentally ill).
- The cause of the illness (which might be an ancestrally sent illness).
- A solution to the problem (that can be solved by responding positively to the ancestors' requests).

The above mentioned consultation plan is referred to as *ingxilongo*, from the noun *ukuxilonga*=to examine the patient. Should the client consult a diviner about the cause of misfortune then the kind of consultation used will be referred to as *ukuvumisa*. Below is an example of the reasons for *ukuvumisa* where the diviner has to answer the why, who, what and how questions of the client. Reasons for a *-vumisa*:

- To find lost property which was stolen to harm the victim.
- To find the person responsible for a particular deed.
- The reason why the perpetrator committed such an act (which may be out of jealousy, envy, greed, hate).
- How the stolen property may be returned.

Imvumisa usually follows certain basic procedures. Initially, a diviner usually knows when people are about to approach her for consultation. They (consultants) will enter the homestead and either seat themselves near the cattle-byre, (in the rural setting) or (according to the diviner's wishes) be shown into a consulting room (in an urban setting). The diviner will kneel (as a sign of respect to the ancestral spirits), and invoke her ancestral spirits to give her 'light' so as to be able to identify the problem about which she is being consulted. The response from the ancestral spirits comes in different ways. It is evident that, from the moment the patient seats herself before the diviner, the latter begins to sense certain aspects of her client's condition. Her divinatory powers come into play, and she begins to hear 'the ancestral voices' in her ears. One diviner MamGcina told me that one may also experience symptoms of the client's illness, before actually identifying it. However, the *vumisa* method of divining is always used in order to diagnose the patient's condition.

The following transcribed extract from a consultation demonstrates the *vumisa* method of divining. It occurred in 1981, when I was student at Thembalantu High School, a boarding school in Zwelitsha, in the Eastern Cape Province. The consultation concerned the theft of my wristwatch, which had been removed from its usual place under my pillow, in the school dormitory. Following the discussions with two friends who came from my home area, we decided to consult a diviner about the matter, and were advised to visit a diviner residing in Zone 8, Zwelitsha. On arriving at her house, we were invited by her into her consulting room that stood apart from the main dwelling. The diviner asked one of her initiates to divine for us, without telling her which one of us was the troubled client, and so the initiate addressed us in second person plural (you are -you have) as this is a normal procedure of consultation. She opened *imvumisa* with an invocation to her ancestors, and then followed with *imvumisa* proper:

Initiate: *Shaya vumani!*
Clap (and) agree!
Us: *S'yavum'!*
We agree!

Initiate: *Shaya vumani!*
Clap (and) agree!
Us: *S'yavum'! S'yavum'!*
We agree! We agree!

Initiate: *Nilahlekelwe yinto. Vumani!*

You have lost an item. Agree!

Us: *S'yavum'! S'yavum'!*

We agree! We agree!

Initiate: *Ningabantwana bes'kolo. Vumani!*

You are school children. Agree!

Us: *S'yavum'!*

Initiate: *Ndithi le nto inilahlekeleyo yinto ebotshwayo*

I say this thing (item) that you have lost is something that you can fasten on.

Us: *S'yavum'*

As we gave our responses, she became increasingly louder in her statements which were accompanied by correspondingly stronger claps, all of which confirmed the initiate's announcements, and her insights into the situation of the stolen wristwatch.

Us: *Ibotshwa njani le nto?*

How is this fastened on?

Initiate: *Iyaqhotyoshwa, iqhotyoshwa ngaphantsi. Umbala wayo umhlophe ndingathi ukunichazela ngakumbi sispensa.*

It is buttoned up, it is buttoned up underneath. Its color is white.

To give more explanation I can say, it is a body vest.

Just when we thought she was about to make a positive identification of the stolen object, she erred, and made an incorrect statement. At this point we felt the initiate was incompetent, and we requested a refund from the diviner, telling her that the stolen article was a watch and not a body vest, which the initiate had 'seen'. The diviner was clearly displeased with her initiate, and gave her a thrashing with *imvubu* ('a leather whip or whip cut out of the hide of hippopotami'). Traditionally, that was what diviners would use; nowadays *imvubu* has been replaced by a black hard plastic rod (cf. photo plate 20. p.296). Disappointed and fearful, the three of us hastily left the consulting room and returned to the school hostel. This example of the novice who failed to divine correctly does not apply to all the novices. In the same way that western medical Doctors can make mistakes and misdiagnose someone or a situation, this is also true of some diviners or their novices.

3.1.2 Amagqirha ambululayo:

The following account is based on the information about *amagqirha ambululayo* ('the revealers') given to me by Baw' uGxarha:

“Mandithi umzekelo nje ngokuba ugula, ingulo yakho mhlawumbi yenziwa yenye yezinto zakho ezidukileyo, ikawusi okanye ipenti, ekhayeni lakho zavela zafihlwa ngumntu okuthakathayo. Ezi zinto kufuneka zibiwe ngelixa lise msemdaka ngazo kuba yintsila efunekayo. Igqwirha liyakwenza oku kuba ungakwazi ukuba mawube nenzala, kwaye efunzele nokuba makonakalise nempilo yakho. Nje okokuba uqalise uye kwagqirha, uza kuxelela ukuba unengxaki yesibeleko okanye le nale, engazi kanye ukuba yintoni le ugula ngayo, uyakusuka ke akunike amayeza angazokwazi ukuyi nyanga lento unayo. Kusemva koku uyakuthabatha amanyathelo okuya egqirheni elaziwayo ngokuphanda izinto ezilahlekileyo lize likuncede. Olu hlobo lwegqirha liyavumisa limxelele umntu ukuba indawoni na loo nto imlahlekeleyo, liya kuhamba ke nomlahlekelwa liyo kuphanda loo nto ilahlekileyo.”

(‘Let me say for an example as you are sick, your sickness is perhaps caused because of one of your items (e.g. socks or a panty) went missing at your home and were hidden at a certain place by somebody who is bewitching you. These items are to be stolen whilst they are still dirty for it is one’s dirt that is needed. The witch will be doing this in order to make you unable to produce children, and also will aim at making your health condition always poor. Once you go and see a medical practitioner, he will tell you that you have a problem with your womb or this and that, not knowing exactly what it is that you are suffering from, and he will give you some medicine that your sickness will not respond to. It is after this that you will go and consult a diviner who specialises in searching and revealing concealed items to help you with your problem. A diviner will never be able to heal the client without having first searched for the missing item. This kind of diviner divines for one and tells the client where the stolen property is, and he will go with the consultant to search for the lost property’).

Soga ({1931}: 169) explains thus:

“The term *ukwembulula* has two meanings, (a) a complete confiscation of one’s property (b) to investigate and reveal or produce. The former refers particularly to the confiscation of all the property of one convicted of witchcraft. But under (b) the term refers to that class of diviner, who, by searching and divining, finds out where a destroying substance has been secreted by a sorcerer, and reveals it.”

3.1.3 Igqirha eliqubulayo:

This is a diviner who removes evil 'sent' substance (*ithunyelo* 'sent for' or *ibekelo* 'put for')⁴ by extracting it from an affected part of the patient's body. This is done by means of an amount of oval-shaped cow dung, which the diviner kneads, with his hands, into the shape of a poultice before applying it to the patient's body. He holds the poultice in place with his hands, then places his mouth on one of his thumbs, making violent smacking sounds as if he is trying to extract something by suction.

From many reported observations, the objects sucked out have been a piece of rag, limbs of a grasshopper, and other kinds of insects (cf. Soga {1931}: 168).

Soga states:

"It may be anything which could have been previously secreted in the cow dung or in his mouth and has dexterously got into his hands unperceived."

It seems that diviners who work with more conservative methods mistrust these kinds of diviners. When I asked one of my informants MamGcina about this class of diviners she said:

"Yho! Andikholelwa ukuba akhona amagqirha anjalo. Le nto yokuqubula yenziwa ngabantu nje okanye amagqirha aqhathayo. Uninzi lwabantu endibaziyo abenza le nto ayingomagqirha ingengawo namaxhwele. Uyakufumanisa ukuba abantu abaqubulayo abasebenzisi kwanemithi kule nto yabo. Abakwazi ukugqitha ngapha kobu buxoki babenzayo. Yindlela nje yokwenza imali okanye singathi nabethu, sisiphiwo asiphiweyo kodwa ke isinyanya singade simnike isiphiwo esinjeya? Unotshe! Sizihambile iintlombe nabantu abanjalo abathi bona bangamagqirha aqubulayo. Ndaye ndafumanisa ukuba yi-robbing game le ikule le nto. Uyakuva omnye esithi kumguli: Ndikhuphe le nto emzimbeni wakho, ufumanise ukuba yinto ebeyifake emlonyeni wakhe."

('I don't believe there are such diviners. This thing of *ukuqubula* is done by ordinary people or diviners who are charlatans. Most of the people that I know of and who practice this are neither diviners nor herbalists. You will find out that people who *qubula* do not even use medicinal plants in their practice. They cannot go beyond their fake practice. That is just a way of making money or, shall we say, it is a gift that he has been given but can one's ancestors give one such a gift? *Unotshe!* ('that will never do!').

We have attended *iintlombe* with such people who called themselves *amagqirha aqubulayo*. I learnt that there is a robbing business in that kind of practice. You will hear one saying to a patient: I have extracted this from your body, only to find out it was a substance that he had put in his mouth’).

3.1.4. Amatola:

According to Baw’ uDlamini, a herbalist who became one of my informants, *amatola* were war diviners. Their duty was to doctor the warriors before they went into battle (tribal, and the colonial). The warriors would be sprinkled with the mixture of *umabophe*, and incisions would be made in their bodies, into which *amatola* would rub the fat of forest animal. This was done so as to make the warriors so powerful that they would not be afraid to face the enemy. The duty of *amatola* was much the same as that of the duties of herbalists. That is why after the colonial-tribal wars ended, they carried on with the duties of being herbalists.

Baw’ uGxarha says of *amatola*:

“They are ‘homestead’ diviners (*amagqirha ekhaya*). They are ‘white people’ (just like diviners) but have not undergone the training of *ukuthwasa*. They help in unravelling ancestry revelations of the homestead and they do not wear diviners’ beads.”

3.2 The significance of diviners’ regalia:

Diviners could come from different clans and perform different traditional rituals, but there are things that make them ‘speak one language’ (i.e. identify them as *amagqirha*), and of the most essential is the wearing of white beads. These play a significant and sacred role in the lives of diviners and their initiates. The predominance of white beads draws attention to a powerful symbolism of light, knowledge, energy and purity (Procter and Klopper: 1994: 59). Yet it is not merely white beads that make a diviner, as was pointed out by a diviner supplicating to her ancestors on one occasion:

“Ubugqirha abukho zintsimbini busegazini yile nto xa sithetha sithi umntu unegazi eli mhlophe.”

(‘Divinership is not in the beads but it is in one’s blood, that is why we say one has ‘white blood’’).

Other diviners say beads play the most important role in one's 'sickness' because they serve as a link between 'white people' and their ancestors. Doctor Ashley Totana, says about beads as a symbol of communication (with the ancestral spirits):

"The circumference of a bead and the inner line of the hole, represents number 10 which according to him (number 10) symbolises communication."

He justifies this by giving the following bead illustration:



Each of the two circles represents numeral 5, which becomes $5+5=10$

He explains that when a diviner divines for her client she puts on her headband made out of beads, called *umvandaba* (lit. the one that hears news), which she uses as a stethoscope, and which makes it possible for her to have access to her ancestors so that they can communicate effectively with her. According to the information I obtained from Mr Dladla, who is the representative member of 'Icamagu Institute':

"Traditionally 'white people' used *amatantyisi* because conventional beads were introduced to them only after the arrival of the London Missionary Society who accompanied their preaching with trading of imported goods."

As Sharma Saitowitz (1994: 35 points out):

"Most of the beads imported into Southern Africa after European contact were probably manufactured in Holland, Germany, and Italy or Italian controlled factories in France and Bohemia, and later Czechoslovakia. The earliest ports for glass beads traded in South Africa and the eastern Cape were Delagoa Bay, or Cape Town, and later Durban and East London."

In addition, Carol Kaufmann (1994: 49) quotes Shaw & Van Warmelo (1988: 863), citing an example of one of the 'Caffre fairs' from a document written in 1834:

"...Some commodities which became available to the Xhosa via trading stores were and continue to be used by diviners for religious symbols and artifacts.

Beads and beadwork are an essential part of a diviner's regalia, and colour is significant. White beads are particularly so for diviners -since white symbolises health, light, and also the marginal status of diviners (as people of the light i.e. *abantu abamhlophe*) and 'servants' of the ancestors, and novices who are undergoing training in spirit mediumship. Beads are a western European importation."

In 1999 I visited MamNcotshe and her aunt who is a diviner (living in Gugulethu). I took my recording tape with me, in case something new would come up in our talk. Indeed the topic for the afternoon was about diviners' regalia. My questions for her went as follows (cf. original Xhosa account in Appendix 3; vol.2 p.7):

Myself: Why is it essential for 'white people' to wear beads? What role do they play in divination practice?

Ncotshe: Look here, did you know that beads and divination songs do almost the same work, of accessing one to one's ancestral spirits? When one wants to summon one's ancestral spirits one uses one's dreamt song. Isn't that so? When people have come for consultation, a diviner wears the headband *umvandaba* (see p.299 photo plate 28) so as to be able to communicate with her ancestors. *Umvandaba* then helps the diviner to be in the light of her ancestors, so as to be shown the diagnosis. We can say *umvandaba* is like a stethoscope in the western medical terms. 'White people' *thonga* their beads and they are even shown the design. This also applies to *ingoma*, one is given the song to summon one's ancestral spirits and even shown the way it should be sung so that one's ancestors may respond positively. Now, I will answer your question even if I am going to give you an incomplete response. First of all, when one gets into divination training, one gets in as an ordinary person but having the signs and symptoms of 'white sickness', then it is said: one is experiencing *ukuthwasa*. There are certain parts of the body that are always targeted (by the ancestors), the wrists and ankle joints, the head and neck, all these are 'tethered' by white beads so as to calm the 'sick person' down. White beads are essential for someone who is getting initiated into divination training because one starts with wearing the white colour before one is shown other colours to wear. There is no diviner who could say she has never passed through the stage of the wearing of the white beads. One becomes a fully-fledged diviner by virtue of these white beads. Later in the process of training other colours are revealed to one as one progresses through divination stages. The same with the songs, as one progresses from one stage of training into another one is given more songs by one's ancestors.

Another important thing about white beads is that, they are ritually connected with a goat, for your information, in many ritual cases a goat; is referred to as *iyeza* (medicine), just like the beads which are referred to as *iyeza*. Have you ever noticed when *imbeleko* is done for one, the person responsible for making the ritual necklet (*isiyaca*), takes the twisted thread of a sinew from one's sacrificed goat and puts it through the hole of a set of white beads? The white beads of diviners are used as identification so that people can differentiate between an ordinary person and a 'white person'.

It is therefore essential for a 'sick person' to wear white beads at all times even if it is just a string of it. Do you understand? Well, we are diviners of new generation; so, we sometimes take our beads off and want to wear some glittering jewellery. But a week will be too long for a diviner to be without her beads. The blood of a 'white person' always needs white beads so these play a very significant role in 'white sickness'. That is why you sometimes hear diviners call themselves *abantu besizwe sentsimbi emhlophe* ('the people of the white bead nation').

Myself: Do diviners wear black beads?

Ncotshe: You get black beads from a shop but according to divination custom 'white people' are not supposed to use them. But there are diviners who wear black beads I don't know whether or not they are being directed by their ancestors to do that. Do you understand now? There are diviners who wear black beads; I will show you one day. Did you know that these beads we wear have names?

Myself: Well, I only know a few of them. Can you give me the names of those you wear?

Ncotshe: All right! They are:(cf. glossary p.319 for meanings of the ff. terms).

isidanga

ithemba

vula kabini

iwatsha

isiqweqwe: (imigxaji, umvandaba)

isiyambana

imigangxo

idiloza

usaliwe

isaziso sesinqe

Myself: Can a diviner use a cow skin to make a head-dress if she wants to?

Ncotshe: No, *isidlokolo* ('head-dress') (see p.299. plate nos. 29, 30 and 31) should be of a forest or river animal skin, which one has been shown by one's ancestral spirits. Our head-dresses are not the same, just like our skirts (*imithika*), (see p.299 plate no.28). To some people who do not know what is taking place in the practice of diviners, they will think that our head-dresses look the same, which is not the case. The fur for the head-dress and the skirt is taken from forest, or from river animals, but not from the domestic animal.

Myself: Who is responsible for sewing the head-dress and the skirt?

Ncotshe: That becomes the duty of a trainer diviner or the family member of the trainee diviner. In the family, the person who will be sewing these items must be free of ritual debts. These ritual items will be kept until she has accumulated enough money to buy her beast, and these will be given to her on the day she will be taken back home or she will be 'put' *enkundleni* ('in the courtyard'). What you must bare in mind again is that, it is not a diviner that puts the headdress on the trainee diviner's head but the head of the family or the proxy.

Myself: Why does a diviner not do this?

Ncotshe: A 'white person's' regalia is something that belongs to one's family though the trainer diviner has to 'bless' the items first by daubing them with the froth of *ubulawu*.⁵ After this, she hands them over to the head of the family who will be doing the robing. As a diviner I cannot robe the novice because I do not belong to her clan, and the head of the family has to say some few ritual words whilst robing her.

Myself: How does one get *itshoba* (diviner's switch)? My English fiancé watched a video cassette of *intlombe* that I brought to England with me. He asked if the hairs that stuck out of the stick were of the White peoples' (Europeans)? He asked because the colours of others were blonde, and others were brunette.

Ncotshe: *Hee!* (She laughed) Oh no! I never thought of this, but he is right neh! Our switches do really look like White peoples' hair. Well, that is the tail of a beast. Diviners have different colours of switches because diviners are shown different beasts by their ancestors. You do not choose the colour of a beast without having been shown by your ancestors first. You see for instance I did not like the colour of my beast that I was shown. It was a red beast with a black tail and I did not want to have a black switch but I had no choice but to go and look for it. So one gets *itshoba* from one's dreamt beast. A tail is severed after it has been ritually slaughtered, its' tail skin is then cut on the side to remove the tendon and is then pulled over a stick and sewn. The exposed part of the stick is subsequently decorated with colourful beads.

Myself: What is the function of *itshoba*?

Ncotshe: A diviner's *itshoba* (see p.297 photo plate 23) carries a special power, so a diviner carries it when she divines for someone. At *intlombe*, besides dancing with it, the host diviner uses it for scooping the froth of *ubulawu*, and sprinkling the corners of the house and the door entrance so as to ward off evil forces.

Myself: What kind of diviners go to *intlombe* without wearing their regalia? I ask this question because I have seen some not in their full regalia.

Ncotshe: There are *iintlombe* whereby diviners can attend without wearing their regalia but the wearing of the beads becomes essential. It is also necessary for them to wear full regalia when there is a ritual sacrifice except in the case whereby a diviner has *isimnyama*.

Myself: When diviners are at *intlombe* do they not encounter problems whereby their various animal skins clash or have adverse effects on novices?

Ncotshe: That happens, let me not deny it. It happens to certain people. I also experienced it on several occasions when I was in the last stages of my training. I had already been shown my beast of 'recovery', the animal fur for the headdress, and also animal skins for the skirt, but I had a difficulty of getting it (animal fur). It happened then one day when I was at *intlombe*, a diviner who was wearing the fur (I dreamt of) came and stood next to me, and I got sick immediately.

I was taken into the bedroom and my dreamt song was sung for me and my diviner also appeased the ancestral spirits on my behalf. As I have already, said, this thing happened on several times, I had to stop attending *iintlombe*, and look for this fur. My trainer diviner said to me even if I get a small piece, that would make a great difference. And, also these animals that we are shown in our dreams are so hard to get.

Myself: When does the beast arrive? Or who brings it at home?

Ncotshe: You see, once you talk about the arrival of a beast, you are going to confuse me because you are now using a township/urban language. A beast is something that is always found in the cattle-byre. I am speaking the rural language now. I do not know about the one in the urban area that is arriving, mine never arrived. I was shown even the place, so I went to fetch it from the cattle-byre.

Myself: What if you cannot find the colour you have been shown?

Ncotshe: I will get it at another house maybe, even if I am not related to those people. I would be given the money to go and buy it (accompanied by the elders of the family). This is how we get beast; they do not just 'arrive'.

Myself: Is it not a problem to take a beast that belongs to another clan?

Ncotshe: No, once you are shown a beast you are told where to find it even if it is of a European farmer. So there is no problem in that case.

Myself: Why is it then a problem to pluck the hairs for a ritual necklet from the tail of the beast of a European farmer?

Ncotshe: The reason is, in the case of the ritual necklet, there is not a single clan that does not have cattle. So one will go to people that one shares a clan name with, and ask them to pluck the hairs of its tail. In the township there are no cattle, one will then go to the villages and ask for one's clan people. The beast, which is chosen, is the one for which a ritual has also been 'enacted' (*inkomo eyenzelwe isiko*), ritual speeches are also made on that day it is chosen. You will hear the head of the family saying: "*Nantsi ke inkomo yobulunga yalapha emaNcotsheni, abantwana balapha bayakuphila phantsi kwayo.*" ('Here is the beast of righteousness that belongs to the Ncotshe clan, the children of this household will recover under its presence'). Once it dies another one is then chosen from its offspring. That is why *inkomo yesiyaca* ('the beast for a ritual necklet') is supposed to be a heifer, not a bull. They do not choose any beast; for instance, the beast of *ubulunga* ('righteousness') is not taken from *ikhazi* ('cattle given to a parent for the loss of his daughter on marriage'). It is a beast that has been brought into existence here at this homestead or that has been bought, but not from the *lobola* cattle.

Myself: Are the small sticks that are always carried by some initiates ordinary sticks or do they possess some power?

Ncotshe: That stick that the initiates carry is called *umatshinitshini* (see p.295 photo plate no. 16). In the first place *umatshinitshini* is a medicine, a medicinal plant that is carried by people who are 'sick' and use it as a stick. A 'sick person' does not carry any ordinary stick. A diviner carries *umsimbithi* sometimes.

Myself: In what way does *umatshinitshini* help?

Ncotshe: It is a medicine that captures evil forces. As the initiate gets into the practice of diviners, it is always the case that there are people who always stand in the way of others, to stop them from getting what they want to achieve, and send some bad spirits. *Umatshinitshini* helps in this regard by protecting one from being harmed by one's enemies. So it is then a protective medicine.

Myself: Briefly tell me about the significance of a spear.

Ncotshe: A 'white person' is given this stick by her 'people' (i.e. ancestors) so as to be firm in her ancestral calling. And, to maintain good morals and be in good spirit in her 'sickness', so as to be able to fight enemies who go against her with evil forces. Now, when one fights with a spear it means that, one goes to the courtyard and holds it firm, and talks to the ancestral spirits, who will provide one with protection. When you are still a novice you carry a spear all the time; you cannot walk with bare hands when you are a novice. When a novice talks to her trainer diviner or any diviner, she kneels and holds the spear firm, looking down as a sign of respect, revering her ancestors and those of the diviner. When she divines for people she has to hold her spear, a novice cannot just commune with her ancestors without holding a spear. The spear is also useful in digging out some medicinal roots that one might be shown by the ancestors whilst walking a long distance; this also applies to the diviners because they also carry spears. The spear is also carried at *intlombe* by a diviner or a novice when standing at *intungo* supplicating to their ancestors. Sometimes a diviner can also carry *imvubu* instead of a spear.

Myself: What is the importance of *imvubu*?

Ncotshe: *Yho! mnta kabawo* ('Oh child of my father!') that is the thing I do not understand (she laughed). I do not know, I am sure it is for whipping novices.

What MamNcotshe is saying could be true because one novice told me that her diviner once whipped her and she (the novice) did not like the way she was assaulted and also the novice who divined for me in pages 42 and 43, was whipped by her diviner when she fumbled.

MamNcotshe went on and said (about the importance of *imvubu*): There are times at *intlombe* when a diviner feels like doing the ritual dance with the novices for reasons known only to her. Now, that diviner cannot carry *itshoba* when dancing with the novices because that can make them sick, *itshoba* is too 'heavy' for a novice (i.e. it possesses some sort of energy that could put their health at risk).

Myself: I have been asked by outsiders if male diviners are transvestites since they been seen wearing *imibhaco* or *amajalimane* at *intlombe*. How could this be explained?

Ncotshe: Listen *umbhaco nejalimani* is what every 'sick person' wears regardless of gender. In the practice of diviners there is no mother, nor a father. We are tied with one belt by our ancestors, that is why even at *intlombe* when a diviner talks, she says: *Thina magqirha, hayi magqirha namagqirhakazi* ('we diviners, not male diviners and female diviners'). This makes the dancing to be more easier because nothing constricts them.

Myself: How do they feel under those skirts?

Ncotshe: Very happy, extremely happy. It does not bother them because they are used to it and they know that they are not *moffies* ('gay') they are very straight (they have their female partners). And, traditionally our ancestors used to wear blankets and only changed after the arrival of *abeLungu* ('the Europeans'). But you know what? Sometimes we laugh at them especially at the way they tie the skirts around their waist.

Myself: Does a calamine lotion and white ochre carry the same value?

Ncotshe: You know the word calamine makes me sick and please stop using it. A calamine is something that is used in townships by the 'actors'. When I talk about 'actors' I am referring to 'white people' who do not take their practice seriously. *Ingxwala* ('white ochre') is of great importance. First, when you enter the training it is said one's ancestors are supposed to see one 'white', smelling ochre at all times. According to diviners' custom, an initiate is not allowed to enter her trainer diviner's house without having smeared her face and all other exposed body parts with *ingxwala*. Let me summarise this in this way: It is said no person is supposed to see an initiate's luck. As one (an initiate) moves from one place to another, one meets a lot of people and so it is must therefore not be easy for non-diviners to access the initiates 'world'. What I can say is, *ingxwala* embodies a supernatural force that makes an initiate's 'world' not easily entered. Once more I can say it helps in preventing evil forces and keeps one in the light of one's ancestral spirits.

3.3 Summary:

Part of this chapter puts divination in its true perspective by disputing the misconception that diviners are associated with witchcraft by being witchdoctors. Divination is an inherent religious part of the Xhosa-speaking people's life and daily activity from time immemorial. Diviners can be classified into various categories, though it can be said that some are no longer prominent. The commonality is that all have been 'called' and of these *amagqirha emvumisa* are more relevant in the present discussion as they relate directly to song. The structure of the *vumisa* method, which is in call and response form and accompanied with clapping, is related to traditional song structure and especially those of diviners. The chapter has also ascertained the relationship between the regalia of diviners and their songs because these are revealed in their dreams by the ancestors and also when they are going to divine for a client, they put on the headband *umvandaba* and begin to sing and invoke their ancestors. MamNcotshe has put it clearly in the interview I conducted with her. Also, the wearing of traditional skirts by male diviners shows that divination is a gender-neutral activity.

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE CATEGORIES OF ILLNESS4.0 Introduction:

When Xhosa speaking-diviners and Xhosa-speakers generally speak about different kinds of illnesses they may refer to:

- (a) A general illness that may be cured by administering a western medical treatment.
- (b) *Ingulo emhlophe* (a 'white illness' i.e. symptomatic of a 'call' to the 'profession' of a diviner).
- (c) An ancestrally sent illness.
- (d) An illness caused by witchcraft.

The following sections therefore are going to be concerned with these different kinds of illnesses. I will, however leave out the first one, as it is a general sickness that does not involve enactment of Xhosa traditional rituals and therefore is not relevant for the present debate.

4.1 *Ingulo emhlophe:*

This is one of a number of ancestrally sent illnesses, which is sometimes referred to as a 'Xhosa illness'. *Ingulo emhlophe* is so named because of the great ritual significance of the colour white, reserved for diviners and their trainees. Both diviners and their trainees are commonly referred to as *abantu abamhlophe* ('white people'/'people of the light') or as *abantu abanegazi elimhlophe* ('people who have 'white blood'). White is symbolic of diviners and is an indication of their spiritual state, and change of status as servants of the ancestors. This is symbolised by the wearing of white beads on the head, around the neck, wrists and ankles. The beads are acquired on the day a person gets initiated into divination training, and at different stages during the training period. On these occasions the 'sick person' is daubed with white clay substance (*ingxwala*), which is a basic purifying ingredient, associated with the spirit world. This white ochre is applied to the exposed body areas -face, arms and legs.

A white colour is also apparent in diviners' clothing, and regalia,¹ e.g. in the goatskin armlets, bracelets and bandoleers which, together with other beaded articles made with white, red turquoise blue beads, are also acquired at specific stages in the training period, and are marked by rituals. The amount of white beads ornaments worn by a novice (with an admixture of blue and red beads) is an indication of the period of time one has been in training. In Xhosa culture, the wearing of white beads, and the daubing of white ochre distinguishes *umntu omhlophe* ('a 'white person') from ordinary people who are referred to as *abantu abamnyama* ('the 'black people') i.e. non-diviners.

4.1.1 The process of becoming a 'white person':

The 'call' to the profession of diviner is not a random experience, but comes from the ancestors, and it may happen to females and males, non-literate or literate, Christians and non-Christians. It may also happen to young and old (there is no age limit).

Magibisela: 1994:18 elaborates:

"Umntu uzalwa eligqirha, uthi ke aqatshelwe ngezimbo kwasebuntwaneni bakhe...xa elele aphuphe izinto ezinqabileyo zekhaya elo lakhe, achaze, azobe, atyibele abantu ababonileyo bethetha naye....Lo mntu uphupha amayeza athile ewakha ze awasebenzise ukunyanga izifo ezithile."

('One is born a diviner, and her behavioural patterns are observed from childhood (by experienced elders) ...when she is sleeping, she dreams of things that are obscure to her of her homestead, she would describe them, giving a clear picture of the sort of people she has seen talking to her....This person dreams about certain medicinal plants, digging them out so as to use them in curing certain diseases').

It happens that the person who is afflicted with this 'sickness' or selected by the ancestors to enter the 'profession', has a lineage member who was or still is a diviner from the maternal or paternal sides. The other symptoms of the afflicted person are withdrawal and irritability when spoken to. Sometimes one becomes very restless, violent, abusive and aggressive (Burhmann:1984: 36).

Hammond-Tooke (1974: 348) points out that the 'sickness' is characterised by various, physical and mental symptoms such as dizziness, fits of dissociation and these are known as *iinkathazo* ('troubles'). *Ingulo emhlophe* does not respond to western medical treatment² and the only cure is for the afflicted person to respond positively to the ancestral calling.

When this is done, the chosen person is usually shown her ritual guide (trainer/diviner) in *amathongo* ('ancestral dreams'/ 'dream visions'). Alternately, a diviner of repute and known to the family concerned will be consulted about the matter. A consultation requires the involvement of the diviner, *umguli*, and members of her immediate family, who will be accompanied by their paternal and maternal ancestral spirits. The consultation usually takes place after the family members have met, and one of them, usually *udadobawo* ('paternal sister') has 'shouted' (*wangxola* = verb derived from a causative verb *ukungxola*) to the ancestors to reveal to *umguli* a diviner that will train her, and remove the darkness from her, and show her the light (i.e. the ancestors reveal to her what she ought to do). If the consultation is deemed successful, *umguli* pays *imvula-ngxowa* also known as *imvula-tasi* (lit. 'the bag-opener', this bag being the personal bag of medicinal plants and herbs each diviner uses on such occasions'). In this context, this *mvula-ngxowa* is the consultation fee that is paid by the family of the afflicted person, thereby enabling the diviner to have access to her medicine and to use it for curing *umguli*.

The onset of the symptoms is often sudden, and unexpected, and the psycho-physiological state is described in terms of being 'something new' (Buhrmann:1984:36). Once the symptoms have been diagnosed as the 'white sickness' (by a diviner), the afflicted person is called *ithwasa* or *umguli* and is said to be in a state of *ukuthwasa*. The 'sickness' is a sign that the afflicted person is being called by the ancestors to follow the 'profession' of diviner. The 'profession' of Xhosa diviners is not easily attained. In order to become eligible for training and initiation all the necessary homestead traditional rituals must be performed. Without meeting these requirements one cannot enter the training and would be perceived to be carrying ritual debts. All the required rituals must be performed prior to undergoing training in divinership. After the afflicted person has been diagnosed, she is informed by the diviner of the rules and regulations to be observed in training.

Depending on the condition of the 'sick one', she can be left at the diviner's house or go back home with her family. But before she leaves the diviner's home, she has to be rid of *iintlanga ezimdaka*³ ('invisible evil incisions') that have been made on her body by evildoers. Once this has been done, *ithwasa* will commence the regular use of cleansing and protective medicinal plants (and also wash with *ubulawu*), as an emetic and for bathing and steaming purposes. A special medicinal mixture ('*umnxube/imbiza*') which is a purgative, is also prepared for the 'sick one', since she has to be clean inside and outside. These medicinal plants will help her to receive vivid ancestral dreams and to be in constant contact with her ancestors. A 'white person' becomes restless whenever she is in the company of people who are carrying evil substances and can be easily bewitched, hence the need for protective medicines on a daily basis (Note however, emetics and steaming (inhalation) medicines are not used daily). Another medicinal plant of great significance is one that is kept under the afflicted person's pillow when she sleeps. This is known as a medicinal plant of *ukuchila* and is a protection against evil agents.

Magibisela (1994:19) further states:

"...iyeza lokuchila lisetyenziswa ukugxotha izinto ezimdaka...ezifana noothikoloshe, oomamlambo, iimpundulu nabantu aba bembala abeza kakubi xa ithwasa lilele.

('The medicinal plant of *ukuchila* is used for driving away 'filthy' things (familiar)...such as *oothikoloshe*,⁴ *oomamlambo*,⁵ *iimpundulu*⁶ and even ordinary people who come with evil intentions when an *ithwasa* is asleep).

4.1.2 Preparations for *umguli*:

If the potential trainee is free of ritual debts, then preparations are soon made for *umguli* to be inducted into the training period. In this case, *intlombe* is enacted for one to enter and be initiated into divination training (this has been discussed in chapter six under the classification of *iintlombe*). The day after *intlombe*, the initiate begins her divination training, which is always done at the diviner's place. If a novice has regular employment, or is still attending school, the diviner is obligated to arrange a schedule to accommodate the initiate. Regular contact with the trainer diviner is crucial, since the activities of the ancestral dreams of a novice must be reported regularly to the diviner.

A working *umguli* must contact her diviner before going to work or to school, and again afterwards, in order to receive instruction in the various techniques of the ‘profession’ which have to be learned at this particular level of training. The trainer diviner becomes responsible for all the rituals that will be enacted for the ‘sick person’ but the actual period of training is a matter that is determined by ancestral revelations to *umguli*.

4.1.3 The training period:

The periods of training vary from less than a year, to several years. I know of initiates who have undergone protracted training for as long as twenty-five years. One such woman became one of my main informants for this study (see case study five p.223). She is a resident of Ngqoko village near Lady Frere (Cacadu) in the Eastern Cape Province, and was in the final stages of her training period, of twenty-five years. Economic factors may also influence the duration of the training period of *umguli* or even terminate training. Since she (*umguli*) requires ritual killings at different stages in the training period, the expenses of these have to be met by her family. In Swaziland the period of training is commonly fixed at six or twelve months duration. The marked difference between the duration of the Swazi and Xhosa training periods is endorsed by Xhosa informants. After a long period of time without a trainer diviner, Elizabeth, who became my informant, along with her sister visited a friend who had to have *izangoma* visitors from Swaziland visit her home. *Izangoma* (Swazi=*itangoma*) noticed that she (Elizabeth) was constantly belching, emitting the ‘big belches’ associated with diviners. She was then approached by one of them who offered her a six-month apprenticeship. She refused the offer, as she preferred to undergo training according to Xhosa custom. When Makhos’ uGcaleka diagnosed myself (and many other people in Cape Town) as being possessed by *amaNdau*,⁷ he said to me:

“Makhosi *uyathwasa kufuneka uz’ apha kum ndikuthwasise. Akuboni igazi lam nelakho liyadibana? Ndiza kunika nje i-training ye-six months qha.*”

(‘Makhosi, you are experiencing *ukuthwasa*, you should come to me so that I can train you. Can’t you see that my blood and yours blend together? I will just give you a six-month training that’s all’).

My response was: "I have not noticed that I have an ancestral calling, I will wait until my ancestors give me the direction they want me to take." This is an example of how the divination practices of Nguni people differ. There are cases of Xhosa-speaking people who go to Swaziland for their divination training. Some find the six-month period training unattractive, while others opt for it because they have Siswati-speaking ancestors. I personally know of no Zulu or Siswati-speaking people who travelled all the way from their places of origin to be initiated according to Xhosa custom. However, there is *isiphehlo sikatat' uSithole* ('divination training school of father Sithole') who is of Zulu origin, and who has a number of Xhosa-speaking diviners who graduated under his training. These diviners wear the Xhosa divination beads but also use a foreign cloth called *lihiya* (cf. photo plates p.291), which is not used by Xhosa-speaking diviners but used mainly by Swazi-speaking diviners. *Lihiya* is also part of Swazi national dress.

During the training period some instruction are normally given to *umguli* on:

- Food taboos.
- The medicinal value of certain plants and their use for specific complaints.
- The correct procedure for invoking the ancestors by name and how to supplicate them.
- The techniques of *ombela*, which can be problematic for those who are 'schooled' (Westernised or urbanised) and are more accustomed to singing in western vocal styles and not in the Xhosa traditional way.
- The ritual healing dance, which many urbanised initiates do not know, as they have become more familiar with popular urban dance forms. The importance of attending *iintlombe* is obligatory and carries great spiritual weight.
- Performing *unontongwana*

On off-duty days or school holidays a novice spends most of her time at her diviner's place learning the requirements of the profession and also doing chores for the diviner. Novices always accompany their diviner on their local home visits and even to more distant localities e.g. the Eastern Cape Province. When the diviner has been invited to *iintlombe* she goes with her novices. The attendance of *iintlombe* is subject to permission from the trainer diviner since a novice is in a state of continual ill health. Novices are in a precarious state of health and therefore vulnerable to people who are likely to harm them. For this reason, prior to attending *iintlombe* novices must assemble at their diviner's place to undergo ritual washing with certain 'medicine' in order to secure protection against potential evildoers.

4.1.4 Resistance to *intwaso*

The ancestral calling is not always obeyed, however, and those who are chosen may desist for a number of reasons. A fairly common reason for rejecting the ‘call’ is the fear of ostracism by educated or ‘sophisticated’ Xhosa, many of whom regard diviners with disdain and even dislike.

Baw’ uGxarha once said:

“Abantu abanje banenkani, bavela bambhombhozele besithi ubugqirha zizinto zamaqaba. Kwabona baphinde bathi bayahlazeka ngala magqirha anagaphucukanga, babuye bathi: Andinakuzingcolisa mna ndiquqe ehlathini ndiqabelana neentaba kunye namagqirha ndibe ndirhomb’ iingcambu ndikha nemifuno, ndibe ndi-shout-wa mgumntu endingamazi nokumazi. Hayi, andiyiyo loo type.”

(‘Such people become recalcitrant, and mutter excuses like *ubugqirha zizinto zamaqaba* (‘divination is the prerogative of the ‘red ochred’ Xhosa/traditionalist/raw heathens’). Such people also say that they are embarrassed by the diviners who are not civilised, adding: “I cannot dirty myself going into the forest or climbing up the hills with diviners, digging out roots and picking herbs, being shouted at by someone (a diviner) I do not know at all. No! I am not that type!’)).

However, resistance to the ancestral calling (*ukubizwa*) is dangerous, because it makes the chosen person vulnerable to evil forces, which may harm her. The ancestors temporarily relinquish their role as guardians of their living descendants, leaving them defenceless against attack from witches and sorcerers (J.Kiernan: 1995:23).

4.1.5 Reasons for novices abandoning training:

Initiates may also become dissatisfied with the way they are treated by their diviners and decide to abandon their training. My former informant Elizabeth (mentioned earlier in p.34-35) for example told me that when MamKwayi (her second trainer diviner) unravelled her *amathongo*; she mentioned to her that the diviner who initially placed beads upon her, had trained her *ngempundulu* (i.e. under the influence of the lightning bird). Furthermore, she was shown by her evil agents that her (Elizabeth’s) gifts surpassed her own, and so she decided to close her up (*ukumvala*) out of jealousy.

Elizabeth also left MamKwayi because they were always at cross-purposes. She would find MamKwayi in a state of intoxication, every time she went for training. However, apart from being addicted to alcohol, Elizabeth acknowledged her trainer diviner as a genuine one, and not a charlatan.

People also go to *intwaso* not knowing what to expect, although they may be aware that some diviners are true healers, while others are not and are 'killers' (who have 'killed' the past, present and the future of the suffering client), because they act as bogus diviners, and pollute the sanctity of traditional African beliefs. There is a certain diviner who convened *intlombe* to which I was invited, and which was to mark an initiate's entry into the apprenticeship. She came with a middle-aged Australian lady to *intlombe* who she (the diviner) was to accompany to the Eastern Cape, and to visit witches' forest known as *ihlathi lase gwadana*). The visit was scheduled for the day after *intlombe*. This lady was researching witchcraft beliefs and practices, and although a diviner is not supposed to consort with witches, here was a case of a diviner blatantly doing so. It is generally known that witches do attend *iintlombe*, with the aim of disrupting these diviners' peaceful rituals. But for diviners to visit a witches' forest goes against traditional religious norms, and I find such a situation very disturbing. Such visits are done only in extreme cases, as when a member of a family is abducted by witches, and the relatives must therefore attempt to rescue the victim, with the help of a diviner, who will accompany them to the forest, where the victim is usually captive. This would be ascertained before hand, via divination, before a rescue attempt is made.

The Australian researcher spoke to me about her scheduled visit to the forest, its objective being to meet with the witches and interview them. After this trip she planned to travel to Pietersburg to interview other witches. During *intlombe* I watched the proceedings and was struck by the dancing style of the young initiates, in particular the newly anointed one, whose dancing was much closer to *kwasa-kwasa*⁸ style. It made me suspicious of the chief diviner's credentials, because no bona fide diviner would permit this style of dancing. I phoned a teacher in Woodstock who knew the diviner well, and told him about *intlombe* and the initiate's odd behaviour, and also about the witchcraft researcher who was being assisted by a diviner. This is what the teacher told me:

"I once asked this diviner who her former trainer diviner was, and she told me about somebody I knew of, a cheat of a diviner from Zimbabwe. We stayed in the same street at my home in Gauteng.

When I went home I met this man who when I asked about this diviner, laughed and told me that he had never finished training her, and had told her that she herself would know how to complete it. I went back and told this to her, so that she would know I was aware of her bogus training. And just watch out, that girl will never last in this diviner's training." (Interview with Dr. Totana: 2000)

In fact the young woman abandoned her training. Her aunt and two other close relatives told me she accused her diviner of being a witch. They also said that the young woman's alcoholic intake began to increase when she was under the tutelage of this diviner. She was drinking excessively in order to quench the thirst of *abaphantsi...* (lit. 'those who are underground) (a *hlonipha* term for the ancestors). The young woman's relatives went on to say that she would sometimes 'sweep' the floor with her hair when she danced and was always tearful. They confirmed that the trainer diviner had placed *amadoda* which are equivalent to *amakhosi* (cf. pp.28, 30) some foreign spirits) into the young woman. This diviner's so-called 'training' had left the young woman confused; and, some of the young initiates also left the diviner, similarly confused and even distraught.

My mother's sister, Ntsiki by name, who lives in Cradock, also encountered this problem of abandoning divination training. Up to now she has not been shown (by her ancestors) another diviner who can train her. She underwent her training under the guidance of a novice diviner, Zanethongo (male diviner), who claimed to be a fully-fledged diviner at the time. She (my aunt) was directed in her *amathongo* by her ancestral spirits to place herself under the 'tutelage' of this 'diviner', who worked closely with another novice, Nomawabo. According to the information I obtained from my informants about such a situation, once one's ancestral spirits direct one to a novice for training, the novice, in this case is supposed to be assisted by her trainer diviner since she is not yet a fully-fledged diviner. My aunt did not have information about what actually happens in divination practice. She left the training for many reasons, one of which was the immorality between the 'trainer diviners'. I also became dubious about their veracity. I was shocked to find them and their initiates sleeping in the same room where my aunt's ritual objects and the traditional beer were kept.

From what I have observed at *iintlombe* I attended, *umguli* is supposed to sleep alone in a separate room, together with her ritual objects, the traditional beer and meat from the ritual killing.

All of these are placed behind a screen called *ibhilo* or *umkhusane*, and *umguli* would have to sleep there as well. The initiates would be allocated their own room in which to place their possessions (clothes), but not for use as their sleeping quarters. They have to *ombela* ('sing and clap for'), *xhentsa* ('perform ritual dance') and *nqula* ('call upon their ancestors' name') as often as possible, since it is therapeutic and alleviates their *imibilini* (but does not remove it). The diviners are also given their own room to sleep in. So this the first time I encountered such a sleeping arrangement in which diviners and novices and ritual objects occupied the same room.

On the day my aunt was to receive her beads signifying 'death acceptance' (i.e. acceptance of the 'call') from two rituals guides, they were wearing their novices' regalia. One of these guides (male) was carrying *imvubu*, which a novice usually receives only in the final stage of training. A diviner may carry *imvubu*, at *intlombe*, but in most cases she should also carry *itshoba*. The situation on this occasion was therefore highly unusual, and confirmed my suspicions that the officiates were not fully-fledged diviners. During the course of the week, I visited Nomawabo who in the presence of Zanethongo invited me to attend her 'graduation' ceremony that was to be celebrated at the end of April. I was tempted to ask her why they had officiated at my aunt's work when they did not have *amatshoba*. However, I decided not to embarrass them. I promised them that I would keep in touch once I returned to Cape Town. Indeed, I sent them their photographs that I took at *intlombe*.

Towards the end of April I dreamt of Nomawabo, my aunt (Ntsiki) and another initiate. It was not a good dream, and it was about a snake that Nomawabo was persuading my aunt to take from her (cf. Appendix 4; vol.2 p.12 for the narrative). Maxesha Magibisela (1994) says about the immorality and wickedness of some diviners who are charlatans and evil:

“Abamhlophe bathi igqirha ikwa ligqwirha. Xa uphanda nzulu ufumanisa ukuba kukho ubunyani kule ntetho kuba amanye amagqirha aziphethe zombini ezi zinto, umntu abeligqirha kanti ukwalilo negqwirha. Lo mntu uyathakatha, unemikhwa emdaka, engcolileyo. Oothikoloshe, iimpundulu, amayeza angcolileyo, ukubulala, njalo njalo, yonke le mikhwa yeyakhe.”

(‘Europeans say a diviner is the same as a witch (witchdoctor). When you investigate deeply you discover that there is reality in this expression because some diviners handle both of these things, a person being a diviner whereas (at the same time) one is also a witch.

This person practices witchcraft; she has dirty morals that are evil. *Thikoloshe, impundulu* ('lightning bird'), (cf. end notes 4 and 6 of ch.four p.307) evil medicinal substances, to kill, and so on all this immorality is hers').

4.1.6 Diviners' training as a 'business deal'

The value of Xhosa divination practice is drastically diminishing, and this is of great concern to the Xhosa nation. People have posed questions like '*Ingaba iseyiyo na?*' ('I wonder is still so?' =meaning is there still a genuine ancestral calling?). The new democracy in South Africa has encouraged many people to renew their faith and respect for their traditional religious beliefs. There is a widespread religious tolerance among South Africans today, to the extent that some Xhosa diviners have begun to initiate Europeans into Xhosa divination practice or Europeans want Xhosa-speaking diviners to initiate them into their practice. Perhaps the reason for this is, initially, an interest in the Traditional Religion, which develops into a deeper attraction to it, and the urge to probe its depths and intricacies, for which entering training is the logical way to go, and to appease their curiosity and yearning. The following testimonies came from individuals who were 'connected' i.e. accepted the 'call' to the profession of diviner.

4.1.6.1 How Chris Reid was 'called' to become a diviner:

The *thwasa* experience of a European, who subsequently became a diviner Chris Reid -ritual name: Ntombemhlophe ('white girl' i.e. girl of the light'):

"I was a child that did not want to play with other children. I was more interested in animals and nature. And then after moving to many places in my life I ended up here in South Africa... I was leading my life to look good for other people and inside there was something missing and I did not understand. Then I became addicted to drugs (cocaine) and since my parents had moved to Transkei to a place called Port St. Johns, to get away from the drugs I went to the Transkei. When I was (living) there, I used to go and view nature. I would go up to the hills, but I could not speak any Xhosa and did not understand anything about the culture of the people. And then, on three different occasions in three different places in the Transkei the *amagqirha* were waiting for me in the *hlathini* ('forest') in the middle of nowhere and they knew me among other people, and I could not speak Xhosa, but there was a Xhosa guy who spoke English I was just smiling at them, they were wearing beads and were very nice."

This often happens in the villages; when people see a stranger they follow him/her wherever she/he goes. When Simon Lewis and I were visiting Umkhankatho Village in Libode (cf. preface xxv), he was constantly followed by young boys. When he needed his privacy i.e. to go and sit in the precipices (to relieve himself) since there were no toilets, the boys would follow him there, and he would return without having evacuated (or excreted). He asked me to tell them that he wanted to be alone. It was like that with Chris Reid, being European, stood out from the rest of the villagers.

Chris went on to say:

“They said to me, do you understand what we are saying to you? I said no, I don’t understand you. Their interpreter replied: you are supposed to wear white beads like these people, they have dreamt about you, you are supposed to be *igqirha*... The same guy, who was translating for me *wathi amagqirha* were saying to me: why don’t you go for a consultation with a *sangoma* we know of, he will tell you straight? So I went there to a village called Umthabalala and the *sangoma*’s name was Dlamini...”

The three diviners had approached Chris with a definite agenda, and a proposition, with an interpreter to explain it to Chris. But I cannot understand why and how all three of them dreamt of the same person, and the same diviner they should advice him to consult. One cannot help wondering whether these three diviners had in fact been ‘sent’ by another *sangoma* Dlamini by name. Chris Reid is however, today a fully-fledged diviner, and he divulged to us his adopted clan name -Dlamini- which was given to him by his trainer *sangoma*.

4.1.6.2 The ‘white experience’ of a German tourist in Port St. Johns 1996:

I met this gentleman in Cape Town city centre. He was wearing white beads and red cord about his neck and wrists, and he gave his name, which is Matthaus. When I asked him about the beads and the red cord, his response was:

“While I was in Port St. Johns walking along the beach, a witchdoctor approached me and wanted to divine for me. We went to his house and he told me that I was sick and he could cure me. The illness I was suffering from was epilepsy.

He gave me some mixture of medicine to drink and thereafter he instructed me to vomit, and he made incisions on my body. He then put these beads and a red cord around my neck, which has some 'medicine', and said I must never throw them away. I am confused now; I don't know what am I going to tell my parents about these things. But I have an idea when I am in Egypt I will throw them away."

After seeing an article about another German, Stephan Tippach (aged thirty-four, who came to South Africa to further his studies at the University of Cape Town and subsequently obtained a doctorate in law and in economics) in the newspaper, I approached a friend of this man, a music student at the University of Cape Town to show her the article. After reading it, she phoned Stephan and asked what had made him decide to enter Xhosa divination training. He told her he had done so out of feelings of frustration and disappointment, having been abandoned by his lover. He felt that he needed some other interest to take his mind off the young woman, and divination training seemed to be a good way to do so. For that reason he decided to become Doctor Khubukeli's initiate. In the newspaper it was stated: "Mr Tippach is not new in his induction. He is a firewalker and is a firm believer of Feng Shui. In his ceremony he was dressed in black trousers and a T-shirt with African designs." This is not in accordance with Xhosa custom, since people who are initiated into diviners' practice wear white, and no other colours are accepted, neither trousers. Male initiates wear *umbhaco* like female initiates and diviners.

4.1.6.3 The case of Mr Tippach:

Some comments on Mr Tippach's experiences appeared in the Saturday Argus, 28 November 1998. According to Mr Tippach:

"...On the way back (from Salt River depot where he delivered posters for a Holistic Lifestyle Fair, of which he is a working partner in Observatory) I came across a traditional healer on the main road. I asked her to treat my insomnia and during the consultation she went into a quiet trance, looked into my eyes and said, "You are a *sangoma*." She referred me to Mr Khubukeli who took me under his wing and trained me."

In the newspaper it was not stated exactly where the consultation took place. When diviners divine for their clients they use different methods, but it is surprising that in her trance-like state she would be shown Doctor Khubukeli by her ancestors. I believe that Stephan Tippach's inability to sleep was perhaps caused by the fact that he was abandoned by his lover.

And the fact that he was referred to Mr Khubukeli says a lot about the referring diviner, whose 'liberal' practice of welcoming and accepting Europeans as initiates is not acceptable to many Xhosa-speakers. It was also in this same newspaper article that Mr Khubukeli told the reporter that he intended to sue Nokuzola Mndende and myself for defamation, after we had criticised him for his practice of initiating spurious (European) diviners.

4.1.6.4 Peter Von Maltitz's 'conversion':

Peter von Maltitz became Doctor. Khubukeli's first European initiate. They met at the Woodstock Institute for the Interpretation of African Symbols (whose Director was Doctor Totana) where we were all students and they became close friends. After a year they both left School, Peter went to see the School Director to ask where he could procure a traditional white cloth (*umbhaco*) in the township. I was asked this question, and I responded with another one, I asked if he was to be inducted into the diviner training by Doctor Khubukeli? Peter did not reply to my question, so I gave him direction to a certain shop in Langa.

On the following Saturday I saw a photograph of Peter in the Saturday Argus (newspaper). He was with Doctor Khubukeli and his son, who were giving him *umshwamo* (see end note 15 of ch.two p.305) as he knelt before a billycan of *ubulawu*. His red towel was draped over his shoulders (a colour that is not suitable for initiates). I found the photograph disturbing and I phoned the newspaper reporter responsible for the article and photo and told him I wanted to comment on it. Nokuzola Mndende (who was lecturing in Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town at the time, but is now a Member of Parliament) and I were then approached by the reporter, and we both told him that we strongly disapproved of Doctor Khubukeli because he was initiating Europeans into the practice of diviners. Ms Mndende said that Mr Khubukeli was an 'opportunist' who was making 'a mockery' of African traditional religion. Peter Von Maltitz's response to all this controversy was to quote from the constitution's Bill of Rights, Section 15, 1996: 'Everyone has the freedom of religion'.

Mr Peter Von Maltitz later gave in a seminar at UCT (cf. p.71) an account of his earlier life, and certain experiences that led him further to his chosen profession.

"I was born in Johannesburg and used to spend every month in Port St. Johns. I really loved the way they (the Xhosa novices) clothed themselves with white blankets. I have always been attracted to their lifestyle, although I first learnt about the various herbs used in Europe."

The white blankets (*ingcawa*) have a great ritual significance in traditional African (Xhosa) religion, but for Mr Von Maltitz they had deeper symbolism, in that his attraction to them meant that he had an interest in pursuing the profession of diviner. I have never met any Africans who had such a deep interest in *ukuvuma ukufa* ('accepting the death') and undertaking training. They are always afraid of it, and resist it from the beginning (cf. pp.193-194, 211, 217). But to Mr Von Maltitz, the whole matter was something to be embraced eagerly.

Mr Von Maltitz continued:

"I learnt about healing, and about eastern Indian philosophy through Yoga, particularly when I was receiving instruction in these, and it was my Yoga instructor who suggested that I enrol for divination course (instruction) in the former Transkei. In those days it was not possible to do this, and I wondered how I would be able to satisfy my aspirations.

Again, this is also a contradiction of custom, since interest in the knowledge of herbs and in diviners' work are not a personal choice, but that of the ancestors. Peter's wishes to enter Xhosa divinership came via a certain person, his Yoga instructor, who played the role of a 'subject adviser' when he suggested that Peter enrol for divination training. He (Yoga teacher) clearly regarded this as something like a course offered at a University, which is the focus of study for a length of time, and by which one will qualify as a diviner.

Mr Von Maltitz further went on to say:

"My dreaming intensified as well, to such a degree that when I met Doctor Phillip Sobantu Khubukeli (who subsequently became my trainer) he took me to Cala to consult his older sister. She is a well-established Prophet in that area, and Doctor Khubukeli wanted to bid me as well (to propose me for training) and to ascertain whether his intentions were acceptable, and legitimate. On the way there (to Cala) I was dreaming in the car, and I told Doctor Khubukeli that I had just seen a woman (in the dream), with certain features and wearing certain clothing, and he said: "Oh yes! That is my sister you are dreaming about." So we came there (to Cala) and that was it."

According to Mr Von Maltitz, before they undertook the trip to Cala, Doctor Khubukeli had informed him about the purpose of the trip, and also about his sister, who is a prophet (described). So it is not surprising that Peter dreamt about her on their journey to Cala.

There may be another explanation: perhaps he was showing Doctor Khubukeli that he really has psychic powers, and that the Doctor should not have doubts about him. I have my doubts about all of this. If Doctor Khubukeli is a bona fide diviner, then why did he have to ask his sister to endorse his proposed plans for Mr Von Maltitz? On the other hand, perhaps Doctor Khubukeli was well aware of the likelihood of his community disapproving his plans, but that Mr Von Maltitz represented financial gain for him (initiates' training fees), and this was his main concern. Furthermore, his initiation would probably make him international news, and even attract other European clients, all of which also motivated him to invite the Cape Argus journalist to write the whole story.

4.1.6.5 The case of the Groenewalds:

In May 2000 the Metro news section of the Sunday Times carried an article with the rather dramatic heading: Ancestral voices call siblings. These were a brother and sister (also Europeans) who practised as traditional healers at Kraaifontein. The sister, Dia Groenewald, gave an account of the circumstances surrounding her entry into divinership:

“I was married to a Pretoria traditional healer and worked as the receptionist in his downtown shop. One day an old woman came to my practice looking for work (in Pretoria). I told her that we had none, but before she left she asked if she could throw bones for me...I agreed. She told me I was going to become a *sangoma*.”

Casting the bones is payable by *umrhumo* ('a ritual fee') for *amadlozi*, and although the newspaper did not mention payment, it must have been made. In this context, one cannot help but think that the old woman made some quick money by her offer. There is a puzzling aspect to this story: Why did Dia Gronewald's husband -a traditional healer- not know that his wife was going to become a *sangoma*?

Dia's brother, Johan Pretorius who is a policeman, gave the following account of some of the events that led to his induction into divinership.

“I was working in Randfontein (west of Johannesburg) and was very ill and unhappy. At that time I was suffering from headaches and epilepsy but no doctor seemed to be able to tell me what was wrong.

One day while following up a report about a hostel fight, a *sangoma* came up to me and said: "I had dreamed I needed to phone you...", and that I should go to Worcester where I would train to be a *sangoma*."

In this particular case, his sister's husband, a diviner, had said nothing about him becoming a *sangoma*. I am sure that his sister (Dia) was well aware of his ill-health and symptoms, and would have asked her husband to investigate the problem, or else take Johan to some other *izangoma* for treatment. I do not know if Johan ever received treatment, because when he was told to go to Worcester, he was not given the name of the diviner he should consult. Since this move involved a long journey, and the referral very vague, to say the least, I can only assume that the diviner had singled out Johan as a potential candidate and expected him (Johan) to ask him to train him -a very lucrative arrangement. According to the newspaper account, since Johan's ill health persisted, he decided to visit his sister Dia, who continued his story:

"Then a couple of days after (her brother's arrival) a local *sangoma* arrived at my shop and said she dreamt of a white man (European) she had to train, and who was waiting for her at the shop."

With the approach adopted by the *sangoma* for Johan, and the very same one employed by this one, Ivy by name, it is very difficult to gauge whether one or the other is bogus, or both of them are. Which of the two can one trust? Nokuzola Mndende considers the initiation of European diviners to be a false practice, for all concerned. In her article '*Imibengo yomthonyama*' vol. 1, 4: 2000, she asserts:

"The decline of economy and spectre of joblessness in South Africa has created a new group of fly-by-night *sangoma* who can even "break-dance" if the order is from a white person, more especially if these are from Europe and America...where the white colour is always associated with money brought in a meat platter.... Our fellow Black South African *sangomas* do not even hesitate to betray their own ancestral rituals by parading them naked before western scholarship and allow open space for these vulture-visitors to come and suck information and take it across the Atlantic ocean to purposely distort it, and fill their libraries with additional misunderstood, misinterpreted information, and demonise these customs like their missionary ancestors did during their time." (Mndende: 2000: 4).

In Mndende's opinion this kind of initiation is hypocritical for both the initiates and their diviners. This could certainly be true, and this view was supported by a large company of diviners who attended a seminar in the Centre for African studies at University of Cape Town. The seminar was on cross-cultural forms of divination and Ms Mndende was the convenor.

Regarding criticism my father has a dictum, which says:

"Kukho aba bantu baxhentsa ngezono zabanye ezibonakalayo nezi nevumba banoyolo ke bona kuba ezabo zise mfihlakalweni kwaye azinavumba."

(lit. there are these people who dance about the sins of others which (sins) are visible and have smell, 'blessed are they' for theirs are in secrecy/invisible and moreover have no smell).

The initiation of Xhosa candidates by some Xhosa diviners may also be hypocritical. The economic depression and spectre of unemployment has not only encouraged fly-by-night diviners that annoy Ms. Mndende. Recently there has been an increase in the number of Xhosa-speaking people, individuals who undergo training by certain phony 'diviners' who have never experienced ancestral calling; instead they (initiates) have been lured into training by 'hungry' diviners, whom one might call 'fly-by-day' or *kwaito*⁹ dancers. They pretend to be bona fide diviners because they are certain that, if they accept and train African candidates, their status and actions will not raise suspicions, because their actions are perceived as 'helping' the nation. Furthermore, among many diviners today there is fierce competition about the number of novices they train, comparing them to what others have, especially those who have one initiate being referred to as *inxili* ('a pouch') (see.p.125). And such a diviner who has *inxili* is secretly derided. It is a well-known fact that an admission fee has to be paid and also a fee (on to some others) for every ritual enacted for an initiate, is obligatory. There is also the fee that is paid when the novice graduates as a diviner, and both the trainer diviner and graduand are presented with gifts from the latter's family. There is nothing wrong in these arrangements, if there is an agreement between the diviner and the novice's family. But if the underlying aim is to acquire many initiations, which means more money and gifts for the trainer diviner, who is professionally elevated and esteemed, then such an arrangement is wrong, and unacceptable.

Nowadays one encounters growing numbers of diviners who deliberately set out to woo people into the training, and this is totally unacceptable. Then there is another method by which certain diviners derive an income via their initiates. When their novices supplicate their ancestors, they always say: *ndicela ukuthandaza ndiguqe kushiyeke imali kumzi wegqirha lam* (lit. 'I sincerely pray that I should kneel until money is left in the house of my diviner'). Implicit in this statement is a request made by novices on behalf of their trainer diviners, to divine for clients until they are truly satisfied. This is also a request for clients to persist and have faith in the diviners' expertise, and not to withdraw their patronage -and money from their consultant healers. When initiates pray to the ancestors, they say: *ndithandazela iindwendwe* ('I am praying for visitors that is to say -the diviner is praying in order to acquire more clients'). From the data I accumulated via research I have observed the following:

- There are those diviners who are genuine, and who have great respect for their divination practice. (They are not perfect because no one is perfect).
- There are those diviners who usurp the duties of the ancestors, for example, the 'calling' to the 'profession', and use magic powers to lure some South Africans in the practice, even though these latter are not experiencing the 'calling'. They do this for personal, financial gain. See Appendix 5 (vol.2 p.14) on my personal experiences based on the discussion.

4.2 The ancestor-sent illness:

Buhrmann (1984:28) elaborates on this:

"The clan ancestors have retained many of their human qualities. They can feel the cold, and hunger and thirst; they can feel neglected or happy and well cared for; they can get annoyed, angry and even vengeful."

They need attention; at some instances they demand it. My acquaintance for example who lives in Port Elizabeth was frequently visited by her ancestors in her dreams demanding a ritual attention from her. She took out her purse, and went to stand in the courtyard. She then opened it and said to them:

"Nicinga ukuba ndiza kuyifumana phi imali yokunenzela le nto niyifunayo xa ningayifakiyo nina aph' esipajini?" ('Where do you think I will get the money to do this thing that you demand when you cannot put money in my purse?').

My friend waited until she was financially stable and was then able to give the ancestors the 'attention' they demanded. If she had failed to do that they (the ancestors) would have punished her. (Hammond-Tooke: 1989:47) adds:

“Ancestors are believed to look after the interests of their descendants, but they can also send illness and misfortune if moved to wrath...the illness caused by the ancestors is seldom fatal.”

They (the ancestors) can be benevolent if their requests they make to their descendants are taken seriously, meaning they respond positively to their requests or 'demands'. The sicknesses caused by misfortunes inflicted upon someone by the ancestors are just a reminder to that individual that something has to be done to appease the ancestors by ritual slaughtering or brewing traditional beer. To cite a brief example:

“The father of a certain Pastor, who was of Xhosa origin but later changed his cultural identity to that of Coloured, neglected to perform necessary rituals like *imbeleko* and was also never circumcised. These had an adverse effect on his children who were raised as Coloureds and had nothing to do with Xhosa cultural issues. It was only in 1998 when this Pastor approached my father and requested him to give him cultural advice. He had a problem of incontinence and also experienced other misfortunes. My father advised him to retranslate his surname into Xhosa and also contact his father's family in the Eastern Cape Province who would help and direct him to perform the necessary rituals that he had never performed. This person did not come to report what had happened eventually but however, I would assume that all went well with him.”

Hammond-Tooke (op.cit) mentions the reasons for ancestral interference in the affairs of their living: Neglect of the 'customs of the home', the necessary rituals that should be performed, particularly at the pivotal points of the life cycle (birth, initiation, marriage and death), failure to accord due respect to seniors.

4.3 Illnesses caused by witchcraft:

*Ubugqwirha*¹⁰ (Xhosa) or *ubuthakathi* (Zulu) according to Xhosa/Zulu thought-patterns is a dual concept implying two fields of evil i.e. witchcraft and sorcery which is believed to be the practice of witches ('*amagqwirha*') which are mainly women and sorcerers ('*abathakathi*') both male and females.

Kiernan (1995:23) states that there are witches who, with or without animal accomplices, unleash their inherent potency without conscious effort, and those who can switch it off and on at will. Sorcerers, on the other hand, generate this power externally for specific purposes, by collecting substances, which they arm with incantation. Both witches and sorcerers in turn work through humans, directly or indirectly. The illness that is caused by witchcraft is the result of jealousy, envy and many other things that can cause a witch to want to kill or bring someone's progress to a standstill. A witch can be anyone; the genial neighbour, the young bride or the companion of your youth may be a witch secretly plotting your destruction, (Hammond-Tooke: 1989: 48).

The majority of people grow up with the knowledge of witches being associated with a certain class of non-literate poor people; non-believers (non-Christians) and who out of jealousy make evil plans for preventing one from achieving a particular goal. The fact of being wealthy, educated and being a believer does not exclude one from becoming a witch or a sorcerer. This simply means that a person who is wealthy can bewitch those who are poor, -and who want a better life-, (the 'striving have nots') to advance to a prosperous state. There are well-educated people who also practice witchcraft and sorcery. These people are full members of various denominations in society. Once more, witch-sorcery has no age limit. Virgins can also be witches or sorcerers. For example, there is a case of a fourteen-year-old girl who became involved in a series of witchcraft offences who went to consult a Priest for a purification and reconciliation ceremony. These offences included such witch-like habits as a special liking for human flesh...as well as belonging to a group of witches who particularly liked consuming young children...Whenever something fortunate happened to anyone else, she involved herself and made sure that things were ruined (Muller, 1990: 164). Cf. Appendix 6, (vol.2 p.16) the researcher's experience of being a victim of witches.

4.4 Summary:

Other issues discussed with references to particular cases are:

- The healing powers of ancestrally sent illnesses.
- The negative effects of resistance to ancestrally-sent illnesses.
- The use of divination by certain unscrupulous diviners as a means of making profits.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIVINERS' SONGS5.0 Introduction

Iingoma zamagqirha ('diviners' songs') constitute possibly the largest repertoire of old traditionalist songs among Xhosa-speaking South Africans. They include songs reputedly of great age, which were mentioned and described in nineteenth and earlier twentieth century writings (Soga {1931}). Although diviners' songs are constructed upon historically deep and culturally specific foundations, over the past century the genre has also acquired some eclectic material: the ritual music still lives and spreads entirely through a traditional oral culture but its development and practice is situated in both urban and rural localities, wherein different cultures interact and intermingle with each other, and with other contemporary music genres, to produce a ritual musical product that shows interesting syncretism, and is accepted as Xhosa-African modern, diviners' ritual music. The antiquity of these traditional songs is confirmed by many Xhosa-speakers who know and sing them today in the context of rituals within contemporary life, and refer to them 'as songs of old People' (*Iingoma zaBantu abadala*). An example of this type is the well-known diviners' song *Icamagu livumile* (meaning 'the ancestors have approved of the ritual work') whose text goes thus:

L: <i>Icamagu livumile</i>	<i>Icamagu</i> (has 'agreed')
F: <i>Ahoo ho</i>	<i>Ahoo ho ho</i> (vocables, implying affirmation)
L: <i>Icamagu laku lotata</i>	<i>Icamagu</i> (of my father's)
F: <i>Ahoo ho hoha hoo</i>	<i>Ahoo ho hoha ho</i>
L: <i>Icamagu livumile</i>	<i>Icamagu</i> (has 'agreed')
F: <i>Ahoo ho</i>	<i>Ahoo ho</i>
L: <i>Icamagu laku lomama</i>	<i>Icamagu</i> (of my mother's)
F: <i>Ahoo ho hoha ho</i>	<i>Ahoo ho hoha hoo</i>
L: <i>Makube chosi makube hele</i>	(Let there be peace and relief)
F: <i>Ahoo ho</i>	<i>Ahoo ho</i>
L: <i>Makube chosi makube hele</i>	(Let there be peace and relief)
F: <i>Ahoo ho hoha hoo</i>	<i>Ahoo ho hoha ho</i>

5.1 The meaning and the significance of the song *iCamagu*:

According to the information I obtained from Baw' uGxarha:

"I-Camagu livumile yenye yeengoma ezinkulu zakudala zeentlombe zamagqirha nekwa zezekhaya ebizwa ukuba yingoma yabantu abadala. Le ngoma ibivunywa emva kokuba inkomo iye yakhala yabhonga emva kokuba ithe yawiswa. Kodwa phambi kokuba ingoma itsho kuye kukhwazwe iCamagu! Ngabantu. Lo Camagu! Ke ethetha u-enkosi (kwizinyanya) ngokuba bemamele izicelo zethu. Ngoko ke iCamagu! lithetha qha u-enkosi. Kuthiwe ke: iCamagu malibuyele ekhaya, kuba besingenaye."

(*I-Camagu livumile* is one of the great and old songs of *iintlombe zamagqirha* and of the homestead traditional ritual ceremonies referred to as a song of the old people (*ingoma yabantu abadala*). The song would be sung after the ritually slaughtered beast (*inkomo*) had 'cried out' (bellowed) loudly. But before the singing there would be shouts of *Camagu!* from the people observing the slaughtering. This *Camagu!* meant 'thank you' (to the ancestors) for having listened to our requests. So the *iCamagu* simply means *enkosi* ('thank you'). Then it is said: *iCamagu* should return home for, we did not have it').

Before the ritual slaughtering takes place, there are requests that are made by *intlabi* to the ancestors concerning the ritual work. The immediate positive response is then expected which is symbolised by the 'loud cry'. This is why the 'loud cry' is always referred to as the voice of the ancestors, indicating that the requests have been accepted. The returning of *iCamagu* refers to the good fortunes and blessings (from the ancestor) that are going to remove darkness and bring light to the household since before that moment people were vulnerable to misfortunes and with the 'thank you' they will begin to act responsibly. The following are examples of misfortune given by Baw' uGxarha which could strike someone who has not observed the customary rituals:

Ekhay' apha umfazi akazali.

('Here at home the wife is unable to produce children').

This does not mean that the wife is infertile. She is unable to produce children because this is a sort of punishment meted out to her husband who is neglecting to enact ritual 'works' to please his ancestors.

Ekhay' apha umntwana xa esa qalisa ukuqingqa uvel' afe ngesiquphe.
 ('Here at home when a child begins to toddle he dies suddenly').

This is still a punishment that is indirectly aimed at the child's father.

Ekhay' apha indlu igcwele ngabantu abangento abatshipa bashiya abafazi emva.
 ('Here at home, the house is full of worthless people who went away and deserted their wives').

Ekhay' apha kugcwele abadlwenguli.
 ('Here at home it is filled with rapists').

Ekhay' apha kugcwele amasela
 ('Here at home it is filled with thieves').

Misfortunes like these are an indication that the household is not protected and has been left exposed to all kinds of misfortunes sent by the ancestors because there was never a 'thank you' to them made by the head of the household.

Baw' uGxarha further went on to say about the significance of *iCamagu*:

"Icamagu malibuyel' ekhaya namhlanje. Sibiza ootata bethu noomama bethu abadala, ootat' omkhulu noomakhulu nootata noomama bethu. Baguquke bajonge ekhaya bayokuhlambulula ikhaya balungise iingxaki esikuzo, kuba sise bumnyameni. Ke nale ndlu kufuneka ihlanjululwe ifane nezinye. Ngoku ke into esidibanisileyo namhlanje, yinto yokubana sizama ukulungisa iimpazamo. Ndithetha ngabo abathe abenza ngabom ukungahlawuli "amatyala" abo, kufuneka baxolelwe, nabo basihambeleyo. Njengokuba lo msebenzi wenziwe kufuneka wenze umehluko. Ndicela nezihlewele zabo ezibakhapheliyo ukuza kulo msebenzi zityhile konke oku sithakeleyo kubo ukwenzela ukuba balungise iziphoso zabo."

(*I-Camagu* (a good fortune from the ancestors) should return home today. We call upon our old men, and women, our grandfathers, our grandmothers and our fathers and mothers. They should turn and face the homestead direction to purify and rectify the problems that we are in, because we are in darkness. So this household should be purified and be like the others (other purified houses). Now what has brought us here together today is the fact that we are trying to rectify some mistakes. I am talking about those who have not deliberately neglected to pay their ritual debts, they should be forgiven, and this also applies to those who have visited us (our neighbours with problems). As this ritual work has been enacted it should make a difference.

I also ask their (the invited guests) 'multitudes' (ancestors), who have accompanied them, (to attend this ritual work) to reveal all that which is obscured to them so that they can also rectify their mistakes').

What is clarified in this statement is that ancestrally sent misfortune is always curable, particularly when ancestral customs have not been deliberately neglected, but have been overlooked in the course of daily living. Furthermore, although the ritual killing was done for members of the 'offending' families they are not the only ones affected by it. Other people attending the ritual, friends and neighbours of the family concerned, may also benefit from it if the officiating diviner calls upon the ancestors to enlighten the neighbours about their own 'mistakes' about which they may be unaware. However, it should be noted that, the ancestors are not just disposed to promote the prosperity and happiness of their living descendants. Hammond-Tooke (1974: 331) notes for instance that, if this were so, ...they would not play such a vital part in Bantu religion. The fact of the matter is that the ancestors are capricious, jealous and easily offended, and their wrath is an important explanation for misfortune.

It happens in certain cases for example, that one (an invited person) may have revelations whilst attending a ritual of other clans. When people, for example, make ritual speeches they often say: "*Ndicela ukuphila phantsi kwale bhekile yasemaMiyeni*" ('I request to be healed under this billycan of the Miya clan'). This is a reference to the billycan that contains *ubulawu*. This healing will be temporary because the ancestors require their descendants to contribute money (by purchasing things that will be employed for the ritual work such as a beast, traditional beer ingredients, tobacco etc. depending on the type of 'work' needed to be done) to perform the ceremony and to say *Camagu!* ('Thank you') in order to reap good results from their ritual works.

The song *iCamagu* is more like an Anthem for all the Xhosa clans and it is an integral part of their communion with their ancestors in various contexts. Within the context of divination my informants told me that the song means light i.e. good fortune and peace, hence this has a great connection with the beads called *oocamagu* that are placed on initiates' bodies when they are anointed to enter into the practice of diviners.

5.2 The structure of divination songs:

Xhosa divination songs, which comprises *ukombela* (a system of sung, danced, drummed and clapped motional patterns, as well as non-sonic ones (organised silent actions and gestures), ‘...constitutes a music that is on a different level from the ordinary music performed by people as a form of recreation’ (Hansen: 1981: 580). Like other Xhosa traditionalist songs they follow a systematic model for music-making: a cyclic form and an internal antiphonal structure both of which are determined by a fixed number of equidistant pulses. These are rhythmically grouped in an arrangement of at least one pair of complementary phrases -call and response- (*ukuhlabela nokulandela*). There may be one pair, or two or more pair of phrases, which constitute the total melodic rhythmic pattern of that song (or ‘tune’). *Ukuhlabela* is the song leader’s action (to start off a song) and the chorus response (follower’s action) is that of *ukulandela* (to ‘follow’), (Dargie: 1988: 63). In Xhosa divination/traditionalists songs there are no strong beats (in the western sense) but implicit reference beats define the song’s metrical framework within which the predominantly African principle of repetition and variation is determined. This antiphonal structure is also apparent in the song texts, which appear in this study, and which show regular solo/chorus alternation. In performance, the soloist sings the call phrase with varying words (which modifies the melody) while the response (chorus) phrase tends to be unchanged as in traditionalist Xhosa songs (Hansen: 1981: 730).

Modality in *iintlombe* songs is hexatonic, the melodies being set in a six-note scale with one semitone, and the tonal-harmonic organisation is based on root relations demonstrating the shifting tonality over the two fundamentals that typifies Xhosa music (Hansen: 1981:734-736). Of the two types of polyrhythm employed in Xhosa music (ibid) *iintlombe* demonstrate type (a), which is a process in which the accents of all the vocal-melodic phrases establish a systematic cross-rhythm with the main beats of the percussive accompaniment (drumming, clapping). (For more detailed information on the structure of divination songs see Hansen (1981)). The words of *iintlombe* songs are suggested by socio-ritual situations and, generally speaking, their words and phrases are song -and context-specific but permit improvisation. It has long been standard practice to use recreational music from other categories and contexts in *iintlombe* events. The ‘borrowed’ songs are adapted for performance in *intlombe* context, being given the rhythm and drum patterns of the ritual music.

The ritual song of male circumcision – *uSomagwaza* has long had a special place in the repertoire of *iintlombe* music (see Hansen 1981: 578) where it has undergone sometimes radical transformation with new text and vocal organisation, and rhythm and tempo, but adhering to its harmonic traits and overall sound (cf. Hansen: 1981: 503-507 for a detailed analysis). It was John Blacking (1973:40-42) who initially drew attention to this ‘borrowing’ of songs from musical categories, and who noted correctly that the ‘borrowing’ had more to do with ‘the social conditions of musical performance than its intrinsic musical characteristics’. As a ritual song, and as a song of *Abantu abadala* (‘Old people’ i.e. the ancestors), *uSomagwaza* retains its intrinsic meaning as a ‘home’ song of great value and significance, and when it is sung at a séance it greatly enhances that event and acquires additional meaning (Hansen: 1981: 579). In this context one might also mention *umHlahlo*, which is also designated an ancestral song. Soga ({1931}: 172-173) explained it as a type of ‘litigation’ song associated with serious matters needing the attention of diviners (e.g. *ukunuka* i.e. ‘smell out’ of a witch or sorcerer). This same song was witnessed and recorded by Hansen at both *ukunuka* séances and at beer libations. The song has a distinctive rhythm that is unusual in the Xhosa song repertoire -it is contained within a metrical framework of 8xd and is rhythmically expressed in drumming as.

Tempo:d=50-52M.M



-A pattern that is highly evocative of the beating of the human pulse. To add to the effect, the stock word-phrase of the song is *nd'yoyika* (I am afraid) which is repeated and varied by soloist, and responded to by a chorus singing non-lexical syllables, and which contributes to, and enhances the music dramatic effect. (cf. Hansen: 1981: 572, 602).

5.3 How ‘white people’ compose their songs:

Diviners as song makers have a great repertoire of songs and these always make people wonder where the songs come from. Some are old songs and some are new. For example if one listens to CD1 track no. 14 ‘Nkonjane’ (‘the Swallow’) or views video clip (B) the song style sounds very much as that of *itoyi-toyi* (‘a liberation struggle dance-song’). However, diviners say their songs come from *amathongo* (‘the visions of the night’).

Soga ({1931}:157) states:

“When the sleeper dreams of the spirits of the departed relatives called *amathongo*, and to them attach an importance, in the minds of the Xhosa-speaking people... Sometimes the *ithongo* is used to signify an ancestral spirit, –as *ithongo lakowethu* –our family (ancestral) spirit. But more often means a dream of one’s departed relatives, who has died and in *amathongo* (‘dreams’) have appeared to the dreamer.”

Such dreams need to be related the following day, and that (process) is referred to as *ukulawula* (Mndende:2000: 4). There are a number of reasons why the ancestors visit their descendants mostly when they are sleeping. In the case of novices and their diviners, the ancestors are passing mostly the knowledge of medicinal plants, songs and other issues concerned with their training or practise. When a novice has dreamt of a song she confesses it to her trainer diviner and then she will also share it (the dreamt song) with other trainees. For Xhosa diviners’ songs to be more effective a song leader must have powerful followers. *lingoma ziyavunywa okanye ziyombelwa aziculwa*¹ (‘songs are sung in a manner of a call and response or they are sung and clapped for but are not sung in a western style’).

Divination songs that come from *amathongo* are of crucial importance in the lives of diviners and the initiates. When the latter is given a song by her *amathongo* she confesses it to her trainer diviner who will interpret its meaning. There is a Xhosa saying that underscores the importance of *amathongo* songs: *‘Intlombe azinokuze ziphelele ngaphandle kweengoma*’ (‘séances will never be complete without divination songs’). Baw’ uGxarha for example informed me that most songs come initially from *amathongo* (i.e. ‘ancestral dreams’) of the diviners and their initiates and the songs are referred to as *iingoma zamathongo* (‘the songs of the ancestors or dreamt songs’). Sometimes a ‘white person’ hears *amathongo* songs sounding in the ears while undertaking a journey to the forest or mountain to dig up the medicinal plants that were revealed in the dreams. It is said that the ancestors work continually and this means *amathongo* songs and *iindaba zabaHlekazi*² (lit. the ‘news’ of the most respected ones’= i.e. the voices of the ancestral spirits’) can be revealed at anytime to the afflicted people, and they do not only make their visits when ‘white people’ are asleep.

I asked Baw' uGxarha how diviners compose their songs since he informed me that these songs come from *amathongo*. He responded by giving this example: 'In certain other *iintlombe*, if it happens that a diviner misbehaves and does things that are not tolerated by his colleagues, a diviner with a special gift for composing ('*iciko*') will compose a metaphoric song conveying a message to the erring diviner and other diviners present that there is an 'immoral' diviner among them.' What Baw' uGxarha stated about the composing of songs by a diviner is affirmed in Xhosa musical material I obtained from the International Library of African Music (ILAM) Grahamstown. There is a divination song whose text goes thus:

<i>Amany' amadoda aze ngokumetsha</i>	Some men came with intentions of indulging in secret intercourse
<i>Amany' amadoda aze ngokulala</i>	Some men came with intentions of 'sleeping' (having full sexual intercourse).

The words of the song refer explicitly to the kind of conduct that is undesirable. I think this song is an appropriate and effective means of censuring unprincipled behaviour. Baw' uGxarha agreed with me on that point. He told me that should a diviner misbehave and be directly censured this could cause a quarrel leading to physical violence. Such conduct is totally unacceptable and castigation through song prevents its occurrence and at the same time effectively reprimands a diviner without insulting him. He went on to say that the repertoire comprises some of the oldest known songs, (e.g. *I-Camagu livumile, Nonkala, Nongangela* and others), and songs composed by individual diviners at *iintlombe*. Their songs are powerful and the texts are often esoteric containing language that is metaphorical and allusive but which becomes meaningful when explained. For this reason, the same song (and text) may have different meanings for different diviners. The repertoire of diviners' songs is immense and certain ritual songs of great age have established cultural meaning and symbolism, which is generally known to the majority of people (adults). But at the personal level such songs are idiosyncratic in that they carry special meanings and value.

Iintlombe songs for the most part demonstrate the structural and stylistic traits of Xhosa divination songs generally as well as their modality. However, there are also songs that are derived from other religious contexts—hymns (*Hozana enyangweni* = 'Hosannah in the Highest' which was sung at a séance of 'bead cleansing' cf. p.186 and see video clip (C)).

The church songs, predominantly of Zionist-type churches and Bhengu were sung at various séances. Examples of such songs are *Nozala* (see video clip (D)) of *Intlombe yokuhlamba iintsimbi* (cf. p.188). For examples of Bhengu-style songs, listen to '*Sicela amandla*' ('We ask for power') (cf. also p.18) on track no. 24 and '*Bambelel' ethembeni*' ('Hold onto hope'), on track no. 29. This song was sung at *Intlombe yokothula umthwalo* (see p.168). Apart from these there are also songs that are sung outside the ritual context, which I have called 'social' songs and they are not songs of *amathongo*. Following are some examples of the 'social' songs that Chris Lewis video-recorded. The social performance occurred after the ritual work of bead cleansing which I attended in March 1999 and whose convenor was diviner MamNcotshe (see video clips E, F, G, H, I):

Song Texts Translations:

1. E. Ndonakele:

L: *Bath'ukhon' undonakale*

F: *Iyoho! he! Sela ndini
aph'amagusha am'*

L: *Bath'ukhon' undonakele*

F: *Iyoho! he! sela ndini
aph' amagusham*

They say there is a problem

Iyoho! he! You bloody thief!
where are my sheep

They say there is a problem

Iyoho! he! You bloody thief!
where are my sheep

The meaning of the song Ndonakele :

In most cases people consult diviners to recover their stolen belongings. Such a theft is merely a symptom of a problem that had not been revealed.

As these songs are said to be of social purposes, I heard this in particular sung at *intlombe yokuqhela* I attended at Khayelitsha when diviners were dancing out of doors. Though it was sung in this ritual context, I did not see any diviners who were highly spirited, the song had no ritual effect on them. There was not much difference compared to the way it was sung at the séance of MamNcotshe when they were socialising.

2. F. Isidungamzi:

L: *O! Sikhon' isidungamzi*

F: *Yile ndoda*

L: *O! Sikhon' isidungamzi*

F: *Ngulo mtshakaz' uyantwela*

Oh yes! There is a house scatterer

It is this man

Oh yes! There is a house scatterer

It is this bride she is revealing secrets

L: *Howuyo! ho! Yema howuyo!*
 F: *Yile ndoda!*
 L: *Owuyo! ho! Yema*
 F: *Ngulo mtshakaz' uyatwela*
 L: *O! kuthen' ungendi*
 F: *Yile ndoda !*
 L: *O! kuthen' ungendanga*
 F: *Ngulo mtshakaz' uyatwela*

Howuyo! ho! Yema howuyo!
 It is this man!
Owuyo! Ho! Yema
 It is this bride she is revealing secrets
 Oh yes ! Why don't you marry?
 It is this man!
 Oh yes! Why are you not married?
 It is this bride she is revealing secrets

The meaning of the song *Isidungamzi*:

'Isidungamzi/ idungamzi is a medicinal plant whose function is to ruin peaceful relations. The phrase 'this man' is used as an embellishment. The main person who is a 'scatterer' is the bride. Because of the function of *isidungamzi* she is, in this song, compared to it for being a house destroyer. The news is revealed by a bride who is said to be divulging some malicious 'agenda' (*uyatwela*).

3. G. *Imenemene le gqirha*:

L: *Kotokoto*
 F: *Hamba*
 L: *Kotokoto*
 F: *Hamba ulimenemene le gqirha*
 L: *Kotokoto*
 F: *Hamba*
 L: *Kotokoto*
 F: *Hamba ulimenemene le gqirha*

Kotokoto
 Go away!
Kotokoto
 Go away! You're a rogue of a diviner
Kotokoto
 Go away!
Kotokoto
 Go away ! You're a rogue of a diviner

Diviners as song makers sometimes spontaneously make a song out of any situation. This song was led by Nombasa (a diviner) when her colleague (male diviner) reported to them that he was about to leave and therefore needed to be excused from their social gathering.

4. H. *Ibhiya* ('The beer'):

L: *Yibhiya bhiya yibhiya leyo*
 F: *Yibhiya bhiya yibhiya leyo*
 L: *Yibhiya leyo yibhiya leyo*
 F: *Yibhiya leyo yibhiya leyo*
 L: *Ndithi ngo-2000 uza kungen epalamente*
 F: *Ngo-2000 uza kungen' epalamente*

It's a real beer, that's beer over there
 It's a real beer, that's beer over there
 It 's a real beer, that's beer over there
 It's a real beer, that's beer over there
 I say in (year) 2000 he will enter parliament
 In (year) 2000 you will enter parliament

L: <i>Ibhiya bhiya yibhiya leyo</i>	It is a beer, that's beer over there
F: <i>Ibhiya bhiya yibhiya leyo</i>	It is a beer, that's beer over there
L: <i>UThabo Mbeki uyangen' epalamente</i>	Thabo Mbeki is entering parliament
F: <i>UThabo Mbeki uyangen' epalamente</i>	Thabo Mbeki is entering parliament
L: <i>UHolomisa uyaphum' epalamente</i>	Holomisa is getting out of parliament
F: <i>UHolomisa uyaphum' epalamente</i>	Holomisa is getting out of parliament

When Nombasa the song leader, started this song one male diviner asked her to share the beer (castle milk stout) she was drinking, with him. The essence of this song is on Mbeki and Holomisa. The fact that Thabo Mbeki was going to be the next President gave them (diviners) hope and confidence that even their 'voices' (which are always marginalized) are going to be heard. When they say uHolomisa *uyaphum' epalamente* this shows the lack of confidence they have in him and that he will never be their South African president. Now the question is: what is the connection between the political leaders and the beer? The answer to this is that diviners' songs have hidden/esoteric meaning. The above song, for example, seems on the surface not to have a connection between beer and politics but on closer examination one could say that the song implicitly comments on real and untrustworthy leaders. This reveals the diviners' view on contemporary South African politics. Nombasa's song '*Songen' epalamente*' below is indicative or expounds on this argument and also reflects on the wholeness of the life a Xhosa person as represented by diviners in this instance. The English translation of the song is below the Xhosa version.

5. I. *Songen' epalamente* ('We shall enter parliament'):

L: <i>Songena kanjan' epalamente asifundanga?</i>
F: <i>Songena kanjani?</i>
L: <i>Amagqirha</i>
F: <i>Azongena kanjani akafundanga azongena kanjani?</i>
L: <i>Thina singamagqirha</i>
F: <i>Songena kanjani asifundanga songen' akanjani?</i>
L: <i>Ayanga magqirha</i>

Translation:

How are we going to enter parliament we are not educated?
 How are going to enter?
 The diviners
 How are they going to enter, they are not educated, how are they going to enter?
 We are diviners
 How are we going to enter we are not educated?
 Diviners are going to enter parliament

The meaning of the song *Songen' epalamente*:

Diviners are aware of the fact that their practice has been looked upon with disdain since people believed that it was for those who were uneducated and, which was not the case. Then they believe that people who go to parliament are those who are educated.

5.4 How diviners obtain the social songs:

In a follow-up interview I had with MamNcotshe on Monday, after the weekend of *intlombe*, I asked her to tell me about the kind of songs she and her colleagues were singing after the ritual work had been done. She explained that they were the songs of *iingobhe*. MamNcotshe expounded on *iingobhe* saying:

“Kukho iingoma zesiXhosa ezisetyenziswa emveni kokuba umsebezi wezihlwele ugqityiwe. Abathi abantu bakugqiba babesehamba, bakhe bahlale bancokole bazonwabise. Ezi ngoma zengobhe sizifumana e-Eastern Cape emakhaya xa siyokwenzela abakhwetha iintlombe. Ingobhe ngumxhentso nje ofana nendlamu kwaye wenziwa kakhulu emaMpondweni. Ezi ngoma zivunywa ukuba zikhaphe umxhentso yiloo nto kuthiwa ziingoma zengobhe. Amagqirha ke wona azisebenzisa nje ezingoma bezonwabisa kwaye zibasindisa nakwintle bendwane. Ndineengqokolela yeengobhe endazifundiswa eSada, eNgcobo, kuTsolo nakwezinye iindawo endingasazikhumbuli kakuhle. Ndiye ndizifundise amathwasa am, ke namaye amagqirha nawo athi andifundise.”

(‘These are Xhosa songs that are used for socialising after the main ritual work has been performed. People do not immediately return to their homes, they socialise; they sit in-groups and talk among themselves. We got these *iingobhe* songs from the Eastern Cape villagers when we went there to do *iintlombe* for our initiates. *Ingobhe* is a sort of traditional dance similar to *indlamu*³ and is mostly done EmaMpondweni (around Lusikisiki and Libode in the Eastern Cape Province). The songs are sung to accompany the dance hence they are called the songs of *iingobhe*. Diviners then used these songs just for socialising purposes and to deliver them from gossip. I have a good collection of *iingobhe* songs that were taught to me by people from the villages of Whittle-sea, Ngcobo, Tsolo and other places, (so many) I cannot recall. So I always share them with my initiates and my colleagues who also do the same’).

Satyo et.al also elaborate (1992:78):

“...*ingoma iviwa ivunywa ekuthini, asuke omnye ayise kwabanye kwenye indawo*”. (‘...a song is heard being sung at a certain place, one (who has heard it sung) would then introduce it to others’).

Diviners’ songs are first shared among ‘white people’ meaning that they also require the communal presence, which assists in intensifying the feeling of exhilaration through singing and clapping. Singing together means the communal presence of all the ancestors from different clans and also of the participant observers who are referred to as *abantu abamnyama* (‘non-diviners’). Anyone may start a song but in practice there are certain people of *intlombe* gathering who commonly lead in the singing because they meet the requirements of a good song leader and have also demonstrated their musical abilities on several occasions. A lead singer must have a powerful voice and sing with confidence and conviction. The singing of a traditionalist generally ‘emerges from an open or relatively relaxed throat, and has a smooth and rounded quality,’ (Hansen 1981:125) but tends towards hoarseness as performance gets underway.

People who have undergone or experienced voice-training in school or church tend to sing in a controlled and modulated style which is totally at odds with the Xhosa traditional way of singing and this ‘polished’ style is not acceptable at *intlombe*. The ‘open’ natural voice is what is wanted. I was able to experience the reactions to ‘polished’ voices in ritual context and discussed vocal style with many diviners. Apart from insisting on vocal clarity and confident performance they also stress the need for a singing style and sound that is highly evocative and emotion inducing. A good lead singer is someone who not only sings well but also influences others to do the same thing. She must have a voice that is so powerfully emotive, that is able to ‘melt’ into the followers (initiates) and get into their blood, shake their *imibilini* (s.*umbilini*), and remind them that they have a ‘white sickness’. The audience has to assist in promoting this by clapping hands (‘*ukuqhwaba izandla*’) and singing, while novices amplify their efforts with their singing and ritual dancing (‘*ukuxhentsa*’) *entungo*. A former UCT (Zulu-speaking) music student Nhlanhla Cele once stated (1999):

“The singers do not only produce sounds. They move their hands, head, shoulders and legs in certain co-ordinated patterns during the process of performance.”

In African music the sound cannot be separated from movement patterns hence the term *ingoma* -meaning 'song' and involving a system of interrelated movement patterns, sonic and non-sonic. Hansen (1981) reports that dancing of the ritual type is obligatory with its characteristic muscle rippling and galvanic stamping. The dance formation is circular and the performers move counter clockwise shifting the body weight from one leg to the other and executing the characteristic toe-heel and stamping according to their ability. The stamping coincides with the beats of the music's metre, defined by drumming. *Ukutyityimba*⁴ (meaning the shoulder-muscle rippling) is an essential part of the ritual dancing and, together with the standard footwork, is done by all performers but each has her own way of approaching and applying the basic dance techniques for dance style (see the video clips J and K).

5.5 The uses and functions of *iingoma zamathongo* ('ancestral songs'):

Diviners are given songs in order to serve specific purposes at *intlombe* or wherever one has been required to do so by their ancestors. Following are examples of the categories they (diviners) defined, and which I observed at séances.

Their songs are employed when they:

1. Supplicate to the ancestral spirits
2. Raise the canister of *ubulawu* when officiating at *intlombe*
3. Invoke the ancestral spirits.

Note well that diviners may use the same songs for the same or different function (purpose) but these songs will not mean the same thing for all of them.

Songs that fall under (1):

5.6 *lingoma zokunqula* ('songs of supplication'):

Satyo, et.al. (1992:81) state:

"Iingoma zonqulo zivunywa ngamaxesha afanele oko...zonke zinxibelelwano nabangasekhoyo...zezokunqanda undonakele ukuba ukho ukuze angabisabakho ukuba akakabikho... kuvuselelwe nonxibelelwano phakathi kwabaphilayo nabalele ukufa."

(‘Songs for supplication are sung at the time... which is appropriate...all of these songs have a nexus with the departed ones. They are meant to stop the problem if it exists, and to prevent it if it has not occurred (at that point in time)...thereby reviving the communication between the living and the dead’).

This tells us that even in other Xhosa religious contexts, besides the practice of diviners, supplication songs are employed and these are the songs that in most cases are referred to as *iingoma zekhaya* (‘homestead song’). (See video clip ‘O’) on how a homestead song is used at *iintlombe*. Satyo, et. al. (ibid) further point out that:

“*Iingoma zamagqirha ikwa ziingoma ezingqamene nonqulo*”.
(‘Diviners’ songs are songs that are employed and incorporated with supplications’).

Supplications are always preceded by singing, which invokes the ancestors’ attention so that they may listen to the entreaties of the supplicant. A song is then usually interrupted by someone (of the diviners’ group) who wishes to make a supplication to the ancestors and will therefore stop the song leader. While the supplicant is in the process of her entreaties one may interrupt by resuming with the singing. Initially I thought that diviners and their initiates were lacking respect when interrupting the singing, supplications or ritual speeches made by one of them. When I asked Majola (a diviner) about it he explained that divination songs elevate one’s spirituality and bring the supplicant closer to the ancestors and they also make one’s ritual speech more powerful.

These entreaties are intercepted with exclamations like *Chosi!* (‘Let there be peace!’) *Camagu!* (‘Be appeased/We hear’) made by the singers. Both expressions at *intlombe* are also used by audience members, commonly between supplications and ritual speeches made by diviners when they address the two worlds of the natural and spiritual, in ritual contexts. In these contexts the expressions serve as formal responses, which reaffirm the supplications (much like ‘Amen’ and ‘so be it in Christian prayers). These are also acceptable ways of stopping the singing process and can be regarded as formulaic. The supplications are antiphonally structured, with the responses emulating the response phrases. In this call and response the active participants and observers’ involvement become a great necessity to induce the supplicant’s *ihlombe*.⁵ Hence sometimes participants shout out loud *Andiniva! Yithani camagu!* (I cannot hear you, say (shout out) *camagu!*). The loud response also helps the supplicant to experience revelations.

In supplications the diviner or novice diviner involves her ancestral spirits, calling out the names of her paternal and maternal ancestors and those of her diviners' ancestors (if she is a trainee) and even the names of the ancestors of the diviner who trained her tutor-diviner. Supplications by diviners usually carry requests to the ancestors to preside over the entire ritual, from its commencement to its conclusion. In their discussions about ritual songs (sub-categories 1 and 2) diviners emphasised the need for 'respect', to be demonstrated by audiences when the songs are performed. 'Respect' goes beyond having reverence and honour. It also demands loud and forceful singing and drumming, and precise, almost metronomic clapping. Following is the English translation of entreaties (to the ancestors) in a call (by the Novice (N)) and response form (from the Audience (A)) with a song incorporated in it. See Appendix 7 (vol.2 p.23) for the original Xhosa version. This supplication was done at *intlombe* of MamZangwa (listen to CD1 track no. 9) and it was followed by the singing of the supplicant's song, which is on CD1 track no. 10. The shouts from the novices in this song also demonstrate *ihlombe* that they experience (comp. it (*ihlombe*) to CD1 track no. 22 sung by the same novices and audience)).

N: I say, I supplicate and I pray to the Wushe 'people'

A: Be appeased!

N: I say let the darkness move away and the light appear

A: Be appeased!

N: I say I supplicate even to the diviner Zangwa, Ncuthu who is hosting here I say I propitiate

A: Be propitiated!

N: I say I thank the 'tabernacle', which has 'agreed' that we may enter...(she is referring to the sacred place which has become the abode of the ancestors in the house where *intlombe* is being held).

A: Let there be peace!

N: I say I propitiate we were here from last night

A: Be appeased!

N: I say I am Mbathane

-Matsheya

-Nondzaba

A: Be appeased!

N: I say to the Qwathi people
 -to the Dikela people
 -to the Ntswayibane people

-to the Ngovane people
 -to Nomatyala, be appeased!

A: Be appeased!

N: I say to the Ndlovu people
 Malusi *mabandla* ('cohort'), I propitiate

A: Be propitiated!

N: I say to the Dlomo
 -Sophitsho
 -Yem yem
 -Vela bambhentsele, let us propitiate!

A: Be appeased!

N: I say *imvumisa* (lit. 'a divinatory consultation')
 (a request to be able to divine for clients who come for consultation).

-*Unontongwana*⁶ ('divinatory test')

-*Igqabi leyeza* ('the leaf of a medicinal plant') and its work, the source and the cause in diagnosis/revelation *mabandla* ('cohort') let us propitiate!

(this is a request for guidance in obtaining the correct medicinal plant and the method of employing it).

A: Let there be peace!

N: I say I supplicate the lamp (the light) that has lit in the 'tabernacle' in which I live.
 Let us propitiate!

A: Be appeased!

N: I say I 'supplicate' for work. Let us propitiate!

(this can have various meanings (1) thanking the ancestors for the job that she earns out of it (2) thanking the ancestors for the ritual working that is/ has taken place).

A: Be appeased!

N: I say I pray in order to go forward (progress successfully). Let us propitiate!

A: Be appeased!

N: I say, I pray for reverence here on the 'road' (in the process of training). Let us propitiate!

A: Be appeased!

N: I say to the Dlomo people (i.e. ancestors), Sophitsho, Vela bambhentsele. Let us propitiate!
A: Be appeased!

N: I say I 'pray' to my great-grandfather cohort let us propitiate. Let us propitiate!
A: Be appeased!

N: I 'supplicate' Sithole (male diviner) I say he is *indlezana* (lit. 'cow that has recently calved') that has 'bore' (who initiated) mother MaNdlovu who 'bore' (initiated) mother Mabandla'. Let us propitiate!
A: Be appeased!

The supplicant took a pause from supplicating and an initiate from the audience led the supplicant's dreamt song which is incorporated in CD1 track no.10 and whose text goes thus:

L: <i>Yu yu yu! He! malal' ezintabeni</i>	<i>Yuyuyu! He!</i> Mountain sleeper
F: <i>Uyas'khathaza</i>	Worries us
L: <i>Yuyuyu!</i>	<i>Yuyuyu!</i>
F: <i>He! malal' ezintabeni uyas'khathaza</i>	<i>He!</i> Mountain sleeper worries us
L: <i>Yu yu yu!</i>	<i>Yuyuyu!</i>
F: <i>He! malal' ezintabeni uyas'khathaza</i>	<i>He!</i> Mountain sleeper worries
L: <i>Uy' as'khathaza</i>	Yes! He worries us
F: <i>He! malal' ezi ntabeni uyas'khathaza</i>	<i>He!</i> Mountain sleeper worries us
L: <i>Ew' uyas'khathaza</i>	Yes! He worries us

Ihlombe that was generated at that moment gave the supplicant the power to implore and make more requests to her ancestors:

I say Dlomo
-Sophitsho
-Vela bambhentsele

('I say, when that song was sung last night, it reminded me of grandmother MaDlomo Mabandla, let us propitiate! It was as if I could suddenly cry tears because I am the great granddaughter to the Dlomo people, let us propitiate! I say *invumisa, unontongwana* and the leaf of a medicinal plant and its function *mabandla*, let us propitiate!').

From this statement it is clear how immensely the supplicant was affected by this song the previous night it was sung at the same séance. The energy of the song was still flowing in her system hence she gained more power to go on with her entreaties:

I say to the Ndlovu clan
-Nengezi

I say to the Qwathi clan
 -to the Dikela
 -to the Ntswayibane

-to the Ngovane
 I am Mbathane

The same song with new phrases was intoned which means that: there is no person who can survive without the help another one, 'a person is human by virtue of other people'. The song was then followed by the calling upon of her ancestors' praise names:

Yu yu yu!
He! malal' ezintabeni uyas'khathaza
O! yimfen' int' elale zintabeni
As'khathal'!
O! yimfen' int' elale zintabeni
As'khathal'!
Bath' uyagodol' ulumnt' olal'
ezintabeni
As'khathal'!

Yuyuyu!
He! Mountain sleepers
O! It is a baboon that sleeps on mountains
We don't care!
O! It is a baboon that sleeps on mountains
We don't care!
They say one gets cold, one who sleeps
on mountains
We don't care!

I am Mbathane
 -Matshaya
 -Nondzaba
 -Dikela
 -Ntswayibane
 -Ngovane
 -Nomatyala

-Ndlovu
 -Nengezi

-Yem Yem
 -Sophitsho
 -Vela bambhentsele

One diviner told me that it happens in certain cases that the supplicant just names one or three praise names from each clan she is supposed to supplicate, when she has realised that she has taken much time entreating, or sometimes when she is lazy but compelled to call upon them (the ancestors' names).

The humble plea by the supplicant went on:

I say, I supplicate and I am praying,
 I say *imvumisa* ('ability to divine for clients')
 (she requests to be given vivid visions when clients come for consultation),
nontongwana ('divination test').

The leaf of the medicinal plant and its function, let us propitiate!

This means that she should be given or shown (by her ancestors) medicinal plants that she can use to cure patients.

I pray to be able to control my temper.
 (One diviner informed me that diviners are people who are emotional, they are quick to get angry and cry and this is because of the 'white sickness').
 I pray for a diviner, any diviner that she should be my diviner
 (meaning she is praying that she should treat other diviners the same way she treats hers).

I pray that I should know it is not only mama MaDlamini (who is a diviner that Deserves to be respected) even another diviner I should give respect that I give *mama* MaDlamini *anditsho ngankani ndiyacenga* ('I am not demanding I am begging).

I say Dlamini

-S'jadu

-Jama

-Ngxib' inoboya

I am Tshezi

-Tembe, mabandla *masicamagusheni* ('cohort let us propitiate!')

The *ndi* is an inclusive 'I' and therefore the supplicant is not using it in this context as an individual. She is possessed and consequently she becomes the mouthpiece for all. The calling upon each ancestral name does not refer to an individual ancestor but also to those who are around him i.e. his subordinates. One initiate explained: although the word *ndithi* ('I say') or *nditsho* ('I am so saying') sounds so demanding, they are humbly requesting the ancestors that what they are asking for must be done.

The supplication of this initiate was long because she was 'pushed' by *ihlombe* of the song. What is noticed again is that the length of these entreaties was also long due to the constant repetition. One is not doing this because she chooses to but one is being driven by one's ancestral spirits. This constant repetition has a dramatic effect in that it relives the ritual event creating a sense of immediacy.

It is also accompanied by a progressive heightened emotion (hence also she was panting so heavily as she was supplicating), which reinforces the entreaties. It makes the relationship between the 'white people' and the ancestors real. *Iintlombe* songs must be sung with great vigour and volume and, for a satisfactory performance, a good lead singer is essential. She must possess certain qualities: an extensive repertoire of the more familiar songs; the capacity to lead a performance convincingly, and improvise successfully within the norms of accepted musical and verbal behaviour.

These songs represent a dynamic musical tradition, that is loved by the ancestors and they play a significant part in *iintlombe* rituals. This is why in Xhosa language there is a maxim that the ancestors are also affected by *ihlombe* generated by the musical activity of their living descendants. Once the singers reach that state of ecstasy the words of a song are dropped and songs become choruses of vocables and also there is much of improvisation. Without *ihlombe* the rituals would be ineffective and invalid. As we are going to see in following chapter, certain songs 'go with' certain diviners' procedures and are of a systematised type. They are highly conventional to a degree but place emphasis on the individual creative abilities of the performers. If they do not perform well the music fails to achieve the effect it should.

5.7 *Ingoma zokunyusa ibhekile* ('songs of raising the billycan of *ubulawu*):

Songs of ritual (2) constitute a sub-category of diviners' songs and are commonly described or named in terms of the associated *intlombe* e.g. *ingoma yokunyusa ibhekile*, *ingoma yokubetha ibhekile* or *ingoma yokuphehla ibhekile* (lit. the song of raising the billycan, the song of 'beating' the billycan= meaning the song of churning up *ubulawu*). (See end note no. 5 of ch. three p.306 for detailed information on *ubulawu*). The song of raising the billycan of homestead medicine (*ubulawu*) is owned by the host diviner (the convenor of the event). Since it is her song she prefers to lead it herself when she is about to raise the billycan of *ubulawu*. Unlike other divination songs, this type involves singing and drumming only - dancing is prohibited. The diviners remove their headdresses as a mark of respect when the diviner starts off her *phehla*⁷ song. The singing has to be extremely powerful for this reason everyone must focus their efforts on the singing, standing relatively still while so doing.

In the previous page it has already been mentioned that (in most cases) a diviner prefers to lead her *phehla* songs. However, when she wishes to relinquish the song leadership for any reason, it will be assumed by another diviner or her initiate who appreciates the significance of the song and who will lead it appropriately. In this case of a *phehla* song, when the transition occurs, the host diviner stops leading the singing and switches to a series of uttered supplications accompanied by the continuous singing of the audience whose part is mainly fixed. A diviner or the host diviner's initiate who knows the power that is to be put into the *phehla* song will take over the lead part while she is supplicating.

Below is the example of a *phehla* song that was sung at *intlombe yokuqhela* which was hosted by MamZangwa. The *phehla* song belonged to MamNcotshe who was the former trainer diviner of MamZangwa. She sang the song as to show respect to her former diviner and also used it as a sign of reverence to the Ncotshe 'multitudes'. In the song she invoked the name of the Zangwa people to be present and guide her throughout the ritual ceremony. Since it was the first time in her practice as a fully-fledged diviner to 'take' a novice to the last stage of her training her former diviner was supposed to be present in order to see the results of her (former trainer diviner's) good work, however she was not able to attend. MamZangwa performed her 'work' successfully without the presence of MamNcotshe. This was a great achievement for MamZangwa who was now ready to host any type of *intlombe*. A *phehla* song in itself carries great power and appeal (for the ancestors) and must be sung with great solemnity and with compelling force. The power within a song and the ensuing supplications must be fully harnessed in order to open up direct communication with the ancestral spirits. For the *phehla* song below listen to CD1 track no. 3:

L: *O! zihlwele zamo!*
ziman' ukutsho kamnandi

Oh! My 'multitudes' (the ancestors)
keep on saying pleasantly
(i.e. revealing good news)

F: *He! Wena halala ha!*

He! You Halalaha!

L: *O! zihlwele*

Oh! 'Multitudes'

F: *Ziman' ukutsho kamnandi*
z'man' ukutsho

They keep on saying pleasantly,
and keep on saying

L: *Ndinezihlwele*

I have 'multitudes'

F: *Ziman' ukutsho*
ziman' ukutsho

They keep on saying pleasantly
they keep on saying

L: *Aph' amaZangwa*

Where are the Zangwa people (ancestors)

F: *Z'man' ukutsho kamnandi*
z'manukutsho

They should keep on saying pleasantly
and should keep on saying

L: *Aph' amaNcotshe*
 F: *Z'man' ukutsho kamnandi*
z'man' ukutsho
 L: *Ndineent' wee*

Where are the Ncotshe people (ancestors)
 Should keep on saying pleasantly,
 they keep on saying
 I have 'things'
 (i.e. bearers of good news meaning the
 ancestors. And diviners rely on them for
 good news (ancestral revelations/vision)).
 That keep on saying pleasantly
 that keep on saying

F: *Ziman' ukutsho kamnandi*
ziman' ukutsho

For the meaning of the song see MamNcotshe's case study four (ch.seven p. 220). The following is the supplication made by the host diviner whilst the followers continued to accompany her entreaties with *ukombela*. The supplication went thus:

Ndiceng' uFolo
Ndiceng' uMvulashe
Umatyand' ebaleni
Ndiceng' uMsimango
Ithole lo mthwakazi
Ndithi ndiyanqula ngoku kwezi zihlwele
Ndithi ndingu Zangwa
Ndithi ndiyacenga ke kwezo zihlwele zikaBhayi, zikaKhetsha
Inyok' emnyam' ecand' isiziba
Ndithi ke ndiceng' ingithong' elithethayo
Ndithi ke ndiyanqula ndiyathandaza
Ndikhwaz' uDiliza ke kule ndawo
Ndikhwaz' uNowhase
Ndithi ndicelel' uThembakaz' imali
Ndimcelel' amathong' acacileyo
Ndimcelel' ingxilongo, invumisa nonobangel' emhloleli
Ndikhwaz' iindwendwe ezingenayo phantsi kwalo mnquba
Ndiyanqula, ndiyacenga, ndikhwaza kamnandi
Ndithi Lisa
Ndithi Jambase
Ndithi ndinqula kamnandi xa ndisenjenje
Ndinqula ndiyathandaza
Ndiceng' umz' ongxolayo, ndiceng' ingethe ke xa ndisenjenje

Translation of the supplication:

I 'beg' (entreat) Folo
 I 'beg' Mvulase
Matyand' ebaleni
 I 'beg' Msimango
 The 'big calf' (descendant) of a Bushwoman (Mpondomise)

I say, I supplicate now to these 'multitudes'
 I say, I am Zangwa
 I say then, I 'beg' to those 'multitudes' of Bhayi, of Khetsha
 A black snake that crosses deep pool
 I say then, I 'beg' the ancestral dream that 'speaks'
 I say then, I implore, and I am praying
 I am 'calling loudly' (supplicate) Diliza at this place
 I am 'calling loudly' Nowhase
 I say I am asking money for Thembakazi
 I ask for (her) dreams that are vivid
 I am asking for her, diagnostic, 'divinatory consultation' and the source in revelation
 I am 'calling loudly' the 'visitors' that enter under this 'tabernacle'
 I supplicate (and) I 'beg' so pleasantly
 I say Lisa
 I say Jambase
 I say I entreat so pleasantly when I am so doing
 I supplicate (and) I am praying
 I 'beg' the house that makes 'noise'; I 'beg' the forest when I am so doing

The *phehla* supplication-songs are the only *amathongo* songs that accompany diviner's entreaties. In this instance the call and response occurs in singing between the one who has taken the singing leader's part and the audience.

5.8 *Iingoma zokuvusa izihlwele*

('songs of 'awakening' (invoking) the 'multitudes''):

All these songs (including the sub-categories 1 and 2 mentioned above) are from *amathongo* and they are of crucial importance. They are believed to contain the special and positive energy that comes directly from the ancestral spirits. These in particular are called *iingoma zamathongo* ('the songs of the ancestors') since they are used for invoking the ancestors. The help of the ancestors is always needed by their descendants. To beg for their attention a special song for them has to be intoned. These songs are mainly attributed to those that are called *Iingoma zabantu abadala* (cf. p.76). It should be noted that it is not only 'white people' who have such songs. When people have homestead rituals they employ these songs.

In *intlombe* context 'white people' would use them when they do not feel their ancestors' presence. For *ithongo* song to be effective at *iintlombe*, it has to be shared and satisfactorily performed in order to be able to tap the power it contains. 'Sharing' in this context means the participation of all. The collective performance of a song in its proper context is important but such songs are owned by individual diviners and initiates.

No one else has the right to use another's *ithongo* song in a ritual of supplication (though it is done by other initiates who have not yet been given their *amathongo* songs). The misappropriation of someone's ancestral song is not tolerated and offenders are immediately reprimanded for so doing. On one occasion I witnessed dissension among a group of initiates when one of them, Ntombethongo, requested another initiate, Zanethongo, to sing a certain song with the text '*Soz' ulunge ulalanesigulane*' ('You will not get right sleeping with a 'sick person)').

No sooner had Zanethongo begun the song when he was interrupted by another initiate Ntombesilawu who was the rightful owner of the song. She stopped Zanethongo unceremoniously and exclaimed indignantly: "Hey! Stop singing that song, that is my dreamt song. She must sing her own song, she has one! she has one that was given to her by her own ancestors." This outburst caused rejoinders and noisy confusion which was aggravated when Zanethongo again attempted to sing Ntombesilawu's song which further provoked her. In undertones, she hurled insults at Ntombethongo such as *umnqundu wakho*⁸ ('your back side') and the like. Since the diviners were in another room at the time of the altercation, it continued for a while during which Ntombesilawu expressed her indignation at the misappropriation of her song.

Although *ithongo* songs are individually owned they have to be articulated by groups of people if they are to be performed effectively. It is common to hear a shouted request for someone's *ithongo* song: *hlabel' ingomayakhe* (i.e. start her *ithongo* song). Implicit in this is an acknowledgement of song ownership and the 'owner's' tacit consent for its rendition. It sometimes takes time before an initiate is sent a song by *ithongo* with the result that there are only a few -even one- or two- songs which are available for performance in a ritual. This does not affect the overall music at the event since any existing ritual song may be selected for performance provided it is deemed appropriate for the specific ritual. For example, there are two well-known songs '*uNonkala ngasemlanjeni*' ('The crab by the river side') or '*Ithamsanqa liyakwaliwa nguwe*' ('the piece of good fortune will be rejected by you'). These songs are frequently sung in lieu of *ithongo*-song of initiates who are going to use it for supplicating or invoking their ancestors.

Song-type 1:

Nonkala ('The crab') (listen to CD1 track no. 4)

L: <i>O! Wenza ngabom</i>	Oh! It did intentionally
F: <i>Oho!</i>	<i>Oho!</i>
L: <i>Wenza ngabom unonkala nga</i>	It did intentionally, the crab by...
F: <i>Iyoho! Ngasemlanjen'</i>	<i>Yoho!</i> By the riverside
L: <i>O! Wenza ngabom</i>	Oh! It did intentionally
F: <i>Yoho!</i>	<i>Yoho!</i>
L: <i>Wenza ngabom unonkala nga</i>	It did intentionally, the crab by...
F: <i>Unonkala ngasemlanjen'</i>	The crab by the riverside
L: <i>O! Wadidiyel'</i>	Oh! It prepared the mixture
F: <i>Yoho!</i>	<i>Yoho!</i>
L: <i>Wadidiyel'unonkala nga</i>	Nonkala prepared the mixture by...
F: <i>Yoho! Ngasemlanjen'</i>	<i>Yoho!</i> by the riverside

The meaning and importance of the song *uNonkala*:

UNonkala is one of the best-known Xhosa diviners' songs, and reputedly of great age. It is sung in different ritual contexts where the action is geared or directed towards communication with the ancestors. Of crucial importance is the relationship between the song and the clan identity of an initiate. I know of an initiate of the Rhadebe clan who informed me that *uNonkala* was the Rhadebe totem ('sacred animal'). The song is commonly sung when a river ritual has to be performed at the initiate's home and when this happens the Rhadebe ancestors manifest themselves in a crab form. The prominent phrase in the song '*Wadidiyela uNonkala*' is especially significant for the Rhadebe people because it means that they will see *uNonkala* stamping on the ground 'moving sideways' (which describes the movement of crabs). While moving in this fashion the crab is kneading the eggs (preparing the mixture) into the river mud. This mud has great significance for the clan; it is used in birth rituals, being applied to the face of the child about to undergo the ritual. Because of this close association with the Rhadebe clan this song has also the function of a homestead song (*ingoma yekhaya*). Every Xhosa-speaking home has its 'homestead song', which is sung to awaken the family's ancestral spirits. Apart from the Rhadebe clan's usage of this divination song *-uNonkala*, I have also heard it performed at the traditional beer gatherings (i.e. *iintselo*). In this context the song has no religious function but serves as one of many songs that are sung at such events and also enhances the celebrations because of its ritual associations but it is best known as a diviners' song.

It should be noted that the song is not the special preserve of Rhadebe clan members; it is freely incorporated into séances, and may serve as a substitute for *ithongo* song or awakening of the ancestors.

An incident at *intlombe* held in Khayelitsha on 26 April 1998 provided further insight into the ritual significance of *uNonkala* for individual initiates. During the ritual dance one of the initiates called Siyabulela was overtaken by *umbilini*. To ease his distress a number of songs were sung in succession in the hope that one or more of them would ease his condition. It was useless and the initiate's plea to sing his *ithongo* went unheeded, and his pain and misery intensified. Eventually the singers complied with his request for yet another song, *intliziyo yam inamangongo iyawangongozela* ('my heart has palpitations and it is throbbing'), the words aptly describing his extremely anxious state (this is the same song on CD1 track no.1).

The song was rendered, interspersed with supplications, but had no effect on the initiate's condition. However, when a fellow initiate introduced '*uNonkala*' the effect was almost immediate. It was another one of his *ithongo* songs for awakening the ancestors, and therefore a symbol of ancestral attachment. As it was sung Siyabulela's ancestral spirits responded to his cries for relief and his *umbilini* subsided. When one of my informants, Patrick by name, was given a dreamt song by his ancestors, he told me that they said: "*Le, yingoma esiyakuthi sikusabele ngayo xa kukubi, xa ufuna ukusisondeza sizakuva ngezingqi zayo.*" (lit. 'This is the song by which we will respond to you. When it is bad, when you want to bring us closer to you, we will hear by its footsteps'. This meant that it is the song that will draw his ancestors' attention when revelations are needed by him and he will sing it when he wants to summon them').

Song-type 2:

Ithamsanqa ('A good fortune') (listen to CD1 track no.6)

L: <i>Hay'bo likhon'ithamsanqa</i>	There is a good fortune
F: <i>Liya kwaliwa nguwo' elithamsanqa</i>	It will be rejected by you, this good fortune
L: <i>Hay' bo likhon' ithamsanqa</i>	There is a good fortune
F: <i>Liya kwaliwa nguwe</i>	It will be rejected by you
L: <i>Hay' bo likhon' ithamsanqa</i>	There is a piece of good fortune
F: <i>He! bethuna mha siyabulawa</i>	Hey! people we are being killed

The meaning and significance of the song *Ithamsanqa*:

Any initiate who has not yet been given a song for invoking her ancestors can use this ritual song. I have heard it sometimes sung when a diviner or an initiate is about to supplicate to the ancestors. Also when the spirit of a séance is gradually going down *Ithamsanqa* is then used to awaken the spirit of the ritual gathering. It is usually sung at *iintlombe* of all kinds but has special significance and value at rituals associated with the initiation into the practice and when a novice graduates as a fully trained diviner. The term *Ithamsanqa* has the literal meaning of 'a piece of good fortune' but in the context of a specific ritual (type 2) it refers to *ubulawu*. When the foam is smeared on the initiate's body she is said to be 'wearing' it (the foam), that is to say, she is wearing the blanket of good fortune that was left by her ancestors.

As a symbol of *Ithamsanqa* it denotes the security of one's life, health, and well-being (which are ever at risk). For this reason the recipient is expected to accept the invisible 'blanket' ('good fortune') with warm hands. Like so many ritual songs, the text here is allusive. The words *liyakwaliwa nguwe* (lit. 'it will be rejected by you') means, by implication, you! who had been chosen to the 'calling' will run away from the gift that was going to heal you physically and spiritually. This song like *uNonkala* is also sung out of context e.g. at the traditional 'beer events', when people of a homestead have brewed traditional beer in order to thank their ancestors, or implore their aid. However, I have never witnessed its performance as a homestead song as in the case of *uNonkala*. When 'white people' are given *amathongo* songs, in most cases, the purpose is for them to elicit the attention of their ancestors so that one's request is easily accessible.

5.9 Why divination songs are regarded as noise:

Divination songs may be relatively easy to learn but their meanings are not easy to understand. Their words are often scarcely incomprehensible when heard from a distance. As a result of this, they are perceived by other community members as noise. This is because to diviners singing is a collective way of speaking together, conveying different messages to their ancestors and to the audience at the same time. The nature and the content of the messages vary from time to time and may acquire new nuances, and new direction through the standard procedure of improvisation (i.e. variations on the standard pattern, textual and melodic).

The new words and phrases are incorporated into the cyclic pattern, introducing melodic variations. During the constantly repeated song cycles individuals shout encouraging words and sounds like (*Yiya! Yiya!* ('Come! Come!')) and *Haa! Hamba!* ('Yeah! Go!') Sobs and ululation are fused with the overall singing. These words/sounds make the songs more powerful and thereby increase their efficacy as reaching the state of the ecstasy. So it is when one gets closer to them by attending *iintlombe* that one begins to understand the messages being conveyed.

Following is example of one of the recorded songs having such sounds (listen to CD1 track no. 8).

<i>Yoyo nomoya</i>	Oh! The spirit world
<i>Owu! zwe libabayo</i>	Oh! The bitter world
<i>Yoyo nomoya</i>	Oh! The spirit world
<i>Owu! zwe libabayo</i>	Oh! The bitter world
<i>Owu! kuthethw' izimanga</i>	Oh! Negative/astonishing things are being said...

The meaning of the song *Nomoya* (the spirit world)

The singers are praising the spirit world (*kweli nomoya*) and *kweli* has been intentionally omitted by the singers. As it has been stated earlier, when *ihlombe* has taken over, some words which are part of a phrase are omitted while on the other hand new phrases are incorporated. In the response *Owu! zwe libabayo* is *ilizwe elibabayo* has also been contracted to *zwe libabayo* and this refers to earthly world which is full of destructions, hence it is said *kuthethw' izimanga*.

5.10 The effect the songs have on initiates and diviners:

The meaning and value of divination songs, and their performance by a large group, contribute to the state of mental and physical excitement that the collective action induces; a state which the Xhosa call *ihlombe*. Individual *iintlombe* songs are commonly of relatively short duration, although certain songs are sung at greater length mainly due to the singers' experience of intense *ihlombe* (examples CD1 track nos. 29, 30 and 31). Baw' uGxarha's account of this state, induced by *ukombela*, is particularly insightful. For original Xhosa (see Appendix 8; vol.2 p.26).

"Ukombela exhilarates me to the extent of ecstasy. At this point I am unable to sit down.

I have an immediate feeling of standing up, starting to dance/stamping my feet on the ground, showing the effect *ihlombe* has at that particular moment. One does not merely have to go to school or get special education in order to reach this stage of *ukubetha inqina* ('stamping the foot'). It is even worse when *ingoma* came to me in a vision, and the rhythm and harmony echoes exactly in the manner in which I first heard it *ethongweni*. I dance and perspire profusely, then visions automatically appear in different ways. I start to visualise the unseen with the naked eye. What I usually notice among the novices are their different reactions, they become imbued with *ihlombe* in varying degrees. Some of them are so affected even with ancestry revelations in which they are shown 'dirty'/evil substances (*izitofile*) which could harm them or even *intlombe* people who have not protected themselves with medicines.

When one of these novices has had such an experience, he is immediately given permission to identify and expose the person; *ingoma* is sung to give the possessor of an evil substance a chance to sneak away. Then, if he becomes evasive, the novice stops the singing and recapitulates her words. *Igqirha* would then say: "Come out with it my child! What kind of a substance is it? Is it possessed by a female or a male? Just come out with it and show us! Be direct now, because for long one has been told that if one possesses some 'dirty' substance that one thinks is in harmony with oneself, or is directing one's way in one's affairs, one should put it outside because it is suffocating people." When the novice goes to the possessor the singing becomes so intense that it puts her into the state of ecstasy. She then gains the power of snatching the substance from the possessor. At that time she is accompanied by diviners to lend her assistance, should the substance give her convulsions. She snatches it away and say: "Here is the evil substance that I have been talking about."

When Baw' uGxarha gave me this report, he said that this was from his personal experience. Such people have come to test whether or not novices are truly afflicted and if the diviners are authentic or if they just go to *iintlombe basele ezindywala* ('séances in order to consume these beers'). *Iintlombe* are regarded as 'classes' or sessions of instruction. As one novice diviner, Nosipho, put it: "It is very important for a student to attend the classes because one gains confidence in having to face a crowd at *intlombe* and to supplicate (in the correct manner), also one's spirituality grows to an extent that one can detect certain things that can harm a person." At *intlombe* each initiate must make an act of supplication and may not avoid so doing even if she feels uncertain about her performance. The choice of initiates for this act is made by an officiating initiate, who selects each supplicant in turn while dancing in the centre of the circle of performers.

Baw' uGxarha too once stated *iintlombe* are obligatory for all trained diviners because they enable them, through regular participation, to learn the techniques and procedures of such rituals. Furthermore, *iintlombe* are beneficial and therapeutic in that they alleviate the symptoms of *ukuthwasa* which will only be removed after graduation into the profession.

At *iintlombe* 'white people' are expected to become possessed by *umoya wezinyanya* i.e. the spirit of the ancestors and *umbilini* but this happens in varying degrees. On one occasion an initiate was so overcome by *umoya*⁹ (invoked by the powerful singing and dancing of the other participants) that he fled their circle and ran out of the room. Some participants managed to restrain him and forcibly return him to the circle of performers who sang loudly for him and exhorted him to commence dancing. An elderly diviner joined him and tapped him rhythmically between his shoulder blades as he danced. This action, described as *ukwehlisa umoya*, (lit. to bring down the spirit') is intended to placate *umoya* and reduce it to controllable levels. A similar action is sometimes done by initiates for the same purpose: they place their *matshinitshini* between their shoulder blades so as to 'hold' (i.e. contain/control) *umoya* (or to bring the spirit down'). It is not unusual to witness an initiate jumping about and crying out aloud, when trying to expel the severe pain caused by *umbilini*.

At one of the largest *intlombe yokuphila* (p.177 =6.3.6) that I attended one initiate began to sob uncontrollably, she suddenly bent over and became limp (see video clip (L)). Her co-initiates tried to revive her by nudging her as they sang and danced but their efforts were ineffectual. Some initiates who wanted to help her felt that a performance of her special song might revive her but, not knowing the song, they shouted: "*Ithin' ingoma yakhe?*" ('What is her song?') *Umnt'oze naye makombel' ingoma yakhe!*" ('The person who has come with her must *ombela* her song'). They had no help from the other initiates who responded with: "*Asimazi uze nabani kwaye akho mntu oyaziyo ingoma yakhe!*" ('We don't know who she came here with and no one knows her song'). Eventually one initiate suggested a more practical solution: "*Phuma naye phandl' ak' abethwe ngumoya!*" ('just take her out so that she can get fresh air').

On another occasion in a Gugulethu *intlombe* the host diviner was so greatly possessed by *umoya* that I feared she would go into convulsions. My field assistant Simon Lewis had been photographing the event, and immediately he desisted, because he thought perhaps the diviner's ancestral spirits disapproved of his taking photographs.

The diviner staggered in the direction of the bedroom where other diviners were attending to her sister who was also possessed by *umoya*. I decided to follow and to apologise on behalf of Simon in case the problem was his camera. However, this was not the case. One of the diviners said: “*Asiyo camera ngumoya sisi uzakuphila*” (‘It is not the camera, it is on account of the spirit, sister otherwise she is going to be fine’). This (incident) reminded me of the evening I was reprimanded by the novice diviners when my camera flash went off. They shouted: “*Hey man uyasigulisa*” (Hey man! You are making us ‘sick’). When I went into the room where the diviners were sitting I requested if I could photograph them and some agreed while others were noncommittal. When I started to photograph them they began complaining; one diviner exclaimed: “*Khawulezisa mnta nam lo mbilini ungekafiki*” (‘Make it fast my child before this *mbilini* arrives (i.e. before the great anxiety is felt, which is a painful experience for them’). As she was speaking, the younger sister of the convulsing diviner was lying on a mattress (placed on the floor for the diviners to sit on during the time of consuming traditional beer and food) making some jerky movements.

This is a fairly common occurrence; certain divination songs are therapeutic and can alleviate distress and heal people. However, the same songs may also have opposite effects and make people ‘sick’ i.e. by inducing strong emotions in them which are manifested in hysterical outbursts and states of involuntary contractions of the muscles, evidence of religious ecstasy. For diviners songs help to articulate the unsayable and play a decisive role in the way participants act and react. I therefore concur with Nosipho and other diviners when they say it is essential for initiates to attend *iintlombe*. Initiates are introduced to states of altered consciousness in these rituals and through these experiences they learn to control *umoya* and or *umbilini*. Such experiences are signs that the ‘sick person’ is firmly set on the path to spiritual fulfilment and mental and physical well-being, to be realised after graduating as a diviner. Furthermore, by attending *iintlombe*, initiates learn the techniques of the profession. The special diviners’ ritual dance is learnt by observing the dance steps and movements of more experienced people; and by the obligatory supplication to the ancestors, which have to be made in the appropriate fashion, with certain actions, gestures and stances. Regular *iintlombe* experiences provide initiates with ongoing tuition in divination behaviour that has to be absorbed continually by regular participation in the ritual action. It is truly a full-time, ongoing practice.

As is evident from the song-texts in this study, their words are always appropriate for the ritual situation which may also inspire them. The singing has to reflect the unique character of a particular *intlombe*; within the conventional song mode there is scope for improvisation and embellishment.

5.11 The use of the diviners' 'healing' drum:

The drum that is used belongs usually to the host diviner. It is an essential artefact of diviners. Drumming is also obligatory in divination musical action but no special person is selected for this action. In most cases the initiates are expected to be able to provide the drumming for their own dancing, and for that of the diviners. However, when diviners perform their ritual dance in the centre of the encircling dance group, it is usual for another diviner to provide the drumming for their own dancing. The drummer either stands or sits behind the drum when playing it. The number of drummers varies according to the size of *intlombe* (i.e. the number of people present) but as many as three may participate in a big *intlombe*. The drum is of the closed double-skin type modelled on the western military drum but it has become thoroughly 'indigenized' and is in widespread use in South Africa, and in Sub-Saharan Africa generally. The hide that is used to provide the two sonorous heads comes from the skin of a sacrificial beast (which is called *inkomo yokuphila* = 'the beast of 'recovery' cf. p.178) that was initially selected by the ancestral spirits and revealed to the trainee diviner in her *amathongo* (visions).

The maker of the drum is usually a trainer diviner, or a member of the trainee's family, who has no ritual debts, and this can be done under the supervision of an individual with experience in the task. After *inkomo yokuphila* has been ritually slaughtered and the skin removed, and the meat apportioned according to custom, the skin is put aside until the third day after the ritual. Then, while still moist, two circular pieces are cut from it to fit the apertures of an oil drum which has been cut to size to provide the resonator of the instrument. Small holes are made at regular intervals near the rims of the circular pieces of skin, being large enough to receive narrow strips of hide (thongs) that are drawn through the holes, and which will secure both drum-heads to the resonator. The thongs are pulled tightly so that the skin-heads sit firmly over the apertures in the resonator, and have the necessary tension.

Although these drums are not tuned to a specific pitch a certain timbre is desired and adjustment of pitch is usually done by placing the drum-heads before a fire, or simply exposing them to strong sunlight. The skin of the ritual beast is also used to make armbands and anklets, and even a bag or pouch for the diviner's mobile dispensary.

Diviners believe that drums possess great powers. They are the voices of the ancestral spirits and by using them in rituals and songs, diviners and initiates call up their ancestors, and are themselves uplifted spiritually. Drums therefore have a special place and function and their manufacture begins in the dream world when trainee diviners are shown their particular *inkomo yokuphila* in a dream vision. The Xhosa-speaking people, like the Zulu and Swazi (their Northern Nguni 'cultural' cousins), never had a tradition of drums and drumming before contact with European colonists. They had a rudimentary drum or percussion plaque of an ox-hide, which before it was allowed to dry; it was rolled up so as to take a cylindrical form. The Xhosa-speaking people called this kind of percussion *ingqongqo* and beat it with *amaqoqa* (short sticks). It was used for specific types of music, notably that associated with the rite of male initiation (*ulwaluko*). Kirby (1965:22) states:

“The *ingqongqo* was also used at the initiation of a Xhosa witch-doctor, which was known as *ukombela*, a term which was used for dancing, drumming, or clapping the hands at a night party, or for accompanying the incantations of a doctor.”



Coppenhall (1990:228) cites (Hansen:1981:580) reporting that beaters are made from curved sticks with rubber heads or curved strips of rubber. The drummers improvise by using short ordinary sticks or tap pipes. Coppenhall states that the beaters should have a length of approximately 30cm, they should not be heavy, and they should be of the same material and equal weight, length and form. The rehearsal performance of *umtshilo*¹⁰ dance songs was a significant part of post male-initiation festivities during the seclusion period following the observance of the rite itself. Coppenhall citing (Hansen 1981) further states that with the advent of the colonial armies to the country the double-skin military provided a model for the construction of true drums with resonators and in a short time the double skin drum emerged among the Xhosa, and also among most if not all the other traditional groups in the country. Today these drums have become totally indigenized and their names have suffix-*gubu* e.g. *isigubhu* (Zulu), *igubu* (Xhosa) *tshigubu* (tshiVenda) *xigubu* (Tsonga) *sepuku* (Sotho).

The animal skin has ritual value because it comes from the ritual beast of 'recovery'. Since drumming is so important in the ritual music, its sound comes forth amplified by the resonator (from the skin) and in this sense the whole instrument has ritual value.

Drumming is evocative; it energises people and empowers the meaning of ritual songs, which bridge the gap between the natural and the spiritual worlds. Just as in the case of songs, drumming is also therapeutic. However, whilst most diviners concur with this, one encounters rare individuals who have different views. For one diviner in Langa Township the sound of drumming is highly undesirable -it makes him 'sick' (it has an effect that he wants to avoid). Generally, drumming is of crucial importance at *iintlombe* as is clapping. People are expected to clap -while singing and their claps usually supplement the beats of the drum, which provide the metrical framework of the songs. Diviners tend to become greatly irritated by those people who make no attempt to clap when they sing and perform with folded arms they are usually told to clap in no uncertain terms by diviners, who shout *Qhwabani man! Qhwabani!* ('You should clap man! Clap!').

On 26/04/1998 I attended *intlombe* at New Cross Roads with my friend Fred, a visitor from France. Fred started participating in the music making, taking up the clap pattern, but he interpreted it wrongly.

DIAGRAM FOR DRUMS/CLAPS

									
Drum	●	○	●	○	●	○	●	○	●
Audience clap		X		X		X		X	
Outsider's error	X		X		X		X		X

In Xhosa divination songs, the drum pattern is supplemented by claps, which define the music's basic metre: 4 triple beats (4x \downarrow) (and multiples thereof). The outsider clapped this metre as 6 duple beats (6x \downarrow), so produced a pattern in a cross-rhythmic relationship to the song's triple rhythm. This is not a feature of Xhosa diviners' songs, nor does it occur in Xhosa clapping generally (see Hansen 1981:729).

Fred maintained his clap rhythm, which did not concur with the rhythm of the song, and he did not realise that he was in error.

The diviners picked up the wrong clap rhythm, and one of them shouted: *Ngubani lowo?* ('Who is that?'). At once I caught Fred's attention and asked him to stop the incorrect clapping. The diviners did not know the identity of the person who was clapping wrongly. It turned out, from subsequent experiences, that Fred had a problem with Xhosa rhythm. We discussed it at one stage and his only explanation was that he was attempting improvisation because he felt that the prescriptive clapping was 'boring'. I think that Fred failed to appreciate the subtle 'off-beat' phrasing (between claps and vocal notes) of Xhosa music. In these songs the vocal notes tend to fall somewhere between the beats of the clapped metre part of the time, and not all the time, and so there is a subtle 'off-beat' relationship between claps and vocal notes, an aspect of Xhosa music that most if not all cultural outsiders either overlook, or are unable to execute. In *iintlombe* rituals the clapping is done mainly by audience members to which the dancers (diviners) sing when they perform their special circle ritual dance. They hold their switches in one hand, and are unable to clap. Initiates when dancing also hold their stick and *iimvubu* when they dance *entungo* as a sign of respect.

5.12 The effect diviners' songs have on cultural outsiders:

Even though diviners may belong genealogically to different chiefdom clusters (e.g. Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo etc) their ancestors permit them to participate in all the song-making at séances. This does not mean that the music will affect them all in the same way. A song may be sung with verve and vigour and exultation but it will affect different people differently. Some will reach a state that is almost transcendental while others will not. Performance styles differ in detail with some being faster in tempo than others, since drumming is a highly significant aspect of *iintlombe* songs, and functions also as a tempo regulator in song performances, and people will respond differently to faster and slower songs. Some diviners, being accustomed to the moderate tempo of 'Ciskeian'¹¹ songs, find it difficult to dance to the faster tempo of 'Transkeian' diviners' songs.

Tshamano Sebe a Venda-speaking friend, and also a novice diviner, was adversely affected by Xhosa divination music while participating in a Xhosa *intlombe* convened by another diviner, in Kraaifontein near Cape Town. Mr Sebe felt that his attendance at this event would be a way of pleasing his ancestors.

It seems that his participation displeased them because while he was dancing at *entungo* with other diviners he was seized with severe pains, possibly a reprimand from his ancestors, to whom all the singing and dancing meant nothing at all. Tshamano told me that the whole situation was somewhat alien to him; he was used to a ritual context in which the participants would put great energy and conviction into the music's performance with the customary singing and use of the Venda pot-shaped drum -*ngoma* and other drum types and rattles. This was the kind of music that would induce the energy by which he would gain access to the world of his ancestors.

At the seminar on cross-cultural forms of divination convened at the University of Cape Town's Centre for African Studies in the year (2000), to which I referred earlier in (p.71), two European diviners were among those speakers, both of whom I have already named -Chris Reid (ritual name Ntombemhlophe='white girl') and Peter Von Maltitz (ritual name Zanemvula bring forth the rain). The seminar delegates were invited to discuss the issue of initiating Europeans into divination training. There was already tacit agreement among the delegates that this practice should be condemned. Several ritual speeches were delivered which were interspersed with bouts of singing, since it is a 'diviners' rule' that when someone is to deliver a ritual speech, a song must be sung in order to summon her ancestors to be present. A special song was sung for Pieter von Maltitz, and as he danced to it I overheard a diviner commenting rather disparagingly on his efforts: *Tyhini! He! bethuna ukhwel' ihashe ngoku akaxhentsi* ('Good gracious! he is riding a horse now, he is not doing the diviners' ritual dance'). Before Mr Peter Von Maltitz addressed the delegates, he explained why he danced the way he did. Following is a transcribed report:

"I found a horse (in the dreams), that is why I was dancing like a horse today. Having found the horse I thought I should have known it because if I look at my ring, on the ring of the Von Maltitz family there is a horse. So it has always been there but I did not notice it and when it comes to things like a horse, then it is also very important not only because I come from various ancestries being in Africa. The question is about the understanding the symbols and that is where the cross-cultural connection is very useful because now I have the horse, but the horse is seen or, in Piet Retief's son. It was seen as a zebra, and a zebra was seen to be the animal that the devil was riding.

When we do ceremonies the African way we take an animal to be very significant to us, we take the goat and say that is a wonderful animal...the horse represents the highest wonderful thing in a white culture and it represents the devil to the black culture.”

Peter’s dance prompted me to ask both diviners if they had ‘dreamt’ songs, as this is an important aspect in their ‘calling’. Peter Von Maltitz sang one for the audience which sounded like a school song and he said he had been taught the song by his school teacher. According to him it was his ‘dreamt’ song. Chris Reid’s *ithongo* song (‘dreamt’ song) that he sang for the delegates was a song of the Old people (*ingoma yabantu abadala*). This was ‘*Oonomathotholo bayeza kusasa*’ (‘the ancestors are coming tomorrow, they are coming’). The implication here is that since the ancestors are to arrive in the (early) morning, it is time for their servants (diviners) to make ritual offerings to their ancestors.

5.13 The concept of song ownership:

The concept of song ownership provides a very interesting debate on diviners’ songs. On page 81 it is stated that initiates or diviners are given their songs by *amathongo* (‘the ancestors’) for various purposes. Until initiates receive songs in their dreams they are allowed to use any of *iintlombe* songs in order to invoke their ancestors. However, it becomes a problem when someone uses someone else’s *ithongo* (‘dreamt’) song, even if she has her own. Then too, some songs dreamt by initiates are not new but are in the standard *intlombe* music repertory. It also happens that initiates dream of the same song which means that they all have a share in it. An example of such a song is *Ithamsanqa* which is owned by several diviners and initiates. But for any song to be truly functional it must initially be shared with other ‘white people’ who will add new words *izicabo*¹² to the basic phrase-text, and this process of improvising and expanding the sound is called *ukucabela* (but the song will remain the dreamer song). Below is a list new *izicabo* examples of the same version of the song *Ithamsanqa* (the song text with the fixed leader’s part and the follower’s appears on p.101). In this one the examples demonstrate how the ten phrases below could be sung simultaneously as a response and perfectly fall within a fixed response phrase pattern ‘*liya kwaliwa nguwe*’.

-*Mama ndicel’ umsebenzi*
 -*Bakhon’ ootheth’emoyeni*
 -*Hay’ amabhongw’ aphelile*
 -*Sobe ndithethe mna*

Mother I am asking for work
 There are ‘air speakers’
 No the pride is gone
 I will not again speak

- <i>Likhon' ithemb' ekhaya</i>	There is hope at home
- <i>Thula sulila</i>	Hush! don't you cry
- <i>He! Bethuna kwathiwa</i>	He! people it was said
- <i>Soze ndende mna</i>	I would never get married.
- <i>Hay' bo ukhwelet' ubanda</i>	Oh no! you so jealous being cold
- <i>Khawutheth' eezondaba mama</i>	Just speak those news mother

These are just few *izicabo* that may occur in this song, but there are many. What must be remembered is that 'white people' are the song makers. *Ithamsanqa* is a song that is an appeal to the ancestors and carries established texts. Within a performance, as people become overwhelmed by the song, they introduce textual variations, the words of which reflect their individual experiences. Each of their contributions sends a message to their ancestral spirits. Thus the song text has no fixed and final form and variations may be explicit, being achieved by the introduction of new words and phrases in a song text. Explicit variations are one of two types of variation identified by John Blacking. In such variations a new set of words may introduce variations in speech tone, which will affect the melody and perhaps even the rhythm of the song's basic pattern. Since there is at least one (but commonly more) pair of independent phrases to a total song pattern, it is not a core procedure to start off with the first or fore phrase. A leader may opt to introduce a song by singing its chorus phrase, which is the 'fixed' part of a song as a rule.

To return to the sharing of the owner's dreamt song: The sharing also means participation by the community members who are supposed to sing or follow what is sung by the 'white people'. At any *intlombe* diviners and their religious members are the main participants, as are also members of their immediate community who also attend by invitation and by tacit consent. There are also the more 'distant' participants, i.e. those people who live near *intlombe* venue, and who watch and listen from the vantage point their homes offer. There are also the casual observers within *intlombe* vicinity, who stop, stare, and listen to the proceedings. It is these immediate and 'distant' participant-observers who are largely responsible for transmitting *amathongo* ('dreamt') songs to other people. Ultimately these songs become known and sung in these localities. When this happens it is very easy for certain individuals to 'steal' the intellectual property of others (in this case of diviners') and to subject the songs to commercial exploitation. This can be very remunerative for these song-stealers whose songs are disseminated in recordings, and even in some form of transcription. The matter of copyright then becomes an issue in which the rights of the original song owners are totally ignored.

According to information obtained from South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) once they acquire songs from individuals who appropriated them from others they are paid a fee and the songs become the property of the SABC. It will do what they like with them and, as the owners and producers of commercially distributed songs, they have copyright and cannot be prosecuted. In this way a ritual song that began as a dreamt song of a diviner or initiate may end up being a song of 'Mavis', or some other popular singer. The only persons who are aware of the ritual origins of the song are *iintlombe* people and they are unable to do anything about this dishonest practice, this is squandering of ritual music. This owning a song may be limited, not existing beyond *iintlombe* events. I find the situation unacceptable (as do many people, including diviners), and to change it diviners need to know more about their intellectual property rights. Their dreamt songs are as valuable as their medicinal plants and herbs and should also be protected against commercial abuse.

A friend living in Embekweni told me about an incident that occurred while she was visiting a relative whose neighbours were hosting *intlombe*. They were sitting outside the house watching the diviners singing and dancing. On finding one of their songs particularly appealing, they memorised and later sang it at *umphumo* ceremony for the relative's brother. This is a typical example of song appropriation, and which is very common nowadays. When such diviners' songs are performed outside *intlombe* context, they lose their religious meaning and value but the theft is also a serious offence, and particularly when an archaic and venerated song is involved. For example, *Oonomathotholo bayeza kusasa* is one of the oldest known diviners' songs, classified emically as a song of the 'Old People', yet it was taken by a jazz singer, who rearranged it for popular performance and did not even acknowledge its ritual origins (being a diviners' song) but referred to it by the meaningless label of 'traditional song'. Other songs like it are in the repertoire of the well-known African music group, Amampondo who always acknowledge its divination provenance, thereby giving the song and the ancestors -the respect they deserve. More recently, a group of diviners have become greatly concerned about the exploitation of divination songs. Being aware of my research project, they have made inquiries about my song collection and about any intentions I may have about publishing and making a profit out of it.

There is a group of concerned diviners who operate under the auspices of Icamagu Institute (ICI) directed by Nokuzola Mndende who have a new plan for divination songs, which are now being performed in *Ukholo Lwemveli* Radio Programme. Although the songs are sung by religious people for a religious programme they no longer carry the power they had, which was effectively used in *iintlombe* contexts. Such songs were a means for establishing contact between diviners and the supernatural word and in *Ukholo Lwemveli* context they no longer have this power. Furthermore, such songs have to be performed by a large number of people if they are to be effective conduits for supernatural communication and this does not happen in the religious radio programme. Such songs are functional and effective only in *iintlombe* contexts, and I believe that the radio transmissions should carry songs sung in these contexts and not by a group of singers at a broadcasting venue. This would be more acceptable to diviners, and certainly more effective to audiences, who listen to *Ukholo Lwemveli*.

5.14 The Zionists' healing songs:

The use of church songs or hymns of Zionist-type churches has become a regular practice among diviners; therefore some discussion of Zionists' songs is necessary. Zionist church worship is a syncretism of African traditional and Christian (Baptist and Pentecostal) beliefs and practices (1974: 431 Hammond-Tooke (ed)). It is not surprising therefore that the church music also reflects this syncretism. Its hymns and 'chorus' draw heavily on formal, structural and stylistic traits of *intlombe* music (cf. Hansen 1981: 612). Hansen has drawn attention to certain parallels between diviners' ritual music and Zionists' church music and it would be useful to summarise them here. The cyclic form of Xhosa traditional music was adopted by Zionists, who took over hymns of European origin as models of or their own church songs. In these the framework is explicitly defined by drumming, using *igubu* ('drum') type of diviners. The same type of vocal polyphony is applied and also the polyrhythmic treatment which is type (a), described earlier. Some church songs demonstrate multipart structures, which are homophonic i.e. with parallel movement of the voices. This occurs in a western diatonic framework, the western seven-note scale having replaced the older hexa modality of Xhosa *intlombe* music. Furthermore, as in traditional songs, there is no restriction in the number of voice parts and people sing a part that suits their voices -as is done in *intlombe* music.

Zionist songs deal with Christian values but treat them in an African way. Diviners' songs deal with African Religious values and treat them accordingly. The Bible and the Holy Spirit (*uMoya oyiNgcwele*) are the two main sources of authority and object of veneration. In both Zionist and *iintlombe* music, the singing is designed to create the right mood, induce the right feelings. In the case of *iintlombe* songs, they aim to induce *ihlombe* and facilitate ancestor communion. In Zionist worship the songs aim to call up the Holy Spirit and facilitate healing and whole-making, they also use their songs for fundraising. The Zionist-type churches have various kinds of worship services, of which some are:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (a) <i>Inkonzo yango-leven</i> | a divine service |
| (b) <i>Inkonzo yejoyini</i> | robing service of women |
| (c) <i>Inkonzo yobhabhatizo</i> | Christening service |
| (d) <i>Inkonzo yomlindelo</i> | whole-night service |
| (e) <i>Inkonzo yomoya</i> | the healing service |
| (f) <i>Inkonzo yomjikelo</i> | fund-raising service |

From the services mentioned above I attended (a) and (f) which were held at Embekweni (Western Cape Province) on different occasions. *Umjikelo*¹³ service was the first one I attended and was hosted by Khristini (Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion).¹⁴ What I had observed was that same songs of *umoya* (meaning those which may be used to call up the Holy Spirit) were sung. As Zionists are people of *umoya* the singing should always keep them at ecstatic level so that they should be ready to welcome the Holy Spirit (which operates in individuals in various forms). Apart from welcoming the Holy Spirit, the *moya* songs at this fund-raising service were employed so as to encourage church people to give more (money) without difficulty. Unfortunately, there are people who are misers by nature and songs do nothing to transform them but the master of ceremonies has a way of dealing with such cases. At this fund-raising service the host pastor and his congregation did not contribute *amathontsi* the way it was expected. The pastor and his wife were rebuked by the master of ceremonies for acting unfairly. The latter proclaimed that it was time for Zionists to transform and not be a poor church among the mainstream churches that do not take Zionists as serious people. *Umoya* songs relevant to this situation were sung and below are the song texts that sound allusive.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>Le min' iyeza nakuwe</i>
<i>Thandaza</i> | This day will also come to you
(Just) pray (that it should not come) |
|--|---|

In this song the leader and the followers were indirectly passing on a message to the host church that what goes around comes around. They better do good so as to reap what is good too. This song was sung at one of *iintlombe* I attended but in this context, it had another meaning that: One day it will be you (referring to anyone at *intlombe*) who will be chosen by the ancestors to become a 'white person'. *Thandaza* ('pray') in this context means one should therefore entreat to one's ancestors to get clear revelations. (listen to CD2 track nos. 19 and 20).

(2) *Uzo botshwa ngeny' imini*
Uza khululwa ngubani

You will be 'tied up' one day
Who will set you free

The song means (to the host congregation) that one day its leader will be in a distressful (financial) situation and to whom will he run for help? No one knows what the next day has in store for one. There is a Xhosa expression that says: *Unga bukusinyela isikhululo kuba ngenye imini uzakuthi vu kuso* ('You must never shit on an abutment/outspan because one day you will need to rest upon it').

(3) *Yibhale nobhala*

Write it down'/ record it secretary

This song was sung after the host pastor was severely criticised by the master of ceremonies (listen to CD2 track no.25). Out of frustration and annoyance the latter gave R4.00 to increase *amathontsi*. Without wasting time the song leader started the song *yibhale nobhala*. Indeed *oonobhala* who were sitting at table recorded the amount. The song *Nobhala* is sung by diviners as *Nozala* ('parent') (see.p.188 on how it is explained in a séance context).

After this the secretaries were asked to collect their books and close them because another service was going to follow which is a healing service. It was also decided that the 'loan' should be withheld until they bring *amathontsi* that are more than other congregations. This part of *umjikelo* service was rounded off by the singing of a song *Qokelel' into zam ndiyahamba* ('Collect my things I am going') (listen to CD2 track no.28). It was after this that I had to collect my things (recording equipment) too and leave before the 'Healing Service' could begin and before I collided with a demon. I whispered in the pastor's wife's ear and told her that I was about to leave so I needed the secretary to unlock the door for me. She refused and said I should wait until the pastors and the Bishops had finish praying for her husband who has been in and out of jail.

The withholding of the money against the host congregation was a good lesson because it meant that when it was going to be a turn of other congregations, they were not going to give freely. I also concur with the MC on the fact that Zionists are not taken seriously by other mainstream churches and are always seen as half-witted people. In Cradock there was an old man with a peculiar staccato voice and belonged to one of the mainstream churches that disdained the Zionist-type church. When he preached in the streets he would criticise them (during that time there was only one Zionist church whose leader was Rev. John Frans¹⁵ but popularly known as Mfenana meaning a small baboon) and say: "*Wawuwe phi, icaw' ihl' isenyuka, ijikeleza yombeth' ama-laakan (ishiti); ingxola ngegub' elenz'we ngamafel' eenkom' ezafa kudala, ithi ikhonz' uThixo? Hulle lieg maan. U-Thixo bamenz' i-balance.* ('Where have you ever heard of a congregation moving up and down (meaning preaching in the streets of township), running in circles robed in (white) sheets; making noise with a drum that has been made from the skins of beasts that had died a long time ago, and it (congregation) says it worships God? They lie man, they make God a 'balance'').

It has been stated in the earlier pages that Zionists are people of *umoya* and *ingoma*. In the present context being described, the power of singing was kept at a high level. The fact that the host failed to contribute fully did not affect the singing. Zionist songs are composed by individuals including clergymen, but are seldom named. The text may come from extracts from the Old Testament and also from mission church hymns. In some of the hymns/songs of worship in a service, they emphasise the coming judgement of the Lord, and of course, the guidance of *uMoya oyiNgcwele* ('Holy Spirit') -which all the Zionists are supposed to follow. Zionists too sing their cultural songs in a way that is very different from the mission-church style (Blacking: 1995). People are allowed to show their emotions and to cry, and this is very evident in Zionists' singing when individuals tend to become highly emotional and start using excessive portamento (glissandi), and emphasize a plaintive singing style, singing as the spirit moves them. John Blacking has appropriately described Zionists' singing style as one involving 'a hocket-like use of parts of verses to maintain a constant stream of sound' (Blacking, *ibid*). This happens when e.g. a phrase is begun by a few singers in the group (a chorus phrase) and is anticipated- or followed by another small group of singers who enter or follow at a beat's distance.

The same phrases are interlinked rhythmically, and also harmonically, so that a veritable chain of phrases results. This is not a feature of *iintlombe* songs in which call and response phrases are embellished by additional improvised phrases which 'tag along' in the conventional prescribed harmonic manner. But the musical results and effects are similar -a big volume of sound in which the general pitch rises when expressive feelings are enhanced, and when people are literally brought into contact with *umoya* to a state of *ihlombe* (cf. Hansen: 1981).

Further evidence of the extent to which diviners' songs have drawn on Baptist-Pentacostal beliefs and aspects of Zionist church worship are quite a number of Xhosa diviners' songs collected and analysed by Hansen (1981: 579). *Bambelel' ethembeni* (of page 168 of this study) and *Ayavel' amathemba* are stock phrases in these songs, as they are in certain musical bow songs (Hansen:1981: 673) collected by the same researcher. Zionist - and other 'break away' churches (*amasixebaya*) have long been active in the rural areas, and when they broke away from Christian church models, and pursued a distinctly African theology they also created a church music that is rich, vibrant, and always original -sounding and which transcends older traditional ethnic music divisions. This music stresses an African Christian identity. In earlier times people attending mission churches used to regard these churches with a certain amount of disdain but this is not the case today. What is more, many people are attracted to these churches because the music and ritual is so enjoyable and people are able to participate whole heartedly in it -and in a very physical way- without the restraint and decorum demanded from them in orthodox Christian worship (cf. Hansen 1981: 612).

5.15 The Zionists' healing drum:

Diviners who are not Zionists disdain the Zionists drum. They say it makes noise but people who are neither Zionists nor diviners say both of these religious institutions make noise with their drums. The Zionist drum is thunderous compared to that of the diviners'. This is because the cow-skin drum-head used for the Zionist is curried and therefore is membranous whereas the diviners' drum-head undergoes no such process, and is consequently tougher and prone to tearing, and yielding a harder sound. Once more when people comment about the Zionist drum they say: *libaza entloko, liya baphambanisa yile nto ingathi ba-half* ('it gets (the Zionists) onto their heads (i.e. nerves), it makes them crazy that is why they seem to be half-witted people').

I am inclined to agree with these views. I recall one occasion when a Zionist woman began to drum during a church service, and the drumbeats literally pounded in my body, as did my heart -a very unpleasant experience. I never experienced this at *iintlombe* I had attended. Though some diviners do not like the Zionist drum there is just a small difference between their drums. The Zionists use their drum and singing in order to invoke the Holy Spirit which help prophets or 'white people' to see and come to the aid of those who are possessed by demons. On the other hand diviners employ theirs with singing in invoking the ancestral spirits who help in revealing to diviners the problems which have to be taken care of, such as possessors of evil substance.

Mkhululi, a Zionist member in Embekweni, informed me that it is the powerful sound produced by drumming that helps a great deal in connecting the prophets with the Holy Spirit. He went on to say that when it (the Holy Spirit) has arrived it easily reveals to the Prophets, people who have been afflicted with demons. Mkhululi began to relate an incident whereby a prophet pulled his friend into a Holy dance circle because he was detected to be afflicted with demons. He was let to run around the dance circle to the powerful singing and drumming. As he was progressing the prophet estimated that he was becoming dizzy and tripped him up. When he fell, he pulled him into the centre of the dance circle and began to knead his body assisted by other prophets. After a while, he wanted to attend Mkhululi's friend all by himself. He then quickly pressed hard with his hands on the sufferer's throat as though attempting to push something out. A frog was ejected from his throat and the prophet took it and put it in a bottle of mayonnaise. This was evidence that was to be shown to the sufferer's family.

Since Zionists' prophets are directed by the Holy Spirit to heal during their services, they do not ask permission from the person detected to be afflicted. If the Holy Spirits says they must hit one against the wall, or tie one with ropes, as a way of exorcising demons they will do it. In the past diviners also used to divine for people without seeking their permission but nowadays they are careful because people do not want their personal affairs to be divulged in the presence of others. In this incident, one could ask why there was a bottle of mayonnaise in the sanctuary. Traditionally Zionists have no formal worshipping places; they make use of any conducive place for holding their services. Classroom, halls become their places of worship (West, 1975:26).

Houses of their church members too are also used. On two occasions I visited the Zionist church in Embekweni, the service was held in a shack erected at the back of the main house, and on my second visit it was in a small one-room house that the owner used for many purposes. In the case of Mkhululi's friend the bottle of mayonnaise was easily accessible because the service was held in a one-room house.

Mkhululi informed me that after his friend was healed by the Zionist Prophets, he took a decision to join the church. There are also a number of people who have ancestrally related illness but have sought help from the Zionists' Prophets and later joined to become members of the church. Sundkler (1961) has drawn attention to a whole range of such parallels e.g: a common 'starting point' for Zionist-type church membership is an illness which is very like the special sickness (*inkathazo*) that is ascribed to ancestral possession, and which needs initiation into divinership to 'cure' it. In Zionist terms, the possession is ascribed to the Holy Spirit; in both cases, the sick person has to follow through with certain compulsory practices, in which food and taboos are very important. In the traditional way, purification is essential and is done by emetics and by submergence in running water, to locate a mystical serpent in it, and the special clay upon which it lies, with which the sick person must smear himself/herself. The Zionist possessed person's goal is baptism, and to this end he/she must also undergo ritual purification and visit water places in which dangerous creatures lurk, but from which he/she is protected by 'the herd of water' (1974 Hammond-Tooke ed.)

5.16 Summary:

The above chapter has attempted to expound fully on the composition, structure, meaning and significance of diviners' songs. Central to the discussion is the close association between the songs and the supplications. What is observable is that *Icamagu* and *Somagwaza* seem to be quite prominent though they are limited in range in that the initiates do not sing these songs *zabantu abadala* in their preliminary séances. The chapter has also looked at the various categories of *amathongo* diviners' songs that exist in Xhosa culture. It is also clear that diviners' songs like Xhosa traditional songs exhibit a cyclic structure. Some of these songs have wide social significance; i.e. they have additional functions to their basic one, through their often overtly political comments and allusions.

Of the songs discussed above such as *uNonkala* and *Ithamsanqa* it is found that they are not limited to specific ritual context because they may be performed at beer gatherings.

It was further observed that diviners' songs have some kind of spiritual connection, and this is also present in Zionists' songs. It is through drumming and singing that ancestral spirits and the Holy Spirit are invoked, and in some cases are used also to ward off evil spirits. What was also noted in this chapter is the effect of *ingoma* upon its performers, who, as ritual devotees, respond differently to the music, than may not have the expected for cultural outsiders as compared the insiders. The concept of ownership was also discussed, and it was shown with conclusive evidence that diviners and initiates have their 'own' songs which are given to them by their performance is not strictly confined to séance contexts, and they may be used by the community for other reasons.

CHAPTER SIX

IINTLOMBE ZAMAGQIRHA
(‘Séances of Diviners’)

6.0 Introduction:

The previous chapter dealt with diviners’ songs. The present chapter does not deviate from this however, although emphasis is on *iintlombe*. I still acknowledge the incorporation of diviners since they are convenors of these ceremonies. Some of the songs from various séances I have attended have been incorporated. These songs could not be separated from the overall structure of *iintlombe* and their discussion is therefore relevant.

6.1 *Iintlombe* defined:

Intlombe is a Xhosa term denoting two types of social events with music, one of which is of a ritual nature: (1) *Intlombe yabafana*¹ which was a social dance party for circumcised young men and their female equivalents, and was concerned mainly with socialisation among young unmarried men and women. *Intlombe yabafana* was also performed during *ukuthombisa* (‘girls’ initiation’) celebrations.² (2) *Intlombe yamagqirha* with which this study is concerned, is a cultural-religious event that involves songs and ritual healing dances, supplications (which are the key to open direct communication with the ancestral spirits) and exhortations (‘*iziyalo*’).³ It is called a séance in anthropological parlance, and more specifically *intlanganiso ekuthi kuyo usihlalo aqhagamshelane nabakwelemimoya ngentetho*, (‘a gathering whereby the officiate (diviner) communicates with those who are in the spiritual world’) (Fischer, et.al. 1994:565). *Intlombe yamagqirha* is traditionally held at the home of the person for whom the *intlombe* is enacted. However, there are three cases of initiates that I know of, Mr Stephan Tippach, Mr Peter Von Maltitz (both mentioned earlier in pp.66, 67) and a young coloured woman, Sharon, whose séances were held at their trainer diviners’ houses in Khayelitsha and Gugulethu respectively. This practice of doing the ritual work of the afflicted person at the home of a trainer diviner is hard to accept by most diviners, and some African Traditional Religious activists.

6.2 The organisation of *intlombe*

Intlombe may occur on any day of the week but since most people work on weekdays, it is the weekend that is usually reserved for ritual work. In most cases it commences at 13h00 with a ritual anointing and continues through the night until 6 a.m. the following day. This is a common practice, but individual diviners may opt to begin earlier or later. The participants at *iintlombe* are the family members concerned, the invited diviners and their initiates; there are also ordinary people from the community who become participant observers. The last three groups go to *iintlombe* accompanied by their ancestors in order to bring good health, life and prosperity to *umguli* ('the sick one') and also to heal themselves through ritual songs. They help with *ukombela* ('singing and clapping') so as to generate intense feelings of *ihlombe* that is supposed to be reached by the participants. They become imbued with it in varying degrees. My informants told me that *iintlombe* songs are prescriptive for diviners' rituals and, a diviner is a diviner by virtue of ritual songs, *umbilini* and *amathongo*. There are various kinds of *iintlombe*, which vary considerably in nature and complexity (as well as intensity), depending on the circumstances under which and for which they are performed (Buhrmann: 1984:56). For example, some diviners also tend to make comparison concerning the number of attendants. They will make comments saying:

“*Yho! intlombe kamabani ibinkulu kwaye ishushu.*” (‘Good gracious! So and so’s (referring to the convenor) séance had a big audience and, it was ‘hot’ too (it was powerful and the spirit was high’).

I have been to séances that had both big and small audiences. At a small one that I attended I heard one diviner commenting: *hey! lichebetyu le ntlombe eli* (*ichebetyu*: is a small piece left usually of soap, but *amaXhosa* use it as a slang term for a small quantity/quality). Her comment meant that the *intlombe* was lacking in quality and quantity. Diviners believe that *iintlombe* should be attended by a large number of ‘ordinary’ people who can assist in singing. This is highly appreciated by them since some diviners have no initiates and the number of others they guide varies from one to three, and more.

Some diviners with a large number of initiates tend to boast, and make statements like:

"La ntlombe ngeyingenabantu tu incedwe ngala mathwasa am, nala magqirha aze neenxili zawo ayizamile noko." ('That séance could not have had the audience at all, it was saved by these initiates of mine and, also, those diviners who came along with their 'pouches' ('*iinxili*') have managed at least to save it from being a flop').

A diviner who has one initiate is said to have *inxili* ('a traditional small beaded bag that is worn on the side all the time by Xhosa men and women wherever they go, particularly by those women who still prefer a village life style. They put their pipes and tobacco in it'). The implication here is that: initiates are an essential part of the diviners' office. The larger the number of novices, the greater the diviner's prestige. Comments like these are offensive to some people, particularly those who receive a 'calling' to divination practice, but are reluctant to enter it because they believe that diviners are more concerned with commercial, and competitive matters than with strictly religious ones.

6.3 The classification of *iintlombe zamagqirha*:

The following is a typology of diviners' séances, which are distinguished on the basis of function, and classified accordingly.

1. *Intlombe yokufakwa ebhekileni*

('A séance of being placed in the billycan' i.e. initiation into divination training)

2. *Intlombe yemvuma kufa yakulotata*

('A séance of the 'death acceptance' from the father's side')

3. *Intlombe yemvuma kufa yakulomama*

('A séance of the death agreement from the mother's side')

4. *Intlombe yokuhela*

('A séance of getting accustomed')

5. *Intlombe yokothula umthwalo*

('A séance of 'off-loading' the baggage')

6. *Intlombe yokuphila*

('A séance of recovery')

7. *Intlombe yokuphuthuma izihlwele*

('A séance of fetching the multitudes')

8. *Intlombe yokuhlamba iintsimbi*
 ('A séance of the cleansing of the beads')
9. *Intlombe yokuchitha iintsimbi*
 ('A séance of 'spilling' of the beads')

6.3.1 *Intlombe yokufakwa ebhekileni:*

This kind of *intlombe* is held to mark the initiation of *umguli*. It is usually said she is 'tethered' i.e. her wrists, ankles, and head are fastened with strings of white beads. These are the parts of the body that are always targeted by the ancestors when they afflict *umguli* with 'troubles'. She is 'tethered' to keep her protected against her 'sickness', until she is financially able to enact *imvuma kufa* which is the (original) cause of her 'illness'. The description of *intlombe yokufakwa ebhekileni* (lit. *intlombe* of being made to enter the billycan of *ubulawu*) derives from the anointing of *ithwasa* with a foaming substance, which is central to the ritual. This *intlombe* marks the novice's entry into divination training or 'call'. *Intlombe yemvuma kufa* follows as a matter of course, and it marks the novice's entry into divination training, and is also a symbolic entry into a new life style and a 'death' to the previous life. This second ritual can present problems for initiates, who are unable to enter divination training because their families are unable to afford the price of the obligatory sacrificial goat to mark this ritual and ceremony. These two séances are more or less the same event in the sense that they both mark the novice's entry into training.

The Gugulethu séance: (see photo plates pp.291-295)

Intlombe held at no.112 in Gugulethu for Themba in mid-November 1999 is an example of this type of event, which marks the commencement of an apprenticeship. A diviner, MamNcotshe convened *intlombe*, which was at the home of her *umguli* who was a middle-aged male. The lounge area of the house was used for the main activity. The colleagues of the host diviner, ordinary community members, the relatives and friends of *umguli* were in attendance and therefore constituted the audience. First, the family gathered in the main bedroom with the diviner who gave each person a ritual object to carry.

She then explained the procedure of their duties that they were to perform once they entered the lounge area. Whilst in the bedroom, the head of the family started off *ingoma yekhaya*⁴ (i.e. ‘homestead song’) to invoke their ancestral spirits and made special requests to them as they were about to begin the ritual work.

The song text went thus:

L: <i>Bhokhwe! Bhokhwe!</i>	Goat! Goat!
F: <i>Bantwana bokugula</i>	Children of the ‘sickness’
L: <i>Bhokhwe! Bhokhwe!</i>	Goat! Goat!
F: <i>Balala</i>	They (novices) sleep
<i>ngengub’ebhokhwe</i>	with a goat’s blanket

The meaning and significance of the song *Bhokhwe*:

The text of the song refers repeatedly to the goat that is used as a sacrificial animal for *abaguli* (‘the sick ones’). They use the skin of the goat as a blanket, which assists them in receiving clear ancestral visions. Nowadays, the goatskin is usually placed upon the mattress and then covered with a bed sheet. The children of the ‘sickness’ sleep on it to receive clear revelations from their ancestors concerning their training.

The procedure continued: Whilst they were singing the head of the family led *umguli*, the members of the family and the officiating diviner into *intungo*. *Umguli* was ordered to kneel (as a sign of respect to her ancestral spirits, and to those of the audience) and a number of ritual objects was placed before her whilst the family members and the diviners stood in semi-circle behind her. The initiates stood behind their diviners and the community members stood against the wall. One drummer sat in the corner of the lounge. This is basically the structure of the séance. Following are ritual objects that were placed on the ground before the initiand:

<i>Ibhekile yotywala</i>	‘the billycan of traditional beer’
<i>Ibhekile yamanzi</i>	‘the billycan of crystal-clear water’
<i>Amakhandlela asixhenxe</i>	‘seven white candles’ ⁵
<i>Icuba lesixhosa nomatshisi</i>	‘Xhosa tobacco ⁶ and a box of matches’
<i>Ubulawu bomguli</i>	‘the clan medicinal roots of the initiate’
<i>Ubulawu begqirha</i>	‘the clan medicine of the diviner’
<i>Ixhayi</i>	‘a forked stick’ ⁷
<i>Imepho</i>	‘helichrysum’ ⁸
<i>Iintsimbi / imingqa emhlophe</i>	‘the string of white beads’

The assisting diviner lit all the candles and burnt the portion of *impepho* that was placed on a billycan lid. The diviner handed over *ubulawu* of the homestead of *umguli* to the head of the family, who poured the contents into the billycan of crystal clear water. He then agitated the mixture, by rapidly twirling the forked stick (*ixhayi*) until it threw up froth and became a foaming substance (the process is called *phehla*). The diviner also added the contents of her *ubulawu* to that of *umguli*, an action symbolising the unification of the ancestors of both parties. Before MamNcotshe twirled the mixture, she led her *phehla* song. As the song was recommenced by her colleague she began to entreat her ancestors by inviting them to be present and to guide her in the ritual work of *umguli*. She also asked that she be sincere in her work, and be an authentic ritual guide; she begged the ancestors from both her side and that of *umguli* to be present, and to take control of the proceedings from start to finish. It is expected that when *phehla* is done, the foam must rise up, this is a symbol of acceptance from the ancestors. It happens sometimes that the foam does not rise up when a trainer diviner has a ritual impurity (*umlaza*). It is therefore important that before a diviner 'touches' the billycan of *ubulawu*, she must be 'clean' and must also have abstained from sex a few days prior to *intlombe*.

When the foam overflows, *icamagu livumile!* is proclaimed, which means that both the ancestral spirits of *umguli* and those of the diviner have approved the *phehla* ritual, and therefore open the way for the diviner to go ahead with divination training. This sign (the overflowing of the foam) also indicates that the diviner has accepted the responsibility of guiding *umguli* throughout her training or until she is sent for training to another diviner, at the wishes of the ancestors. This is a fairly common occurrence, and the ancestral spirits' advice usually comes in dreams and visions. After *phehla* ritual *umguli* is then instructed to ingest the foam. This ritual act prepares the initiand to be in the temporary state of entering the spirit world, to make requests permissible, and to reconcile with the ancestral spirits. After this, the billycan was placed on the initiand's head, in an act of *ukuphehla*. The ritual placement is known as *ukubethelela* (lit. 'to nail down' =this confirms the final decision from the diviner's side and also from the family's initiate side, that together with their ancestors will join hands in the healing of *umguli*).

As this was done to *umguli* the family head began to *phehla* until the medicinal foam streamed down his face and body. Following that, the diviner scooped the foam with *ixhayi* and sprinkled it in the corners of *intlombe* room, thereby dispelling any darkness (evil) therein, and filling the whole house with light (goodness and well-being). She then daubed the head, face, neck, arms, legs and ankles of *umguli* with the foam, using *ixhayi*. This is the process that is done to every *mguli* who gets initiated and it is referred to as the ritual anointing (*ukuphehlelela*). It signifies a commitment between the initiand and the ancestral spirits of both parties. The diviner then dipped the beads into the foam before placing them on the head, neck, wrists and ankle joints of *umguli*. Thereafter she handed them over to the head of the family who exhorted the initiand before placing the head beads on him. The singing which had been continuous throughout, suddenly ceased, because a ritual speech had to be made which was as follows:

Themba, *nazi iintsimbi zakho ebezieliswe emathongweni*
Siya kunxiba ngoku ukuba ungaphinde ukhathaze
Umsebenzi wakho mhle, izizinyanya ziwuvumile
Loo nto ingqinwe ligwebu
Abantu nezihlwele zabo bakungqinile ukunyuka kwebhekile

Translation:

'Themba, here are your beads that were revealed in your *amathongo*
 We are now putting them upon you so that you must never 'trouble'
 Your ritual work is beautiful; the ancestral spirits have approved of it,
 And that has been 'witnessed' by the froth
 People and their 'multitudes' have witnessed the rising of the billycan of *ubulawu*.'

After the head of the family had placed the beads upon Themba being assisted by the diviner, the latter smeared the medicine stick called *umatshinitshini* (see pp.51-52) with the foam and gave it to the family head to give to *umguli*. He further exhorted him and said:

Themba, *yinduku yakho le, liyeza lakho eli*
Uza kuliphatha ngalo lonke ixesha usiya egqirheni lakho
Xa uvumisa uza kuliphatha apha esandleni sakho
Xa uguqe entungo unqula uza kuliphatha apha esandleni sakho
Xa uvuma uxhentsa uza kuliphatha apha esandleni sakho

Translation:

‘Themba this is your stick, this is your medicine
 You will carry it all the times you go to your diviner
 When you divine for people, you will hold it in your hand
 When you are kneeling at *entungo* supplicating,
 You will hold it in your hand
 When you sing and dance you will carry it in your hand’

In this way the initiand was introduced into divination training as a novice, a ‘servant’ of the ancestors, who had changed from being an ordinary person and had acquired a new ritual status in life. After the ritual anointing was completed, the ritual objects were returned to the bedroom of *umguli*. The singing and dancing was resumed. An initiate led off a song, paving the way for a diviner who admonished Themba in the customary manner:

*Uyabona mfana ungene kwenye indawo ngoku
 Akusenguye laa Themba ubunguye kumzuzu odlulileyo, utshintshile
 Itshomi yakho ke leli gqirha
 Utywala ubuyeke kuba abuzokusa ndawo
 Ndithi itshomi yakho ibe lela gqirha, lona oza kuhamba nalo iintlombe
 Uzungathi ke xa uya esimetshweni uxoke emfazini uthi uya entlombeni
 Intlombe ingabi nto yakusithela kwizinto zakho zesimetsho
 Camagu!*

Translation:

‘You see young man; you have entered another place now
 You are no longer that Themba you were in minutes ago, you have changed
 Your friend is this diviner (MamNcotshe)
 You should leave liquor for it will take you nowhere
 I say your friend should be that diviner, who will be going to *intlombe* with you
 You must not; when you go to secret intercourse meeting, lie to your wife and say you
 Are going to *intlombe*
Intlombe must not be a hideout for your things of secret intercourse meetings.
 Be propitiated!’

This exhortation, which counselled Themba against undesirable and immoral behaviour, was followed by the singing of the song ‘*Asibabizi bayazizela*’ (‘We do not call them, they come at their will’) (see video clip (M)):

L: *Owu! yekan’*

F: *Yekan’ ukuthetha*

Alas! Stop it

Stop talking...

L: *Owu! yekan'*

F: *Yekan' ukuthetha ngegama lam
asibabizi bayazizela*

Alas! Stop it

Stop talking about my name
we do not call them they come on their own

The meaning and importance of the song:

When I asked one diviner at *intlombe* about the meaning of this song she explained:

“Uyabona, nabo bayayivuma le ngoma. Ubavile beyombela, anditsho? Kufuneka ke ibetheleleke ezingqondweni zabo ukuba amagqirha zange aye kubo. Ngabo abaza kuthi, bayasithonga asibathongi. Nokuba sasibabonisiwe zizinyanya zethu, lithongo elibakhokelela apha kuthi. Xa belapha kule ngulo, kubanzima kwabanye ukuba banyamezele, baqalise baqaqadeke. Elinye ithwasa laa lala nendonda yegqirha lalo elimphetheyo. Icaciswa ithweni ke into enjalo? Ukusuka apho lamathwasa ahamba engcolisa amagama ethu. Yingoma ke le yamagqirha, siyawaxelela lamathwasa ukuba mabayeke ukuhamba bengcolisa amagama ethu.”

(‘You see, even them (novices), they sing this song. You have heard them singing, is n’t that so? It must be etched on their memories that diviners never went to them. It is them who come to us; they *thonga* us we never *thonga* them. Even if we were shown them by our ancestors, it is *ithongo* brings or directs them to us. When they are here then in this ‘sickness’, it becomes hard for others to persevere, and so they start to get naughty. One novice had a clandestine sexual intercourse with the husband of her trainer diviner. How is this then explained? From there these novices go about besmirching and reviling our names. This is then the song of diviners, we are telling the novices that they should stop going about besmirching our names.’)

Clearly, the song text is designed to convey -in exhortation- warnings about the challenges facing those who respond to a ‘call’ to enter the divination profession. The ‘call’ is ancestrally sent, and those who respond positively to it are not automatically exempted from problems. The songs also publicise the common view that diviners are perceived as bad people largely because of the bad behaviour of their novices. Hence the need to behave in an exemplary manner at all times however; some diviners also fall into bad ways that make their novices distrust them. They also take the task of the ancestors (of calling people into divination training as novices) into their hands (meaning using certain magic to lure people into divination for business gain).

After this exhortation, Themba was also given a chance to kneel and supplicate to his ancestral spirits. Unlike diviners, and those initiates who are about to graduate, one is supposed to kneel whenever one humbly approaches one's ancestral spirits at *entungo*. Novices always kneel, even when they talk to diviners or to visitors. This is not a sort of punishment or a bad treatment, but a way of showing reverence first to one's ancestral spirits, and then to those of other people present (the audience). No matter how many times the novices supplicate to the ancestors at *intlombe* ceremony, they always kneel, even if there is no diviner. In his supplication, Themba begged his ancestors to restore his health and to give him perseverance as he was entering the 'New World of diviners'. After he had made requests to his ancestral spirits, MamNcotshe announced that they were about to do the ritual healing dance out-of-doors, where Themba was to receive a divination name from her. She began a song for proceeding outside the house (what one might call a 'song processional'), entitled *Masiy' eMbo* ('Let us go to Embo' i.e. 'far East Africa') (for this example listen to CD1 track no.11). For more information about Mbo (see p. 36).

According to Xhosa custom when a person attains a new status during his or her customary life i.e. (1) the attainment of social manhood, (2) marriage and (3) becoming a trainee diviner he or she is given a new name. For example: When a woman marries she would traditionally be given a name by the male members of her father-in-law's family, together with her mother-in-law, but nowadays the naming of a wife is done by the sisters-in-law. The name could be NoKhaya - 'Mother of the homestead', Nothembile - Mother of hope. When a Xhosa woman marries she is given a name with the prefix *No-*, which is equivalent to 'Mother of and which modifies the meaning of the word to which it is attached. The name is conferred upon her on the day she has to consume *amasi*⁹ (this is also referred to as the *tsiki* ritual) at her husband's homestead (her new home). This new name will be one by which her in-laws will know and recognise her. Similarly a newly-circumcised Xhosa young man will be given a new name, on the day of his *umphumo*, when formal speeches are made to him, names such as Dasayi, Palamente and which are deemed appropriate for him. It also happens that diviners give their initiates names when they formally enter training:

Zanethongo (*yiza nethongo*) - 'Bring the vision forth'
 Ntombelandla (*intombi yebandla*) - 'The girl of the cohort'

Initiates are not given names haphazardly or for fun: The chosen names are particularly significant for those who are given them, and are highly valued and respected. They are given these names because they are closely associated with the 'work' of their ancestral spirits. When Themba was formally given his new name, the singing and dancing continued for almost an hour, before being stopped for the announcements of dates and the venues of *iintlombe* scheduled for enactment by other diviners. After this, the people returned to the house to consume traditional beer. The diviners and their initiates were given their own billycans of traditional beer, which are always kept apart from the community beer since community folk are not supposed to drink from *ibhekile* of 'white people'. Once the beer was consumed, the people began to disperse and return to their own homes. At *iintlombe* events, as at traditional 'works' performed at a homestead, there is no formal announcement of the conclusion of the event, and people leave whenever they wish to do so. At other Xhosa traditional rituals or social events, one expects the homestead head or his proxy, to address the invited guests in these words:

*Ee! Madoda mandithi akho mva namphambili
Kodwa abantu xa besafuna ukuhlala, bangenjenjalo*

'Eh! Men let me say there is neither 'backward' nor 'forward'
But when people still want to relax and talk, they may do so'

This is a highly effective way of informing the guests that there is nothing left for them to drink, and that they should think of departing. A similar tactful and effective announcement is made to the invited mothers:

*Ee! Bomama torhwana ndithi
Mandinazise ukuba akho mva namphambili
Xa oomama bam besathanda ukuhlala bombele, bangenjenjalo
Na kwiintombi torho, ndisashumayela kwa into enye*

'Ee! Mothers please I say
Let me inform you that there is neither 'backward' nor 'forward'
When my mothers still want to hang around and *ombela*, they may do so
And to the girls please, I am preaching the same message'

When people hear this, they know that it is time to depart in their own time.

6.3.2 *Intlombe yemvuma kufa:*

On page 126 I mentioned that *imvuma kufa* is a ritual event, which marks the induction of *umguli* into divination training. The ritual, spiritually and physically prepares the candidate to undergo the ‘white death’ (*ukufa okumhlophe*) but its observance depends upon the candidate’s *amathongo*, who will sanction or veto it. Their assent is essential, for without it, no one would think of undergoing the rite, even if there was money available to finance the event (for which a sacrificial goat is obligatory). *Intlombe* of *imvuma kufa* commences on a Friday evening with much singing, dancing and drumming. Later on in the evening the officiating diviner will inform the people present at *intlombe* about its specific purpose. It is not that people have not been told beforehand about this ritual but it is a divination custom that a diviner announces it whilst standing at *entungo*. Before sunrise on the following day (Saturday) the diviner takes *umguli* to the sacred place where her ancestors dwell. The diviner’s colleagues and the candidate’s family members accompany them on their journey. According to the information I got from my informants the sacred place can be one of several of the following localities and it is always shown to the candidate in *amathongo*, since it is the place where ritual offerings (*hlwayelela* ritual)¹⁰ have to be made:

<u>Hlonipha words</u>	<u>conventional words</u>	<u>Translations</u>
<i>Ulwagcwabe</i>	(<i>ulwandle</i>)	‘the sea’
<i>Ingethe</i>	(<i>ihlathi</i>)	‘the forest’
<i>Umzi omkhulu</i>	(<i>umlambo</i>)	‘the river’
<i>Umzi ongxolayo</i>	(<i>amawa</i>)	‘the precipices’
<i>umzi ongxolayo</i>	(<i>umqolomba</i>)	‘the cave’
<i>Amathafa</i>		‘the wild’

After the *hlwayelela* ritual has been performed, everyone returns to the home of *umguli* before sunrise. *Intlombe* is resumed and the host diviner thanks the spirits for having protected them all the way to and from the sacred place. She also gives a ritual report to those who did not make the ‘journey’. The ritual report is not supposed to be a detailed one because certain facts are supposed to be known only to the diviner and the family of *umguli*. This (the report) is followed by *ukombela* and drumming which is almost continuous, being interspersed with humble entreaties made by the diviners to the ancestral spirits.

lingoma are an essential adjunct to supplications, they add weight and value to the candidate's humble entreaties. After dancing, the diviners leave *intungo* and retire to bed. *Umguli* also retires and sleeps, which is essential because it is believed that she will have *amathongo* that pertain to her ritual work. The other initiates continue with songs and dance until about 6.30 a.m. They are not permitted to retire, because they are present at the event to heal their *imibilini*. Some six to nine hours later, the ritual of *ukuwa kwenkomo* ('the falling of a cow') is enacted. Although called thus ('the falling of the cow') the ritual involves the slaughter of a goat -*inkomo*- is used as *hlonipha* word for a goat. The following narrative pertains to *intlombe* of *imvuma kufa* type and which I attended on three different occasions: on 09/04/99 in Cradock, and on 09/10/99, and again 21/11/99 in Gugulethu township, Cape Town. The officiating diviners were Zanethongo and his girlfriend Nomawabo, MamNcotshe, and Deliwe respectively.

(a) The Cradock *intlombe*:

It was on a Saturday evening at about 21h00 that four diviners showed up at my maternal grandmother's house, where *intlombe* was to be enacted for my aunt. The four comprised a man, carrying *itshoba* that appeared to have come from the tail of a gnu, and very much in command of the other three diviners, all of them female, and total strangers to me. Much to my surprise, they entered the house without any of the customary singing, by which diviners announce their presence at *iintlombe*, and I found their behaviour very puzzling. It is time-honoured procedure for Xhosa diviners to announce their arrival at *intlombe* by singing certain songs, which serve as a means of formal introduction. Such songs are quite numerous, of which the following one is a good example. (listen to example CD1 track no.12 and also see video clip (N)).

L: *Vul' umnyango*

Open the door

F: *Vulani bangen' abaguli
vulani bangen'*

Open so that the 'sick ones' may enter
open so that they may enter

L: *Vul' umnyango*

Open the door

F: *Vulani bazongen' ekhaya
vulani bangen'*

Open so that they may enter home
open so that they may enter

The meaning of the song *Vul' umnyango*:

Open your hearts and welcome us. Open for the 'servants' of the ancestors so that they may enter and do their work of singing and supplicating to their ancestral spirits. This is a song that is sung by 'white people' proclaiming their identity (of being traditional healers), they also dispel any doubts that people may have about them, particularly those who do not know them. As the singers enter the house, those inside who have been making their music, will leave to do so, and join in with their guests' song. In this way they demonstrate a warm welcome to the diviners, and in due course a diviner present who works in close association with the host diviner, will come forward and formally welcome the guest diviners, and lead them into the room where all the other diviners have assembled. (This is clearly demonstrated on the video).

To return to my account: The four diviners who had apparently 'gate-crashed' my aunt's *intlombe* made their entry while the people were singing the well-known and archaic diviners' song *uNonkala ngasemlanjeni* (listen to CD1 track no. 4 for example). On seeing these total strangers, I asked my aunt whether she knew them. She did not respond to my query but went to the room where her trainer 'diviners' were seated, to inform them about the uninvited visitors. They in turn came to the kitchen to see what was happening and returned to their room. I also went to sit in one of the rooms and when I returned to the kitchen the *xhentsa*-ritual dance was in full swing, and I began to record the song *uNonkala*. As I listened to the singing and hand-clapping, I became aware of the rhythmic discrepancy between the vocal and clapped patterns. Another woman present was also aware of this, and though somewhat inebriated, expressed her opinion in no uncertain terms: *Hey! La magirha acula ikaka* ('Hey! these diviners sing shit'). Rather embarrassed and annoyed, I reprimanded her for her language. As the four diviners danced, the male diviner addressed one of the other diviners, exclaiming: *Hey! ixesha liyasibetha* ('the time is against us'). At this time, my tongue started to taste bitter (my tongue becomes bitter when there is an evil substance in my midst). I was then tempted to make an angry response, but I managed to quell my rising anger, which I knew had been aroused by an evil spirit that four diviners had brought with them into the house.

I began to experience *umbilini* and told a nurse standing next to me about it. She looked at me helplessly, and my tongue became more and more bitter, in conjunction with acceleration of the palpitations and anxiety, symptomatic of *umbilini*. But I was unable to contain myself, and with a loud yell I slapped the wall of the room, to stop their singing, and it suddenly ceased. I then announced to all present: “*Mawemke lamagqirh’ aph’ ekhaya, andiwafuni, angcolile*” (‘These diviners should leave my home, I don’t want them, they are ‘filthy’ meaning they are evil’). I then went into the room set aside for the host ‘diviners’, who had heard me yelling, and who were also planning to drive them away, I told them the four diviners were evil. At once diviner Zanethongo went into the kitchen where the scene of all musical activity was taking place and said to them:

“*Magqirha kutheni kubakho izikhalo xa kungena nina kule ndlu. Bendicela nihambe anaziwa apha kwaye khang nimenywe. Niziswe yintoni kakade apha?*” *Impendulo yabo yathi: “Hayi mhlekazi siziswe kuba besiphethwe sisithukuthezi, sithe sakuva igubu lisitsho sathi makhe sizokuvela. Yena la mkhwetha ubesithi asihlambulukanga makeze apha azokusixelela ukuba uthetha ukuthini.”* *UZanethongo wathi: Ngumntwana walapha kule ndlu and utshilo wathi akanifuni apha, nimdaka. Hambani ke man masingaxoxini.”*

(‘Diviners, why are there loud cries after you have entered this house. I am asking you to leave (this house) then, you are not known here and, you were never invited. What has brought you here anyway?’ Their response was: “No *Mhlekazi*, we have been brought (here) because we were feeling dreary, on hearing the drumming, we said we have to come. That novice who said we are defiled must come here and tell us what she meant by that.” Zanethongo said: “It is the child of this house and, she said that she does not want you here, you are ‘dirty’. Go away then, man let us not argue’).

Diviners get invited to attend séances. This is so done because they know how evil others can become on sabotaging people’s ritual works. Somewhat reluctant, the four diviners began to leave the room, and the house. Outside, a large group of people who came to attend *intlombe* had assembled here and forced the diviners through the gate. Once they were off premises, *intlombe* guests began to shout insults and rude remarks: ‘*voetsek (ani)* and the like.’ Everybody at *intlombe* was convinced that these four diviners had come to harm them. Thereafter *intlombe* was resumed with great gusto, one of the participants contributing to a lively performance of the song *inkonjane* (listen to CD1 track no.14 (as an example)) whose text appears on the following page.

L: <i>Nkonjane</i>	Swallow
F: <i>Nguban' in' alugulayo</i>	Who is it that is 'sick'
L: <i>Nkonjan' emnyama</i>	Black swallow
F: <i>Nguban' in' alugulayo</i>	Who is it that is 'sick'
L: <i>Akho loo mana</i>	That manna does not exist
F: <i>Nguban' in' alugulayo</i>	Who is it that is 'sick'
L: <i>Akho loo mana</i>	That manna doesn't exist
F: <i>Ngubani na lugulayo</i>	Who is it that is 'sick'

The significance of the song *Nkonjane*:

Inkonjane is regarded as a bird of good fortune by 'white people' as there are birds of misfortunes. The *nkonjane* has to bring good fortune to the 'sick one' (i.e. novice). When they say, that manna does not exist, they mean that the ancestral calling does not happen by chance or luck.

The singing and the ritual dance and supplications continued until the next day, and the event was concluded at about 6h00 in the morning. During the day news came to us about the four diviners. They came from Port Elizabeth, and were scheduled to attend *intlombe* that was to take place at a house located some 100 metres from my home. I could not understand why these diviners had left their *intlombe* to attend the one that was being hosted by complete strangers. The situation was eventually explained and, largely through certain hidden knowledge revealed to my aunt by her ancestral spirits. On the afternoon of the previous day, after my aunt had been presented with her special beaded ornaments in an out-of-doors ritual (sometime before the visit of the four Port Elizabeth diviners), all the participants returned to the house to resume the musical activity. But it soon became apparent to all that the singing lacked volume and conviction since the ritual songs play a very decisive role in the way *intlombe* participants act and react, a flagging musical performance is hardly conducive to communion with the ancestral spirits.

It is in the course of performance that diviners achieve the closest communion with their ancestors, and if the music is weak and unconvincing, it is not able to create the right ambience for ancestral possession. Nomawabo shouted at novices saying: '*Anixhentsi, kutheni ningaxhentsi? Umoya wenu uhlile? Mama khandihlabelele uNompongo*' ('You are not dancing, why are you not dancing? (meaning they were not exerting much energy in their ritual dancing). Has your spirit dropped? Mother lead *uNompongo* for me (referring to one old woman who became the well-known *uhadi*¹¹ player in the township).

The singing continued as before, uninspired and ineffectual, and further remarks from Nomawabo did nothing to improve the performance. Another song was introduced, in the hopes that the participants might be stimulated by it, but there was no change in the musical activity, which continued to lack enthusiasm and vitality. At this point, my aunt invoked her ancestors petitioning them to redeem the situation. They must have responded promptly to her 'call', because it was not long before she described a vision she was sent and was as follows:

“Kukho indoda ende endiyibonayo enxibe i-overall exhentsa nathi apha, ize noohili bayo. Ndoda ndini hambani apha sizokuzinyanga thina siyagula. So hambani niyo kuxhentsela ngapha kwalegate, ndincedeni. Phumani apha nokungcola kwenu.”

(‘There is a tall man that I see wearing overalls and who is dancing with him here, he has come with his *thikoloshe*. You, man! (exclaiming at the man who has been shown only to her) go away, we have come to heal ourselves for we are ‘sick’. So go away and do your dance on that other side of this gate, please. Get out of here with your evil motives’).

Almost three hours after my aunt had been shown this tall man wearing overalls in her vision; he came to attend her *intlombe* at. They said they were attending the ritual because they were feeling very lonely her home, being the male diviner who accompanied the three female diviners, and sought the coming of other diviners and ritual participants. What MaDlamini told me once was, a diviner is not a person who is supposed to get lonely and in fact they never get lonely. There are a lot of things that keep them occupied all the time. In this case of Port Elizabeth diviners, surely there was a drum at the house where they came to host a séance.

(b) The *intlombe* of (hosted by) MamNcotshe:

On my arrival, (circa 12h00) at *intlombe* venue, I was shown the bedroom where MamNcotshe and some of her entourage were assembled. She ordered them to rise and prepare themselves for *ukuwa kwenkomo* (‘the ritual slaughtering’). I sat and watched them at their preparations. This was also time for the novices to go and greet their trainer diviners, and they entered the bedroom singing *ithongo* song: *Ndikhathazwa lithongo liyandilandela* (‘I am being troubled by an ancestral dream, it is following me’).

The song expresses feelings of anxiety and fear experienced by a dreamer (a diviner or a novice) who senses that the dream is ancestrally sent, and that the ancestors want something from her. There was *umguli* -a young man- who was carrying *imvubu*, a ritual object which is traditionally carried only by novices who are in the last stages of training. When his trainer diviner saw him entering the room, she shouted, greatly incensed:

“Uyini kwa ngubani loo mvubu? Phuma, uze naloo mntu ukunike loo mvubu. Awukarhintyelwa nokurhintyelwa uleqa izinto ezikude kuwe.”

(‘Who gave you that whip? Get out, and come back with the person who gave that whip. You are not even ‘tethered’ yet, you are chasing things that are at a distance from you’).

One of the novices present made fun of the young man, and was reprimanded by the diviner, who warned her that her remarks were dangerous, and could drive the young man insane. The initiates present belonged to two groups called *ooNomngqana* (see p.296 plate no.18 example of *unomngqana*) and *ooNomvumakufa* (see. p.296 plate no.19 example of *ooNomvumakufa*) respectively, and they assembled for *ombela*, while their diviners were preparing for the event. *OoNomngqana* group comprised candidates who have not undergone the ritual killing of a goat, and *ooNomvumakufa* group comprised candidates who have undergone their paternal and or maternal *iimvuma kufa*.

According to Xhosa custom, it is always the initiates who commence with *ukombela*, *xhentsa* and supplications at *entungo* (this can be referred to as the preliminary séance). In the preliminary séance, customary procedures are observed. They select one of their members to direct and ‘control’ *intlombe* and dance in the centre of the circle formed by the initiates. During the *xhentsa* ritual she will address each initiate in turn, instructing them to entreat the ancestors, which is done in a kneeling position as a mark of respect for them, who are ever present at *entlombe*. After a bout of singing and entreating the proceedings are taken over by *ooNolugxana* (the initiates who are soon to graduate as fully-fledged diviners), and they in turn select a member to assume the role of dance controller. Because they are in the final stages of training, *ooNolugxana* do not kneel when they supplicate to their ancestors.

The singing of the initiates prepare the way for the entry of the diviners, who enter *intungo* in single file, being led by the head of the family. To usher them in, the latter begins 'home song' in the room of the initiate, and enters the lounge where the initiates are singing and dancing.

Once the initiates hear the singing, they leave *intungo*, thus making space for the diviners and the family of *umguli*. The 'home song' signals the entry of the diviners into *intungo*, and once they are assembled the officiating diviner stops the singing, by shouting *Chos! Camagu!* (This is a well-established closing formula for concluding a song at *intlombe* or event when Xhosa traditional work (*umsebenzi wesiXhosa*) is done). Before the host diviner officially opens *intlombe* she introduces the family members in order of seniority, and relationship to *umguli*. After this, the latter kneels and is covered by *ingcawa* (see example of *ingcawa* on p.297 plate nos. 22 and 23). The diviners and the family members stand in a semicircle about *umguli*, and face the doorway where the light streams in as if to welcome the ancestral spirits. This is by way of explanation (the 'white people' believe that to leave the door opened is a way of letting in the ancestral spirits. This is a basic procedure at all types of *iintlombe*). It should be noted that the ritual objects mentioned earlier in connection with *intlombe yokufakwa ebhekileni* are also used in all the different types of *iintlombe*. However, certain *iintlombe* demand the use of additional ritual items. Thus *imvuma kufa* must in addition have *umkhonto* ('the spear') and *intambo* ('a ritual necklet'). During this particular *intlombe*, the head of the family was given an opportunity to inform everyone about the candidate's illness, which signified a 'call' to the office of diviner. Before so doing, he called upon the names of his ancestors and thanked them for a blessed day. It was at the second *intlombe* that the following speech was delivered by the head of the family:

Sidityaniswa ngumntwana ngengulo esothusileyo
Amanyethelo athathiwe
Amagqirha mathathu kuyiwe kuwo
Igqirha lize kuye ethongweni, namalunga ngayo yonke
into efanele ukuba yenziwe
Simsile ke kuMaMncotshe ukuba abe phantsi kwakhe

Translation:

'We have been brought together by the child about her 'sickness' that has startled us.
 Steps have been taken
 Diviners are three that have been consulted

A diviner came in her *amathongo*, in regard to all the essential things that are supposed to be done.

We have then taken her to MaMncotshe so that she can be under her guidance.'

MaMncotshe responded:

Bazile kum

Khange ndixoke phezu kwakhe

Lo mntwana uye waxelela abazali bakhe ukuba lento yenzekayo kuye yile ibisenzeka emathongweni akhe.

Amathwasa alemihla athonga kane okanye kathathu

Kumaxesha adlulayo umntu ebethonga kanye

Translation:

'They came to me

I did not lie to her

This child told her parents that, what was happening to her is what has been happening in her *amathongo* (meaning, what MamNcotshe has divined for her was exactly the same thing that was happening in her *amathongo*).

The initiates nowadays *thonga* four or three times

In the past years a person would *thonga* once.'

After the report from both parties, the head of the family began to *phehla*, and the song *ithamsanqa liyakwaliwa nguwe* was sung. The diviner then took command of the proceedings and began to mix her *ubulawu* with that of *umguli*. Then she started to sing her *phehla* song, '*Aph'aMaNcotsh' azaman' ukutsho kamnandi*' ('Where are the Ncotshe people who should keep on saying pleasantly'). After churning up the substance she (*umguli*) ingested some of the foam. Then the diviner placed the canister containing the mixture on the head of *umguli* and directed the head of the family to *phehla* it, which he did, the diviner following suit. Thereafter she smeared the candidate's body with the foaming mixture, and informed everyone that the work was to be completed in the makeshift cattle byre. Before the people went out of the house, the head of the family began to sing the 'home song' Somagwaza:¹²

Somagwaza iyoyohohaa!

Yewuha!

Iyehohaa!

Hayee!

Somagwaza iyo yoho haa

Hay' yool hayee somagwaza

The meaning of this song was given by Siyabonga, who is a novice diviner saying:

“Yingoma yokuphuthuma iingwevu ezathi zaya endlwini encinci ziyokwaluka. Xa kuphuma amakhwenkwe ihamba ngolu hlobo”.

(‘It is a song of ‘fetching’ old grey-headed man who went to the small house (to the mountain) to be circumcised. When the boys ‘come out’ of the circumcision school, it goes thus):

Somagwazwa

Uzabagwaza ngalo mkhonto

Hawuye!

Iyohoha!

Hawuye! ’zabagwaza

Somagwaza

He shall cut them with this spear

Hawuye!

Iyohoha!

Hawuye! He shall cut them

Ikwa yingoma yokuxusha iinkundla zemizi, ngakumbi xa kukho into ezokuhlalywa (‘it is also a song of ‘treading’ the courtyards of the homesteads, (i.e. of invoking the ancestors) especially when there is ritual slaughtering’). If one can notice at the séances one will never hear this song being led by a novice, they do not even sing it when they do their preliminary ritual dance. *Somagwaza* is a song of old people (*yingoma yabantu abadala*). For example see the video extract (O) where *Somagwaza* was led by homestead leader at *intlombe yokuhlajwa kweentsimbi* (cf. p.186). Siyabonga states that *Somagwaza* is like *Umhlahlo*, which is also an old song of the great diviners. They normally sing it (*Umhlahlo*) when a deceased diviner is accompanied to and brought back from the world of the ancestors. Hansen (1981:572) citing Soga states that the song (*Umhlahlo*) is:

“really an appeal from decision of one diviner to another, in the certainty of innocence, and the hope of being cleared of the stigma attached to being ‘smelt out’.” (it simply means therefore that it is a song that is sung when an evil doer is about *ukunukwa* to be ‘smelt out’).

Hansen (ibid) says:

“According to her experiences, *Umhlahlo* is nearly always sung at séances which are not only necessary held to ‘smell out’. The song appears to be known to all Cape Nguni peoples, who refer to it as the ‘Old peoples’ song.”

The song was also sung at an initiation séance I attended during the year I was doing my Honours' programme on séances. The host diviner used it as she was churning up the canister of *ubulawu* for her initiate. During the singing of the homestead song all the people present, excluding *ooNomggana*, left the room in single file and walked toward the cattle byre. Just before he left the room (lounge where the ritual dancing was taking place), he (the family head) called out his ancestors names and asked for their protection as they were proceeding to the byre for the ritual slaughter of a goat. Thereafter, he led *umguli* and the diviners into the byre with the song, *Somagwaza*. Before entering the byre the head of the family requested his ancestral spirits to allow them to enter it, and to perform the ritual killing successfully. The diviner reminded people with ritual debts that they were debarred from entering the byre. The initiates who had not yet performed *imvuma kufa* remained behind in the house, because they were not supposed to hear the loud 'cry' of the goat. It was therefore only the diviners and the family members who entered the byre. *Umguli* went to sit in a corner of it called *umthonyama*,¹³ and her ritual objects were placed next to her. Before the goat was sacrificed the head of the family uttered a few words to *umguli*, pointing at the goat and declaiming:

Liyeza lakho eli
Yinkomo yakho le (ibhokhwe/incamazana)
Loo nto ithethe into yokubana ukuvumile ukufa

Translation:

'This is your 'medicine'
 This is your 'cow' ('goat')
 Which means therefore that you have accepted the 'death''

As the head of the family spoke these words; the billycan of *ubulawu* was placed before the goat, and it was made to eat some of the medicinal foam. This was done so as to make 'communication' possible between the ancestors and the goat as its cry was going to pave the way for *umguli*. The latter had to do so, as the ingested foam makes communication possible between *umguli* and the ancestors. After this ritual eating of the foam, the goat was sacrificed. When it began bleating, there was a shout of *icamagu livumile!* from the people and the women started ululating. The goat bleated three times and people were really happy and satisfied to hear the loud 'cry' because it meant that the ancestors had approved of the ritual killing.

I stood outside the cattle byre to observe these proceedings, and my attention was drawn to an initiate who was weaving an *isithebe* (a mat made out of the olive tree leaves) which was to be used as a place-mat for her *umkhono* meat, which was to be ritually tasted i.e. *ukushwama* (see p.33). The goat's entrails were put into a separate bowl, and the rest of the meat was placed on the goatskin, to be apportioned and cooked on the following day. This was taken into the room of *umguli* and was laid in a place called *ibhilo* (screen). While the diviners and *umguli* were in the byre, the initiates who had stayed on in the house continued with *ukombela*. Later on after the ritual tasting ceremony, the diviners and *umguli* joined in with *ukombela* and *xhentsa*. This was the time to exhort her, and she was also given a chance to thank, and make requests to her ancestral spirits. When the moment came for an elderly female diviner to exhort *umguli*, she began with her song, *watsholoza*.

L: <i>Kutheni ingathi uyakhala?</i>	Why does it seem you are crying?
F: <i>He! Watsholoza</i>	<i>He!</i> Watsholoza
L: <i>Kuthen' ingath' uyalila?</i>	Why does it seem you are crying?
F: <i>He! Watsholoza</i>	<i>He!</i> Watsholoza
L: <i>Ndaba zimbi ngawe</i>	Some bad news concerning you
F: <i>He! Watsholoza</i>	<i>He!</i> Watsholoza
L: <i>Zimbi ngaw' elalini</i>	It is bad concerning you in the village
F: <i>He! Watsholoza</i>	<i>He!</i> Watsholoza
L: <i>Kubi kubi kubi</i>	It is bad, bad, bad
F: <i>He! Watsholoza</i>	<i>He!</i> Watsholoza
L: <i>Kubi kubi elalini</i>	It's bad, bad in the village

The significance of the song:

Watsholoza was the name of a certain village man who was well known for his exceptional singing and dancing. He had acquired this name when he was a boy of *umtshotsho*¹⁴ (pre-initiation youth group), where he was applauded for his musical abilities. The name *watsholoza* means joyful singing. In this song, village people are expressing concern about his (*Watsholoza*'s) personal situation. He looked very unhappy because of the widespread unpleasant rumour about him. His friends questioned him about these rumours, hoping to get to the crux of the matter. Baw' uGxarha also informed me that there was a diviner who became his friend and was *Watsholoza* by name. Hansen (1981:585) states that the song *Watsholoza zindaba* was sung at *umvulo* séance she went to attend.

This song obviously has a social function in that it addresses the recipient - *Watsholoza* - about his apparent distress, and so it is not an invocation to the ancestral spirits. As such its performance by a large group of people can induce *ihlombe* but not to a degree that would put one into trance. It is a very intense song in that it is a means of exerting pressure on the recipient to 'come clean' about the rumours, and during its performance, some diviners became perturbed and stopped dancing. The appearance, and actions of a group of four diviners among the participants, also added to the sense of unease that grew stronger as the singing continued. One of these diviners wore a Swazi-style head-dress and beads, and also *umthika* (cf. 275) while another was wearing *tsobhna* (Xhosa slang for cycling tights), which clearly offended other diviners, because she was subsequently given a length of cloth to cover her lower torso. Not only was their general appearance incongruous, but also their dancing, which also did not conform with the ritual *xhentsa* style, but was more akin to the kicking-stamping movements of *indlamu*¹⁵ (a contemporary popular dance style of Zulu migrant workers, but widely performed by other Nguni, and also South Sotho peoples).

This dance style was alien to other diviners, who found it awkward to continue with their own *xhentsa* style. It was not long before these diviners ceased to *ombela*, and watched the four 'intrusive foreign dancers', trying to catch their eye and communicate their disapproval of their conduct. The 'foreign' dance (in the sense that it is alien to Xhosa divination rituals) had had an adverse effect on them, and reduced the level of music-making to zero. The *tsobhna*-clad woman was responsible for introducing this dancing style, and since she and her colleagues continued unabashed, one of other diviners present signalled to another -by blinking her eyelids to start a new song, as a means of disrupting this kind of dancing. The new song, entitled '*Amayeza*' was sung and has the following text:

L: <i>Amayez' amayeza</i>	The medicines, the medicines
F: <i>Wen' uyawaz' amayez' okugula</i>	You know the medicine of 'sickness'
L: <i>wen' uyawaz'</i>	You know them
F: <i>Amayez' okugula</i>	The medicines, the medicines
L: <i>Wen' uyawaz' amayez' okugula</i>	You know the medicine of 'sickness'
<i>wen' uyawaz'</i>	you know them

The meaning and the significance of the song 'Amayeza':

This song applauds a diviner for being custodian of special cultural knowledge; in particular the knowledge about the efficacy and use of indigenous herbs, medicinal plants and roots. As such, the singers of the song assert the solidarity of their own group, as specialists who have undergone training and initiation to master the techniques of their profession.

The singing of this song accompanied the conventional style of *xhentsa*, and the instigator of the 'foreign' style soon became ostensibly annoyed, although this did not prevent her from participating in the *ukuxhentsa*. After the rendition of a few songs it was her turn to exhort *umguli*; but when she did so, it was obvious to all that she was not addressing *umguli*, but the other diviners present, and in a highly confrontational manner. She began by expressing her dissatisfaction at not having been invited to *intlombe*, as a neighbour, because she was the person regarded as 'a person of *umgubo*'¹⁶ ('powder') or *uThokoza* (which is equivalent to *camagu* =Xhosa-speaking diviners are referred to by Swazi diviners *ooCamagu*). She said that she had been drawn to *intlombe* by the sound of drumming that emanated from the house, and being a neighbour to the Mqolo people (people who were hosting *intlombe*) she had decided to attend uninvited. Before she had concluded her final sentence the song was suddenly resumed, interrupting her verbal flow. The ritual speeches of diviners are always interspersed with bouts of singing, which is intended to enhance the power and efficacy of these speeches. In this particular situation, however, her resumption of the song was deliberate, and aimed at blocking the diviner's discourse, and effectively dismissing it. I left *intlombe* ceremony while they were singing the song.

On the following day (Sunday), I returned to the house of Mqolo for *intlombe*. It was resumed at about 14h00, and more diviners and initiates joined the ceremony, as did other members of the community (when *intlombe* runs for 2-3 days, new guests turn up and join in). For their benefit, the head of the initiate's family described the main aspects of the 'death acceptance' rite and ceremony held on the previous day, the reason for the illness of *umguli*, and the presence of the officiating diviner at the event. This was followed by a speech from the diviner, who related the circumstances of *umguli* as a novice under her ritual guidance, which had been arranged by her ancestral spirits.

The report went thus:

Le yimvuma kufa
Uze ngethongo eMaNcotsheni
Uthi yena ulithongile
Izolo ibiku kuwa kwenkomo
Namhlanje utya umkhono wakhe
Ndicela iindlela ezintle ezibheka ekuguleni
Ndicela isandla sam sasekunene ukuba siphathwe
Ndicela imbeko
Ndicela umsindo oza kade
Ndicela utywala... unganxili, uzo bhidana nam
Ndikucelela ingqondo, ugula kabuhlungu
Ndikucelela unikwe imfundo kwehle igwebu liye ezantsi

Translation

'This is a 'death acceptance'
 She came on account of *ithongo* to the Ncotshe clan
 She says, 'she has dreamt of it' (a diviner)
 Yesterday it was the 'falling of a cow'
 Today she is consuming her *umkhono*
 I am asking for clear and bright ways that are leading to the 'sickness'
 I am asking my right hand to be guided
 I am asking for reverence
 I am asking for the anger that takes a long time to come
 I am asking that you must not put liquor in your mouth ...you must not get drunk, you
 will be at cross-purposes with me.
 I am asking for you the brains, you are 'sick' in a painful way
 I am asking for you to be given education so that the froth (in your head) goes and
 settles down.'

As on the previous day, the head of the family addressed the ancestors before leaving the room (lounge), informing them of forthcoming acts, e.g. the placing of the beads upon their child, and the presentation of a ritual spear. He also asked the ancestral spirits to guide them all to the end of the ritual work. Then he started *ingoma yekhaya* ('homestead song'), which was taken up by everyone, and led the procession to the cattle byre. Prior to entering the cattle byre, the diviner reminded everyone that those having ritual debts were debarred entrance from entering the cattle byre. She further said:

Andifuni ngxaki
Ndifuna ukungena ebuhlanti ndimnxibe
Aze kuhoyana nezifundo zakhe, nezinye izinto

Translation

'I do not want a problem
I want to get into the byre and place beads upon her
So that she can focus on her studies, and other things'

Thereafter, *umguli* sat herself on a blanket alongside her ritual items that had been placed in a corner of the byre. Upon her head the diviner placed a band of beads called *isiqweqwe* to which a gallbladder was attached. Then more beads were hung around her neck (together with her home ritual necklet) and also about her wrists and ankles, together with small strips of skin from her sacrificial goat. After this was done she ate some of her *umkhono*, which was placed on the leaves on *isithebe*. Having finished this ritual tasting, *umguli* rose and joined the participants inside the house, who had been singing virtually non-stop. The diviners spoke words of encouragement to her and gave her warm advice, and she was given another opportunity to humble herself before her ancestral spirits and call on them for their assistance. At this point the officiating diviner asked her colleagues to do their final dancing and singing outside the house. After this, *umguli* was given her divination name, Nomathongo (mother of dream-visions), by her trainer diviner. Some of the guests then returned to *intlombe* room in the house, while other returned to their various places of accommodation, in order to relax and take refreshment. The bones of the sacrificed goat were then collected, to be ritually burnt on the following day (Monday).

(c) *Intlombe* hosted by Deliwe:

This was the third type of *intlombe yemvuma kufa* I attended in Gugulethu. This came after I had attended one that of *yokothula umthwalo* (lit. of the off-loading the baggage), which I attended in Khayelitsha on 21/11/99. An announcement was made about an *intlombe yemvuma kufa* scheduled for the following weekend, and hosted by a female diviner, Deliwe. Later that week, an informant phoned me and urged me to attend this *intlombe*, because diviner Deliwe was going to initiate a young coloured woman into divination training (cf. Thomas 1999:24 on Cape Coloureds). Since I had never witnessed such an event, I looked forward to it with considerable excitement and expectation. As things turned out, I was not the only one who was curious about this very unusual initiation and its candidate; there were also a number of diviners in attendance for whom the event was also a 'first' in that it involved an initiate of mixed descent.

I duly arrived at *intlombe* convenor's house on the appointed Saturday, where I met up with a group of diviners who were discussing the event. One of them exclaimed: '*He! yeny' into le zange ndayibona nasemdudweni* (this is another thing that I never witnessed even at *umdudo*)¹⁷ and I thought to myself, this is going to be interesting. I entered the house, and greeted diviner Deliwe, who took me to the room in which *umguli* was awaiting the event. I found her sitting with two other novices, busily engaged in preparing her beads. She acknowledged my greetings and brief explanation about my presence at her *intlombe*, and told me her name -Sharon. When I asked her if she would be agreeable to providing me with information about her parents, and her recruitment as an initiate of diviner Deliwe, she concurred with my request. The following is a transcript of the brief interview, which Sharon granted me:

Myself: Sharon, are your parents present at this ceremony?

Sharon: No *man*, my mother is at Manenberg looking after my child and my sister's child. My father is there at home; he did not show any interest. You see my father is coloured *mos*, so he knows nothing about African culture. My mother knows a little bit because she was born in Gugulethu. But for years *man*, she was unable to cross over the railway track (that runs between Gugulethu and Manenberg) and visit her family. It was the law of the Government at that time that was enforced even to Black people. Gugulethu people were also not allowed to cross over that railway track, it was like a border *mos*, dividing us from them. So that is why my mother lacks the knowledge of African 'things'. It's only me who has the interest.

Myself: So who is going to represent your family?

Sharon: I don't know man, my *sangoma* should know.

Myself: How did you come to know this diviner?

Sharon: I was very sick and suffered from headaches; I consulted a *sangoma* who was Swazi. She advised me to take training under her; I even went to Swaziland *mos* with her. But after some time *man*, I decided to leave my training, and returned to Cape Town. After a long period of time I got sick again. It was then that I decided to go around in this section of Gugulethu, and asked of any *sangoma* who could be of help; people I asked would not know. Since I was really desperate, I went into another house and asked if they did not know of any *sangoma* nearby. The woman I found there said to me: "This is the house of *isangoma*, she just went outside the house, please wait I will go and call her." She came back with her; I then introduced myself to her and told her why I was there. I also told her that I had been trained by *isangoma* from Swaziland. She told me that she was going to help me, seeing that I was somebody who is supposed to become a *sangoma*.

Myself: In which language did she communicate with you?

Sharon: Somebody interpreted for us and I am going to learn the language (Xhosa).

Myself: Sharon, I assume that, this ritual ceremony that is going to be performed here is of your father's side and this means your father's clan name has to be used, so what 'clan name does he use?

Sharon: No *mos man*, my daddy does not have a *s'duko* (clan name), so I don't know but my mother's is Majola.

Myself: Have your parents met with your diviner?

Sharon: Yes, my father met her.

After this I left Sharon to finish the making of her beads. Before I left she gave me her work and home telephone numbers to contact whenever I needed to speak to her about her training. I thanked her for her time and also for having been open to me about her family and her 'sickness'. After this I went inside the lounge to join the singing by novices. They were singing a song called '*Ayivumi le ntloko ndilale*' ('this headache does not want me to sleep') (listen to example CD1 track no.16).

L: <i>He! hak' ayivumi le ntloko!</i>	Oh no! This headache does not want
F: <i>Ndilale,</i>	me to sleep
L: <i>He! wen' ayivumi le ntloko</i>	Hey you! This headache does not want
F: <i>Ndilale ngayo</i>	me to sleep

The meaning and the significance of the song:

This song is sung by a diviner or a novice who has been 'troubled'. One can get 'troubled' when one has intentionally or unintentionally neglected the requests of one's ancestral spirits. The ancestors can still make some requests to a novice, depending on what they need from her at that time. For example, there is the situation in which one awakes from an ancestral dream, having seen an ancestor saying: "*Ndinxaniwe* ('I am thirsty', meaning the dreamer should brew some traditional beer)." Usually such ancestral dreams should not be ignored and need a quick, positive response. Furthermore, if a diviner (or potential diviner) is not appreciative of her ancestors' revelations and gifts, they will turn their backs on her (i.e. withdraw their protection). This song refers to the severe pains in one's entire body and not only in the head. One diviner who lives in Langa showed me how swollen his legs were. He told me that he just went into the house, coming from the General Practitioner who could not see anything wrong with him. He said he knew that he had to brew traditional beer and invite diviners because it had been sometime that he had not been doing *isiwahla* ('gathering of diviners so as to make a joyful noise to the ancestors' and also this being a means of thanks giving since it would involve the drinking of beer).

To return to Sharon's séance: After four songs had been performed, Sharon entered the séance room led by her diviner, covered by *ingcawa*, and followed by specialist diviners. The song *ithamsanqa* was sung to accompany diviner Deliwe's enactment of the *phehla* ritual, just as it had been sung on another occasion. After the ritual anointing, a certain diviner Majola, who was nominated as Sharon's proxy, delivered a ritual speech before placing the beads on her. An elderly female diviner translated the speech into Afrikaans, for Sharon's benefit. The Xhosa exhortation and the response from the audience (Aud) went as follows:

Majola: *Ngoku mzukulwana wooMajola*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Siza kunxiba ezi ntsimbi zimhlophe*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Siza kuzifaka entloko, kwintamo, kwizihlahla nasemaqatheni*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Senzela into yokuba uze ungakhathazi*

Ootatomkhulu bakho bafuna uphile

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Uze uzifake ngamaxesha onke, ukanti na semsebenzini wakho*

Xa bekubuza uyakubaxelela ukuba wenzela impilo yakho

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Uz' ungathandisi mntu ngezi ntsimbi, yingulo yakho le*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Nomkhonto sizakunika wona*

Ngumkhonto ke lo ozosoloko uxhentsa ngawo xa use zintlombeni

Aud: *Camagu!*

Afrikaans translation:

'So klein kind van Majola

Nou gaan ons vir jou met wit krale aantrek

Ons gaan die krale op jou kop sit, om jou nek, om jou pols en om jou enkels

Die rede vir krale is dat jy nie probleme moet ondervind nie

Jou grotjies wil he dat jy gesond moet word

Die krale moet jy elke tye dra, selfs by jou werk dra

Indien hulle vir jou oor die krale ondervra moet jou antwoord wees dat dit vir jou gesondheid is

Maak seker dat jy dit altyd dra nie mense sal please nie omdat dit jou gesondheid is

En ons gaan vir jou n spies gee

Hierdie spies sal jy altyd mee dans as jy by in *intlombe*'

English translation:

'Now grandchild of Majola
 We are going to dress you with these white beads
 We are going to place them on your head, on your neck, on wrists and ankles
 We doing this so that you must not 'trouble'
 Your grandfathers want you to be healed
 You should wear them every time and also at your place of work
 When they (colleagues) ask you, you will tell them that you are doing this for your
 health
 You must not please anyone with these beads; this is your 'sickness'
 And also the spear is going to be handed over to you
 This is the spear you must always use (carry on the hand) when you dance (at
intlombe).'

After this, the beads were placed on Sharon, and she was given her ritual spear ('*umkhonto*'). The song *ithamsanqa* was sung again, with diviner Deliwe leading the ritual dance and Sharon danced behind her. Some people in the audience were amused at her efforts, and I felt sorry for her. I overheard one initiate saying: '*Yhu! hayi* shame *uya-twist-a* (Oh no! shame she is doing the twist dance). The twist was a dance craze of the 1970s. With the conclusion of the song came the customary exhortations for Sharon, delivered by certain diviners, one of whom began by saying: '*Sesoncedwa yitoliki ke kuba asikwazi kukhumsha*' ('We shall be helped out by the interpreter because we can't speak a foreign language' (Afrikaans/English)). One of the male diviners present attempted to exhort Sharon in Afrikaans, with responses from the audience:

Diviner: *Camagu!*

Aud: *Chosi!*

Diviner: *Dame, vandag ek wil saam met jou praat*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Diviner: *Die gqirha het ons klaar gese hoe het jy by haar toe gekom*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Diviner: *Nou vandag daai moeder is jou gqirha en jy is haar umkhwetha. Nou jy moet haar respekteer, eintlik al die magqirha wat jy vandag sien en die anders wat jy gaan weer ontmoet by ander iintlombe.*

Aud: Double *chos!*

Diviner: *Nou luister mooi, dit is belangrik dat as jy met die gqirha praat jy moet knie en se camagu, hoor nou?*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Diviner: *En jy moet nog Xhosa leer sodat jy kan hoor wat die magqirha se by jou want ons kan nie Afrikaans praat nie. En daar kan nie 'n tolk wees nie by alle ntlombe want dit gaan ons ihlombe dood maak, onse spirit gaan drop. As iemand tolk, dit vat 'n lang tyd en maak tog koud.*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Diviner: *Ag! Maar tog dame ek wens jou gelukkig en al jou planne moet reg kom my kind. Ek wens tog dat God moet ook, jou Oumas en Oupas wat in die graf is moet na jou mooi kyk. En jy moenie bier drink nie, hoor?*

English translation:

'Lady, today I want to talk to you
The diviner has already told us how you came to her
Now today that mother is your diviner and you are her initiate. Now you must respect her, otherwise all the diviners that you see today and others that you are still going to meet at other *iintlombe*.
Now listen carefully, it is important that when speaking with *igqirha* you must kneel and say *camagu*, do you hear now (do you understand)?
And you must at least try to learn Xhosa so that you can hear what *amagqirha* say to you because we cannot speak Afrikaans. And there cannot be an interpreter at all *iintlombe* because it is going to 'kill' our *ihlombe*, our spirit will drop. When a person interprets, it takes a long time and can make (*intlombe*) 'cold'.
Ag! However, I wish you good luck and all of your plans should come right my child. I wish that God must also do the same, your grandmother and grandfather who are in the grave must take care of you. And you must not drink liquor (abstain from it).'

After this lengthy exhortation, diviner Deliwe asked the translator to direct Sharon to supplicate to her ancestral spirits, and she did so, saying: "*Nou my kind jy moet aan God, jou Oupas en Oumas grootjies bid om jou gelukkig gee.*" Sharon's prayer went thus:

God I am here today in this house to come and do my work
I ask Thee to be by my side and the person who is doing the work for me
I pray that you must be with my mother, my father, my auntie, my uncle, my sister,
please
Lord I pray sincerely in the name of Jesus Christ Amen.
Aud: Amen! *Camagu!*

(The diviners expected Sharon to *nqula*, as other initiands do and she complied though her approach came from a strong Christian point of view).

After this Deliwe told her colleagues that the ritual healing dance was to be done out-of-doors because it was time for the 'falling of the goat'. She then led the procession outside, with the singing of the same song *ithamsanqa*. (At *intlombe*, the same song may be sung several times, the number of renditions being determined by its impact on the diviners and novices, in whom it is intended to induce a state of altered consciousness close to trance. Before the goat was ritually slaughtered, Majola had to make a ritual speech, addressing the old people of Jola clan (Sharon's mother's clan).

Majola: *Camagwini bethuna*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Namhlanje mabandla akuthi sidityaniswa ngumzukulwana wooMajola*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Sizo kumphilisa*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Ootatomkhulu bakhe bafuna ukumsebenzisa*

Aud: *Chosi!*

Majola: *Ngoku ke nantsi incamazana yakhe eza kushukumisa amathambo abo*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Ndithi kooMajola: 'Nanku umzukulwana wenu ze nimjonge, nimkhusele ezingozini, nimphe ukunyamezela phantsi kwengqeqesho yalo mama de aphumelele, azokwazi naye ngenye imini anyange. Baninzi gqithi abantu abagulayo abafun' abanyangi.'*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Ndithi ke kuwe mtshana maze kudede ubumnyama kuvele ukukhanya. Ndikunqwenelela iindlela ezintle ezizele amathamsanqa neentsikelelo.*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Ndifuna ukuthi ke kuwe, nantsi incamazana yakho*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Majola: *Liyeza lakho eli ze uphile phantsi kwalo, camagu!*

Aud: *Chosi!*

Afrikaans translation:

*'Vandag, mense, word ons hier bymekaar gebring deur die Majola se kleinkind
 Ons gaan haar gesond maak
 Haar grotjies wil haar gebruik
 Nou hier is n bok wat haar grotjies se bene gaan roer
 Ek se aan Majola, hier is julle klein kind, vir haar moet julle oppas, julle moet vir haar
 beskerm teen gevare, julle moet haar uit hou vir moe gee onder die mama tot sy slaag,
 sodat sy ook eendag anders gesond sal maak. Daar is baie mense wat siek is en gesond
 wil wees
 So se ek my suster se kind, mag die donkerte verdywn en daar lig wees
 Ek wens jou voorspoed toe, met vele seeninge
 Ek wil aanjou se hier is jou bok
 Dit is jou medisyne en maag jy gesond word deur dit'*

English translation:

*'Today, our cohort, we have been gathered together by the grandchild of Majola
 We have come to heal her
 Her grandfathers want to use her
 Now, then, here is her goat that is going to move the bones (of her ancestors)*

I say to Majola here is your grandchild, you should look after her and protect her from dangers and give perseverance under the (divination) training of this woman until she succeeds so that she can also one day heal (people). There are a great number of people who are sick and who need healers

I then say to you my niece, the darkness should move away and the light appear

I wish you good ways that are filled with good fortunes and blessings

I want to say to you then, here is your goat

This is your medicine and you must be healed under it (its treatment).'

During the ritual slaughter of the goat, I approached a diviner who had also trained under the tutelage of Majola's diviner, and asked him whether it was acceptable custom for a diviner to perform her initiate's ritual work in her home. His response was:

“Indothusile ukubona umsebenzi womnt’ ogulayo usetyenzelwe emzini wegqirha...ngakumbi eqala nokuqala. Amagqirha ayawazisa amanye xa azokwenzela amathwasa awo umsebenzi ezindlwini zabo. Kuloo meko incamazana iye ixhelwe kungxengxezwa kwizinyanya kuba ezakwenza umsebenzi wethwasa lakhe kwakhe. Ke thina zange saziswe ukuba incamazana yayixheliwe kwiveki ephelileyo ngaphandle kwale yemvuma kufa. Zange ayiphathe nkqu ngexesha besise nkundleni.”

*(‘It shocked me to see the ritual ceremony of the ‘sick person’ being enacted at her trainer diviner’s...and moreover it was her first time to enter the training. Diviners do inform their colleagues when they are going to enact rituals for their initiates at their (diviners’) homes. In that case a goat has to be ritually killed at the diviner’s home, to ask pardon of the ancestral spirits for planning to perform a ritual work for her initiate. So we were never informed that a goat was ritually slaughtered (prior to the ritual ceremony) the previous week except for this one of **imvuma kufa**. She did not even make mention of it at the time we were in the courtyard’).*

A week after this ceremony and ritual I tried to make contact with Sharon on several occasions, in order to have discussions about her situation, but I was unsuccessful. My information about this *intlombe* must therefore remain incomplete.

6.3.3 *Intlombe yemvuma kufa yakulo mama:*

This is a séance of the maternal ‘death acceptance’ and it differs slightly from that of the paternal ‘death acceptance’ in that it needs active involvement of the maternal relatives. The information below comes from the conversation I had with an initiate by the name of Nosipho.

She allowed me to record our conversation at Rondeberg Flats, University of Cape Town Residence in which I was living at the time. This conversation was recorded on 10/03/99. Her account of this sort séance of the maternal's 'death acceptance' is as follows:

*"The difference between the paternal and maternal 'death acceptance' ritual is that the ritual work is enacted at the maternal home of **umguli**. A member of the novice's family has to work closely with the diviner in the ritual action, and should be the novice's maternal grandfather, or her brother. It sometimes happens that the mother of **umguli** does not have a permanent residence, in which case, this ritual is carried out, at the house of the novice's father. In such a case, it is her maternal relatives who will be responsible for preparations for the ritual. They will consult with the novice's paternal relatives and ask for permission to use their **inkundla** ('courtyard') (the requesting of **inkundla** is always asked with a bottle of brandy) under the maternal clan name of **umguli**, until the last day of the ceremony, concluding with the burning of the bones. This happens because of the circumstances we live under. This kind of **intlombe** usually takes three days but it depends on how it has been revealed to **umguli** by her maternal spirits. Sometimes the maternal 'death acceptance' is strongly revealed to the 'sick one' when it is compared to that of the paternal. This is because the 'calling' of many people who enter for divination training come from the maternal side.*

*Even if **umguli** has been shown her maternal 'death acceptance' first, she will be compelled to enact her paternal first because the father is the head of the family. Whilst in the training, **umguli** might be shown the other kinds of **iintlombe** that she has to perform before she is even shown her maternal **mvuma kufa**. This therefore means that the maternal **mvuma kufa** is not necessarily performed after the paternal **mvuma kufa** has been enacted for one, that is not procedure. This is the work of the ancestors and they work differently, because they come from different clans and therefore traditional rituals are not the same. It depends on one's ancestral spirit's revelations, which must be carefully scrutinized, and then carried out correctly. The maternal spirits can reveal that the **intlombe** should be between three days and a week. It depends on what they want from the 'sick' one. During that week the ancestral spirits may call **umguli** to sacred places where she has never been taken before. For example, one may be taken to the mountain, or to caves to erect a seclusion lodge (**ithonto**) for 'brooding' (**ukufukama**)¹⁸ so as to have direct communication with her ancestors.*

Since *iimvuma kufa* are performed differently (i.e. the rituals differ in detail), it can happen that the paternal and maternal ancestors of *umguli* may indicate that both types should be performed in the same week. On the other hand *umguli* may graduate as a fully-fledged diviner without having observed the maternal 'death acceptance'. This will not prevent her from practising as a diviner. She has to be patient until her maternal spirits reveal the *iimvuma kufa* to her. As I have already mentioned it is her *amathongo* that control her. So it is important for the initiates to report their *amathongo* to the trainer diviner because it is her duty to unravel the initiates' *amathongo*. Sometimes it happens that the 'sick one' ignores the *amathongo* of her 'death acceptance' assumes that one ritual is the same as the other.

Her ancestral spirits will reprimand her by sending her a kind of punishment for this neglect of the (particular) 'death acceptance'. She and her diviner will then appease the ancestors, and the diviner will make special requests to her own ancestral spirits, and those of the parents of *umguli*, asking for their co-operation in answering the appeal of *umguli* and in sending clear vision. She will also request that the visions be sent to her (diviner), so that she in turn can interpret for *umguli*, the requirements of her maternal clan ancestors. As in the paternal 'death acceptance' ritual, *umguli* is also given an *umkhonto* and a ritual necklet symbolic of her maternal ancestors."

6.3.4 Intlombe yokuqhela:

Regarding *intlombe yokuqhela* MamNcotshe informed me that:

"Once one or both 'death acceptance' rituals have been performed for a novice, the next, obligatory ritual is that which is called *intlombe yokuqhela* (a séance of getting accustomed to the divination procedures). It is said that, at this stage of training, the novice receives many ancestral visions, in which she is shown various kinds of medicinal plants and roots, and how to prepare them for her (future) patients. (These exclude emetic medicines which she is not permitted to handle at this stage). *Intlombe yokuqhela* is sometimes called *intlombe yokunikwa ulugxa* ('a séance of being given a digging stick'), which is a reference to the special stick the novice will use to dig out medicinal plants and roots. In her ancestral visions she is also shown an animal-skin for her headdress. Its design resembles that of a fully-fledged diviner, but it does not have the band of elaborate beadwork that is commonly attached to the diviner's headgear. *UNolugxana* headdress is plain, with an open crown to which a piece of (animal) tail is attached, and half the size of a diviner's head-dress (see p.296 plate no.21).

For this reason the novice is sometimes referred to as *ihaf' yegqirha* (half a diviner). Like other séances, *ukuqhela* ritual ceremony usually commences on a Friday and continues for three days. The bones of the sacrificial goat are burnt on the following Monday. In the early hours of Saturday morning, the diviner and her entourage accompany *umguli* and her members of the family to one or more sacred places, where she has to make her ritual offerings. Sunday is the day for consuming the sacrificial goat, and the delivery of the ritual orations. When an oration is delivered, it is a way of addressing two worlds (the natural and the supernatural world) at the same time."

When the initiate receives the diviners' exhortation at this phase of divination training, she does not kneel. This is because she is in the penultimate stage of attaining full divinership. For this reason she is sometimes referred to as 'five to' (e.g. as in time = five minutes to one) meaning that she is nearly there, has almost reached her ancestral goal. In divination parlance, this means that the novice has just five minutes (i.e. a short time) in which to receive *ithongo* of the sacrificial beast that will mark her graduation as a diviner. The expression 'five to' is a township one. In the rural areas, the novice is called *Nolugxana* or *Nomqhelana*. As in the previously described séances, there are a number of ritual objects, which the novice acquires as she progresses with her training. At this *intlombe yokuqhela* and they are:

- <i>Ihaf' yesidlokolo</i>	'a headdress that is half the size of a diviner's'
- <i>Inyongo yencamzana</i>	'the gall bladder of a sacrificial goat' (which is inflated and then attached to her beaded necklet with a thin length of sinew).
- <i>Ulugxa</i>	'a digging stick'
- <i>Imvubu</i>	'whip', traditionally used to be made of hippo hide. Nowadays it is made of plastic.

In March 2000 I attended *intlombe yokuqhela* in Gugulethu. The event was convened by a diviner called MamZangwa, who hosted it at her home, and performed it for her niece, Thembakazi, a member of the Wushe clan. The *inkundla* of the Zangwa clan was requested so that it could be used by the Wushe 'people' for the duration of the ritual work, which concluded with the burning of the bones according to custom. When I arrived at MamZangwa's home, the initiates had just begun with the preliminary *intlombe*. The officiate was a novice of 'five to' status, as were the other novices executing the ritual dance.

As I entered the house, they were singing a song '*Inkululeko*' ('freedom') which went thus (listen to CD1 track no. 17).

L: <i>Hee! molo mama</i>	Hey! Hello mama!
F: <i>ndicel' ukunyamezela</i>	I ask for perseverance
L: <i>Inkululeko ndiyay' bona</i>	I see the freedom
F: <i>'cel' ukunyamezel'</i>	I ask for perseverance
L: <i>Inkululeko ndiyay' ifuna</i>	I seek the freedom
F: <i>'cel' ukunyamezel'</i>	I ask for perseverance
L: <i>Hee! molo mama</i>	Hey! Hello mama!
F: <i>'cel' ukunyamezel'</i>	I ask for perseverance
L: <i>Hee! molo ndiyakwazi</i>	Hey! Hello, I know you
F: <i>'cel' ukunyamezel'</i>	I ask for perseverance
L: <i>Inkululeko ndiyayibona</i>	I see the freedom
F: <i>'cel' ukunyamezel'</i>	I ask for persevere
L: <i>Hay' bo hay' boo</i>	Oh no! Oh no!
F: <i>'cel' ukunyamezel'</i>	I ask to perseverance
L: <i>Inkululeko ndiyayazi</i>	I know the freedom

The meaning of the song *Inkululeko*:

This song is a prayer to the novice's ancestors, asking that she should persevere with her training since, as one diviner put it: '*Indlela eya ebugqirheni inzima*' ('the road to divination profession is hard'). One has to persevere in order to reach the goal. *Ukunyamezela* ('perseverance') is what novices always pray for, although there are extreme cases in which they decide to abandon the training, for various reasons stated earlier in this study (cf. p. 60). When the novice singer says that she sees freedom and wants freedom, she means that her *amathongo* are telling her that she is 'five to' at the stage of receiving *inkomo yokuphila* ('the beast of recovery'), when she can leave and work as an independent diviner. After the 'freedom' song was sung *intlombe* officiate asked a novice of 'five to' status to supplicate. Her humble entreaty made the following requests:

- The gifts of being able to diagnose and divine, with ancestral powers, the cause of the patients' sufferings, and to excel in *unontongwana* (a divination ability test).
- To kneel in the presence of visitors so that money would be left in the diviners house (i.e. to be able to divine satisfactorily for consultants; if the clients are dissatisfied with the diviner's methods they take their money and leave. This kind of thing damages a diviner's credibility).

-To have conscience (i.e. a sense of awareness of the morality of ones own conduct and character and a feeling of obligation to do what is good and right).

-Prayers for her diviner who 'lifted up' (*xhoma*) (i.e put) the billycan of *ubulawu* on her (head), and made her (the supplicant's) mind clear.

-Prayers for the diviner who is currently training her, praying for her to have conscience and reverence.

-To avoid annoying her trainer diviner and to continue peacefully and contentedly with her training, because there is nothing that one can learn without first having had a guide.

This supplication was followed by a song *ndiyawabizw' ekhaya* ('I am being called at home') which was ushered in by Thobile, who was asked to *nqula* (listen to CD1 track no.22 for the song and supplication).

L: <i>Ndiyawabizw' ekhaya</i>	I am being called at home
F: <i>Ngegama lam</i>	By my name
L: <i>Batheth' amangotshongotsho</i>	They speak fables
F: <i>Ngegam lam</i>	About my name

This song was sung with great power and volume, since the previous song had already transported people to a state of *ihlombe*. It was sung with same spirit of exaltation, but this caused conflict among the novices, one of whom did not appreciate the sustained joyful singing and unceremoniously stopped the dancing singers. Thobile, the owner of the song, was unhappy with this reaction and said sternly: "*Ndis'ke ndavaleka, mna abantu ndiyabombelela. Umona andiwufuni magqirha, yiphinde sisi.*" ('I became closed up, I surely sing for people (with good spirit). Jealous is what I do not want diviners, *sisi* ('sister -referring to the lead singer) repeat it (the song). *Usisi* obeyed this instruction from the song owner. This kind of incident is not unusual; it has been known for a novice to interrupt a song because she does not like and value it as much as other people. As has been stated earlier, many diviners' songs incorporate supplications, and a supplication may be interrupted by more singing, but when a song is in progress, then no-one has the right to stop it. This matter raised a dispute among the novices, with the objecting novice attempting to defend her stance:

Novice: *Yiyeke! Bethuna, apha entungo xa umntu ebekwe entungo sanukumlawula umntu ophethe intlombe apha entungo. Ngoku niyamlawulwa umntu ophethe intlombe xa nimisa anifun' ukuma. Hay' san'ukufuna ukuba masixakeke babhem.*

(‘Leave it off! People, here *entungo* if a person has been assigned to officiate, then do not control one who is officiating here at *entungo*. Now, you are controlling a person who is officiating *intlombe*, when she stops you (to give another person a chance to implore), you do not want to stop. No, do not make us confused people’).

Resp: *Nalapha entungo makalindwe umntu wengoma ayinikezele.*

(‘Even here *entungo* one should wait until the song owner hands over’)

Novice: *Xa umntu wengoma ebeyinikezele?*

(‘What if the owner of song has handed it over’)

Resp: *Khange anikezele ngoma. Asoyiki ukunganquli siyanqul’ emakhaya, siyanqula ezindlini zethu.*

(‘She did not hand the song over we are not afraid of supplicating we do supplicate to our spirits at our homes, we do supplicate in our houses’).

At this point there was an intervention from a diviner Alfred by name, who shouted:

“Hey! hey! jongani jongani azoku-shout-wa nini asizokuva ngani, yenzani lento niyithunywe apha. Sanukuthi xa nixakwe zizinto zenu ni...yombela wena!”

(‘Hey! hey! look look! We are not to be shouted at by you we are not listen to you, just do what you have been sent to do here don’t you dare, when you get problems with your things and...sing you!).

Alfred instructed one novice to start another song in an attempt to defuse the argument. They (novices) had sung only three phrases of the song *ithamsanqa* (which is at the end of CD1 track no.22), when they were forced into an abrupt silence by the group of specialist diviners, who emerged from the adjoining bedroom, singing another song (listen to CD1 track no.23):

L: *Ewe kulungile*

F: *ayohoyo! Mama*

L: *Ewe kulungile*

F: *ayohoyo! Mama*

L: *Yo! Namhlanje*

F: *ayohoyo! Mama*

L: *Ewe kulungile*

F: *O! molo ke mama*

L: *Ewe kulungile*

F: *O! n’xolele mama*

Yes, it’s alright!

ayohoyo! mama

Yes, it’s alright!

ayohoyo! mama

Oh yes! Today

ayohoy!o mama

Yes, it’s alright!

O! molo ke mama

Yes, it’s all right!

Oh! forgive me *mama*

It is a rule that when diviners take over *intlombe* from the novices, one novice from the group will be chosen to hand it over officially and this was done with a formal address:

“Masicamagusheni! bendicela kuded’ ubumnyama kuvel’ ukukhanya singabantwana sinqulile, ngoku siyinikezela kuni bazali..”

(‘Let us propitiate! I was asking that the darkness should go away and the light appear, as children we have already implored, now we are handing it over to you parents’).

After this the host diviner requested Baw’ uWushe (the proxy of the recipient) to make a brief ritual speech. In it, he requested the ‘multitudes’ of the Wushe clan to work hand in glove with the Zangwa ancestors, as they were about to go out and to perform the ritual work, permitting Thembakazi to consume her *umkhono*. This brief ritual speech was followed by the singing of *ithamsanqa* (‘the piece of good fortune’). (Listen to CD1 track no. 6). After the singing, the convenor delivered a ritual speech addressing the audience:

Conv: *Masicamagusheni!*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Conv: *Makuded’ ubumnyama kuvel’ ulukhanya*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Conv: *E! Ndiyabulisa kwakhona kumzi wamaWushe*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Conv: *E! Ndiyabulisa bazali bam*

Ngelixesha xa utat’ uWushe esithi sijonge emkhonweni

E! Bendithe xa ndiqala ukungena kulo mzi ndiza kunyathela indawo

E! Ndabhekisa kuThixo ndacela amandla

Masicamagusheni!

Aud: *Camagu!*

Conv: *E! Ndithe xa bendiphuma apha izolo*

Ndabhekisa kuThixo ndacela isikhalo sencamazana

Ngoku ke masicamagusheni

Aud: *Chos! Camagu!*

Conv: *Ndiza kucela kubazali bam endihamba nabo indlel’ enye*

E! Bandibhekiselele kuThixo amazwi okundomeleza

Namazwi okubulela le misebenz’ ingaka

Aud: *Camagu!*

Conv: *Xa ngeli xesha siphumayo siyo kutyisa umntwana umkhono*
E! Siyokumxiba impahla zakhe ngokusesikweni
Makuded' ubumnyama kuvel' ukukhanya

Aud: *Camagu!*

Translation:

Let us propitiate (the ancestral spirits)
Let the darkness move away and the light appear!
Eh! I greet once more the House of the Wushe clan
Eh! I greet you my parents
At this point in time when father Wushe says our attention is directed at umkhono
Eh! When I first entered this house and to come and stamp on this place
Eh! I directed some words to God and asked for strength
Let us propitiate the ancestral spirits
Eh! As I went out yesterday
I directed some words to God and asked for a loud 'cry' of the goat
So now let us propitiate the ancestral spirit
I am going to request my parents that I always travel the same road with
Eh! To direct some words to God, words of encouraging me
And the words of being grateful for such great ritual works
As we at this time are about to go out and let the child eat her umkhono
Eh! And dress her with her traditional clothes, customarily
Let the darkness move away and the light appear

Most of *iintlombe* I have attended were officially opened with prayers (to God=the Christian God). Likewise at this *intlombe*, a diviner was requested by the convenor to pray to God on their behalf (as they were about to begin with the 'work'). This prayer, led by the diviner has been referred to in (p.18), as was the church song (*Sicel' amandla* i.e. 'We ask for power') which accompanied it (listen to CD1 track nos.24 and 25). In this context the diviners are asking the Lord to share His power with them, the power to heal, to be able to use their medicine and practice as diviners and the power to make the ritual work a success.

The prayer was followed by the churning up of *ubulawu*, which is obligatory at ritual works enacted for novices. MamZangwa also introduced herself to the ritual congregation and asked the specialist ('great') diviners to permit her to begin with the churning up of the substance. She then began the song (of her former trainer diviner '*Aph' aMaNcotshe*') for raising the billycan of *ubulawu*. Having whipped it up, she let Thembakazi ingest some of it, and then daubed it onto her head, and upper torso, and on the ritual objects that had been given to her. After the singing of the '*phehla*' song, all people sang a series of songs, which accompanied the ritual speeches of individual diviners.

I have selected one of the eight ritual speeches delivered, for representation; it was one given by MamZangwa' s neighbour also a diviner:

*Umhle lo msebenzi ugqibekile, ayikhw' eny' into endiyibonayo ekufuneka yenziwe
Uvunywe yibhekile kuvume nencamazana
Oko ndilapha lo msebenzi mhle umnand' ukhaphukhaphu
Nakaloku nje ngalo mzuzu nje lo msebenzi mhle uyabonakal' aphasuka khona
uyabonakala nalaph' uyakhona
Igqibile ibhekile inyukile ithwel' umnqwazi
Ndithi ndiya kucamagushela ntombazana
Makuded'ubumnyama kubechosi kubehele kuphile wonke umntu ophakathi
komnquba
Kuphile nobechama nobengafumani msebenzi
Nobenemikhub' azaphile phantsi kwale bhekile
Ndiyakunqulela ntombazana
Ukuba ukhe wabhatyaza endleleni ndiyakwazi ukuba ayilogqirha nguwe
Ndimile kuloo ndawo ndiyazinikezela iintambo.*

Translation:

*'This work is beautiful and complete, I do not see what else is supposed to be done
It has been accepted by the billycan of **ubulawu** and the goat has also agreed
Ever since I am here (I have noticed that) the work is beautiful and light
At this minute this work is beautiful, it can be seen where it comes from
and where it is going
The billycan of **ubulawu** is complete, it has risen up, and it is wearing a hat
(This means that the froth has covered the top of billycan)
I propitiate for you, girl!
Let the darkness move away, let there be appeasement so that everyone here should get
healed
Even the one who has been urinating (herself) should get healed and the one who has
not been getting employed (should get work)
And the one who has been showing low morals should get healed (change his
behavioural pattern) under the influence of this homestead billycan of **ubulawu**
I am 'praying' for you girl
Should, in case you fumble in your ways, I will know that it is not your diviner but you
Period! I am handing over to somebody else.'*

After this speech, the song '**Namhla kunzima**' (CD1 track no.26) was sung:

L: *Ha! Yo! Namhla kunzima*
F: *Hayowuyo! Yo! Mama*
L: *Namhla kunzima*
F: *Hayowuyo! Yo! Mama*

Oh! Today it's hard.
Hayowuyo! Yo! Mama
Oh! Today it's hard
Hayowuyo! Yo! Mama

The meaning of the song:

When I asked MamZangwa about the meaning of the song, she stated that she was going to tell me what it meant her is that on particular occasion. She went on to say:

“Kunzima kuba siza kube sithetha nezinyanya zethu, sizicenga ukwenzela senze ngokwemfanelo. Yonke le ndima ifuna kumiswe ingqondo, kuthi, ithetha into yokuba kufuneka uphelele ngokwa sengqondweni, enyameni nasemphefumleni. Ingqondo yomntu kufuneka izinze, nje ukuba kuthe kwaba nesiphene iyakuthetha loo nto ukuba mawuphinde loo msebenzi kwaye ke iza kubiza imali loo nto. Ngamany’ amaxesha ezintlobeni ufumana izilingo ezi zokudungadunga umsebenzi.”

(‘It is a difficult day because we shall be talking with our ancestral spirits, begging them so that we do things in an acceptable way. The whole procedure needs a very serious concentration, to us this means, the involvement of the mind, body and soul. One’s attention must not be divided, a little mistake means the re-enactment of the ritual work and that is going to cost us money. Sometimes at séances you get the tempters who just come to disorganise the ritual works).

This explanation was given to me by other diviners with whom I spoke at *intlombe*. It is evident that a wealth of meaning lies behind the short song-text, and its fullest significance can only be comprehended via clarification from the diviners themselves.

6.3.5 *Intlombe yokothula umthwalo:*

In the Western Cape the majority of Xhosa-speaking diviners originate from the Eastern Cape (*eMaXhoseni*). Their forefathers came to the Western Cape Province from 1840 onwards as road labourers and dockworkers¹⁹ Although their descendants today have established residence in Cape Town, they regularly travel to *emaXhoseni* to perform certain rites and ceremonies. Most of them feel more closely connected to the rural rather than the urban environment, because the bones of their ancestors are lying still in their cattle-byres (traditionally, the head of the family was be buried in the *thonto*).²⁰

On the 6th of June 1998 I attended *intlombe yokothula umthwalo* (lit. a séance of 'off-loading the baggage'). This description refers to the particular purpose of the event, which is to allow the initiate to inform her diviner's colleagues and her neighbours, about her sojourn to *eMaXhoseni*, made in order to perform the ritual of *ukufukama* (see p.178). This séance took place at New Cross Roads (Western Cape Province) at the home of Thobeka of the Bhele clan. She hails from Libode in the Eastern Cape Province and is employed as a professional nurse at one of the Western Cape Hospitals. The host diviner was MaDlamini, who also lives at New Cross Roads. Much high-spirited singing and the consumption of a considerable amount of traditional beer marked this particular *intlombe*. At a certain stage in the rather noisy proceedings I noticed that some of the initiates, and a group of people in the audience were obviously inebriated. It was not long before dissension broke out, and a female initiate insulted a male diviner who was also much older than her.

Further discord was prevented by a ritual fine being imposed upon the initiate, who was instructed to perform *intlombe yomdliwo* (the séance of the ritual penalty) at her home. The action was extremely offensive to the ancestors, and to appease them and secure their pardon the offender would also have to brew traditional beer, and present the insulted diviner with a gift of white spirits (gin). The séance of Thobeka was by way a celebration for her attainment of *ukuqhela* level of divination training (which may be compared with a university entrance examination). The powerful and vigorous singing and hectic dancing at this event was evidence of a high state of *ihlombe* achieved by some of the participants. I noticed one particular initiate who was in an extremely excited state, and crying as if in severe pain. I could see that this was not just a manifestation of *ihlombe*, but rather one of excessive consumption of beer. The song that was sung was '*Bambelel' ethembeni*' ('Hold onto hope') (listen CD1 to track nos.29,30,31). The song belonged to a supplicant who happened to be MaDlamini's (host diviner's) relative. His song too had a great effect on him, it made him do all sorts of acts (jumping, bawling) and this is the reason the song was repeated several times. As it has been mentioned in (p. 83) among the Xhosa, divination song texts include words and phrases which derived directly from the Revivalist hymns, (especially those of the Bhengu sect).

Below is the text of *Bambelel' ethembeni* (it must be noted that this is not a fixed text of the song, it is only the followers' part that is mainly fixed).

L: <i>Bambelela</i>	Hold on!
F: <i>Bambelel' ethembeni</i>	Hold onto hope!
L: <i>Likhon' ithemba</i>	There is hope
F: <i>Bambelel' ethembeni</i>	Hold onto hope!
L: <i>Likhon' ithemba</i>	There is hope!
F: <i>Bambelel' ethembeni</i>	Hold onto hope!
L: <i>Lo mfan' uyadelela</i>	This young man is despising...
F: <i>Bambelel' ethembeni</i>	Hold onto hope!
L: <i>Lo mfan' uyadelela</i>	This young man is despising...
F: <i>Bambelel' ethembeni</i>	Hold onto hope!
L: <i>Hay' bambelela</i>	No, hold on!
F: <i>Bambelel' ethembeni</i>	Hold onto hope!
L: <i>Hay' bambelela</i>	No, hold on!
F: <i>Bambelel' ethembeni</i>	Hold onto hope!
L: <i>Zihlwele zabathandwa ' zithand' uJesus bambelela</i>	Multitudes' of the beloved love Jesus, (so) hold on
F: <i>Bambelel' ethembeni</i>	Hold onto hope!
L: <i>Wabambelela</i>	S/he held on!
F: <i>Bambelel' ethembeni</i>	Hold onto hope!
L: <i>Ha! wabambelela Ha!</i>	S/he held on!
F: <i>Bambelel' ethembeni</i>	Hold onto hope

The meaning of the song:

In a séance context the song means that 'white people' must adhere to their divination custom and have faith in their personal abilities. As the intense singing came to a short pause, the initiate did not stop crying. One novice (MaGatyeni) tried to attend to her, but was stopped unceremoniously by MaDlamini, the diviner who convened *intlombe*, who shouted:

MaDlamini: *He!* MaGatyeni (Hey MaGatyeni!)

MaGatyeni: *Uyakhala* ("She is crying", MaGatyeni responded)

MaDlamini: *Hayi suka uyakhala, uligqirha lakhe wena? Uligqirha lakhe? Uza kumnika ntoni? Utsho ngempundw' ezinkulu nje.* ('No go away, she is crying, are you her diviner? Are you her diviner? What are you going to give her? You large buttocks').

MaGatyeni felt defeated and 'spiritless' by these remarks made by MaDlamini. But then, a diviner is not supposed to show anger, so the same song was sung with the same intense spirit and was followed in quick succession by a number of other songs interspersed with supplications.

The songs obviously revived MaGatyeni, who regained her good humour and apparently forgot about the shouted abuse. One may expect a certain amount of excessive behaviour at a ritual work, but on this occasion the convener, being a temperate person and always in command of her senses, made the event a success. Exhortations were made, and donations of money were given to the novice by the diviners and people present, while her family presented her with two impressive gifts, a bedroom and a lounge suite. This happened on the final day of *intlombe* on a Sunday afternoon. After the dancing and customary speeches, the people were served with food; the meat coming from the goat that had been slaughtered on the previous day.

A similar situation of novices being drunk arose at *intlombe yokothula umthwalo* that was enacted for an initiate (in the same year), Nontobeko by name. This *intlombe* was convened by same diviner, MaDlamini, who hosted the one for Thobeka. In this case the initiates were very inebriated, one of them to the point of sobbing and moaning. After the first session of dancing I went into the room where they (novices) were drinking beer and I asked a question, which was directed to all the people in the room. For convenience I am here merely giving the English version only of the response:

The question was:

“He! mathwasa, ingaba nikhaliwa butywala okanye yingoma xa nisombela nixhentsa?”

(‘Hey! initiates, can it be an alcohol or a song that makes you cry when you sing and doing the ritual dance’).

One of the diviners present replied:

“Mntan’ am lamathwasa asela gqithi abanye babo phambi kokuba baze entlombeni basela ezindywala kwezi shibini. Andazi ke nokuba umntu uzama ukwanelisa isinyanya esasilinxila. Kwaye intlombe iba sisiphithiphithi xa la mathwsa enxilile kwaye bavele balale loo nto ke asiyo ndawo yozakulala leya. Kufanel’ ukuba baze ezintlombeni bezekuzinyanga. La mathwasa angoku odlula namagqirha ngokunxila kwaye banetshiki. Ayibiyo ngxaki into yokuba umntu makasele utywala entlombeni kuba buyacanyagushelwa phambi kokuba buselwe.”

(‘My child (referring to me) these initiates drink so much and some of them before they come to *intlombe* they drink these beers from these shebeens).²¹ I do not know whether or not one is trying to please an ancestor who used to be a drunkard.

And *intlombe* becomes wrong (disorderly) when these novices become drunk and they sleep too and this is not a place for them to sleep. They are supposed to come to *intlombe* to heal themselves. But these present novices even surpass diviners by becoming drunk and moreover they are cheeky. It is not a problem when one drinks beer at *intlombe* because *buyacanyagushelwa* ('it gets propitiated for') before it is consumed.

It is useful at this stage to provide an example of propitiation (i.e. the appeasement of the ancestral spirits) by means of a beer offering. It should be noted that a libation may include not only traditional beer but also commercially produced white brandy. Below is an example of propitiation by a séance messenger (a male initiate at the stage of *ukuqhela*, selected by the host diviner to become a messenger (Mess)). When the beer is to be served during a short intermission, the messenger must always offer it first to the 'great' diviners. After then, he may serve the novices.

Mess: *Masitheni camagu! Makuded' ubumnyama kuvel' ukukhanya*

Diviners: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Ndicel' uxolo ngokuphazamisa umoya phakathi kwekhaya*

Diviners: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Ndithunywe apha kooTata nooMama*

Diviners: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Ndiniphathele ihaf' ebomvu masicamagusheni!*

Diviners: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Kuthiwa booTata niyacelwa nenze lento niyibizelweyo*

Diviners: *Camagu!*

These are conventional forms of address. They are in an antiphonal structure in which the 'messenger'/officiate phrases are repeated and varied, while the responses remain fixed. This is a common pattern for songs, and is the systematised and specialised type of procedure invocation.

Translation:

*'Let us say camagu! Let the darkness move away and the light appear
I ask for an apology for disturbing the spirit that is within this home
I have been sent to the Fathers and the Mothers
I have brought you a half of red brandy let us propitiate
It is said to the Fathers; you are requested to do that which you have been called for.'*

The following is another example of the ritual serving of traditional beer by a messenger (Mess.) to the novices, during which he and initiates interact antiphonally.

Mess: *Camagwini!*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Sithunywe kulo mzi wakwaGxarha*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Okokuqala sithunywa apha koosisi bam*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Nantsi ibhekile*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Okokuqala ndiza kucela uxolo apha*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Bukhona utywala besiXhosa qha zibhekile ezi sidinga zona*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Ndithunywe kuni ke bantwana basekhaya*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Ibhekile yesiXhosa iyeza*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Ndibeka ezibhiya zintathu ne-coke khe nihi vu! Nje okomzuzwane*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Nobe enqula azangakhathazeki*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Mess: *Ndicela nje okomzuzwane niguqe nisele sibethwa nje lixsha*

Initiates: *Camagu!*

Translation:

'Be propitiated!

We have been sent to this house of the Gxarha clan

First we are sent here to my sisters

Here is a billycan of beer

First I am going to apologise here

There is a Xhosa beer it is just that we are in short of the billycans

A Xhosa traditional beer is coming

I am putting down these three beers and a bottle of coke

So that you can just sit for a minute

And the one who has been supplicating must not be troubled

I just request for a minute people to kneel and drink

We are just running out of time'

Once the libation has been made, the beer is distributed. The singing continues while the beer is consumed, but there is no dancing, which is resumed only after all the billycans of beer have been served to all the people present.

To go back to the séance of Nontobeko: After the consuming of traditional beer, diviners from the bedroom came out singing a song *Masiy'* Embo (let us go to Embo) (referred to earlier = CD1 track no.11). It was followed by a number of exhortations, interrupted from time to time by singing. Of the many exhortations made by individual diviners to Nontobeko, I have selected two, one made by MaDlamini, since she was hosting the ritual work, and the other made by MamMiya, who assisted with the grinding of *ubulawu* of Nontobeko's clan. MaDlamini's exhortation went as follows (see Appendix 9; vol.2 p.27 for original Xhosa version):

MaDI: Let the darkness move away and the light appear! This girl of Gxarha is tall and walks with heavy steps. People let the darkness move away and the light appear! I am not worried about her. A person should be told what she is. Nontobeko divines (for people) at my home, she 'growls' until I stop to divine for people.

MaDlamini compliments Nontobeko. She is being compared to a dog, the Xhosa usually say: 'dogs are diviners'. When one has been brought some food by somebody of whom the receiver is suspicious, the food will first be given to a dog, and if it just sniffs it and leaves it, it means that the food is *idliso* ('poison or bewitching matter causing sickness'). A dog can sniff a person who is possessing some evil substance. Again the Xhosa people say a dog is an ancestor, when one has dreamt of a dog it is said one has been visited by the ancestors and, such a dream is not supposed to be confessed.

MaDlamini goes on to say about Nontobeko and other novices:

There is only one sickness that they have (i.e. novices) and that is liquor. Hey people! this alcohol, I don't know what can I do, I see that it is because of ancestors. Hear one says (justifying her drinking habits): No mama I am just doing for fun. To find out it is the one's ancestor that is greedy, and used to favour alcohol. There is nothing that I can do when one's ancestor favoured liquor and mine did not. Let the darkness move away and the light appear!

Aud: Be appeased!

MaDI: I am praying for the anger Nontobeko, that it should go down and settle on your toes. People it is bad to be a diviner that swells with anger. Let us propitiate!

Aud: Be appeased!

When one is fuming with anger, the diviners say: one has froth in one's head that can cause danger and therefore needs to be reduced. MaDlamini is praying for Nontobeko to be cool and calm.

MaDI: A diviner is not supposed to swell with anger, a diviner is not supposed to go to bed filled with anger and resentment so that when her 'multitudes' come, they should be able to talk to her. Let the darkness move away and the light appear. This thing called a diviner is a diviner by virtue of *ithongo*, it is a diviner by virtue of *umbilini*.

Aud: Be appeased!

MaDI: That is why I normally say MamYirha (the clan name of her colleague who was present at *intlombe*) when someone says: "I am suffering from *umbilini*," let us propitiate!

Aud: Be propitiated!

MaDI: I then say to her it is all right! That is then a diviner. A diviner is supposed to experience *umbilini*, you will never become a diviner without having *umbilini*. I wonder when you are a stupid person and call yourself a diviner with no *umbilini*, how are you going to hear the news of the 'multitudes' (ancestral messages). Nontobeko I want you to 'growl' 'young man of my father', and hear them while they are still coming and tell me, saying: Mama there are people coming. I am praying for you to be like a small dog 'young man of my father'. I am praying, I say, 'let the darkness move away and the light appear'. I am praying for you so that child of my mother you should not abandon this 'business' please you must not turn back sister. There is a lot of suffering at your home. It is so sad being 'called' to become a diviner and then get buried with a spear (still being a novice).

Aud: Be appeased!

MaDI: I am praying people, these (alcohol in particular) are the destructive effects that destroy the household. I say let the darkness move away and the light appear.

Aud: Be appeased!

MaDIlamini's exhortation was followed by the singing of the song below whose owner contributed to admonishing Nontobeko:

L: <i>Bawo! Bawo!</i>	Father! Father!
F: <i>Ndikwenzele ntoni mntan' am</i>	What can I do for you my child
L: <i>Akasathethi kamnand' umntan' am</i>	My child speaks so pleasantly
<i>uthi Bawo!</i>	she says Father!
<i>Ndikwenzele ntoni mntan' am</i>	What can I do for you my child
F: <i>Akasathethi kamnand' umntan' am</i>	My child speaks so sweetly
<i>uthi Bawo!</i>	she says Father
<i>Ndikwenzele ntoni mntan' am.</i>	What can I do for you my child

MamMiya: *Enkosi! ndincede yiyeke! Ndiya yithanda le ngoma gqithi. Ndayithonga emini, ilanga lali gqats' ubhobhoyi, umoya womile. Indlela endandilambe ngaye isisu sasithe nca emqolo. Ndiya camagusha bantu, ndithi makuded' ubumnyama kuvel' ukukhanya.*

Audience: *Camagu!*

MamMiya: Nontobeko, *izolo ndiye ndacela uxolo emagqirheni. Nceda ke ungakhathazeki kuba andinakuwuvula umlomo wam namhlanje. Phezolo ndithethe gqithi sana lwam, ndiphila ubomi bokusoloko ndithetha kuba ndingumZiyoni sthandwa.* For *ba ndibe* right *nokuba ndiye ndahletywa ...*

Aud: *Camagu!*

MamMiya: *Camagwini bantu! Ndifuna ukuyiyeka le ngoma kuba ivuselela amanxeba kuba mna ndiyi-haas kwaye eyona futhi. Hey! andiqhayisi ngabo, camagwini! bantu andiqhayisi ngobu-haas bam kodwa ndiya zazi ukuba ndiyiyo. Andiqhayisi ngabo le ngoma indithunuka emathunjeni, indibuza imvelaphi. Ndiyacamagusha Nontobeko mnta ka mama, andizokuthetha kwakho nto kuwe. Into yile bendimyalile phezolo ndaneliseka. Kodwa ke, ingoma le yona ithi mna, kufuneka ndizihlabele camagwini bantu! ukwenzela ndiwushiye umzi wakwaGxarha ndonelisekile. Camagwini Bantu! Camagwini bahlali!*

Translation:

MamMiya: I thank you! please leave it! (stop singing the song) I love this song very much. I dreamt of it during the day, the sun was very hot and the wind was dry. The way I was so hungry that day my stomach was as flat as a pancake. I am propitiating people, I say let the darkness move away and the light appear!

Aud: Be propitiated!

MamMiya: Nontobeko, yesterday I asked for an apology from the diviners. Please, you must not be troubled I cannot today open up my mouth. Last night I talked excessively my baby, I live the life of being talkative because I am a Zionist darling. For me to come right, even if I have been slandered...(the speech was interrupted by the singing of the same song *Bawo!*).

Aud: Be appeased!

MamMiya: Be propitiated people! I want to stop (singing) this song because it arouses suffering because I am a *haas* (orphan) and, too much of it. Hey! I am not bragging about it, be propitiated! People I say (to you) I do not brag about my being a *haas* but I know that I am one. I do not brag about it, this song hurts me in my entrails and it asks me about my origins (it induces emotions and reveals my being). I propitiate Nontobeko child of my mother, I will not talk again to you (this is enough I will not exhort you further). The thing is, I did admonish her last night up to my satisfaction. However, the song belongs to me, I must do it myself be propitiated people! So that I leave the home of Gxarha being satisfied. Be propitiated people! Be propitiated citizens!

Aud: Be appeased!

The meaning of the song:

On my asking MamMiya what the song meant, this is what she had to say:

“Hey! mntan’ am into endingakuxelela yona yile, le ngoma iyathetha kum.

Xa yayivela kum emathogweni ndandikhala ndicela uThixo andinike icebo loku phila, hey! kuba kunzima ebugqirheni. Uyabona mntan' am ndikholwa kukuzihlabelela le ngoma. Xa ndiyombela amathumbu am avel' ashukume, 'sukapho kubekho le nto ihambayo iyokuthi phaxa ebuchotsheni. Ndivele ndibone ukuba tyhini! andithwasi nje, ndiyamba kwaye ndiyagxanya. Ndiyagula mntan' am, le ngulo ayinasiphelo. Ayithethi into yokuba xa uxhelwe inkomo ugqibile ngobugqirha."

(‘Hey my child! What I can tell you is, this song talks to me (carries a special value). When it came in my dreams I was crying asking God to give me a plan to survive, hey! because it is hard in practice of diviners. You see my child, I prefer to lead this song myself. When I sing it my intestines begin to ‘shake’, something else would then move up and settle on my brains. And I would then realise that Good gracious! I do not just *thwasa* I am moving and I am striding. I am ‘sick’ my child, this ‘sickness’ has no end. It does not mean when a beast has been slaughtered for you, you are done.’)

There is more than just being a ‘white person’; this song does wonderful things to her that she cannot explain because she becomes under the control of her ancestors. At *intlombe* a song is something that has to be ‘kindled’ (*iyabaselwa*) like so as to make *intlombe* ‘hot’ (*shushu*). *Intlombe* is not supposed to be cold, in order for *umbilini* to subside it needs a ‘hot’ singing (an intense singing i.e. with a loud voice great volume and conviction). After the ritual speech of MamMiya the song ‘*Ngulo ngulo*’ (‘Sickness sickness’) was sung by the novices. The recorded song produced a hissing sound because I used a low quality recording material at this séance. Since the song ‘*Ngulo ngulo*’ is sung in all kinds of séances, I have decided to include the following example which was performed at another séance but the basic text remains the same. See video for example (P) of the song (on how it sounds):

L: <i>Ngulo! ngulo!</i>	Sickness! sickness!
F: <i>Yiyo ke le ngulo!</i>	It is this sickness
L: <i>Ngulo! ngulo!</i>	Sickness! sickness!
F: <i>Yiyo ke le ngulo!</i>	It is this sickness
<i>sayiphiwa</i>	which we were given
<i>ngabalele</i>	by those who are ‘sleeping’
L: <i>Ngubo! ngubo!</i>	Blanket! Blanket!
F: <i>Yiyo ke le ngubo!</i>	It is the blanket
L: <i>Ngubo! ngubo!</i>	Blanket! blanket!
F: <i>Yiyo ke le ngubo!</i>	It is the blanket
<i>sayinikwa</i>	which was bestowed on us
<i>ngabalele</i>	by those who are ‘sleeping’

The meaning and the significance of the song:

Note well, the meaning below is general. It would mean something different to individuals.

Ingulo ('sickness') is a reference to the ancestral calling. The way to accept the 'calling' 'goes via' **ingulo** and **ingubo** (invisible blanket/robe) which, in this context means **ubulawu**. **Ingulo** and **ingubo** were in existence for a long period of time; ('those who are sleeping') refers to the ancestral bones that have been buried in the byres. **Ubulawu** is something that **umguli** is made to ingest and, is also 'covered' with (daubed with it), by her diviner. This **ingubo** is a good fortune (**ithamsanqa**) from both the ancestors of **umguli** and her trainer diviner. It is believed that since it is a commitment that will make communication possible for **umguli**, it will therefore never 'slip or fall off the body' unless she casts it off herself (meaning that if she decides to abandon her ancestral calling, and that of course will be a sign of misconduct). It is then that the ancestors will make the initiate vulnerable to all kinds of misfortunes.

This song is to be sung with great power (as it has been done in the example in the video clip (P)). Its performance on this occasion (of Nontobeko) was lustreless. I began to think of what MamMiya said when novices are drunk; **intlombe** becomes disorderly. Majola (a diviner) became furious at the way this song was sung, and he unceremoniously stopped the singers and said:

Majola: *Yiyekeni! yiyekeni!, yima! yima! yimani, ndilendeni. Yazi intlombe, ngas'ke ifane nala ntlombe yasekhaya. Andiyazi le nto niyenzayo apha nokuba yintoni na, ngas'ke ndisuke ndichame nje.*

1st zwi: *Chama mntan' am*

Majola: *Ngas'ke nombele intlombe izokufana nenye intlombe*

2nd zwi: *Unyanisile, nangoku kuba ayiyo le*

Majola: *Nombele nizokwazi nani ukunqula*

2nd zwi: *Siphile*

Majola: *Soze unqule unje*

2nd zwi: *Akucingi tu*

3rd zwi: *Hay' khanenze bethuna, khanenze*

4th zwi: *Kothi (kuya kuthi) 'kuze kulunge uchame*

3rd zwi: *Hay' khanenze. Yombela mombeli*

Translation:

Majola: Leave it off! leave it off! stop! stop! stop wait for me. You know a séance, I wish it could be like a séance of my home. I do not know what this thing is that you are doing here, I wish I could just urinate.

(Some of *intlombe* people laughed at the statement uttered by Majola, but there were also comments from the people who supported his sentiments):

1st Voice: Urinate my child

Majola: I wish you could sing so that this séance could be like any other séance (that is vibrant)

2nd Voice: You are right, exactly, because this is not the one

Majola: And (you must) sing so that you should be able to supplicate

2nd Voice: And (so that) we can be healed

Majola: You will never be able to implore when you are like this

2nd Voice: Not at all!

3rd Voice: Please just do it people, please do it

4th Voice: It will only come right once you urinate.

3rd Voice: Oh no! Just do it. Sing, you song leader.

The song that was then intoned was '*akulalw' emayezeni*' (people are not allowed to sleep in medicine practice). The actual meaning is that 'white people' leave their homes to come to a séance so that they can heal themselves and their *imibilini* (gain control of it). When novices go to séances it is just like they are doing an internship. Their training at times should be a public performance. If they come to drink beer and get drunk they will learn nothing, because while participating in a séance, they are supposed to reflect on their experiences at that time, and compare these with other experiences of their training period.

6.3.6 Intlombe yokuphila:

This séance marks the final stage of the training of a novice. The event is often spoken of in terms of *intlombe yomphumo* ('a séance of 'coming out' that refers to a graduation') or *umguli uyagoduswa* (lit. 'the sick' one is taken back home', meaning that the initiate has reached the stage where she will graduate and be acknowledged as a diviner. This does not mean that she will work independently. The diviner who trained her will continue to act in the capacity of guardian, and participate in her rituals, and even officiate at them as chief diviner. This kind of séance is regarded as the most important *intlombe*, being big in every respect.

Its enactment is an acknowledgement of the initiate's fortitude and conviction that she has shown while experiencing many problems to which trainee diviners are prone. When diviners deliver exhortations to a novice at her initial stages of training they say: *indlela eya ebugqirheni inzima* ('the road to divinership is hard'). This is an indirect reference to the difficulties initiates encounter in training and why many trainee diviners abandon training and relinquish the 'calling', chief reasons being problems which arise in the guardian-diviner-and-trainee relationship. *Intlombe yokuphila* is the culmination of a number of prescriptive rituals, which are observed during the seven days before it is held. The preliminary event involves the ritual sacrifice of a goat, called *ibhokhwe yokwandlelela*. In the five days that follows, Nomqhelana (novice term) is taken to the various sacred places where she has to *fukama* ('brood' i.e. commune) with her ancestors. In the early hour of the seventh day her 'beast of recovery' (*inkomo yokuphila*) is released from the cattle byre and made to chase Nomqhelana, after which it is caught and slaughtered before sunset.

On 30/04/99 and on 03/11/1999 I attended *intlombe yokuphila* that was to celebrate *ukuphuma* (the 'coming out' i.e. graduation) of a novice. This took place in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape Province and in Whittle-sea, upper Zangqokhwe village, Eastern Cape Province. MaDlamini and MamNcotshe were the convenors at these events, respectively. *Intlombe yomphumo* in Khayelitsha was enacted for an initiate by the name of Alfred. It was one of the biggest séances I ever attended. The ritual work of *ukunyusa ibhekile* (the churning up of *ubulawu*) started on a Friday evening (see video clip (Q)). MaDlamini's initiates, Alfred's family and few close friends, attended the séance. The diviner who was churning up the billycan of *ubulawu* was Ntombebandla (lit. the girl of the cohort meaning, 'the girl whose 'duty' it is to serve the ancestors'); she is better known as Monica (see case study six p.228). It also became her responsibility to smear parts of Alfred's body with the foam of *ubulawu*. On Friday evening speeches and supplications (which were highly interspersed with powerful singing) were made by at least ten people, including myself. But I will only select that of MaDlamini's husband who belongs to the Gebe clan. (Cf. Appendix 10; vol.2 p.28 for original Xhosa version, also see video clip (R)).

Mgebe's advice to Alfred went thus:

"Alfred in your ritual life style you will select which right places to go to. I will sit back and watch carefully. When a person reaches an adult stage in life, he chooses what he wants or is suitable for himself.

As a diviner you must always have secrets, there will be certain things that your ancestral spirits would not want you to divulge. Should it happen that something disagrees with your ritual life-style please do not force your way. You must not have a strong desire for what does not belong to you. You must wait until your ancestral spirits give you what you ought to have. Should one runs to you for help Alfred, one must get refuge in you, you must give one protection. You must not show enmity towards someone. A person should see a face full of love. It has been long that these billycans of *ubulawu* have been churned up upon you. Now the turn is yours to churn them up for other 'sick' people and, Alfred you must do your ritual works.

Now today your trainer diviner has come to release you, so that you can be on your own and perform other people's rituals, without you having ritual debts. Should you perform rituals knowing very well that you are still having 'debts', all what you will do under your ancestral spirits' names will be invalid. *Ndiyacamagusha* take over Mama (referring to MaDlamini). There is something that I am forgetting to say Mama (interrupting MaDlamini). Alfred you must never be an intolerant diviner in your life, should your initiates come and report their *amathongo* to you, never say: That is all nonsense, we cannot all be diviners here in Cape Town. You see all these initiates behind you; do you think that where I live is a playhouse? They are so good in divining for people. People go back having been satisfied with the way they have been divined for by them. You must never play with your gift Alfred. You must know that this is a very special gift that your ancestral spirits have given you. You must know that your prayers have reached them."

In his exhortation Mgebe, who had seen Alfred struggling to complete his training, strongly advised him to be a responsible diviner. He stressed the point that he must not deviate from what he has learnt during his training (concerning ritual customs); and that he (Alfred) must never enact ritual works for his students while carrying a ritual debt himself. Mgebe made a humble request to Alfred that he should be friendly and helpful to people and also to listen to *amathongo* of his novices. (Diviners seem to have a problem with the initiates who get copious ancestral dreams. MamNcotshe for example when she was reporting to her colleagues on how the initiate came to her (see. p.142) she mentioned that initiates nowadays *thonga* three or four, times (daily) whereas in past years they would *thonga* once. My aunt's 'novice-diviner' (cf. Appendix 4; vol.2 p.12) became sarcastic towards her when she went to confess to her, her ancestral dreams. She told my aunt that she dreamt too much (meaning that according to her my aunt was making up the dreams. This is what Mgebe is exhorting Alfred about).

Alfred was told to be grateful for what he had been given, by his ancestors, meaning that he should not begrudge other diviners about their numerous clients.

MaDlamini's response:

“Enkosi kakhulu Baw’ uMgebe ngokuyala okuhle kangaka okwenze kweli khaya laba Thembu, uThixo ze akusikelele. Ndiyathemba ukuba uAlfred umamele kakuhle. Xa ungumntu, ilizwi elithe latshiwo lilunge kanye ukuba ulifake engxoweni ulisebenzise ngeentsuku ezi nzima. Xa ungena uze uphumelele phantsi kobugqirha, wenza umsebenzi wooNontlalo-ntle, wobuFundisi, wobuGqwetha, wobuGqirha nowobuTishala. Ukuba liggirha kuthetha ukuba yinto yonke enokuba luncedo ekuhlaleni. Ithethe into yokuba ungazenzi ingonyama xa umntu umenzela imvumisa Alfred. Ebugqirheni kufuneka uthobeke, xa ulugqirha kufuneka wazi ukuba uya kubafela abantu abafuna uncedo kuwe.”

(‘Thank you very much Baw’uMgebe for the good exhortation you have made in this house of Thembu, may God bless you. I hope that Alfred has listened carefully. When you are a human being, a word that is said is good enough for one to put in one’s pocket and use it on difficult days. When you enter and qualify under this practice, you do the work of Social Workers, the Priests, the Lawyers, the Medical Practitioners and the Teachers. Being a diviner means to be everything that can be of help to the society. This means therefore that you must not play a game Alfred, of being a lion when people come for consultation. In divination practice you must be humble, when you are a diviner you should know that you would die for people who need help’).

After the two ritual speeches made by Mgebe and his wife MaDlamini, a few other ritual speeches were made. I am going to select two of these for commentary, one of which was made by myself (the researcher). I did not give it voluntarily; MaDlamini surprised me with a request to do so, because I never thought to do such a thing at a séance. This is what she said to me: *“Dad’ ethu ubungena lizwi obufuna ukulithetha, khawuthethe nomdade”* (‘My sister did you not have a word that you wanted to say (to Alfred), speak sister!’). Just as I began to open up my mouth to respond, Mgebe said: *“Kumiswa ngenduku mfondini entungo”* (‘A ritual stick is held ‘young man’ at *entungo*’) when one makes a ritual speech. MaDlamini gave me her spear to hold.

I did not like the idea of holding the spear of a diviner, she noticed my reluctance to accept it and said: “ *Ujongeka usoyika ingathi ingakosulela*” (‘You look scared as if it (the ritual stick)) could be contagious (she meant that I had the fear of being immediately called to *intwaso*). I responded: “*Ewe ndoyika kanye loo nto*” (‘Yes, I am actually afraid of that).

Carrying a diviner’s spear did not make me feel happy at all, but I did not have a choice, I had to obey because it is the diviners’ customary law. I asked myself: “Who am I to hold a diviner’s spear that cannot be held even by a novice (at *entungo*) who has not undergone *imvuma kufa*?” This act made me recollect what had happened at one of *iintlombe yemvuma kufa* hosted by MamNcotshe (cf. p.140) when some novices made fun of one young man who was not yet initiated into divination training, but was still a patient. They made him carry *imvubu* and this was not appreciated by the diviners present it could make the initiate insane. I vividly recalled this occasion (especially the potential insanity it presented) as I accepted the spear from MaDlamini. However, I told myself that I would have to wait and see whether there would be any consequences. When I held the spear, I could feel that I was not just grasping an ordinary wood object. It possessed an energy of sorts that was almost palpable, and difficult for me to describe. I experienced similar sensations when I attended my first *intlombe* back in 1997 and interestingly enough, MaDlamini was the host diviner. It was a nocturnal *intlombe*, and my arrival coincided with the dance of the novices. When I entered the house and saw so many novices dressed in white, I asked myself: “Now, what is going to happen to me?” I felt a strong power within me, such as I had never before experienced. It was as if the ancestors were about to say to me: Now, welcome to the ‘world’ of ‘white people’ so, join us on our spirit journey.

The following is what I had to say to Alfred (see video clip (S)):

Myself: *Nam ndithi ndikunqwenelela impilo entle*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Ndikunqwenelela impumelelo*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Amathongo akho ahlale ecacile ngalo lonke ixesha, kuded’ ebumnyama kuvel’ ukukhanya*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Bathi nabantu xa besiza kuwe baze besazi ukuba baza egqirheni*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Ubaxelele iindaba zabo, baphume bengathandabuzi*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Naxa befika bebuza unobangela yintoni, ungakrwel' intloko*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Ndithandazela into yokuba izicwangciso zakho zibe yimpumelelo*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Translation:

'And me too, I say, I wish you a good health.

I wish you success.

And your ancestral dreams should always be vivid at all times, and the darkness should move away and the light appear.

And also when people come to you, should know that they have come to a diviner (people should know that they have come to consult an authentic diviner).

And you must be able to tell them their news so that they go out (home) without feeling doubtful.

Also, when they arrive (getting in the consulting room) and ask the cause (of the sickness/misfortune), you must not scratch your head (be certain of what you are divining for, for your clients).

I pray so that your plans should be successful.'

After a few bouts of ritual dancing MaDlamini surprised me again, by giving me her spear and pulling me into the dance circle. I said to myself: This is another day, and I prayed that it should not be the beginning of my *ukuthwasa* as the diviners have always been saying that I was experiencing it. So as I was dancing I was thinking, if it can happen that I get 'sick' what will I do? I told myself to stay focused and to gauge whether any effects of singing would be the same if I were part of the audience, and not the central figure. My turn came to supplicate and to deliver a ritual oration. I requested everyone to sing *uNonkala* ('the crab') as my supplication song. Each time my anxiety threatened to overwhelm me, I told myself to stay calm, and to focus on what I was doing. However, slowly I got immersed and also participated in the singing and clapping. At first, being within the circle of novices did not make me feel different, but later I experienced some mood changes when I participated wholeheartedly in singing *uNonkala*, and delivered my ritual oration, to which the people responded with customary *camagu!*

Myself: *Ndifun' ukubulela kuqala kwizinyanya zam*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Ukuba xa ndiza ezintlobeni zikwazi ukundidibanisa kunye nani*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Xa ndizokufuna ulwazi nikwazi ukundivumela nindamneke ngeentliziyo zenu ezimhlophe*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Izizo ke phofu ezaziyo kutheni kunjalo*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Ndibulela ngentliziyo engazenzisiyo*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Kwaye ndicela ukuba xa ndimhlophe ndiveliselwe umntu andiyichasi into yentwaso. Ukuba iyeza mayize ngendlela eqondakeleyo ndiboniswe umntu osenyanini omakandiphathe*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Myself: *Kwakhona ndilapha (entungo) ndiyangxengxeza kwizinyanya zam, ukuba hlawumbi ziye azathanda ukuba kwenzekela oku (ndixhentse entungo kunye namathwasa*

Audience: *Camagu!*

Translation:

‘I want to give thanks first to my ancestral spirits

In that when I come the séances they are able and willing to get me together with you (diviners)

When I come to seek knowledge (from diviners) you are able to allow me

(show eagerness in assisting) and welcome with your ‘white’ hearts (clean hearts)

Being them, actually who know why is it like that

I thank you with all my sincere heart

And ask (my ancestral spirits) that, in case I am ‘white’ I should be shown a ‘person’ I am not against the thing of *intwaso*

Once more as I am here (as I am standing at *entungo*) I beg pardon of my ancestors in case they disapprove of what has happened (for me to do the ritual dance with the novice diviners).’

After my ritual speech MaDlamini’s response to my exhortation went as follows:

“Ndiyabulela dad’ ethu ngomso nguwe masitheni camagu! Nje ngokuba uthe chu, ndiqinisekile ikhona into oyivunayo. Ungathi hayi ndiyafunda ngolu hlobo kodwa uThixo uzode akumise kule ndawo. Ndibulela amazwi othe wawawisa kulo mzi, zekuded’ ubumnyama kuvel’ ukukhanya nakuwe mfo ka bawo. Nangomso uzuthi wakulala inene uThixo nesihlwele sakho...uyeke ukuzibethela ibhekile khawuze ngaphambili. Uthi bethuna kha nindibethele ibhekile uyeke ukuyibetha ngokwakho maan, camagu! makuded’ ubumnyama kuvel’ ukukhanya.”

(‘I thank you very much my sister, tomorrow it is you (who will enter the divination training) let us say *camagu!* As you are steadily progressing with your research, I am certain that there is something that you are reaping out of it. And you must not say: No, I am studying in this way, but God shall in the end appoint you to this place.

I thank the words that you have made to 'fall' on this house, and the darkness must move away and the light appear even to you 'young man of my father'. Even tomorrow as you are going to sleep, truly, God and your 'multitudes'...and, stop beating up the billycan yourself just come forward. And (you must) say: people just beat up the billycan for me, and stop beating up for yourself man! Be appeased! Let the darkness move away and the light appear!').

The implication of MaDlamini's response is that I must not use my research as an excuse. I must admit that I do experience *ukuthwasa*. God and my ancestors will reveal it to me one day. The following evening of the séance my field assistant and I went back for another session. There was a large number of people present -diviners, novices and ordinary people- who had come to celebrate with Alfred. The event was marked by immense *ihlombe* that was experienced by the novices in particular (see video clip (T)).

The séance held at Upper Zangqokhwe Village: (see plates pp.297-298)

This séance was hosted by MamNcotshe who me informed in advance that she was going to make a trip with her trainer diviners to the Eastern Cape Province to 'release' her novice. She urged me to attend, since the ritual was going to be done in the proper, rural way. My field assistant/photographer Simon Lewis and I arrived at the village on a Saturday afternoon, when the novice was scheduled to eat her *umkhono* and receive her diviners' regalia. Before she was taken to the cattle-byre, the family head addressed the ancestral spirits and asked for guidance, since their living descendants were about to enter the byre and present their 'child' (initiate) with *itshoba*. Having first applied *ingxwala* ('white ochre') to her face, body and limbs, the novice covered herself with *ingcawa* ('a white Xhosa ritual blanket') as do initiated young men (*abakhwetha*) after undergoing the rite of circumcision. She was then conducted to the byre by the family head, diviners, relatives and friends present. She entered the byre and sat *emhlonyameni* whereupon her diviner helped her to don her divination clothes, and gave her *itshoba*. As has been mentioned earlier (p.159), each ritual item given to a neophyte has its own special significance, for which the head of the family and the diviner have to speak the appropriate ritual words as they hand each item to the initiate, and assist with the robing. The gall bladder (*inyongo*) of the sacrificial beast was attached to her wrist. This, and *itshoba* was given, were visible evidence that they came from the beast that had been ritually slaughtered for her (novice), and not from the abattoir (as the diviners always say).

After the ritual robing, the family members and *intlombe* people also gave gifts and money to the graduand and her diviner. Thereafter everyone went back to the courtyard (*enkundleni*), to perform the ritual dance. Since MamNcotshe was accompanied by her novices to this Eastern Cape village, the collection of songs used on this occasion were those usually sung at *iintlombe* in the Western Cape. When this was over the new diviner was instructed to re-enter the byre and to eat *umkhono* of her sacrificed cow. While she did so, the diviners (including her trainer diviner) went into the house to eat their portion of the meat. Since this séance was mainly supported by a group of novices from Cape Town, the same songs were sung and in the same style. It was as though I was still in Cape Town the setting did not change the performance style.

6.3.7 *Intlombe yokuhlamba iintsimbi:*

According to the information I got from my informants in *intlombe yokuhlamba iintsimbi* (lit. 'a séance of washing of the beads, meaning bead cleansing') it is not only the beads that are cleansed, but also the entire ritual regalia, including that of the diviner, for whom the séance is being held. The beads are particularly significant on such an occasion, because they are a symbol of the graduand's achievements and new status. The beads play a crucial role in the lives of diviners, who call themselves *abantu besizwe sentsimbi emhlophe* ('the people of the white bead nation'). The bead cleansing ceremony is enacted when one is in a state of *isimnyama* ('ritual impurity'). One has ritual impurity when one has lost a family member. The ritual impurity can be removed only by an obligatory cleansing ritual for the polluted person. When a 'white person' has *isimnyama* she is not allowed to wear her divination regalia when she is attending séances or giving medicinal plants to her patients. However, she is allowed to divine for people. On the day she decides to perform this kind of a séance, she requests her former diviner to officiate at her ceremony. Should the diviner fail to do so or reasons known only to her, or if her trainer diviner has died, any Xhosa-speaking diviner that she trusts is hired. This depends entirely upon her choice of diviner selected to perform the ritual, and ultimately upon the will of her ancestral spirits, who will guide her in selecting the officiate (diviner).

On the 21st of March 1999 I attended a séance of the ‘washing’ of the beads of a diviner called Sabela, who had lost his grandmother. The chief officiate was Mamncotshe; who was hired to do the work in place of the deceased trainer diviner Sabela. The séance commenced on a Friday (19th March) but my field assistant Chris Lewis and I arrived a day later (Saturday evening), following MamNcotshe’s advice to do so. She told us that the bead washing ritual to be performed early the following morning required only the presence of her novices and the family’s clan members, and we should be given a full account of it when we came to her home for an interview, and we duly did so. MamNcotshe permitted us to return the following day to video-record the songs of the séance. When we arrived at the venue the initiates were singing but they looked drained, exhausted, and their singing lacked drive and energy. Having sung a couple of ritual songs in this mode, the novices were joined by a specialist diviner, who started a ‘church song’, which greatly revived the novices. The text of the song is as follows: (For the highlighted proceedings of this séance see the video clips (U, O, C, V).

L: <i>Andinay’ umthuthuzeli abany’ abantu</i>	I do not have a comforter, other people
F: <i>Abanya bantu banomthuthuzeli</i>	other people have comforter
L: <i>Ew’ uThix’ ukhon</i>	Yes! God is there
F: <i>UThix’ ukhon’ uya ndithuthuzel’</i>	God is present He comforts me
L: <i>Abany’ abantu</i>	Other people
F: <i>Abany’ abantu banomthuthuzel’</i>	Other people have a comforter
L: <i>UYes’ ukhona</i>	Jesus is there
F: <i>UYes’ukhona uya ndithuthuzela</i>	Jesus is present He comforts me
L: <i>Abany’ abantu</i>	Other people
F: <i>Abany’abany’ abantu banomthuthuzel’</i>	Other people have the comforter

This song had a huge impact on the singers, who sang with gusto. During its rendition the family head led a procession of participants, who entered *intungo* singing a homestead song ‘*uSomagwaza*’. Once again, this was followed by the singing of, the ritual song appropriately adapted for performance in this context. At its conclusion, the séance people were told that the actual ritual work was to be opened with a church hymn *Hosana enyangweni* because the deceased was of the Christian faith, and the song text went as follows:

<i>Hosana enyangweni</i>	Hosana in the Highest
<i>ndivuma ngezwi lam</i>	I admit in my own words
<i>Kunyana kaDavide</i>	To the son of David
<i>ozayo ngenxa yam</i>	who is coming for my sake
<i>Hosana undisiza</i>	Hosana! Ye saves me
<i>ebunzimeni bam</i>	from my hardships

Uyeza akabizwa
ongumsindisi wam
Ndandikhululwe nguwe
entolongweni yam
Seliqhawuliwe nguwe
ikhamandela lam
Ela ndincamisayo
ndalahl' ubomi bam
Sew' undivuyisil
ekulileni kwam

He is coming uninvited
 one who is my Redeemer
 I was freed by Thee
 from my bondage
 It has been broken by you
 my chain
 which made me to loose
 my (Christian) identity
 You made me happy
 in bereavement

This church hymn was followed by a short prayer which was formally announced before it was delivered, because many of the participants were not Christians. Diviners are very accommodating and have a great respect for anything that involves Christianity. This is not so with most Christians who, whenever they preach, criticise diviners. A divination song '*Khanivume*' ('just agree') followed the prayer, and suddenly the solemn church atmosphere was transformed into that of a séance. It felt strange to me, because as I listened to the song, I still felt that we were in a church setting).

Below is the song text of *Khanivume*.

L: <i>Khanivume khanivume</i>	Just agree just agree
F: ' <i>cel</i> ' <i>unobangela</i>	Please give me the reason
L: <i>khanivume khanivume</i>	Just agree just agree
F: ' <i>cel</i> ' <i>unobangela</i>	Please give me the reason
L: <i>Khanivume khanivume</i>	Just agree just agree
F: <i>Yintoni le ndingayenzanga</i> <i>ngendiyenzile</i>	What it is that I did not and I should have done

The meaning and the significance of the song '*Khanivume*':

This song is sung by a 'white person' who assumes has done all the necessary rituals, but finds that the ancestors keep making demands on her to fulfil all kinds of obligations for obscure reasons. The repeated injunctions 'just agree' imply, in the present tense, what has in fact already happened, namely that the 'sufferer' (novice) has responded positively to the ancestors' requests, and is now begging to know why she is still being 'punished' by the ancestors i.e. who continue to make demands upon her.

After this song, the head of the family addressed the séance people, and explained the reason for its enactment. Each diviner was given a chance to supplicate, to give the family members some words of encouragement and to ask the spirits to bring more blessings and light to them. Sabela was also given a chance to supplicate and his song, *Nguyel' unozala* ('here/this is the parent') was sung.

The song text went as follows:

L: <i>Nguyel' unozala</i>	Here is the parent
F: <i>Ewe! nozala</i>	Yes parent!
L: <i>Nguyel' unozala</i>	Here is the parent
F: <i>Ewe nozala</i>	Yes parent!
L: <i>Nguw' ol' umbono ke mama</i>	This is the vision
F: <i>Ewe nozala</i>	Yes parent!
L: <i>Nguw' ol' umbono ke mama</i>	This is the vision
F: <i>Ewe nozala</i>	Yes parent!

This song was led by his colleague, who brought more energy and enthusiasm into its performance, during which Sabela attained a high level of *ihlombe*. I ascertained this from the way in which he executed *ukutyityimba* (cf. end note 4 ch. five p.308; see also video extract J) with flailing hands. When it was time for him to supplicate, he was unable to because he was held by the spirit (*ebanjwe ngumoya*). I suspected that the song was borrowed from the Zionist-type church song repertory; it had the characteristic drumming -which in fact originates from Xhosa divination drumming. The vocal organisation demonstrated the typical interlinking of vocal phrases so typical of Zionist singing. The use of this song was not surprising, since a number of diviners present also attended the Zionist church. When I discussed this with my Supervisor, she advised me to visit a Zionist-type church, probably thinking I should see and hear for myself. I did so, in Mbekweni, and there I heard a version of the same church song that was sung at *intlombe* now under discussion (CD2 track no. 25 of '*Umjikelo*' (cf. p.117) the song comes immediately after a short speech). In the Zionist version the word *nozala* was substituted by *nobhala* ('secretary') because of the context of performance. One diviner told me that the song has been copied from the Zionists. The Zionists made up the song about *nobhala* because he (*nobhala*) is highly respected in their church. It is then difficult to tell whether or not the spirit that held Sabela was of the Holy one or of the ancestors, since the séance was opened by the singing of church songs.

When the song concluded, the officiating diviner announced that the rest of *umxhentso* was to be performed outside the house. The family head led the procession of participants outside and into the yard, where they had more space for dancing. The ritual speeches were made and the gifts of money from the invited diviners were given to Sabela, and interspersed with the *umxhentso*, all of which lasted for about an hour. The duration was deliberately curtailed because evening was approaching and the food had to be distributed before sundown. At bead washing and bead spilling *iintlombe* it is customary for everyone attending the event to eat the meat outside the house, and this applies also to diviners. Diviners say this is done in order to drive the death/darkness away from the household. After eating the bones were collected in order to be burnt on the following day (Monday). When diviners wish to depart, on the completion of the séance and its attendant ceremonies, they officially announce their intention to the séance convenor. They then sing and dance at *entungo*, and one of them will say a few words of thanks. When MaDlamini's entourage was about to leave, they thanked MamNcotshe for having welcomed them at her séance. They greeted her with the song *Mayakayaka ndiyemka*, ('Mayakayaka I am going away'). The song is also on CD1 track 32 led by the same diviner MaDlamini at one of her séances I attended).

L: <i>Molweni</i>	Good-morning
F: <i>Mayakayaka ndiyemka</i>	Mayakayaka I am going away
L: <i>Molweni ma...</i>	Good-morning <i>ma...</i>
F: <i>Yakayaka ndiyemka nehlungulu</i>	Yakayaka I am going away with the scavenger crow

6.3.8 *Intlombe yokuchitha iintsimbi:*

This is just a general description of this type of séance, and the one that followed it, both given to me by MamNcotshe. I did not have an opportunity to attend such rituals, so I cannot discuss the relevant music. MamNcotshe said that this type *intlombe* is held up to a year after the death of a diviner. There is no fixed time, and each clan differs on this matter. It is held in order to attend to the customary distribution of the deceased diviner's divination regalia and artefacts among those members of her family who have had a 'call' to the profession. Should there be no family members who are potential diviners, a diviner will arrange to bequeath her divination possessions to a special person who has graduated and who is close to her in spirit. This is done by diviners as a public declaration of testimony to the inheritance of the ritual possessions by the rightful 'heirs'.

It is believed that they will care for the deceased, when she is in the spiritual realm. All the medicinal plants that were stored in the deceased's dispensary have to be taken and buried at the sacred places which she had been 'called' to make contact with her ancestral spirits during her divination training, and practice. The trainer/diviner of the deceased/diviner will officiate on this occasion, or if she is unavailable, another diviner will be approached and asked to act as an officiate. It is imperative that *intlombe yokuchitha intsimbi* be observed within a certain period following the death of the diviner as noted earlier, or there will be no harmonious relationship and communication between the deceased diviner and the surviving family members.

6.3.9 *Intlombe yokulanda izihlwele*

This is a séance of 'fetching' of the ancestral spirits from their sacred places. It is done when a kind of punishment has been meted out to a diviner or an initiate for having neglected her ancestral spirits. When her practice is prospering it is obligatory for a diviner to make an act of veneration from time to time. This is done by enacting *intlombe* that Baw' uGxarha my former chief informant, referred to as *isiwahla* (that is the drinking of traditional beer, and singing at a diviners place). The séance of 'fetching' of the ancestral spirits is regarded as the most important one. There are different rituals associated with the 'fetching' the ancestors, and these depend upon the particular person who is central to the ritual. If a trainee is to 'fetch' her ancestral spirits, she must do so at the sacred place in the company of her officiating diviner, her entourage and her family members. Sometimes it is *ithwasa* that is 'fetching' the spirits, in which case two goats are slaughtered. *Ithontolibhuma* (i.e. a seclusion lodge) is erected for *ithwasa* who has to sleep there for a few days before the ritual killing of two goats. One of these is slaughtered and placed in the lodge alongside the trainee's sleeping mat, and she must sleep next to it until the following morning. The meat is then cooked and eaten and the bones are burnt there on the same day. The second obligatory goat is slaughtered at the trainee's home, as an indication of welcome for the ancestral spirits.

6.4 Summary

This chapter is concerned with different categories of *iintlombe* (séances) the special procedures governing their enactment, their significance, and the special purposes such séances serve. Especially significant in the different rituals are the exhortations made by invited diviners and guests. They are concerned with the endowment and maintenance of good health and well-being, general welfare (spiritual, social and economic), special knowledge (of medicinal plants in particular), and most important regular visions from the ancestors (which are requested in séance rituals). Contact with the ancestors is vital, crucial for diviners, for without it they cannot work effectively. Communion between the 'white people' and the ancestral realm is facilitated by powerful singing and dancing, drumming and supplications. Without these, no communion is possible. For Xhosa diviners, *intlombe* is *intlombe* by virtue of songs and supplications that are used to invoke the ancestors, to communicate with them, so that they will hear the requests of the 'white people' who serve them. What has been observed in all the different kinds of séances is the importance of the songs, which must be performed with great power and conviction, along with the supplications interspersed among them. The ancestors have a great love for *iingoma*, and are affected by them, as are their living descendants who perform them, and who experience varying degrees of *ihlombe*, an almost transcendental state that is induced only by music-making, that is a shared, collective experience. Ritual songs and *ihlombe* are almost synonymous among the Xhosa, and this is manifested not only in musical performance, but also in discussions about the significance of music at séances.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CASE STUDIES:7.1 Case study one:

Mhinki is the name of a certain diviner who became one of my informants. I met her by chance in 1997 at the South African National Library and she was wearing her diviners' beads. I introduced myself to her and also asked her if it was possible for me to attend *iintlombe* with her one Saturday. I fully expected some hesitation on her part, and even a refusal, but she immediately gave her assent, and added that she would introduce me to her husband, who is also a diviner. As things turned out, I accompanied both of them to several *iintlombe* during the following months. In that time I never had an opportunity to talk to her at length, about herself, and the circumstances surrounding her 'call' to the profession. Since extended conversations were necessary, I phoned Mhinki and made an appointment to see her. The meeting was scheduled for 26/04/98, at her place of residence in Langa. I went to her home as arranged where I found her trainee diviner who was there, and who informed me that Mhinki had gone to church, and requested that I await her return. Some 30 minutes later Mhinki entered the house and was very pleased to see me. Since it is customary for a diviner to present herself formerly by declaiming her diviner's genealogy. I asked Mhinki to do this, and she responded:

NdingumGcina ('I am of the Gcina clan')
u-Nokwindla ('A noKwindla person')
u-Xhamela ('A Xhamela person')
u-Ncancashe ('A Ncancashe person')
u-Gabul' ikhula ('I am Gabul' ikhula')
u-Malamb' ayendle ('I am Malamb' ayendle')

Ndingul' uty' iigusha zabeLungu ndithi zizidul' izethafa
 ('I am the one who eats European sheep and claims that they are anthills of the wild').

ndity' iibhokhwe ndithi ngamanqamaz' engethe
 ('and eat their goats and claim that they are *amanqamaza* of the forest').

NdinguMrhul' emaGcineni kub' amaGcin' ayohluka.
 ('I am Mrhula in the Gcina clan because the Gcina clans vary).

After having done so, Mhinki proceeded to tell me about herself:

“I was born in De Aar (town in the Northern Cape) and was brought up by my grandmother, because my mother married and had to leave us. I did my primary and high school education there. In 1987 I noticed that I was ‘sick’ but being a Christian I did not pay serious attention to my condition. But one day I prayed to God and said: God I ask Thee to reveal the gift that I have. When I was in standard 10 (grade 12) in 1991 I began to be ‘troubled’ by headaches. I consulted a western medical practitioner on several occasions. It was one doctor every time. My headaches were unusual, in that they would strike only when I was about to write an examination. Because of this pattern I consulted a doctor the same Doctor (Aucamp by name) who diagnosed what he called a ‘school illness’. The following year (1992) I had to repeat standard 10, and in the following November around about the examination time- I again began to suffer severe headaches.

Another visit to the same Doctor produced the same a similar diagnosis. I had a ‘study illness’. He asked me to fill in an assessment form, and after scrutinising it, he said that the results indicated that my health was satisfactory and that he could find nothing wrong with me. He then asked me to tell him what it was I wanted, since his own, prescribed treatment did not help me. “So choose, then, the treatment you want”, he added. At another consultation the doctor told me to look at myself in a mirror, to see whether or not I was sick. He said I was wasting his time (implying that I was malingering), and that he had other clients who needed his attention. He insisted that I view myself in a mirror, and I did so, using the mirror in his consulting room. When I did so, he asked: “Do you see yourself as a sick person, or as a healthy person?” and, without waiting for me to reply, added: “Please you must not set your foot here again.” I felt anxious and frightened, and (seeing my perturbation), he hastily asked me what tablets I required. (As I listened to Mhinki’s story, I became increasingly annoyed and also ashamed, that a doctor could humiliate a patient in this way).

Mhinki continued: Anyway, I managed to pass my standard 10 although it was tough. But during the course of the year 1992, my mother tried to take me for divinatory consultation. I refused vehemently, because I did not like diviners at all although my father was in the process of becoming one. I then joined the St. Johns Church¹ under Rev. Kheswa but subsequently left it because my observance of certain traditional customs became known to them. They also told me that it was difficult for them to heal me because I should really be in a diviner’s care, (and treated by a diviner). One thing that I did not want to do was to slaughter a fowl as part of ritual healing since they do it at St. Johns. It should not be forgotten that as I was undergoing a healing process in the church, I would awaken at 5 a.m. and join a long queue for the St. John’s church’s ‘work’. I was like *umtroni* pl. *abatroni* (‘patron saints’ i.e.the name given to a church initiate).

Abatroni have to undergo certain cleansing procedures which were *ukugabha* ('purging/ vomiting'), *ukufutha* ('steaming of the body' i.e. inhalation of fumes from a decoction of herbs) and *ukucima* ('bowel evacuation via an enema').² The patron saints of St. John's church would rise very early in the morning and make tea. The whole day was really difficult for, *ndiyagabha* (I emit), *ndiyafutha* (I steam up my body and inhale), *ndiyacima* ('I evacuate'). I then changed the practice of *ukugabha*, *ukufutha* and *ukucima* and imbibed *iziwasho* (i.e. mixture of salt, pepper, vinegar, spirits, aloe, and coal/wood ash), which were blended into the water and these were used as a medication for cleansing. These remedies are also administered by Zionist patients cf. Martin West (1975: 108).

In 1993 I applied to various Tertiary Institutions with a view to furthering my studies. All the replies (to the applications) were 'regretful' (i.e. negative). In March of the same year a diviner with the clan name of Majola came to De Aar to officiate at a ritual that was to be enacted at my aunt's home. He stayed with my relatives until June. At that time I was *intombi yomanyano* ('a church member of girl's federation') so I did not like the idea of being at my aunt's home, among diviners. It was worse when I actually met diviner Majola; he kept staring at me. Some time after that, I passed by my aunt's house en route to the post office, and Majola approached me with a smile, something else I did not approve of, especially coming from a diviner. He asked: "Are you going to post the application letter?" Before I even responded he added: "You know the best way of spending that money is to buy sugar for your grandmother. No institution is going to take you until you finish the first 'business' of *ukuthwasa* because, really, you are experiencing it." I disregarded his statements and went on to post the application letter, and two weeks later I received a letter with a 'regret' response.

I went to my aunt's place to tell Majola that he had brought me a misfortune but he did not respond (to the accusation). In September, I again became ill. My mother wanted to take me to a diviner, but she was sick and tired of my negative attitude towards diviners. One day she asked me to choose between going to a diviner, or preferring to die. She then took me to a Zulu-speaking Zionist who told me the same thing about my *ukuthwasa*. In that same month, after Majola had returned to De Aar from another visit he took me to another Zionist who preached the same message and furthermore, said that I needed to be under a diviner's care. That same evening I dreamt of Majola placing some beads on my head and body. It became clear therefore that he was going to be my trainer diviner. In the morning I told him about my dream, and later on, he advised my family and I about the ritual debts that had to be 'paid' for me, before I got initiated into the divination practice. On the 7th of November 1993 *imbeleko* ritual was held for me, and, a week later, on the 14th a 'death acceptance ritual' was performed for me.

On the same day *ndabekwa enkundleni ndagqatyazwa, ndanikwa iimfele*³ because all these were revealed in my dreams. I then became *umkhwetha* ('novice') who would always keep close to her diviner. In March 1994 I was shown *itshoba* in a dream-vision. Later that year on 15 July my maternal 'death acceptance' ritual was performed for me after which I went on to the *lugxa* stage of training. Some three months later (26 October) I was celebrated at *enkundleni* as a fully-fledged diviner.

The following month I went to De Aar to attend an *intlombe* at which time diviner Majola remained in Cape Town. My mother informed me that certain people in the house were enquiring if I knew Majola. They were *oonomazakuzaku*, so I joined them in the living room and we spoke about diviner Majola. My replies (to their enquiries) confused them, because they thought I was telling them that I had an intimate relationship with him (Majola). I made it clear to them that I knew Majola as a diviner. They then said they had come to inform my family that Majola wanted them to release me so that I could be his wife. Hearing this came as a shock to me. However, on January 12 1995 I married the diviner. The whole affair was strange for me, because I had never had a love relationship with him. When he was my trainer diviner I always addressed him as Tata (as that is the custom between diviners and novices). I still call him Tata, because he is now the father of my children.

What songs mean to Mhinki:

The following is a literal translation of my conversation with Mhinki, in the Xhosa language. The original Xhosa transcript appears in Appendix 11 (vol.2 p.29).

Myself: Mhinki, as you have a trained voice and also been a church-choir member, so when you entered divination training did you not have problems in changing your singing voice to a traditional style of singing?

Mhinki: Yes! I had a trained voice and so I could not *ombela*. The song I used to like when I was an initiate was uNonkala. When I sang uNonkala I would sing in the manner of a schooled voice 'shaking it' (make a vibrato). I also had a problem when it came to dancing I would march left and right instead of *xhentsa*. My husband told me that I had to stamp hard on the ground and that was going to help my *umbilini* to rise up. *Hu!* I really differed at that time from other diviners in all respects.

Myself: What does a song mean to you?

Mhinki: A song means the restoration of my good health because you see, when I am experiencing some problems, I sing a song. At *intlombe* singing sometimes makes me cry. I even get a feeling that if I can die at that moment I would meet with God. The power that the song possesses is so amazing I cannot describe, a song is just something else that I do not know.

Myself: What is your favourite church song?

Mhinki: It is '*Yesu wena ungumhlobo*' ('Jesus you are a friend') but I have a song that says: '*Bendihleli emnyameni ndisiya ekufeni*' ('I was in darkness and leading towards death'). When I am in church and feel that there are people who are heavy on my 'shoulders' because you do find yourself in a place where the devil is in control, so there are also witches in churches, I then sing '*Mandil' iv' ufefe lwakho*' ('Let me feel Thy Grace'). Before I even go and attend a church service I can sense when the church is going to be overpowered by 'darkness'. The thing is, there are church people who possess bad spirit and always want to take charge in the service. That makes me feel angry, I sit and observe and I begin to be a diviner now in church. That disturbs me a lot. I then pray quietly and ask God to save me from being a diviner at that moment.

Myself: Which position do you hold in church?

Mhinki: I just belong to a women's federation.

Myself: What does *ihlombe* mean to you?

Mhinki: It means health to me because *ihlombe* can transport me into the spirit world where I will be in direct contact with my ancestors, who are going to reveal so many things to me concerning my health, my novices and my family.

Myself: Why *iintlombe* songs are not sung in churches?

Mhinki: It is because the diviners respect divination songs, once more it's not all Christians who understand the practice of diviners. Others disdain divination practice and see diviners as devil worshippers, so singing of *iintlombe* songs in churches might cause a commotion. However, strangely enough, when people bury a diviner who has been also a church member, the diviners are given an opportunity to sing their divination songs and a speaker from diviners is also given an opportunity to make a speech about the deceased.

Myself: Are the diviners allowed to enter the graveyard wearing their regalia?

Mhinki: The diviners do go to the graveyard, this is a way of giving the deceased a respect. One other thing, there is no way that they cannot wear their regalia for they do this to please the deceased. They do things that she did when she was alive.

Myself: A death in divination practice is associated with the darkness, even 'white people' usually say when one of them has had death in the family, she has ritual pollution. Now is the entering of a diviner in the graveyard not a ritual pollution?

Mhinki: When a 'white person' comes back from the funeral, she finds her 'dirty' medicine and a clean one (*ubulawu*) placed outside the house; she then cleanses herself with those medicinal plants before entering the house.

Myself: What makes imploring so important to you?

Mhinki: I want my ancestral spirits to pay attention and listen to my requests.

Myself: Do you sometimes invoke your ancestral spirits in church?

Mhinki: Now since I am always involved with divination stuff, I sometimes make a mistake in church when people say Amen, I say *Camagu!* And whilst praying I call upon their names. You know I do not really like to preach because I become tongue-tied. Sometimes after praying in church I invoke my ancestral spirits and asked them to look after me, and to protect and guide me. I make these requests so that they can pass them on to God.

Myself: What is your dreamt song?

Mhinki: It says: Just admit and proclaim, what it is that I have not done, which I ought to have done? This song came to my dreams. It means that my ancestral spirits should tell me or reveal to me what it is that I have not done that I was supposed to have done.

Myself: When did you dream of this song?

Mhinki: I dreamt of it just before my paternal ritual 'death acceptance' was enacted for me in 1993. When I was going to perform my maternal ritual 'death acceptance', my mother's father, who was a diviner, gave me a song that says: '*Amabandla*' ('the cohort').

It was then essential that I invoke my maternal spirits I sing *amabandla* and sing '*Khanivume*' for my paternal ancestral spirits. *Hu!* A song is so important in the lives of the diviners. The text of the song *amabandla* goes like this.

<i>Mawavel' amabandla</i>	The cohort should appear
<i>Nokuba ndifile</i>	Even if I'm dead
<i>Ndiza kuyishiya le bhekile</i>	I'm going to leave this billycan behind.
<i>kuba kunzima ukugula</i>	because it's hard to be 'sick'

This song means that I'm going to leave this billycan of 'foaming medicine' behind because it is hard to be sick. Even if I can die, I Mhinki, my son will take over my *umshologu*⁴ because *umshologu* cannot just be abandoned. Somebody else in the family has to take over.

Myself: How do your student diviners know your songs?

Mhinki: The songs that were given to me are old songs that are known, so my ancestral spirits chose to give me those songs so as to communicate with them. But it is important for me is to tell them their meaning and value so that they should know that these songs 'speak'. My novices then add new words on the songs and we call that *ukucabela* (cf. p.112), the new words might be about their experiences of the 'white sickness'.

Myself: What importance do the songs have for you?

Mhinki: The songs are so important to me. You know recently I had a problem that made me leave my house, I just saw myself going out. There is a song that says: '*Ndafel' eluhambeni*'⁵ ('I will die travelling'), it was revealed to me by my ancestral spirits. As a result when I sing this song at *intlombe*, many people know me and they comment: Oh! This person has lots of dreamt songs that she likes. They don't know that each time I sing a particular song, something is pushing me to sing it because of certain reasons. I lead my songs that I want to sing at *intlombe*, or my student diviners lead them. The other song that I like is '*Oononyanya bayeza*'⁶ ('the ancestral spirits are coming'). My stepfather's grandmother (Mamyirha, was her clan name) appeared in my vision singing *Oononyanya* whilst I was dancing at *intlombe*, so I had to stop them, and started to lead *Oononyanya*:

Myself: How is the song 'I will die travelling' sung?

(Mhinki began to sing it, with its text being):

<i>Ndafel'eluhambeni</i>	I will die travelling
<i>Lolwakho</i>	It's yours
<i>Ndakumthin' unongangela</i>	What will I do with the 'problem'
<i>Unongangela ngowakho</i>	The 'problem' is yours
<i>He! lukud'oluhambo</i>	Hey! This journey is far
<i>Oluhambo lolwakho</i>	This journey is yours

Myself: What meaning does this song have?

Mhinki: You see when you are a diviner you are always on the road, you see I was born in De Aar and now I'm in Cape Town, meaning that I'm not settled in one place. During weekends I'm not at home, I'm out attending *iintlombe*, or if I'm not there I have a special trip that is in connection with my divination practice. I travel long distances, going to the Eastern Cape to attend *iintlombe* of my husband's novices, and through my practice I happen to know many places. (This shows commitment to her work; she will do the work until she dies).

Myself: From all the songs that you have, which one do you regard as the most powerful?

Mhinki: Hey! You can be confused and be like a liar. You see when I sing *Oononyanya*, see me dancing to it, hey! It seems as if I am placed somewhere in space. When I sing the song '*Khanivume*', you see, now that is my best song, that is the song that makes me feel the presence of my ancestors. But there is my maternal grandmothers' song, she sang it when I went to De Aar to perform some ritual work for her. It was my first time to hear that it was her dreamt song, and the words go thus:

<i>Uthakatha uthembeni</i>	What hopes do you have when bewitching
<i>Umane usithi amagqirha anolwimi</i>	And, continually saying diviners are liars?
<i>Nomama yenz'ekindaba</i>	Nomama, There you are!
<i>O! Yongomama wowuyo!</i>	<i>O! Yongomama wowuyo!</i>
<i>Ho! Wuyoho! Woyongoma!</i>	<i>Ho! Wowuyo! Woyongo!</i>

It is like I see MamDlomo; this song gives me hope, that even the problems I have at times are going to be solved. Once I sing this song I get comforted. The other song I like is *Ithamsanqa*,⁷ you see that is my mother's song and she is not a *thwasa*, but just an ordinary person. She once said to me: My child I have given you a piece of good fortune, you have been embraced by a man (your stepfather) that I married.

He embraced you wholeheartedly and now I have given you *ithamsanqa* of getting the beads so that you can see what you want to do with your life. So once I sing *Ithamsanqa* I feel my mother's presence and her mother's presence, and from there I get mixed feelings and also experience *umbilini*. All this will just happen like lightning, very quickly.

Myself: At *intlombe* what happens to a person who has *umbilini*?

Mhinki: *Ingoma* is sung for him or her, diviners let him or her jump so as to shake up *umbilini*, after that it subsides and this *umbilini* comes in different ways.

Myself: Where does your *umbilini* come from?

Mhinki: My *umbilini* comes from the centre of my stomach just above my navel, it rises up and it quakes and I feel it pounding. Someone who has never experienced *umbilini* can think it's nervous anxiety. You feel like you are getting cold and hot and you fear, it is like you have been startled by something, then it rises up and it is like it comes out my mouth, I then feel *deurmekaar* ('confused').

Myself: Can *umbilini* be healed through the use of medicinal plants?

Mhinki: A 'sick' person is healed through *ukuxhentsa* and *ingoma*. There is no other medicine though *intelezi*⁸ and some other medicinal plants can heal it to a certain degree. But it is rare for a 'sick' person to be given such medicinal plants for an *umbilini*. Ritual dancing goes along with someone's health. You see, right now I have not been going to *iintlombe* for some time, so I have not been dancing for a time. This means that I am going to suffer from rheumatism. Oh! But once I am at an *intlombe* I get healed. You see it because of that 'beating' (stamping/dancing) of the foot. One other thing after a ritual dancing my mind becomes so fresh and I feel very light. After the two day session *ulala ukudinwa, ukuve xa kuthiwa umntu ulele obentlombe* (lit. 'you sleep from exhaustion, have you ever heard when it is said one sleeps that (the deep sleep) of a séance?') The actual meaning is that one sleeps like a log. At the séances there is no chance for people to sleep because the singing has to go on the entire evening, even diviners who retire and go to sleep they do so at about 6 a.m. When one has not been sleeping for two nights, singing and dancing, one obviously gets tired and sleeps like a log.

7.2 Case study two:

In 1998, my friend Bukelwa asked me to accompany her on a drive to Ashton, where she was to see her clients. I took with me my tape recorder in order to do some transcription, while she was busy with her clients. As I was sitting in the car doing my work, I heard a man singing a song that sounded as if it was one belonging to a Zionist-type church. He was walking along the road, coming towards me, and when he was still at a short distance away, I complemented him on his singing and said: “Brother, you sing so beautifully, if you are not in a hurry please, come and sing for me, are you a Zionist?” He replied: “I am a Zionist *sisi* (sister)”, and he then asked: “*Sisi* do you like Zionists’ songs? Are you a spiritual person.” I asked him to get into the car so that I could answer his questions, and talk to him about Zionists’ songs. Our conversation went as follows (cf. Appendix 12; vol.2 p.33 for Xhosa version):

Myself: Let me answer your questions, yes, I like Zionists songs, and I am a spiritual person. So tell me, what your name is?

Zionist: My name is Mongezi Matroos, I am of the Mpondomise clan. My place of birth is Sada (Whittle-Sea), in a village called Dongwe. My parents came to live in Ashton some years ago. So I work here in Ashton as a builder and a gardener.

Myself: In your church do you *cula* or *vuma*?

Zionist: In our church we sing (-*vuma*) spiritual song (*iingoma zomoya*) just like this one I have just sung. You see, when one is always on the road one is living for God. If, therefore, one is living for God, one is always in a high spirit. So I am like that, I always praise God in different ways. It is as though I see Jesus when I sing. In Zionist churches, just like in divination practice, *siyavuma asiculi* (‘we sing in a traditional style rather than a western way’). We do not have hymnals, our songs are from the Bible extracts, and some are divination songs.

Myself: Why do you sing divination songs in the Zionist church?

Zionist: It is because many of our church members are ‘white people’ who have left their divination training to come and join the Zionist church. So, therefore, these are the ones who introduce divination songs to the church people.

In some other Zionist churches there are full-time diviners, who sing their *iintlombe* songs. An example of the divination song we always sing in our church is '*Ithamsanqa*'. We do not sing those which, are very traditional that are sung in courtyards and cattle byres e.g. *Icamagu livumile*, *Somagwaza*, *Umhlahlo*.

Myself: What does the song *Ithamsanqa* mean to the Zionists?

Zionist: The song means to us that, as you have accepted Jesus, it means that He has given you a special gift (piece of good fortune) of accepting him in your heart and soul.

Myself: How did a drum come to be incorporated into the Zionist church?

Zionist: A Zionist drum is something that the Zionists copied from diviners. Our 'Zionist musical culture' started from *intlombe* to Christianity. It is clear therefore that a drum was brought into the Zionists by the people of *intwaso* who wanted to continue with their healing purpose in a Christian way. The Zionists do not use medicinal plants to cure a sick person, we use *iziwasho*.⁹

Myself: Do you have knowledge of why they abandon their divination practice?

Zionist: The reason why 'white people' leave their divination training is because, one gets a divination 'calling' while one is an affiliate member, for example, of the main church; so therefore, some avoid wearing beads, and use medicinal plants as a healing medium. These are seen as 'unclean' by some of the Zionist people. For healing purpose we pray to Jesus who is our mediator (though we sometimes do incorporate the ancestors) and use *iziwasho* for cleansing. In cases whereby 'white people' have come to join the church, our prophet (the pastor) who plays the role of a priest diviner, will pray and initiate one so that one should serve Jehovah. In this way an initiate becomes a prophet in Zionist terms. There is no slaughtering or brewing of traditional beer like in the practice of diviners when one gets initiated. I do not mean that a traditional custom is forbidden. Yes, when members of the church are supposed to do homestead traditional rituals, they are permitted to do so, it is not a sin.

Myself: What makes 'white people' who have already joined the Zionist church go back to the divination practice?

Zionist: I think in such cases some 'white people' leave, because of the reasons known to them, their ancestral spirits' side becomes so strong, that they have also to focus mainly on divination practice.

Myself: What effect do these Zionist songs have on the congregation?

Zionist: In order for one to be entered by *umoya* one has to be transported by *ingoma*, especially when one's dreamt song has been sung. A person can lead his or her own song or, anyone in the congregation with a powerful voice, can be asked to start a song. Oh! Once they sing it, being in a high spirit, I'm telling you, the Holy Ghost comes down and thereafter you feel you are healed and then you see 'things' (you get visions).

Myself: Do Zionist people use *ubulawu*?

Zionist: No, we do not. We use *iziwasho* instead. Should one feel like using *ubulawu* one does that at one's home. Zionist churches differ in practice; some do not allow their church members to perform traditional customs at all. For instance, I was once a member of another Zionist church (Jerusalem Apostolic Church of Zion) whose leaders live in Welkom and Johannesburg. On the day one joins the church as a member, one is told at the outset that it is against the church laws to perform traditional rituals. It was very strange because our pastor was a prophet who also practised as a diviner at the same time, and, he sang *uNonkala* a great deal in church.

Myself: How did the congregation react to that?

Zionist: There was nothing they could do, because he was the leader of the church. In most instances, whatever is done by a church leader must not be questioned. I decided to quit after some time, because I respect traditional rituals, they are part of my life. The other reason that made me quit was that certain things that were done by the pastor were hair-raising. For example, he would tell us not commit adultery, whereas he had several love relationships.

Myself: So did you also want to commit adultery?

Zionist: No, not that, I did not want to do that, I am a married man. What I am trying to point out is that, a leader should set a good example to his followers, he must not contradict his teachings. You will not believe it when I tell you this, you know I was once driven out of the church by him. Have you ever heard of such a thing before, a person driven out of the church? I was driven out of the church.

Myself: What sin did you commit?

Zionist: No, you see my neighbours were going to have an unveiling of a tombstone, so I was invited to attend the service.

What I did; in the morning I first went to my church and so, while the service was on I made a request to *Baw' ugosa* ('the lay priest/steward') to release me before 1 p.m. The pastor was not there, hence I asked *Baw' ugosa* to release me before the end of the church service. He agreed that I could leave earlier. Upon the arrival of the pastor I noticed *Baw' ugosa* approaching him and whispered in his ear. At that time we were in a very high spirit singing and dancing. Everything suddenly came to a halt after he stopped us abruptly and said: "Something that I will not allow or tolerate, is to be controlled or ruled by somebody else in my church. You! Mathunzi make it a point that you disappear, I want you to leave my church and get out of the door."

Myself: Tell me, in the Zionist church don't you use a song or create a song when you want to confront someone in church, like diviners do to avoid a physical confrontation?

Zionist: No, it is fine if a person is verbally confronted instead of beating about the bush, whereas one is dissatisfied. When you have done people wrong you must accept that you have been wrong. So, my pastor said: "Son of Mathunzi get out of my church, not out of God's, but out of my church. Oh! I was hurt that day, very hurt, my heart was really troubled. Anyway, I could not do anything about it and I did not show him that I was hurt. I then took off my church apparel and off I went home. I related what had happened to my family and after that, I went to attend the neighbour's unveiling of a tombstone. The way I was so hurt on that day made me think of many things; I asked myself: "Should I stop going to church, or, should I ignore him and continue to attend?"

After contemplating I came up with an answer. I said to myself: "No, a church belongs to God, I will not let a person stand in my way. On Wednesday I will be there, for that matter, he does not even attend the evening Wednesday services. In case he comes and sees me, I will ignore whatever negative things he is going to say to me." On Wednesday I was there and fortunately I was the one who officially opened the church service. I put the Word and preached and others came up to witness. After the church service I went to his house to make peace. I greeted him and asked how he was keeping. "*Ewe hayi* ('Yes, no'), (I could see that he was startled) I am well, nothing is bad", was his response. "So, how are you *mshumayeli wam* ('my preacher')", he asked. I answered: "*Hayi*, we are well, there is nothing wrong, we give thanks that we have been well looked after.

In power, God has carried us up to this point. I came to see how you are keeping." There was no response from him and no conversation, so I decided to leave. I went to church on Sunday; he conducted the service and his theme was '*nyamezela*' ('persevere'). I cannot remember where exactly it occurs in the Bible.

As he preached he then said: "A person who perseveres is just like this one, pointing a finger at me." He approached me and shook my hand and said: "*Hay' mntana ka-Mathuzi uyakwaz' ukunyamezela*" ('No, child of Mathunzi you can persevere'). I do not know why I had to talk like that to you in the first place. It was because of the bad spirit I had, you were driven away from the church. It is only now I realise that I was wrong." I responded and said: "*Tat' umfundisi* I thank you in that you have decided to make peace with me. Unfortunately, I have also made a decision, I am going away from your church and I did not want to leave without having first made peace with you. I did not want to leave just because you have driven me out of your church, I was even discontented with your church procedures. I then left and joined the one I am in now.

Myself: What is the name of the dance done by the Zionists?

Zionist: The spiritual dance is called *umdudo*¹⁰ and, it is said the dancers *duda*. When people *duda* they should sweat profusely. The intensity of *ingoma* or *umdudo* 'reports' if the spirit of the people is low. In such a case the priest or any other church member will stop the singers and ask them to sing more loudly. We want a lively song. Oh! Once the song becomes 'hot' we *duda* and even feel the presence of the Holy Ghost. We dance until the sweat moves down our coccyx (we both laughed). *Yho!* You see, it is worse in summertime and one cannot wear layers of robes. One has to put on light cloth *Yho!* That (Zionist church) is another place. I always prepare myself, the minute I leave my house I know that I am going to *ingoma* and I am going to *duda* the whole night, so I carry a bath towel for my sweat. If one does not sweat, people will know immediately that one's spirit is not there, because one's body cannot be dry while others' are sweating.

Myself: Is there a special reason why you *duda* in a circle?

Zionist: Yes there is, a circular movement unites us all, and this is the time we call upon the Holy Spirit. The Holy Ghost will never enter one without one having done a circular dance, or spinning, thereafter one can even fall and get visions.

Myself: When you spin definitely you will get dizzy and fall. So, do people fall out of dizziness or do they fall because they have been entered by the Holy Ghost?

Zionists: It is the Holy Ghost. Now let me tell you, it is really the Holy Ghost because I experienced it myself. I spin and spin for a long time and I will not fall, I say, I will not fall.

Myself: When you joined the Zionist church and spun for the first time, did you not get dizzy?

Zionist: Yes! I used to get dizzy it was just for a little while. It was not the Holy Ghost, I got dizzy from the spinning. I then said to myself: "Man, I have to get used to this way of dancing." **Hayi!** Now I can spin for the whole hour and I will not fall nor bump against someone. You know, this **duda** dance keeps us physically fit. It is an exercise, in as much it is rare to hear a Zionist complaining about sore knees or legs. It is also helpful to those who need spiritual healing or who want to revive their faith. You see, every Saturday we have **imilaliso** ('whole night services') that start from 8 p.m. until 5 a.m. For the whole night, it is just singing, spiritual dancing, preaching and praying. Just like in **intlombe** where exhortations and supplications are interspersed with the shouts of **Camagu! Chosi!** preaching and praying is interspersed with the shouts of **Hamen!** (i.e. 'Amen!') **Haleluya!** ('Hallelujah!').

Myself: What does Amen mean to you Zionists?

Zionist: To us Zionists **Hamen!** Means that one agrees with what the preacher is saying.

Myself: If you were to be converted to another denomination would you cope with the procedure?

Zionist: Sister before I joined the Zionist church I belonged to the Methodist church. Since I was born I had never 'dreamt' of Jesus, but then one day I saw Jesus in my dreams therefore, I decided to join the Zionist church

He came to me in this way:

"In 1987 I was driving from Mpondoland to Ashton. The van was loaded with ten bags of **icuba labathwa** ('the Bushmen tobacco i.e. dagga'). I was then caught in a roadblock near Queenstown at about 9 p.m. The court case was held in Queenstown and I was given eight years imprisonment with three years suspended.

After that I was transferred to East London. That time apartheid was still strongly practised, so there were no means of phoning. One had to write a letter and give it to the warder to post it, but they would just tear one's letters into pieces. That meant my family did not know of my whereabouts. I asked for a transfer to Ashton or Robertson (that is where I wanted to serve my sentence). On my third month in jail we had a hunger strike so then there was a pastor who used to come and preach to us the word of God, Rev. Madikane. Do you know him? (posing the question on me). So in the early hours of one morning I saw four mothers wearing the white Zionist cloaks and they used green cloths as their head-dress.

They then called me by my name. You know, it is not the first time I am relating this story, I have told so many people about it. They called my name out and said: "Mongezi! Is it not Jesus Christ that is behind you?" When I looked back I said, "Oh! no this is Jesus, this is Jesus whose face I have seen in pictures." I then looked at them (the mothers) and said: "Yes! It is Jesus, it is him." And so they said: "Oh! He has vanished." When I looked back he was not there."

Myself: Can you describe what Jesus's appearance was like?

Zionist: It was the usual Jesus Christ, who was a Jew and light in complexion. He was wearing white robes, he was glittering and had European features. You know, it was like I said to those mothers: "Let not your hearts be troubled, you will see him again, he is not gone." When I woke up from my sleep I said, Oh! My God I was dreaming and from there I related the dream to the warder.

Myself: Did you not think that you were probably visited by *impundulu*? (cf. end note 6 ch.four p.307 for *impundulu*)

Zionist: No, no! It is normal to dream of Europeans (*abelungu*) because we live with them, you cannot tell me that you never dreamt of *umlungu*. This old Xhosa belief system that *impundulu* manifests itself in the form of *umlungu* is a myth. Anyway, when I told the police about my dream he said: "This is a shocking dream." He asked me which denomination I belonged to, I told him that I belonged to the Methodist church. He then said: "I can only give you one advice, join the Zionist church. That is where you will find Jesus."

Myself: Does this mean there is no Jesus in the Methodist church?

Zionist: Yes! There is no Jesus in the Methodist Church, I mean the Jesus I want to serve is not found there. You see I have a problem, I am just like a child who has the signs of *intwaso*. Do you understand what I mean now?

Myself: Don't you think then it was *intwaso* that put you in jail because Xhosa-speaking diviners say it does this in some cases, should one's response be negative?

Zionist: Yes! You are just right (laughing). Before I was put in jail, I did not have the knowledge that I had *intwaso*. Well, some 'white people' used to tell me that, but I would disregard them. I only believed that I had the *intwaso* after I had accepted Jesus (In the Jerusalem Apostolic Church of Zion), when I was told by a Prophet in Cape Town, when a church group went to attend a night vigil in Langa township. So as I was in the midst of *umdudo* dancers, a woman who was wearing diviners' beads gave me a strange look. I became restless, I wondered why she was looking at me like she did. When she was about to fall (because of the spirit that her held up), people grabbed her and she then stopped us from singing. She said: "From those two men who have just entered this house (I looked at my friend) the prophets would like to prophecy for him. She further said: "*tata* in white robes (I said to myself: "My God! she is really referring to me now") I want to speak with you, if you remember well you were once a TB case for three months, and for your own information that was not a TB but *idliso*"¹¹ and on top of that you have *intwaso*. People are 'hunting' for you, but they cannot catch you up, these are your father's enemies who are doing this to you. They are the ones who killed your father. Your father's stomach was swollen, and that was done by them, they bewitched him. Now they want to get you so badly. So please, once you get a chance, you must come to my home so that we can talk."

Myself: Did you then go to see her in Cape Town?

Zionist: No, not yet, once I get a chance I will go.

Myself: Do you still have those signs?

Zionist: Yes! As you have just seen me singing, I don't care even if I do not have a follower, I sing and follow myself. Sometimes, I like being alone; this is also one of the signs of *ukuthwasa* and I always have many dreams that turn out to be true. I confess them to my prophet. If my ancestral spirits need me, I shall pray for that because I will be in the position of becoming a diviner and a prophet at the same time. That would be very confusing for me, because I like being in the Zionist church. But you know what! This man who just driven past here in a van is our pastor, he is a prophet and at the same time practices as a diviner, and, his best divination song is *uNonkala ngasemlanjeni* and he does sing it in church.

Myself: How does the congregation react when he sings *uNonkala*?

Zionist: There is nothing that the congregation can say, because he is the pastor.

Myself: Was it *umdudo* song you were singing when I called you?

Zionist: Yes, it was. Oh! I like singing, when I sing I feel the presence of Jesus. I become healed, singing makes me live a peaceful life. When I get disturbed, I just sing and the problem is gone. When I want to chase the devil out of my house and out of my body I sing and *duda*. I do not need to get a large group to do that, I can also do it all by myself. I can also sing the lead and follow myself. (Since the Zionists' songs are in a call and response form, Mathunzi is trying to give enough clarity that in order for him to sing he does not need a second person to sing the response part, he does that himself. This manner of singing *ukucula uzilandele* ('to sing and follow oneself') interrupts the flow of a song phrase because the follower's part has to enter precisely where it is supposed to. This phrase part too will have a sudden break allowing the leader's part to enter. In divination songs this style of singing progresses perfectly.

7.3 Case study three:

The following is an account of MaDlamini's experiences of *ukuthwasa*. A diviner called MaJola whom I used to accompany to different kinds of *iintlombe*, introduced me to MaDlamini. The latter also went about with me to *iintlombe*. I had this conversation with MaDlamini on the 06/06/98, after *intlombe* for her novice had taken place, at which she (MaDlamini) was the officiating diviner. She is a resident of New Cross Roads and married into the clan of *amaGebe*. Before asking MaDlamini for an account of her experiences as *ithwasa*, and her 'call' to the profession, I asked her to tell me about *intlombe* at which she officiated. (The original Xhosa transcript appears in Appendix 13; vol.1 p.40).

Myself: MaDlamini, briefly tell me about the purpose of the séance at which you officiated.

MaDI: The séance of last week was a séance of 'off-loading the baggage' (*'intlombe yokothula umthwalo'*). To 'off-load the baggage' means to inform the diviners that the novice went to her birthplace to do some ritual work connected to her 'white sickness'. My student then went to perform her maternal 'death acceptance' and a ritual work of *imfukamo* ('brooding'). *Ithonto* ('a seclusion lodge') was erected for her in the courtyard (*'enkundleni'*) (i.e. the area between the main hut and the cattle byre. This (procedure) is similar to that observed for boys' initiation, although they (boys) go to the mountains. She (a novice diviner) remained there in that seclusion lodge for four days, churning up her canister of *ubulawu*.

Myself: Why must an initiate undergo *imfukamo*?

MaDI: The reason why a person must undergo *imfukamo* is because her ancestral spirits need her closer to them so that they can whisper in her ear all other religious things that are supposed to be known to her alone. During the *imfukamo* period she is lent the spear of her maternal 'death acceptance' rite, and keeps it in the lodge. If the lodge is erected on the banks of a river, she will place it (spear) alongside her lodge. The diviner will then bring to her all the ritual objects she is supposed to use during the brooding period.

Myself: What ritual things are those?

MaDI: I cannot tell you. You are not supposed to know about them. No one else is supposed to know besides her trainer diviner.

My visiting hours were at 05h00-06h00 and 17h00 to ascertain the (initiate's) progress. In the afternoon I would bring her salt-free bread.

Myself: Why must she eat salt-free bread?

MaDI: I am not going to tell you, she must just abstain from certain things and, before you ask me how she passed water (I will tell you), I would bring her a can, which she uses as a chamber pot. Once she is finished she would exit it (the can) through the curtain door. You see, even her parents are not allowed to visit her. She is not allowed to talk to anybody except me.

Myself: MaDlamini tell me, how did you acquire the 'white sickness'?

MaDI: Oh *nantsi!* Are you posing that question to me now? Well, I also got sick when I was very young. One other thing; everyone is a diviner in my family (my father, my mother, my brothers, my sisters, my uncle and my mother's sister). But my parents died and the people who noticed the signs of my 'white sickness' were my brothers and sisters.

Myself: What signs were those?

MaDI: I did not want a man in my life, I was very cruel, and I was really very cruel. I was not happy at all when they told me that I had a 'white sickness'. I did not like it; I did not want to hear about. I told my family that since they were all 'sick', I was not going to be automatically part of their 'chain sickness'. Well, since the 'sickness' was exacerbating I did not have a choice but to respond positively to the 'calling', once and for all. I believe that my *intwaso* was really dominated by cruelty because ever since I got into divination practice, I am a coward. I quickly get *umbilini* once someone shouts at me, and I feel my *umbilini* at the lower end of the breastbone and it rises up. It is a painful experience. You, *amagqobhoka*¹² (the 'pierced' ones = 'i.e. the westernised people) say it is *intliziyo* ('a heart problem').

Myself: I am sure since you were born in a family of diviners, you must have had a large collection of divination songs even before you entered the practice; is it not so?

MaDI: I did not care about the divination practice, so I did not even have an interest in their songs. So I did not have much knowledge about their things because I did not want to get involved. As I have already told you, I did not like the practice of diviners. But after the performance of my maternal 'death acceptance' ritual, my father gave me a song which says: '*Ithongo malibuye*' ('the ancestral spirit should come back').

When my father gave me this song in my *amathongo*, he said: I am giving you this song, *ithongo malibuye*, when you invoke us at *entungo*, you must sing it. I sing this song when I churn up *ubulawu*.

Myself: Divination songs have now a special place in your life.

MaDI: Yes! Divination songs have a special place in my life. I cannot survive without them because I am a diviner, and a diviner is a diviner by virtue of *iingoma*. You know, this is a strange practice. Sometimes it happens that while I am sleeping, something will wake me up and prompt me to sing. So I will wake up and *ombela* even if it is in the middle of the night. One cannot just disregard that, because one's ancestral spirits, who are supposed to be obeyed, control one. You see, should *ithwasa* enter in my house singing, even if I am in a deep sleep I would wake up and *ombela* with her because I know what she is experiencing.

Myself: What is she experiencing?

MaDI: *Umbilini*, that is what she is experiencing. It is her ancestral spirits that have dragged her from her bed to sing and *xhentsa*, so that *umbilini* she is experiencing should subside. It is *umbilini* that has awakened her and forced her to *ombela*. You see, should one disregard *umbilini*, it then becomes worse. So therefore even if she is all by herself she will be compelled to wake up and sing and *xhentsa*, because *ithwasa* is just like *umntu ogula ngengqondo* (lit. a person who is sick in the mind i.e. a psychiatric case). *Umbilini* does not have *iyeza* ('a medicine'), the medicine for *umbilini* is *ukombela*. Sometimes people get this *umbilini*, only to find out that there are people who are coming for divinatory consultation. It is just like in the case of *intlombe*; *intlombe* will never be complete without divination songs and they play the most important role in the event, to heal *imibilini*. Our ancestral spirits like *ingoma* and dance. So we are born of such people. Can't you see that most of the people who are singers are experiencing *ukuthwasa*? The only thing is, they are confused and do not want to be associated with us. You see, B should have long been a diviner, if it were not for this music business that moves her around. I am telling you B is a 'fully-fledged' diviner, man! She just needs a week to get through her training. The only thing about her is that she spends her *inkenkqe* jiving on the 'tables' (stages). There is that young man by the name of R, you know, that is also a 'diviner'? We (diviners) are the people who know the symptoms of people who are getting a 'calling'. We know their behavioural patterns, and we are aware that the intensity of that singing is characterised by *inkenkqe/intwaso*.

Myself: Why are the initiates not allowed to *xhentsa* with the diviners?

MaDI: You mean, can I train a person and all of a sudden she comes and *xhentsa* with me? That is not allowed in our practice. Diviners, *xhentsa* with an initiate only when a ritual ceremony is enacted for her. In that case she is supposed to *xhentsa* at *entungo* with the diviners only for that particular reason. Otherwise, the initiates do not dance with their diviners at *entungo* at the same time. The initiates still experience a very strong *umbilini* at their level and as a result, they become wild, so they can even snap our beads. This does not mean we (diviners) do not experience *umbilini*. We do, but the degree to which it affects us differs. We know how to deal with it. It is our duty also as diviners to observe the progress and the degree of their (initiates) *imibilini*. So if we dance together we will not be able to see all these things. We also carry in our hands switches, we wear different types of animal skins that can make them 'sick' because *ziyabasinda* ('they become too heavy for them').¹³ Finally, I can say that a prohibition is strictly enforced, since such mixed dancing would impair the status and dignity of the diviners.

Myself: Why are the 'black people' (non-diviners) not allowed to *xhentsa* at *entungo*?

MaDI: One can get sick.

Myself: Is it true that a diviner cannot dance with another diviner's switch?

MaDI: That is a fact.

Myself: What is the reason for this?

MaDI: Oh no! That is one homestead's beast, it is just like one's ritual necklet ('*isiyaca*'). Can you lend someone your ritual necklet? It is just like someone's panty, can you lend somebody else your panty? You cannot, is that not so? So that is exactly the same, I cannot take my switch and lend it to somebody else. I was shown the color of my cow in my *amathongo*. So that is my homestead switch, that cow was slaughtered for me and even before it was slaughtered there were preliminary ritual talks made by the proxy of the homestead to my ancestral spirits. So the switch belongs to the Dlamini clan, do you understand now? It is not an ordinary switch, it is very religious *khange ndilithenge e-slagpaal* ('I did not buy it at an 'abattoir').

Myself: Why is it that at times church songs are sung at iintlombe?

MaDI: It is because some diviners are Christians, and in church, people usually have their own hymns they do not *thonga* them they are from the hymnals. I am sure you have heard people talk in church about *intonga yam* (lit. my stick, meaning my favourite hymn). So these diviners come with their 'sticks' to *intlombe*. It is fine with us as long as one's stick is going to heal one. What is important is that, one does something to satisfy one's ancestral spirits. Some people have their ancestors who were converted to Christianity, but who never abandoned their traditional customs. So they (Christian-ancestors) also play a part in one's divination practice.

Myself: Why then are divination songs not sung during church services?

MaDI: The Zionists sing them.

Myself: It is not only Zionists who are 'called' to the divination practice, so what about others who belong to other denominations who experience *ukuthwasa*?

MaDI: Listen, you know that if I could go to one of the main churches and sing a divination song *Ithamsanqa*, the church people can give me a bad look, they can kick me out of their church. Even you (referring to me) as you are busy interviewing me, doing this research of yours, you can be shocked and say: O! My God look at her, what does MaDlamini think she is doing? Can't she see that this is embarrassing? As you know these songs now, you will not even come and join in. I agreed with MaDlamini on that point. An incident occurred on New Years day, 1997 on Cape Town's Camps Bay beach, which endorsed MaDlamini's view that intolerance between people of the same cultural background, with oppositions lifestyles is alive and well in African communities. On that day the beach, one of the most popular in the Western Cape, was crowded with people of diverse ethnic origin, who were enjoying themselves, until a group of Zionists came to the beach. The reaction of many Black Africans around was one of the embarrassment and indignation. I heard remarks like: What is this that is being done by these Zionists? What are the tourists going to think of us, man? I mean, it is a drum this side, it is *kwaito* (see end note 9 of ch. four p.307) this side (the implication was, they did not know which music their ears receive). One person commented, Where are we really going to enjoy ourselves when they come to make noise with this drum of theirs? And I am certain that they are all over at these beaches, I wonder why have they decided to choose Camps Bay?

MaDlamini continued: Diviners do go to church and behave like churchpeople, and when they are at *intlombe* they become diviners. What I am trying to say is, they do not bring confusion to *intlombe*; in essence we are 'white people' and there is a need for respect among us and we need to be respected. We even respect 'black people' who come to our *iintlombe*. You know that once one stands in *intungo*, it becomes difficult for one to say whatever one likes to say, because that is a sacred place. That is our pulpit, so *intungo* is not a place to talk about unimportant matters. That is a place where we sing and invoke our spirits and supplicate to them. That is why I say respect is important to both 'black and white people' because other 'black people' have come to observe what diviners say and do at their *iintlombe*. Other people say there is nothing in this divination practice, and that does not exist. You will hear a person saying: Being a 'white person' is like being *ihule*, they (diviners) are useless things, they are liars. Are you listening? (referring to me). At that time, you know that you are an authentic diviner. There is a saying: *Isizwe sifa ngomnt' omnye* (a nation can die because of one person). That is to say, sometimes non-diviners, will see for example a diviner, MamBhele lying inebriated, wearing her beads. That person will not say MamBhele is a drunkard, she will say rather, diviners are drunkards. Then again, one will encounter a diviner who is having an illicit love affair, and people will say, diviners are sluts. Another one will go to *Thokoza* or *abantu bomgubo* (see end note 16 of ch. six p.311) for consultation (and find a diviner employing a different procedure); people do not know that diviners are individuals and therefore do things differently, use different divining methods. In such a case you will hear a person making a critical comment: *amagqirha* are liars.

Myself: Why is the initiate not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his/her partner?

MaDI: *Ngumlaza lowo!* ('That is a ritual impurity').

Myself: What happens in the case of married couples?

MaDI: The 'death acceptance' of the in-laws is performed for a novice. A trainer diviner will come and enact the séance so as to bring the multitudes of the marriage partners together. The man buys a goat and a billycan for his wife. At the time of the churning of *ubulawu*, the two billycans from both families are placed at *entungo* so as to bring the multitudes together. A goat is slaughtered in the courtyard.

The husband and the elders of the homestead, will give the wife a spear of her father in-law's clan. This means that, as the wife of that homestead she will be permitted to stand in the courtyard, because a Xhosa wife is not allowed to stand or move up and down in the courtyard of the in-laws. If the two are not married, the novice will go and inform the trainer diviner, who will demand a white brandy from the non-diviner partner, and the novice will brew traditional beer. All this will take place at the novice's home, and the latter's ancestors will be ritually informed about it, so that a novice's partner should not be rejected by the partner's ancestral spirits. Should this type of ritual and ceremony not be observed, then the novice will be in and out of many love affairs. That is why it is said *intwaso iyahulisa* -the state of being a novice makes one to be a slut.

7.4 Case study four:

On March 23 1999, I had an interview with a young female diviner who is a member of the clan of *amaNcotshe*. She is employed as a housekeeper in Sea Point, but the interview took place at her home at New Cross Roads. MamNcotshe -which is how I addressed her- and as she is known-gave me an account of her *ukuthwasa* experiences, before graduating as a diviner:

“I was born in Umtata District, in a village called Sithebe, my grandfather Gayise was a well-known herbalist. I first experienced *ukuthwasa* in 1977 while I was doing standard 6 (grade 8). In that same year a diviner called MaRhadebe practising at Mt. Frere (in former kwaBhaca) in the Eastern Cape Province, initiated me into a divination practice. Long before that happened I was constantly ill, and my family did not know the cause of my complaints. Later on, my illness was revealed, in my dreams, to be a ‘white sickness’. But I did not want to undergo training-I disliked the very idea of being *ithwasa*. I often saw diviners when they came to hold *intlombe* at my grandmother’s home. I greatly disliked the things they did, and in fact knew nothing at all about them. In fact I despised anything to do with diviners, just as I disliked diviners generally. I saw myself as a better person (more enlightened) type of a person, since I was attending school. Their (diviners’) life style was totally opposed to the life style I wanted for myself. I wanted to lead a westernised way of life. However, I submitted to diviner maRhadebe’s (insistence on) training, until I was removed from her tutelage by my *ithongo*. It became increasingly difficult for MaRhadebe to provide me with a complete training (program).

There was one time when my *ithongo* directed me to *Emzini omkhulu* (the Great house *hlonipha* word for the river); but she (maRhadebe) could not take me there because she did not have a ritual connection with *Umzi omkhulu*. So we had to go our separate ways, But maRhadebe had already performed a ‘death acceptance’ for me (and I came away from her training with that). After that I became seriously ill, and I was unable to be healed, until my brother asked to come to his house in Cape Town. After a short stay there, I found a diviner whose clan name was Sithole. He re-enacted my paternal ‘death acceptance’ ritual and ceremony and I placed myself under the tutelage of Tat’ uSithole, and remained with him as a trainee right up to the last phase of training, when I was shown my ‘beast of recovery’ (in a dream-vision).”

The following is an extensive conversation with MamNcotshe (which occurred in March 1999) revealing her private views and feelings about *iintlombe* ritual songs. The original Xhosa transcript of parts of our conversation appears in Appendix 14 (vol. 2 p.45).

Myself: MamNcotshe, it is said that *intlombe* is never complete without divination songs, can you please explain this.

Ncotshe: *Intlombe* become *intlombe* because of *ihlombe*. Songs play the most important role in divination practice. Without songs there will be no dancing, you see, these two are essential for transporting one into the spiritual world. A song therefore is placed at the highest level at *iintlombe*. What is important again is the sound produced through stamping that also has the effect on the dancers at that time. Together the drumming, stamping raises up *umshologu* (cf. end note 4 of ch. seven p.312) so that one is in direct communication with it. What has 'called' one into the divination practice visits one during the dancing. Do you understand what I'm saying to you? (Posing the question to me).

Myself: When you say *umshologu* rises up, what do you mean?

Ncotshe: Rising up of *umshologu* means to be in a high spirit where you get visions from the ancestral spirits. For instance, when people do the ritual dance, do not think that they are just dancing because they feel like it. They dance because their ancestral spirits direct them to do so. There is so much that they see which is revealed to them at that time, by their spirits. Sometimes there is something that one hears in one's ears because a 'white' sickness is unique, and so we are. Different ancestral spirits, who belonged to different clans and lineage, have called us to the same practice. You must see some diviners, when they dance at *intlombe*, they do this! (She places her hand on her ear) they are listening, but you will see that they are also singing with the mouth. Sometimes you will see a diviner, as she is dancing she is looking high up in space, at that time she is seeing a television (the ancestral visions) that someone else cannot see.

At times, whilst the singing is on, a diviner will not want a song to come to an end because she will feel disrupted from what she is seeing. In some instances, a diviner is told about someone's life situation that she is supposed to salvage at that moment. At *intlombe* these things happen mainly because of the singing. I do not mean that a diviner cannot be shown a vision when a client has come for consultation. I am showing the significant role the songs play at *intlombe*, am I wrong? (Posing the question to me). *Intlombe* is *intlombe* because of the songs, drumming, hand clapping and feet stamping. A song has to be hot so that *umshologu* can rise up. The fact that we dance is not for fun, we dance so that we can get 'sick'. Our multitudes like the songs and these songs come from them.

Sometimes when I officiate *intlombe*, while I sing and dance at *entungo*, my ancestral spirits will reveal to me certain things pertaining to the ritual work.

Myself: MamNcotshe what is your dreamt song?

Ncotshe: My dreamt song is called '*Inkukhu*' ('a fowl'). The time I was still a novice it was '*Ithamsanqa*' ('the piece of good fortune'). That was a song I used to summon my 'multitudes'. Another dreamt song was *Icamagu livumile* ('*Icamagu* has 'agreed!'). Now that I am a qualified diviner my song is *Inkukhu* ('a fowl'). The words go thus:

Heeeyi! Heeeyi!
Yho! Helele! mama
Uyinkukhu na? Uyinkukhu na?
Yho! Helele! mama
Kweminy' imizi, kweminy' imizi
Yho! Helele! mama
Kweminy' imiz' igqirha
lithengwa ngemali
Yho! Helele! mama
Uyinkukhu na lent'
uv'amantyontyela
Bendikuthanda
Yho! Helele! mama
Bendikuthanda
kant'uthengwa ngemali
Yho! Helele! mama
Zimb' iindaba

Hey! Hey!
Yho! Helele! mama
 Are you a fowl? Are you a fowl?
Yho! Helele! mama
 In other houses, in other houses
Yho! Helele! mama
 In other houses a diviner
 is bought by money
Yho! Helele! mama
 Are you a fowl the reason
 you hear the cackle?
 I have liked you
Yho! Helele! mama
 I have liked you
 only to find out you are bought with money
Yho! Helele! mama
 The news is bad!

Myself: What is *amantyontyela*?

Ncotshe: People spread rumours and you are easily provoked. Cluck! Cluck! You are shaken (winded-up) you do not even ask what has initially happened, you are just annoyed. Why do you bother yourself with unimportant things? This song was a song of a diviner called *tat' uGxarha*, not your former informant (referring to me). I did not like the song, I earnestly detested it and I had no reason to dislike it so badly. But strangely enough, the time I was still a novice, I would dance to it as though it was my dreamt song. When I danced to it I would feel something rising up inside my body and find myself in another world, only to find out that the song meant something to me. It was my maternal grandfather's song. I *thonga*-ed the song not knowing that it was my grandfather's until I went home and reported to them. It was then that I was told about the owner.

It then became my dreamt song and I liked it and it became a very special song. I sing this song when I want to invoke my spirits and supplicate to them at *entungo*.

Myself: Do you use the same song when you churn the canister of *ubulawu* up?

Ncotshe: I have a song that I was given that I sing when I churn up the billycan of *ubulawu*. It says (see p.96):

<i>Izihlwele zam ziman'ukutsho</i>	My 'multitudes' keep on saying (talking)
<i>kamnandi</i>	pleasantly
<i>Aph' aMaNcotsh' azaman'</i>	Where are the Ncotshe "people" to keep
<i>ukutsho kamnandi</i>	on saying pleasantly?
<i>Kukhw' iintw'eziman'ukutsho</i>	There are things that keep on saying
<i>kamnandi</i>	pleasantly
<i>Baph' abakuthi zebeman'</i>	Where are those who belong to us to keep
<i>ukutsho kamnandi</i>	on saying pleasantly
<i>Ndicel' abakuthi zebeman'</i>	I request those who belong to us should
<i>ukutsho kamnandi</i>	keep on saying pleasantly

I was given this song by my *amathongo*, and it was said: When you 'beat' the billycan for the children of other people you should sing this song. The meaning of the song is: When I anoint my initiates with *ubulawu*, I use this song. When I talk about *izihlwele* I am referring to the ancestral spirits of the Ncotshe lineage, and of the clan. Here I am invoking them with this song, to come and whisper in my ears and give me the right direction, as I am bringing together the Ncotshe 'multitudes' and that of *umguli* together. When I say there are things that keep on saying pleasantly, I am referring to the ancestral voices. In this song, I earnestly beg my ancestral spirits to be present from the beginning until the end of the ritual work and to give me a 'pure' and clear mind so that I can guide *umguli* with sincere intentions, until she becomes a fully-fledged diviner.

Myself: What is the difference between *ukucula* and *ukombela*?

Ncotshe: You see, in the practice of diviners there are no doh-soh-me-ray-doh's. There is no 'key' ('musical key'). The only key use is the 'key of the mind', meaning (alluding to) the person who starts a song, knows exactly where to place his or her voice. All right! you understand, a soprano voice is not used there, and there is no place at all for it (people slot in voices in a suitable range). A soprano voice is actually substituted by a tenor voice. I can tell you just that. There is no soprano at all, one is expected to produce a deep voice, and a hoarse voice is the suitable one.

So no matter how trained your voice is as a schooled person (in terms of Western singing) you are retrained to sing in a traditional style (Xhosa indigenous way of singing). The initiates enter the practice having trained, shaking (vibrato) voices because- (at this point the diviner was interrupted by another diviner, Nomqondiso by the name, who had trained under her).

Nomqondiso: And me too! When I entered the divination practice I used to shake my voice a lot when I sang. Other students would complain and make silly comments like: Oh! can't this one hear herself, that *uyacula*, we are not in a choir practice here. I would disregard them and carry on with my 'choir' voice. I gradually changed though, it was really funny, but now I don't want to hear a 'choir' voice next to me.

Ncotshe: It is true what Nomqondiso is telling you, once people enter this practice they encounter many problems with the *ombela* and *xhentsa*. Other initiates harass them. You see Nomqondiso did not even know how to *xhentsa*, she used to jive (cf. D. Coplan 1985:266). What I am trying to say is, one has to mould one's voice in such a way that a deep voice is produced. When people *ombela* the clarity of the song words (diction) is not that important. We know what we are singing about, and there is a meaning in each and every song we are singing. So we are not entering for a music competition, but we are entering a spirit world where we will be communicating effectively with our ancestral spirits. Do you understand what I mean? (referring to me).

Myself: MamNcotshe are you a member of a traditional healers' association?

Ncotshe: No, what is that? I don't have knowledge; I cannot even describe it because I don't want to have knowledge of that association in the first place. If I wanted to join it I would have long searched for places that have it, do you understand? The reason why I do not want it is because I told myself that I did not get 'sick' in order to go and join organisations or associations related to my profession. I am content with the way I direct or manage my divination stuff. The disadvantages of these associations are that once one becomes a member one is obliged to reveal one's healing secrets. You see, diviners can belong to the same 'white world', but still we are unique. I mean, you get all sorts of diviners those who are authentic, charlatans, those who are jealous of one's spiritual powers. So to be a member you have to lay out all of your healing secrets you have been shown by your *amathongo* and that is dangerous.

If for example, you specialise in cancer (*umhlaza*) or *ibekelo* (lit. 'put for' i.e. an evil substance that is meant for the victim to step on and be harmed (see end note 4 of ch. three p.306)) you have to lay out the herbs that you use to heal your patients on the table. So it is quite risky, I mean one's life is at risk, you understand?

7.5 Case study five:

In 1999, I travelled by taxi from Cradock to Lady Frere to visit the Xhosa traditional musicians who are internationally acclaimed (the Ngqoko women). I broke my journey in Queenstown, where I asked a friend there, Nombuyiselo by name, to drive me to Ngqoko village. I was very fortunate to find the musicians there -as they are often away from home. They gathered at the home of their leader Nofinishi Dywili, and sang for me. After the performance, I intuitively sensed that there was a healer among these women, and as it turned out, I was correct. The name was Nofenishala, and what follows is a transcribed extract from an interview she granted me, in the presence of her fellow musicians, who volunteered information from time to time (cf. Appendix 15; vol.2 p.49 for original Xhosa transcript). I began with a general query to all, and from the responses of two ladies I was able to speak directly to the healer herself, Nofenishala.

Myself: Is there someone who is *ithwasa* among you?

Nowayilethi: No.

Myself: How did *intwaso* miss you, being such great song makers?

Nowayilethi: I can say our ancestral spirits did not wish to choose us.

Nogcinile: This one, (indicating another lady) Nofenishala, wearing a white towel, does *thwasa*.

Myself: Nofenishala!

Nofenishala: *Mh!*

Myself: How did you enter *intwaso*?

Nofenishala: I became ill some years ago, that was when I had my fifth child.

Myself: What happened exactly?

Nofenishala: I began to experience sharp pains in my body. My fingers pained, all ten of them, I could not do anything with my hands and my nose also bled periodically. I was then taken to a 'person' (diviner).

Myself: Did you not first go to see a Doctor (western medical practitioner) in Lady Frere?

Nofenishala: No, I never went to see a Doctor, I just went straight away to see a 'person', and my father accompanied me. The 'person' said: "She needs *isiyaca sobuntombi* and, you must not sell the animal skin of the goat that you are going to slaughter for her. Should you sell it, that will mean she will be followed by 'white sickness'. The skin was then sold, but after a long period of time I started to experience the same illness again. I was then taken to another diviner who told me that I had an ancestral calling. She asked us to buy *umhlotshazana* ('a billycan') that was going to be used for *ubulawu*, which was to be prepared. The *bulawu* was brought and poured in the billycan and mixed with clear water, I then began with *ukuphehla*. In this way I was entering divination training.

Myself: Where was this 'work' done?

Nofenishala: At the diviner's place.

Myself: Was it not supposed to be done at your home?

Nofenishala: There was a 'work' that was to be done in due course of that same year.

Myself: Was it a ritual work of 'tethering' that was at her house?

Nofenishala: Yes, she 'tethered' me with *oo-camagu* and so she initiated me into the practice of diviners.

Myself: When this kind of ritual work is performed, is it not supposed to be done at the home of *umguli*?

Nowayilethi: Diviners work differently.

Myself: What was the next step after you got 'tethered'?

Nofenishala: I stayed and stayed and stayed at her place; then, when I was in the third month of my training, I felt compelled to come back home.

Myself: At which village does your diviner live?

Nofenishala: Here at Ngqoko.

Myself: Of which clan is she?

Nofenishala: She is of the Bhomoyi clan and her name is Nokhontoni.

Myself: And you, of which clan are you?

Nofenishala: I am Mbathana, my mother is MaMkabane, and her name is Nowest. All right, I was saying, in the third month of my training I was brought home, and *imvuma kufa* was performed for me. I was ordered to sit on the other side of the hut where *umkhusana* was erected. They put the billycan of *ubulawu*, the white brandy, and a white slaughtered fowl behind *umkhusana*.

Myself: Why a fowl?

Nofenishala: It was for my ancestral spirits.

Myself: I am getting confused, is not a goat ritually killed for the ancestors?

Nofenishala: A goat was also slaughtered because you cannot do *imvuma kufa* without a goat.

Myself: Do you still attend *üntlombe*?

Nofenishala: Yes, unless I am overseas with our group.

Myself: Don't you then 'trouble' when you are overseas?

Nofenishala: No, I go with my 'things' *igubu nomasengwana* (struck drum and friction drum. I also do my ritual dance when I get the time and the group *ombela* for me (see plate no.32 p.300).

Myself: Who beats the drum?

Nowayilethi: It is me who beats the drum for her and *umasengwana* is played by any member from our group.

Myself: What effect does *masengwana* have on you?

Nofenishala: Since it is played at the same time as the other struck drum, it gives me more power, it makes my blood 'fit' and hot. Same as *ukombela* when accompanied by these two, I would find myself being carried to a higher level. This would happen when I am at *intlombe* but when I am overseas I tend to have more control because I do not want to get 'sick' being far away from home.

Myself: When you are overseas, do you sing and clap for her when she feels *umbilini*?

Nowayilethi: We are not doing it for *umbilini*, we normally do it for our audience so that they can see that we also have a 'white person' in our group. However, when she feels her *umbilini* being raised, she controls her dancing.

Myself: What is your dreamt song?

Nofenishala: It is '*nongangela*'¹⁴, can I *ombela* it for you?

Myself: I would be very much pleased if you would (She began to sing it, listen to CD1 track no. 21).

L: *Hewuyoo! nongangela*

F: *unongangela ngowakho*

L: *Hewuyoo!*

F: *unongangela ngowakho*

L: *Ndiza kumthini na*

F: *nongangela ngowakho*

Hewuyoo! nongangela

nongalela is yours

Heewuyoo!

nongangela is yours

What I am going to do with...

nongangela is yours

Nofenishala: Be appeased! Leave it off! (i.e. the song). This is the song I sing when I summon my 'multitudes', I was given it by my father's great grandfather; when he gave it to me he said: "What are you going to do with this *nongangela*? ('a big problem') Do this song '*nongangela*' whenever you need us."

Myself: What does this song mean to you?

Nofenishala: It means that there is a big baggage that I am carrying on my shoulders and I have been carrying it for years. What it means again is that *ndihambe ndihlala esithubeni emizini yabantu* ('I keep on living on the spot at other people's houses'). *U-nongangela* is a problem.

Myself: What do you mean when you say *uhlala esithubeni*?

Nofenishala: I stay at the diviner's home because of the "sickness". I am doing the household chores, cooking, divining for clients, I am healing people, I induce people to emit, I give them an enema. I am busy doing this work, there is no time to rest. I have no nights, nor days.

Myself: What effect do other *iintlombe* songs have on you?

Nofenishala: They do not have much effect though I genuinely dance to them because they are the songs of the 'sickness'. I put more energy when I sing for other novices because I want them to do the same when it is my turn to invoke my ancestral spirits. I like my song '*unongangela*', it is the main song that is in my blood.

Myself: Nofenishala, which other *intlombe* song do you like?

Nofenishala: A piece of good fortune.

Myself: When does your *umbilini* get aroused?

Nofenishala: My *umbilini* reports to me, when there is a person coming for consultation.

Myself: How many years have you been in divination training?

Nofenishala: This is my 25th year that I have been *ithwasa*, I am not yet a fully-fledged diviner.

Myself: Why so many years?

Nofenishala: It is *nongangela* to my brothers, they do not have money to help out, otherwise I am in the last stages of *intwaso* now. I have also been shown my cow of 'recovery' that I must get.

Myself: How old are you?

Nogcinile: (She responds on behalf of Nofenishala), she was born in 1949.

Myself: Do you sing the Zionists songs at your *iintlombe*?

Nofenishala: Yes, very much because we are also Zionists.

Nogcinile: The diviners who were affiliate members of main churches, once they were 'called' they came with their church songs into divination practice and danced to them. Recently, we had diviners from Cape Town who sang and danced to church songs.

Myself: Did not that cause some confusion to the village diviners?

Nogcinile: That is one and the same thing to them.

Myself: Are the diviners' songs sung at the time of reviving people in church to accommodate or give diviners *ihlombe*?

Nogcinile: Some church people disdain divination practice, therefore it will be difficult for diviners to sing their songs in church. They get their *ihlombe* when revival songs are sung. Some churchpeople still view *amagqirha* with suspicion, they do not like them. Should the church person get a 'calling' she will blend them both and there will be no problem. All this anyway depends on the ancestral spirits.

Myself: I thank you very much Nofenishala, MamGcina, Nowalethi, Nofinishi, Nokhaya, Nogcinile. I thank you very much, sincerely, may the Lord be with you. When I revisit, I will not come with bare hands as now.

7.6 Case study six:

In March 1997, I attended a séance at a home in New Cross Roads. I was researching for an Honours degree at that time, and involved with a preliminary study of ritual music. The ritual had been convened for the anointing of *umguli* and it was there that I first met Monica, a little girl of eight years, who was a Sub A pupil, and a trainee diviner of MaDlamini. I learnt these details in a short interview I had with her, and I met her again several times in the months that followed. On one occasion when we were returning home from *intlombe*, Monica asked: “*Sisi awunokundibeleka? Bendicel’ undibeleke man!*” (‘Can you carry me on the back? I ask you to carry me on the back’). Since that time I have followed Monica’s progress and watched her become a young woman, mature for her years. She graduated as a diviner in 1998 but I missed her graduation ceremony, which was performed in the Eastern Cape Province. In 1999, I visited Monica’s mother Mildred and asked for her permission to interview her daughter, and she readily gave her consent. The following week I went to Monica’s home, to find Mildred alone in the house. She told me that Monica was in Retreat suburb spending a few days with her grandfather. She advised me to return to her home on the following Friday, when Monica was likely to be home again. I agreed to return on the coming Friday. Mildred also told me that Monica’s absence from home was an attempt to avoid certain overseas filmmakers, who were anxious to make a film about Monica, and who had been at her house only 30 minutes before. However, I went back on Friday the 10th September 1999 to her home. Monica had been ‘called’ to divination practice at a very young age, and, from the bits of information gleaned from some of my informants, I put together several versions of the nature of her ‘calling’. For this reason I was anxious to obtain the true facts from Monica herself. Below is a detailed account of *ukuthwasa* as experienced and discussed by Mildred, on behalf of her daughter Monica (see Appendix 16; vol.2 p.53 for Xhosa original):

Myself: Mildred, How old is Monica?

Mildred: Monica is 10 years old and she will be 11 years of age next year on the 18th of January.

Myself: How did Monica enter the practice of diviners?

Mildred: When Monica was three months old her behavioural patterns were so strange. She was not behaving like other growing children. She always wanted to play all by herself in dark places. It was on the 18th of October 1995 that I saw that my child was ‘sick’.

Myself: What was she suffering from?

Mildred: On that particular day we went camping outside Worcester, with members of our church congregation, the 'Good Shepherd Church'. We pitched camp in the vicinity of a dam. While we were busy setting up our stuff, Monica went missing. We searched everywhere for her until we had given up all hope of finding her. Some members of our church group went to report Monica's disappearance at the local police station.

Myself: How old was she when this incident occurred?

Mildred: She was just five years old when she went missing. Then Monica, after an absence of six hours, suddenly re-appeared *gqi!* out of the dam. Monica's eyes were almost a squint and blood-shot, and she was wearing strings of blue and white beads. Monica had gone missing at about 8 a.m.

Myself: Did you go and do your search near the dam?

Mildred: We were walking about, we did not think that Monica would have submerged. Anyway, while we continued our search for Monica, a man shouted out -There is child! There comes a child out of the dam- Indeed, Monica suddenly appeared.

Myself: What was the name of the dam?

Mildred: Oh! I do not know the name of the dam, but it is in Vusta (Worcester). Before Monica emerged from the dam, I phoned her father. He asked me whether there was a stretch of water nearby, and I replied that there was indeed a dam. As if he understood everything, he told me not to cry, and to relay the same message to our church members, which I did. He said that he himself was going to drive immediately to Worcester. Then Monica suddenly appeared, when I took a closer look at her I said to myself Good gracious! This is Monica, she was wearing blue and white beads. So, we then rushed her to hospital, her father and I. At that stage, we were not certain whether our child was alive or dead.

Myself: You thought that Monica was dead?

Mildred: Indeed I thought that she was dead, for when she emerged from the dam she was alive, and now in the hospital she just all of a sudden lying with her eyes closed. Her father was certain that his child was dead. The medical team provided her with oxygen, and as we wanted to hear about her situation, a doctor came and told us that a five-year old child surviving a prolonged immersion in water was nothing short of a miracle.

Monica was subsequently discharged from hospital on the same day. On the Monday following this event, Monica awakened from a vivid ancestral dream and asked me to brew traditional beer.

Myself: Did she really say so?

Mildred: Yes indeed, she said so, being five years of age. She said: "Mama please brew traditional beer, and really, I brewed it! Monica's father went to fetch his younger brothers from Khayelitsha and Kukulethu (Gugulethu). In the same week Monica woke up having dreamed of a cow, she even saw its colouring, which had been so vivid in her *amathongo*, and she also dreamed of all other things (that are in connection with 'white sickness'). I then saw that indeed my child was 'sick'. Her father's sister also in the Eastern Cape, is a diviner. Monica's father phoned and informed his sister, she said that Monica could be brought home so that a ritual work should be done for her. It was then that Monica was taken to MaDlamini, with instructions from her father's sister to train and graduate as a diviner. Even today, Monica continues to be under MaDlamini's guidance. She is not allowed to be alone, because at her age she is still a young child.

Myself: Did she ever trouble again?

Mildred: Never, since various obligatory rituals were performed for her, she was never 'troubled'. You can see for yourself what an energetic child she is. Monica used to be lean and used to 'trouble' a lot, she suffered from frequent bouts of stomach-ache and, this and that. My child has fully recovered from her 'sickness', the child is very healthy, but the problem is the school, Monica does not want to attend school.

Myself: Why does she not want school?

Mildred: She does not want to, she sleeps a great deal, and sometimes when I wake her up in the mornings (and help to get ready for school), she tells me that she is still drowsy, only to find out there are people who are approaching for divinatory consultation. Even at school, she has this habit of sleeping in class. Her mistress (teacher) will call me and report to me that immediately Monica gets into the classroom she sleeps, and that she does not concentrate fully on her schoolwork, and so on.

(When I saw that Monica was relaxed and in a more mellow mood, I began to ask her about her *uintlombe* experiences).

Myself: Monica, are there some other things ('experiences') you remember when you were *ithwasa*?

Monica: I can't remember anything.

(Monica's short and rather abrupt response, and tone of voice, made me feel uncomfortable and uncertain about continuing with the interview. I decided to continue with my interview, and intentionally asked a very fundamental thing concerning diviners and their initiates. I fully expected to be either reprimanded or scolded, or elicit a good response from Monica. Her response would be decisive in my continuing or concluding the interview).

Myself: Is there a difference between the diviners and the initiates?

Monica: Yes, there is a difference (with a very lively voice).

Myself: What is expected from the initiates (in terms of their status)?

Monica: The initiates should be respectful at all times. For instance, their diviners can give the initiates duties to perform but they (initiates) are not supposed to give duties to each other.

Myself: At your age do you have a right to send the initiates?

Monica: Yes, I do, and they respect me although I am younger than they are but in terms of divination status I am older than them and even older than most of the diviners because I submerged and I obtained some of my divination training from 'River people'.

Myself: Who taught you to dance?

Monica: MaDlamini taught me.

Myself: What about *ukombela*, were you also taught by MaDlamini?

Monica: I cannot *ombela* I am *iyilo*.

Myself: What are your favourite songs?

Monica: It is *amandla* ('the power') and *inkonjane* ('the swallow bird').

Myself: Did these songs come to you in your *amathongo*?

Monica: No, I heard them sung at *iintlombe*. Actually there is only one song that came in my *amathongo*, and that song is *Nonkala*.

Myself: Can you play a drum?

Monica: Yes, I can. Alfred (one of MaDlamini's initiates) taught me how to play it. He said to me, I must come to his place, he is going to teach me something. I thought that maybe he was going to teach me about the medicinal plants.

Myself: How do you feel when you *xhentsa* with diviners?

Monica: I do not feel intimidated, I become relaxed, I *xhentsa* with confidence because they are now used to me. After *intlombe* ceremony, I even sit in the room and converse with them.

Myself: What do you talk about?

Monica: We talk about divination affairs, and sometimes we talk about those initiates who are the slaves of liquor. I would say, I am thankful in that I do not have initiates (under me), because they would beat me up.

Myself: What do you mean when you say they are the slaves of liquor?

Monica: You know that other initiates sometimes embarrass their trainer diviners. They drink too much, and they become cheeky. Sometimes they fight among themselves when they are drunk but their trainer diviners, discipline them.

Myself: Is it then *ingoma* or liquor that puts them in a high spirit?

Monica: The initiates have a serious problem with liquor.

Myself: Does your spirit get high when you *ombela* and *xhentsa*?

Monica: No, I don't normally get *umoya*.

Myself: Do you exhort the initiates?

Monica: I say to them: I pray for you so that you should give respect to the diviners when you are drunk. When you are in the first stages of your practice you do not drink, but once you are about to finish with your training, you start to drink, you even go to the extent of getting inebriated. I pray that you should stop this bad habit. I pray that you should be on the right path and persevere and not turn back until you finish with your training.

Myself: Do you really talk to them in this manner?

Monica: Yes! When I am at *intungo*.

Myself: Do they respond?

Monica: No, they do not and they cannot because that will show they still lack respect, and *intungo* is a sacred place. Should they respond, they will be beaten up by the diviners.

Myself: Do you still play with your friends?

Monica: Yes, when there is *intlombe* in our area, they come and watch me. After the ceremony I take off my regalia and put on my ordinary clothes and go and play. They will talk about their boyfriends, so I then keep my mouth shut or I just laugh, because I do not have a boyfriend.

Myself: Do you feel happy when you are with your friends, or the diviners?

Monica: When I am with my friends. Even when I am with the diviners I experience happiness because I gain more knowledge and experience about the practice of diviners, and about Xhosa traditional customs.

(After I interviewed Monica, she accompanied me to MaDlamini's house. We continued to talk, and while doing so, we passed by the home of diviner MaDlamini, and decided to visit and talk to her. We found her conversing with her novices, but she did not mind me taking part in their conversation. When I first saw Monica at *intlombe* in March 1997 at New Cross Roads there was a quarrel over her started by *tat' uMadiba* (a diviner). I found myself constantly pondering the question, 'How could he intimidate Monica and harass MaDlamini as he did? My questions were as follows):

Myself: What was the reason for *tat' uMadiba* not wanting to dance with Monica?

Siyabulela: (Siyabulela is one of MaDlamini's novice who witnessed the behaviour of *tat' uMadiba*). *Tat' uMadiba* said that he could not dance with *uthikoloshe* at *entungo*. By *uthikoloshe* she was referring to this Monica. Madlamini asked what he meant exactly when he said Monica was *uhili* (another name for *thikoloshe*). He jumped up so high and got mad at mama (MaDlamini). It was so funny because it was not even his first time for him to be with and dance with Monica at *intlombe*. We were all startled because we did not expect such a behaviour from *tat' uMadiba*.

Myself: Monica tell me, the time *tat' uMadiba* did not want you in the dance circle, how did you feel?

Monica: No I would not get troubled.

Siyabulela: No! Monica used to worry a great deal because if I remember well she would say, as we were sitting and talking in the house and thinking about the past incidence: “No, I cannot go to *intlombe* tonight because tat’uMadiba says I am *uthikoloshe*, he says that he *xhentsa* with *thikoloshe* at *entungo*.” Her heart used to get troubled each minute; she would not even talk about it and would refuse to go to *intlombe*. If *intlombe* was not going to be right, she would feel it in her blood. Monica would sit and cry hysterically if there was going to be a conflict at *intlombe*. Mama would want to beat her, and said that people should go to *intlombe*. Monica would vehemently refuse and tell her that she is not going to attend *intlombe*. Honestly, a conflict could hardly be avoided that evening, but the day she showed an interest without her being forced to go, there would be no conflict at *intlombe*. She would dance, but she would still keep on talking about the incident of being called *uthikoloshe*.

Myself: How did you feel about this?

Siyabulela: No, we were also worried. My heart was really troubled. I for one, I was indeed very heartbroken because everyone among us (MaDlamini’s novices) knew what Monica’s problem was. People would ask what MaDlamini had seen in this little child, for her to initiate her into the practice, but still, they knew what the problem was.

Myself: What kind of sickness drove Monica to this practice?

MaDI: No! Monica never got sick, she used to tremble a lot, that’s the symptom she had, she used to tremble there at her home. When she was ordered to go to school she would cry and lock herself into the bedroom. All that led to the point where she was submerged.

Myself: When she emerged was she wearing beads?

MaDI: No, her homestead things, I cannot mention those. She was daubed with white ochre, and dressed by her ‘river people’ (This showed that Monica had been abducted).

(After this conversation another one came up which was about a television documentary. My request to record the entire conversation was granted by MaDlamini).

It was May 1999 that my informant Monica’s name cropped up in a conversation I had with my supervisor. It concerned a TV documentary on ‘strange’ events, a feature that ran for a time on eTV channel.

The documentary featured some gruesome visuals of paranormal disturbances in a house in Table View, to the present occupant and also the owner, who were experiencing manifestations of poltergeistism (objects hurling through the air across the room) and excessive bleeding in the bathroom. This documentary subsequently became a conversation topic among UCT students who had also seen it, and who felt as if they had watched a horror film). See the following page for English translation of Xhosa account of this *mamlambo* incident. For Xhosa original version, cf. Appendix 16 (vol.2 p.57). During our talk I asked the diviner if I could sing for her a divination song that I heard learnt from a novice informant, Patrick by name, in 1997 when I was an Honours student. They all joined in singing the song which has this text:

<i>Ndandihamba ndedwa</i>	I was travelling alone
<i>Hay' ukugula kunamanyala,</i>	No, the 'sickness' has 'filth'
<i>hay' kugula</i>	no the 'sickness'
<i>Ndandisenz' izinto</i>	I was doing 'things'
<i>Hay'ukugula kunamanyala</i>	No, the 'sickness' has 'filth'
<i>hay' ukugula</i>	no the 'sickness'

MaDlamini commented: *Eyi! le ngoma ithetha ngam namanye amagqirha. Yazintoni? Akulula ukuba ligqirha, luqeqesho olubangayo. Bufuna umntu onyamezelayo, okhaliphileyo onesibindi ongawoyikiyo umngeni kwaye umntu osoloko emise ingqondo.* ('Ay! This song talks about me and about other diviners as well. You know what? It is not easy to be a diviner, for it is a demanding practice. It requires a person who perseveres, a brave person who is not afraid of challenges and a person who is always in her right senses).

When Patrick gave me the meaning of this song he said: "The song shows that when you are a diviner or a trainee diviner, you are compelled to touch (meaning to heal) whenever you are supposed to save a sufferer's life. In the institution of diviners, you see and experience shocking things, your life is at stake."

The mamlambo incident:

(cf. end note 5 of ch. four p.307 on *mamlambo*)

Myself: MaDlamini, many people saw you on a gory eTV documentary, in which you were divining for *umlungu* who had a problem with a bathroom that periodically flowed blood down the walls and into the bath. So, I want to get it straight from the horse's mouth, what exactly was happening?

MaDI: It was in the month of June 1998 when I received a phone call from the eTV journalist who wanted to know how much I charged for my *imvumisa* ('divinatory consultation'). After telling him the price, he told me that there were *abelungu* who were also eTV journalists who wanted to take me to a place near Stellenbosch, to go and divine for *umlungu* who had a serious problem. They did not make mention of the blood, which was the main problem. They all came to fetch me up at about 18h30. I had already told my initiate Nomntu, her husband (Bhutana was his name) and Monica (my former student diviner) that they should join me on the journey. We then drove off and stopped at Brackenfell where we were joined by the other eTV journalist. These European journalists bought us a half bottle of brandy and a can of beer for Monica. They said: "We want you to be in high spirits once you get there." I asked them to buy me a soft drink (I do not drink alcohol unless it is for a ritual ceremony that is done for the ancestors).

Myself: What was the main reason for being in high spirits?

MaDI: I believe the reason was that they had called us for a particularly frightening consultation.

Myself: How did you know that it was a frightening *mvumisa*?

MaDI: On our way to that house, I sensed that we were being called because of a snake. Look here, I am diviner, and so my ancestors do talk to me. On our arrival, just before we entered the house, I said: "*Yhu!* We have been called because of a snake here!" Bhutana said: "Oh no! *sisi* ('sister')", and I said: "It's a snake that we have been called for." Bhutana said: "I thought we were called for *isiporho* ('spook' i.e. poltergeist)." I said: "No! It is a snake." Well and truly, we got out of the car and as we went in, my *umbilini* started to 'boil' very hard. I was standing by the door on the inside, when my eyes caught sight of a strange picture on the wall. I said to myself: "*Yhu!* Here is a picture of a big snake with large horns. It had black eyebrows, red eyes, its red mouth was wide open, and it was big, twisted, and green.

I then said Bhutana, Hmm! (expressing inner shock) and alarm. There and then, I shut the door, so that they did not see it. We then went to sit in the lounge, while the eTV crew was busy setting up their video cameras. Nomntu and Bhutana asked for glasses to drink their brandy and I had my soft drink. As we were drinking I said to them, "You see I told you, that we were called here because of a snake. When they were ready to film us they asked us to start divining for the client.

I said: “No, it is fine, I am not refusing to divine for this person, it is necessary for me to do the work, and that is what I’m here for. I instructed Nomntu to get organised because she was going to divine for the client, and Monica assisted her in lighting the *mpepho* (this part did appear in that documentary on eTV). Nomntu then took her spear (since she was about to *vumisa*) and when she was about to do so, Bhutana said: “*Eyi!* This thing that we have come here for, frightens me, I am really scared now.” The client said to Nomntu: “Please, before you start, let me close the doors so that my tenants should not hear, what is going to be said here.”

We did see quite a number of his tenants, they looked like students. He ordered us to keep quiet and started to say: “Do you see these blood stains on this floor rug? I wash it, I clean it.” He continued and said: “The blood marks that are on this floor rug are washed by me!” *Eyi!* There and then, I said to myself: “This thing for which we have been called is really bad.” The owner of the house asked us to walk over to a small block of flats located alongside a swimming pool. When we entered the apartment, the place was in darkness. The house owner said: “There are no longer lights in this room, now and then the lights are put off by this thing, they have been broken up by this thing.

Myself: What is this thing, does it not have a name?

MaDI: This thing had a name but he would not say it. Well as an *igqirha* I knew even before we entered his house what his problem was. Anyway, nothing was beautiful in that home but it was a big house. Now, as we were still in that flat he asked: “Can you smell anything unusual?” Monica said: “*Dabawo* (‘Aunt’) I am frightened.”

Myself: What about you, were you not frightened? As you are relating this, it makes my hair stand on end, and my great fear is that I am going to dream about this, as it is.

MaDI: Not at all, the courage that I had was amazing. I say to you the wardrobe doors and drawers *zazi vulekile zithe nkaa* (‘were wide open’). I said to the owner: “You know what? You have called us for a snake, that is the main thing that you have called us for.” The black journalist asked: “Do you say so.” I said: “I say so”. He said: “Tell us then, what is it for?” I said: It is his father’s snake that he called us for, now he does not know its behavioural signs, he became bogged down in *umamlambo* quagmire, and there is no way of escaping from it. His father failed to give him proper instructions on how to take care of it before he died. That is why he is experiencing this horror.

He immediately responded: “Yes! Of course I have called you because of a snake that is not giving me rest, and please give me a chance, let me tell you about it.” You see now, we were no longer doing our work of divining for him. He decided to tell the story himself. He said: “Last week I took sixteen snakes out of this flat, some were short, some were long and some were really very long and big. I did not kill them, I took them out and placed them safely in another room, because according to my religious convictions we do not kill animals. This week, two days ago, I took out nine more, therefore, a total of twenty five snakes was taken out.”

I asked him where these snakes came from? He answered: “I don’t know too where they came from; what I can tell you is, there is a big snake in my main house which transforms itself into an image of a child and most of the time it changes itself into an image of a woman. It seductively twists its body and comes near, with its back to me.” I said to him: “This is your fathers’ snake, the problem is, each time you have sex with it, it becomes pregnant. This becomes a problem because you don’t know what to do each time it lays eggs. I say again, the mistake your father made, before he died he never showed you the proper way to take care of it.” He continued and said: “Yes! I can say indeed, it is my father’s snake. When I was very young, there was a witchdoctor, wearing red beads who came from the Northern Province of South Africa. He came to my home and slaughtered a sheep. My father and the witchdoctor drank the blood of the sheep. I am convinced that the whole ritual was done to create this creature.” I said: “You see now, that person came to confer *umamlambo* upon your father. So he told us that his father had died in a car accident, and so had left it (snake) with him. He was never told how he should handle it. He just keeps on having sex with it and making it pregnant, because he does not have a wife or a child.

Myself: How does he make it pregnant?

MaDI: Once the snake approaches him, it transforms itself into an image of a young woman who seductively twists her body and puffs up with pride. Did you hear when I said, that he makes love and the snake gets pregnant? *Mamlambo* does get pregnant once a man has sex with it. Now a person who has the snake and has been given the correct information on how to take of it, he steals the eggs and cooks them well, so that *mamlambo* should not be able to hatch them.

After that, one will put them back so that *mamlambo* should find them at the spot where she had laid them, in order to avoid a fight. Now, this snake always fights with this *mlungu* because it has a big family and that is why it comes so strongly to him. This *mlungu* showed us a big wound on his neck and said it had bit him.

Myself: How old is he?

MaDI: No man, that European is still young, a middle-aged man. He told us that one day, *mamlambo* bit him. He had a big stitched wound (he was taken to the hospital, he did not say by whom) on his body and he fights a lot with it. He said: "When it approaches, I first hear the cry of the parrot and, once it cries, I know that it is right inside the house. After that cry there would be an eerie, blowing wind (with this sound *hu-u-u-u-u*) coming towards me. Once it comes nearer to me, we would fight. You see this knife, it (snakes) charges towards me carrying this knife, I also take mine and then we fought." Now my question was: "Where did the snake get the knife from?" Before he even gave me an answer we heard a sound of something breaking in the kitchen. As we looked around, this *mlungu* quickly ran into the bathroom.

Meanwhile one journalist went into the kitchen and came back to tell us that it was his camera lens that had broken, but there was no one in the kitchen. As we were listening to what he was telling us, the white female journalist followed the client, and she then called to us for help. It was a horrible sight; the blood gushing from the client's ear and flowing into the bath. *Yho!* I have never seen Bhutana nervous as he was that evening. He shouted: "Bring the bottle *sisi* from those medicinal bottles we are carrying." It was like we were in a casualty ward. Immediately, Bhutana applied the medicinal stuff around his ear, the blood stopped flowing out. The eTV crew told us that, it was not the first time that they had seen this thing of this white man, and that was why they had decided to contact us for assistance. They also told us that on one occasion when they were interviewing the client (under the camera), the blood suddenly spurted from the facial orifices. After a while the client showed us his body, which was full of scars, it was frightening. He said that he wanted to kill himself so that he could rest from the snake. Once he found himself lying on a hospital bed, and had no knowledge of how he had got there. He did not even know what had untied the rope with which he had tried to hang himself.

His body was scary to look at, it was like a ghost's body. Later on we asked him to release us, we wanted to go back home. He asked us to go with him, let us go to the main house", and he led us into the bathroom and said: "You see, there is blood that comes out of this roof and fills up this bath." Hey! I saw the blood on the eTV documentary, *lali ngqindilili* (i.e. 'it was coagulated'). He was cleaning the bath with his hands.

Yho! I said to these journalists, the police should be informed about this man. He should be arrested and forced to confess the sources of all the blood. He cannot continually clean a bath full of blood every morning early and not report it to the police. He admits verbally that he rises early between 2 or 3 a.m to clean the toilet and the bath so that his tenants should not see the blood, and he did not want to loose money (with their departure). And so I decided that the eTV crew should notify the police so that they may investigate this gory business of this *umlungu's* early morning cleanings. Why is he not worried, concerned about this blood whose origins he does not know?

The blood is disgusting and horrible, and it was not just a small amount of ordinary blood, it was of a type that makes your hair stand on end. We were fortunate, because we came to his place and left before the blood scenes occurred. After that, the client led us to the same flats which were on the other side of the swimming pool. I was walking behind him, with Monica behind me, followed by Bhutana and Nomntu. Just behind Nomntu something flashed passed and jumped into the swimming pool, and that *mlungu* said: "*Nantso ke!* ('There it is!') it passed just behind us!" If it had passed in front of us, we would have been harmed, having seen such a thing with the naked *uyelama*. We then entered the bedroom and I heard Monica saying: "*Ndiyoyika* ('I am frightened')." I begged her to be strong, and not to be scared. I mixed some medicinal plants, which the client should sprinkle inside and outside and around his house.

I poured *usixhaphaxhapha* ('Carbon Bisulphide') on his head and body, I smeared him with *intsizi*,¹⁵ and I heard him ask: "I wonder am I going to be able to have a peaceful sleep tonight? I said: "Yes, tonight and tomorrow you will be able to sleep peacefully but on your third night the snake will come back more strongly than before. You will never be able to sleep in this house because *ayisetyenzwanga*." He then asked for advice. I said: "The advice is, you have to come to my house so that I can give you some help, but initially you must slaughter a sheep for this snake, it now has a big family, and this snake needs blood.

You fight with this snake because you don't slaughter for it." He then gave me the consultation fee and the journalists took us back home. Two days later the black journalist phoned to tell me that the *umlungu* had slept peacefully for the two previous nights. On the third night, the snake reappeared strong and powerful, and entered the house by breaking windows.

7.7 Case study seven:

The following narrative is a detailed account of Miranda's *ukuthwasa* experiences. I first met Miranda in 1997 at *intlombe* in Gugulethu. I was so surprised to see her wearing divination regalia and dancing a diviners' ritual healing dance. I said to myself, "*Yho! naye ligqirha? Thixo wam, intwaso ayikhethi nyani wayi* TV star, *wafunda okanye wangunontshongo iyakubiza qha. Hay' torho akasemhle ngelo xesha* ('Oh! is she also a diviner? My God, *intwaso* is really not selective, whether or not you are a TV star, educated or a traditionalist, it just 'calls' you. Oh! And she is very pretty'). Miranda is an attractive young woman whose face is well known to television audiences, she is an actress in a certain drama series.

When I saw her at *intlombe* I wanted to talk to her, since I was intrigued by her wearing diviners' dress, but something held me back. Even though she was dancing, she looked self-absorbed and cut off from her immediate surroundings, as if in a small world of her own. I did not interrupt her, and on successive occasions when I encountered her, I was unable to converse with her for the same reasons. In 1999 I again encountered her at an *intlombe*, which had been convened by her former trainer diviner. Both of them agreed to a brief interview with me, during which we discussed the aims and objectives of my research project. I fully expected Miranda to maintain a certain aloofness, which had projected in our previous encounters, but I found her to be a very friendly person with a keen interest in our conversation. After that I kept in touch with her but it was only in July 2000 that I was able to approach her about her possible participation in an interview with me. She invited me to her home in NY 112 Gugulethu where I visited her on the appointed day. We began with sharing information about her work with a youth theatre-training programme, where she teaches traditional Xhosa ritual ceremonies that involve songs and dances. We then began the interview concerning her work as a diviner. Detailed account on how Miranda was 'called' into divination practice (see Appendix 17; vol.2 p.61 for Xhosa original version):

Myself: Miranda, in which year were you initiated into the divination practice?

Miranda: It was in 1992

Myself: Were you living in Cape Town at the time you received your beads?

Miranda: I was living in Cape Town but I went to do my ritual initiation 'work' in Alice (Eastern Cape Province/eMaXhoseni) which is my birthplace.

Myself: Were there some symptoms that made you aware of your 'white sickness'?

Miranda: The thing that startled me was the strange severe headache I had. But there were some other peculiarities of the 'white sickness', which to me were inexplicable, because I knew nothing about signs of a divination calling. I used to have many vivid dreams, I would dream about the river, diviners and all other things that are related to white beads. So, I mean it when I say I knew nothing until I experienced sudden severe headaches. I would feel something moving in my head, especially in those places where beads are supposed to be placed on it. Sometimes, while watching television, I would suddenly go blind for a short time and when I attempted to iron an item of clothing, I would scorch it. It would also be a struggle to lift my legs when going up the stairs. Much later on, I learned that my joints needed to be 'tethered' with strings of white beads, but I did not know this at that time. It also took me a while to go for a divinatory consultation, because I did not know much about such things. All the diviners I consulted diagnosed me as having *intwaso*. I was not really happy with their diagnosis because I just could not picture myself wearing divination beads. It was difficult for me to understand (this matter of) the wearing of the strings of white beads.

Myself: Did you go to a western Medical Practitioner before you went to consult the diviners?

Miranda: Let me tell you something, I began to get sick when I was in Johannesburg doing a TV drama series. Apart from the headaches, I also experienced periodic attacks of sharp pains in my chest. I visited quite a number of western Doctors but they were unable to diagnose the cause of the pains. I sometimes experienced peculiar sensations. I remember one time, it was January, 1992, in Johannesburg, I was returning to my flat after rehearsals, and as I ran to board a bus at the Bree Street terminus, I suddenly felt as if I was burning all over. I did not know what caused it.

Myself: What do you mean? Was your body temperature high?

Miranda: No no, it felt as if parts of my body were on fire, even though I was wearing long pants. It was so strange because no one was standing anywhere near me when I began to feel this sudden burning sensation. I immediately panicked, because I did not know what was happening to me.

When I boarded the bus, I looked around for a vacant seat near an elderly person, (and who might be able to explain what my symptoms indicated). I found someone and sat next her and I said: “*Hee! Sisi ndiyatsha*, (‘Hey! Sister I am burning’).” Hey! It was really bad. This sister responded with a question: “*Hay’bo ungowaphi*”? (‘Oh no! Where are your origins?’). When I told her I was from Cape Town, she exclaimed: “*Hey! Ndiqinisekile ukuba uyabulawa mntwan’ omntu*” (‘Ay! I am sure you are being ‘killed’ (meaning someone was bewitching her’’)).

I heard what she said, but did not pay heed to it, because my mind was on the burning sensations affecting me. I had only one thought in my mind, to reach my flat, and to investigate those areas on my body that were experiencing heat. On arriving at my flat, I did not take the lift but ran up the stairs, all the way to the 12th floor, where my flat was located. There I found my brother and sister talking. I removed my slacks and, to my great surprise, I found evidence of burns on my legs, which were covered with patches of scar tissue, as if they had experienced severe burns at an earlier period. My siblings too were dismayed at the scars, which I could not account for. (At this stage in the narrative Miranda and I laughed, but continued), She continued: Oh yes! We are laughing now but it was not funny at the time. *Yho!* None of us knew what to do next. Do you know, I experienced other very unpleasant symptoms. I would begin to breathe with difficulty, and felt compelled to remove all my clothes, which felt as if were causing the irritation. I did not know that the symptoms were related to *intwaso* and they persisted for several days.

Sometimes, when I awoke in the morning, I would suddenly smell the aroma of traditional beer and when I returned home from my rehearsals I would smell the odour of a goat in the flat. I continually asked myself questions about all I was experiencing, but could find no answers. A goat was something to which I was totally unaccustomed, because my grandfather never bred goats. I never associated these experiences with a ‘white’ sickness until I suffered head pains on the very day my in-laws were to welcome me formally into their family with a ritual tasting of *utsiki*.¹⁶ On the day of the ritual slaughter, I was in the kitchen when suddenly I felt the impact of a heavy object falling *-gadla*-¹⁷ on my head. I clamped my hands about my head and ran to the bathroom, my sister-in-law who was *ithwasa*, noticed my great distress and followed me to render assistance. I felt as if my head was coming apart, in little pieces. A (localised weight) in my head began to move about, eventually settling just above my eyes, in the centre of the forehead.

My eyes swelled up and became bloodshot. A number of people in the house witnessed this, and became concerned and alarmed, and began to mention witchcraft. My mother-in-law advised me to go and consult diviners. One old lady, who had attended my traditional-style wedding ceremony, came to see me and urged my husband to pay the necessary consultation fee. It was a way of making me aware of the nervousness of my predicament, and, even though she was not a relative, she was ultimately responsible for restoring my health, and even saving my life. She realised that my condition was unusual, and wished to help me with its diagnose and treatment.

So the following morning, I went to her home and from there she accompanied me to a diviner who was residing in Nyanga East. Exactly where? I cannot recall, but I know that this diviner's methods differed from those of the Xhosa-speaking diviners generally. She said to my elderly companion: "You see, if she were your daughter in-law, I was going to ask you take that black cloth off her head, because what she needs are the strings of white beads. This person was not supposed to have been married in the first place. Her ancestral spirits were jealous of her, they wanted her to get initiated into a 'white' practice before she could get married." Much later that day, I told my husband about the diagnosis, and he gave me permission to go to Alice, to perform my (obligatory) ritual work. (I perform all such works there because I am convinced that I must be near a cattle byre when I do so).

Preparations were made for this ritual, this was in 1992. I was initiated by a diviner, MaDlamini by name, she was resident in Cape Town, but originally came from East London. After my initiation, my parents contacted another diviner to officiate at my next ritual enactment. They did not know much about him except that he was a man of some repute. At my ritual enactment he did something that I was unable to understand. That same night I had an ancestral dream, in which I was told that the incorrect ritual procedures had been followed in my ritual work. I should have been taken to the 'Great House' (i.e. the river) for the ritual, but this had not been done.

Myself: What did he do?

Miranda: He merely slaughtered a goat, because my parents had informed him that I had *intwaso*. My parents had seen him as a man wearing beads and had contacted him about my ritual, assuming that he was a true custodian of indigenous religious knowledge.

On the day of the ritual sacrifice (of a goat), I heard the voices of my ancestors saying in my *amathongo*: “This is not the right thing yet, because we want you in the ‘Great House’, why have you not been there?” When I awoke that morning, I was feeling angry and upset, because everything went wrong. I told my mother about my *ithongo* that I had and she then reported it to my father.

The diviner was then informed that his actions did not meet with the approval of my ancestral spirits. His response was: “No, I do not take *umguli* to the ‘Great House’ at her first stages of *intwaso*, I take her after six months.” This person had not been asked to train me, but to assist me, so that my ‘sickness’ would be alleviated. I was very frustrated with the situation, I returned to Cape Town where my health continued to deteriorate. Greatly concerned, I decided to return to Alice, and there, my ancestral spirits ‘showed me’ (in a vision) a certain diviner resident and working in Middle-drift, who should take me to the ‘Great House’. In due course I consulted him, and he conducted me to the river where I ‘brooded’ for seven days. After this (brooding period), my symptoms subsided and I again became well but I soon became ‘sick’ again and I asked myself: Is it still it? (*intwaso*), or maybe the ‘sickness’ is caused by something else. My grandfather said *makuthathwe iintonga*¹⁸ (lit. let the sticks be taken, i.e. let the people consult a diviner) and we did so. We then went to a diviner who was also called MaDlamini (MaDlamini 2 in this study). She recounted to me all the symptoms of my ‘sickness’, and I was completely satisfied with her divination on my behalf. To confirm her diagnosis, my parents took me to another diviner who lived in NY 18. She asked her initiate to divine for me, her statements matched those of MaDlamini 2. Before this, she had queried my reasons for consulting her, since I had already been divined for, and knew the prognosis (implying that theirs would merely confirm hers).

After this, my parents asked me to choose one of the diviners as my mentor and my trainer, and I chose MaDlamini 2. I had to re-enact my *invuma kufa*, because the first ritual slaughter (of a goat) had been deemed invalid. After the re-enactment of the ‘death acceptance’ at which MaDlamini 2 presided, my health and well-being returned. All this happened in 1992, and since I entered the training period, I began to *thonga* a lot. In my *amathongo*, I saw the diviner who was meant to assist me in completing my training. I would confess all my *amathongo* to the trainer diviner, who was satisfied with my progress.

She provided good training, and was never ‘smelt-out’ (i.e. suspected of evil deeds) by other ‘white people’. She was really good to me, but it was only some months after the commencement of training that I discovered a flaw (in her otherwise exemplary conduct and teaching), she was not a fully-fledged diviner. She was *uNomqhelana* or a ‘five to’. Within this state of affairs, I continued to *thonga* of a particular diviner, and gradually lost interest in my apprenticeship. I would just keep on rescheduling my *ukukhwetheza*. It was as if I knew that a situation existed which prevented my pursuing a smooth path of divination training.

Myself: What is the significance of the *khwetheza*?

Miranda: This is a gradual process of divination training. One is taught about medicinal plants, and shown how to grind roots, tree barks and some other things that are used in connection with divination practice. An initiate is taken as a child irrespective of age, to assist her trainer diviner with house chores. When people come for a consultation, an initiate will kneel and divine for them.

Myself: Did you then search for the diviner you kept dreaming about?

Miranda: I gave one woman called MaDlomo a description of the diviner I saw in my *amathongo*. She told me that she knew her, and she was living in New Cross Roads, but she did not know the name of the street. Since she (the diviner) had told me her residential address in my ancestral dreams, I took a taxi to New Cross Roads to look for her house. When I arrived in that township, I asked a sister (who lived in the vicinity) about the diviner, and she directed me to Section 4. It was fortunate that the diviner was well-known, although people were unsure about the street address. Many people could not answer my inquiries after this address, and this caused me some anxiety, because I felt that if I went back without finding the diviner’s house, my family would regard me as liar. I looked for the house number until I eventually found it -just as I saw it in my *amathongo*, but I was afraid to approach it; instead I went to the house next door, I asked if a female diviner lived in the adjoining house. The response was: “Yes, but nobody is at home at present, she and her husband are away at work, and usually return at 17h00.” It came as a shock to me to learn about a diviner being in other employment. I asked the neighbour to give me a description of the diviner, just to compare it with the image of my dreams. The description was brief: -short and dark in complexion.

Myself: Did you not experience *umbilini* when you approached her house?

Miranda: *Tyhini!* I was afraid. The reason why I went next door was because of *umbilini*. When I got back home I reported everything to my family. They did not want me to wait until the following day. Late in the afternoon we went to the diviner's house. She was the one who answered the door. When we went in, I said: "This is the mama I saw in my ancestral dreams." My grandparents told her about our unexpected visit. At first she tried to 'dodge' us (she acted evasively, as if to avoid a positive response) - but finally she gave me her attention. I told her about all my ancestral dreams, and we eventually came to an agreement about her officiating as my trainer diviner. She tried to 'dodge' us but she did not succeed. I gave her *imali yemvula ngxowa*, so that she could start her work almost immediately, because I was 'troubling' greatly. I wanted to perform my maternal 'death acceptance' to have done with it, so that I would regain my health. I should have known that nothing could be achieved in the short term. It was to be a long, drawn-out process. Even after my 'graduation', when I thought I would return at once to Johannesburg to continue with my acting career *kuqhum'uthuli* ('lit. until the dust smokes up') (implying she expected things to proceed smoothly once she had met her obligations so that she could put more positive energy in her acting career without hindrances). I found that this did not happen. Unfortunately my feelings had changed, and with it my attitude toward my previous lifestyle. I found I no longer wanted to live in a city, with all its noise and bustle. I wanted to be in a quiet place, not a noisy one. I then began to find many acting jobs here in Cape Town. In this way, I was fortunate, because so many diviners experience difficulty in finding employment outside their profession.

Myself: Did your trainer diviner follow the correct ritual procedure in performing other ceremonies?

Miranda: All went well until I was taken 'back home' as a fully-fledged diviner. I always prayed to my ancestors and said: "You see now, I have accepted *intwaso*, I request to be used as an authentic diviner and I want to see good results from my divinership. I ask you to give me wisdom to divine for and heal people. Those are the duties I need for my family and I have spent much money on my training. I ask you not to change me, I want to be the Miranda Javu people knew, because *umshologu* is in my blood." My prayers were positively answered and I never really changed. I am still the same person I was before. There are certain things I have abandoned, like the style of dressing (wearing short pants and mini skirts and bareback tops), and I even stopped going to parties.

I saw that all these things were a misfit in the divination practice. Since I have acquired a new ritual status in life, I have to set a good example to the community, especially to the youth.

Myself: How was your first experience of *intlombe*?

Miranda: I was anxious, there were many comments from the initiates, and I heard others saying: "Oh! Is she not that girl who is constantly on these TV drama series." I did not pay much attention to what they were saying. I just focused on what I was there for. It was very strenuous, and as *ithwasa* you are supposed to sing and clap for these diviners the whole night-long. I did not even know how to *ombela* (I used to *cula*) nor *xhentsa*. The initiates would say: "Nonsense, you cannot even do the ritual dance, you are just jiving." I became cheeky, and told them that, if there was a dance school for the Xhosa-divination ritual dance then they should go and register me in it. I told them it was not going to be possible for me to know everything in one day. Sometimes, I would hear them say: "Oh no! The 'illness' is unwonted." I did not want people to have pity on me. Some would say: "Oh no! shame, You became this, I would respond: "What have I become? I am alright."

Myself: How did your friends react when you entered the profession of diviners?

Miranda: I discovered that my friends had a problem, they did not know whether or not to pay me visits like they used to. They would look at me as if, (since I was in the 'world' of diviners) I was going to be slaughtered. In the first place, I became a misfit in their world of parties, and I spent my weekends going to *iintlombe*. When we met I would not know what to talk about and they were also scared of asking me questions (that are in connection with divination 'things').

Myself: How were you treated at home?

Miranda: At first they gave me special treatment until they got used to my being a diviner. You see, since I hated noise, when people talked loudly I would hear them say: "No People, Miranda does not approve of noise." I seemed like a new person to them, one who was from space. Do you see that, they also knew that I did not like the radio, they would then say: "Turn down the radio, *hey!* Miranda does not like this." They felt proud of the fact that there was *igqirha* in their home.

Myself: Did you not get the pains of 'white sickness' when you started to find employment on film and TV shoots in Cape Town.

Miranda: Yes, the time I was still in the process of becoming a diviner I used to have a problem with a European (*umlungu*).

Myself: Why?

Miranda: You see, I was a good actress but, what was odd was the way in which I found myself at cross purposes with the team, every time I did something concerning my job. It was a serious issue, but after exchanging harsh words, we would become friends again. The European used to annoy me. You see, whenever we did a film shoot, there were Europeans who were responsible for make-up, and for the wardrobe. These were two groups of people with whom I always argued; it seemed as if we always had to argue, in order to clear the air (and talk amicably). I don't know, Europeans used to really annoy me especially when they opened their mouths (to say something). I was wrong to behave in this way. You see, in 1987, for instance, there was the time I was acting in the film 'Friends Fruit and Wine', I was the main actress, so I had to be the first to sip wine, (in one scene). The problem is I do not take liquor, except in the context of traditional custom. There were two things in that film that made me sick, the smell of wine, and the smell of make-up. It was even worse when I had to wear lipstick, I would have to leave in order to vomit. When it came to (sipping) the wine, appletiser was used instead, but even then, when I touched the glass, my whole body would tremble.

They did not want to give me another part because they liked my face for that character. I even hated wearing shoes. You see, one other thing, I always communicated in English, but sometimes I would not even understand the meaning of a simple word. I don't know whether or not my ancestral spirits were the cause of this mental block. There were times when my mind would go blank while saying the lines of a script and the director would become angry with me. When I stood next to a European I would smell something very bad. He would smell, smell, and smell, and as a result I would end up not working with that European. Before I was initiated I had a problem with one of the European young men, Neill Henderson who was a drama teacher. For no apparent reason I took a dislike to him, I did not want him (I could not stand to be with him). He was such a nice man, and we had, never argued, and Neill could see that I did not like him. One day, I told my group that I was planning to go to Neill and tell him about my problem. They discouraged me and told me that he was going to be upset. Since this thing made me feel uncomfortable, I disregarded them, approached him and said that I wanted to talk to him.

We then went to his office and I said: "Neill, I have a problem, I don't know why I dislike you, I don't want you near me and I don't even want to hear a word that comes out of your mouth. I don't know what the cause is." Neill was startled and said: "No, don't you worry, now that you have released hatred towards me, you will be fine. It is going to come to an end." After that, I was really worried about him, I felt so bad. Anyway, Neill and I ended up remaining good friends, despite the situation.

Myself: Does Neill know that you have entered the practice of diviners?

Miranda: I don't know, unless he has read the newspaper and magazine articles.

Myself: The day you started your own practice did you not encounter some problems?

Miranda: I did not really encounter problems because I worked closely with my diviner.

Myself: As a diviner, what role do you play in your society, besides that of healing?

Miranda: I solve people's problems, who are even older than I am. When I think (about it), sometimes I say: "Oh! If I was not a diviner, I don't think I would be able to solve this one (one's problem), because *ayindifuni* ('it is none of my business'). Once you are a diviner you are respected in the community, and people listen when *igqirha* talks because they tell themselves that *igqirha* knows everything. Therefore, this means that when you are *igqirha* you belong to various institutions, e.g. of social work, or the work of a priest. You will find diviners who assist people with their court cases and again they play a role of being teachers. So the community regards *igqirha* as a highly respected person.

Myself: Miranda, what is your *ithongo* song?

Miranda: When I went to do the *imvuma kufa* of my paternal grandmother, I was given *uNonkala* because it is their 'home' song. And when I was 'brought back home' the song I dreamt was '*mgwadleni ndabashiya belila*'.

Myself: What does it mean to you?

Miranda: Man! You see, right now, it does 'talk'. When it is says, '*mgwadleni*', do you know what *ukugwadla* means? It means to gossip about a person and say a lot of bad things that are actually not true, just out of jealousy.

However, the victim disregards whatever is said about her and keeps her mouth shut. *Ndabashiya belila* means that the victim will then continue to do well and prosper while they (the gossipy women) are busy ‘pounding my soul’. The gifted singers would say: I will leave them mumbling, as they are busy criticising and libelling me, ‘I am gone’.

Myself: Is *umgwadleni* a song for churning up your billycan (of *ubulawu*)?
 Miranda: No, the song that I use when I churn up *ubulawu* says, *O! ndizulelwa yintekwane*. Have you ever heard it before?. After that, I then sing my diviner’s song?

Myself: Are you talking about the diviner who initiated you?

Miranda: No, I am talking about the diviner who trained me until I became a fully-fledged diviner. You see, let me tell you something, as we are people of the ‘white nation’, sometimes as *igqirha* you do not always sing the same song with all the initiates for whom you are doing ritual work. Sometimes a certain song is there in one’s mind, so one has to sing it. If *igqirha* does not yet have *ingoma yebhekile*, she can use her ‘home song’ or her ex-trainer diviner’s. In other cases it happens that a diviner has *ingoma yebhekile*, but on the day she initiates *umguli*, her ancestral spirits might direct her to sing another dreamt song not that of *ibhekile* they may suggest different songs, not that of *ibhekile* (they may suggest different songs). This is because one has a number of ancestral spirits.

Myself: Do general songs at *intlombe* have an effect on you, besides your dreamt song.

Miranda: There are songs at *intlombe* that I danced to. Anyway I don’t like the people to *ombela* my dreamt song.

Myself: Why is it so?

Miranda: It depends, the way a dreamt song is, it is not something that you can play around with. On the day I want it to be sung, the leader might not sing it the way I want. It is easy for a diviner to fall ill should her dreamt song not be sung in the correct manner. Anyway, to other diviners, there are songs that, once the initiates sing, they dance, although it is not their dreamt song, it gives them visions. Diviners songs are known by *amathwasa*, you can hear a diviner before he supplicates, say: *“Yitsho ingoma yam endigule ngayo”* (lit. Say my song that I got sick through it, meaning sing my dreamt song).

7.8 Case study eight:

My decision to interview Lunga Sali, a student of opera at the South African College of Music UCT, was prompted when I met him in the foyer and noticed that he was wearing a ritual necklet of white beads. I automatically concluded that he was involved with divinership and I went up to him and gave him a diviner's salutation: *Camagu!* His response was immediate. He acknowledged his involvement with the kind of ritual work, which, along with his academic schedule, kept him very busy. I was anxious to have extended talks with him, since I felt that his views would add interesting perspectives to those of my other (diviner) informants. We were unable to arrange an interview, however, because of his schedule, and mine. I was committed to a number of field trips for the next month or so. It was even more disappointing to learn that he was to leave Cape Town shortly and return to his home in Port Elizabeth, and so plans for talks had to be shelved. However, as it turned out, I travelled to Mkhankatho, a village in Libode, near Umtata at the end of February 2001 which was the focus of a project in which I was involved with a group of people.

On the return journey to Cape Town, I called in at Port Elizabeth, where I knew Mr Sali was likely to be. Since I had a contact telephone number, I tried to call him, only to learn that he was in the town of Uitenhage, a short distance away from the city. My friend and I arranged to drive to the town and meet him there at the taxi rank. We found him waiting for us; I explained to him that the interview was to take place in the Rectory of the Roman Catholic Mission at KwaZakhele township in Port Elizabeth. We then made our way back to KwaZakhele where my friend and I were given accommodation. Since Lunga was a trainee diviner, and likely to appear at the Rectory wearing white beads, and white clay on his face. I felt it necessary to explain the situation to the Priests in residence, who along with the many churchgoers who frequently visited the Rectory, might be offended by the presence of an ostensible traditionalist, and even suspicious. But the Catholic Priests were unconcerned, and warmly welcomed Lunga when he arrived, and we were able to have a long and fruitful discussion in a friendly atmosphere, without interruption. What follows is the English version of a transcribed recorded interview in the Rectory of the Roman Catholic parsonage at KwaZakhele township, and the interview was conducted in the Xhosa language interspersed with English (cf. Appendix 18; vol.2 p.69).

Myself: Can I sit next to you Lunga?

Lunga: You can sit; at least I do wear a perfume, I am these (kind of) diviners who wear perfume. I am not of that type of (diviners) rinderpest I am of the 2001 (modern type).

Myself: Lunga, when did you first notice the signs of your divination 'calling'?

Lunga: I began to feel it in 1997, but I was born with it. I felt it through things that were happening in my blood. I did not know what the cause was (for me to feel the way I did) until I consulted a 'person' (to unravel) the strange dream I also had and whose meaning I did not understand, and the dream kept on haunting me where I went or where I was.

Myself: What was your dream all about?

Lunga: Well, it was *ithongo lo mlambo*, ('an ancestral dream of the river'):

"I would dream I was in a big house (these beautiful big houses) and that there was something like a gutter or furrow with running water in front of this house. It was like when I went to fetch the water from this gutter, there were two big river creatures, which were like lizards; as I walked through the gate and entering the house I saw them facing each other. I was totally bewildered, and could not understand the whole dream."

It was after this (dream), I was told that I belonged to the Gaba clan; up to then I knew my clan name to be *umKwayi* -I had grown up in this knowledge. It turned out that there was certain information that had been withheld from us (family), but more (subsequently) revealed to me by the ancestral spirits. I knew then that I was Gaba *umntu womlambo* (praise name lit. 'a person of the river'); and that I was experiencing *ukuthwasa*. After this (revelation) I went home, to go and perform a ritual work of *intambo enkulu* ('the big ritual necklet') and *umgxengxezo* (lit. 'the begging pardon of the ancestral spirits'). All this 'sickness' happened when I was at school (UCT, College of Music). So after the ritual, I returned to school but there I would be well for a time -a week or so- and then the 'sickness' would start all over again. It was then that I decided to persevere with it (meaning *intwaso* situation and its implications) even though it would be difficult for me.

I recall a time in June, during the (mid-year) examinations, I was studying hard in preparation for the music examinations I was to write. But on the day of the examination, I suddenly lost interest in it, and left (Cape Town) for Port Elizabeth, and returned after the examinations. The same thing happened again when I was to write a music History exam. I studied hard, but in the examination I went blank, my mind locked up. The third time this happened, was when I sat for the Harmony and Counterpoint paper. As the invigilator distributed the music manuscript sheets, I stood up and left the room and went to my residence. Sometimes, I would remain in my room for an entire weekend, and leave it on the Monday when I had to attend classes. While I was doing all this, I did not feel any kind of loneliness.

Myself: Now, from the singing point of view, did not this situation affect you?

Lunga: It really affected me, especially voice-wise. For instance, when I went for my singing lesson (let me say first, when one majors in singing, one is taught about certain things). One is taught how to use certain areas of body, correctly using the rib cage. I would notice that my voice would not project (satisfactorily) no matter how hard I tried. Only a thin voice would emerge, which would not even be a quarter of my (usual) voice (in volume). This kind of voice would also irritate my teacher, Mrs Sarita Stern. The reason why she was irritated was because she knew how good my voice could be. Even when she auditioned me, she was satisfied with my voice (potential). And so when I began to experience problems with my voice, it was hard for her to understand why this was happening -I also did not know what was going on with my voice. At home I was told that all this happened because I was experiencing *ukuthwasa*.

Myself: Did you take part in opera productions when you had a voice problem?

Lunga: Yes, but you know something bad happened and I did not understand why, I only became aware of it after Patrick Tikolo had recorded me. We went to sing in a concert that was organised by Safrits, in Cape Town. When I listened to the tape, I discovered that my voice would go off-key so often. Strange, when I was on stage I thought I was singing correctly, only to find out (afterwards) from people who heard me, that I was off-key. However, my singing lecturer, probably not wanting to discourage me, would tell me that everything would come right.

You know, sometimes when I sang, the facial expressions of some singing co-students would tell me that I was singing poorly. You can see when a person gets irritated with what you do. I would just console myself and say, all right! when my singing lecturer told me it is going to be fine, maybe she meant that my voice is still developing. When we came back from the concert Patrick said: "Let us to listen our voices and hear how we sang." Ay! I could not listen to myself, I switched off the tape, and told myself I could not listen to that shit. I said if I got irritated like that, how much more to other people who listened to me. Ever since then, I told myself that I would never sing again. I really felt bad because I had already sung in many opera performances with this kind of a voice. Professor Gobbato did not complain to me about that. I thought since they know how their students' voices develop, most probably he thought that my voice was still developing and, he knew what kind of a voice I possessed. Perhaps he planned to guide me while my voice develops satisfactory. Unfortunately, instead of my voice developing well, it became worse. Basically, these are bad experiences that affected my singing studies.

What was so strange was that, when I was outside my singing classes, my voice would be fine, but immediately I entered a class, things would go wrong and I would sing off-pitch. My singing Lecturer would really get irritated. So, when I discovered that I was experiencing *ukuthwasa*, I thought to myself, maybe my ancestral spirits were saying: "We will not give you what you want now, you must first please us by accepting the ancestral calling. Once we are done with you, we will then give you what you need i.e. my Music career." I grew up knowing that I wanted to do music and major in singing for, I believed that my voice was going to make money for me, and I liked opera so much. So I was very disappointed to find out that things were not going the way I had planned. When I was doing my standard 10 (grade 12) I applied for a Teacher's Diploma at Cape Teachers' College but, when I had to go and study there the following year, I decided to go elsewhere to study music, for that was where my passion was directed at. I (always) believed that music was going to be my 'life' (i.e. career), but I did not know that this career was going to come from *intwaso* side. I think that when I thought I would derive an income from music, it meant that (music) of an opera and not *intlombe*.

Myself: Lunga, your voice is trained to sing in western way; at *intlombe* people *ombela*, don't you then get problems in using your voice according to the traditional way of singing?

Lunga: No! You would be surprised at the way I *vuma*. But I did worry that, since I have a trained voice (i.e. operatically trained), I would have to be careful about the way I sing at *intlombe*. I made certain that I did not *krasa*,¹⁹ and thus avoid damaging my voice, when I went back to my singing classes on a Monday. When you sing opera your voice has to be clear, it must project. When one sings at *intlombe* one does not care whether or not one's voice comes from the chest, the throat, the stomach or from the back as long as it comes out. So there are those differences, when you are an opera singer you have to control your voice. There is a certain technique that one has to use, that is known by one and one's lecturer, because singers' voices are not the same. The lecturers' methods as well, are also not the same and so they give one different techniques of singing. So, when you sing at *intlombe* you do not just use any technique, you are just taught the songs *i-technique uyakuzibonela* ('You will see for yourself what technique to use').

One can *krasa* until the voice can no longer produce a sound and someone else will lead off the song. No one will say, her vocal cords are tired, or that her ancestral spirits still want some brandy. It is said, give her a glass of water to drink, the focus will go to another person, who will be expected to start off a song. Sometimes it is not the ancestral spirits who want brandy; it is just that, there are certain parts in the throat that a singer uses when singing. Now, there are diviners and they do not recognise these things (western singing technique) because most of them are not schooled. At least someone, who is like me, does have an understanding that one has to be cautious when singing. All this happened before I became a novice. But you see now, what is happening is, there is a great change, my voice has improved *ndiyacula ngoku*. I can see that my voice is getting somewhere. You know, though I was first told that I was experiencing *ukuthwasa* I wanted my *intwaso* to wait until I had finished with my studies. Now that I have accepted training by diviners, and my ancestral spirits also see that I like my *intwaso*, things are just falling into their rightful place on their own. Now, I do not have to think oh! Where am I supposed to place my voice, what technique is for this or that? If I were still doing opera, I believe things would be positive. So, ever since I became serious with my divinership training, things are just happening the way they are supposed to.

Myself: Did you not have a problem with dancing, the first time you went to *intlombe*?

Lunga: Oh yes! I did and I still have a problem with dancing but not that much, I mean, I was never actually taught. However, the only thing they told at my divination school was to raise the feet high when we dance. So, at least there is an improvement in the way I dance now.

Myself: What I want to know is, did 'white people' not have a problem with your way of singing ('*ukucula*') since they use *ukombela*?

Lunga: I think they were happy because, among them, they had someone who could project (the voice) much more powerfully than the others. You know, some other initiates' voices just 'die away'. So I can say I have this type of voice that does not get hoarse or fade away. So my way of singing was not a problem to them, I mean I would not sing in an operatic way, singing *iintlombe* songs. They were happy, at times, if we were just sitting with other initiates. I would come up with a song and tell them how they should harmonise it with their voices. I would tell them that the song would not sound right if they all sing in unison. Our trainer/diviner would also concur with me and add that even one's ancestral spirits would not be happy to hear such a lousy 'empty' sound. You know, in a song I want to hear that blending of voices, even if one sings with a loud husky voice, as long as the song harmonises. You then feel it in your blood that mm! It really sounds great. Sometimes you become so hot and feel as if you are getting more strength, and you do not know where it even comes from within a short space of time. Through certain songs, you are even carried to higher levels of spirit.

Myself: Have you already been given a dreamt song?

Lunga: You see my home ancestral spirits keep on giving me all these songs. You see, there was a time when I had a problem with my former trainer/diviner, (MamJwarha was her clan name) when she performed my *imvuma kufa* ceremony. It was discovered that my ancestral spirits did not accept all the rituals that had already been performed for me by her. During my *imvuma kufa* ceremony, as I was busy going up and down working, there was a song that my ancestral spirits *ombela* in my ears. The song means that they were discontent with the ritual situation and therefore the mistakes had to be ritually rectified. Lunga's song goes thus:

<i>Zinyanya zam</i>	My ancestors
<i>nililela ntoni manyange</i>	what are you crying for, ancestors?
<i>Zinyanya zam</i>	My ancestors

The first time the song was sung in my ears, I did not know what it meant. Let me say I had a song that I liked which MamJwarha would ask her novices to sing for me, it is says: *Ithemba, ithemba alibulali, ithemba alibulali* ('The hope, the hope does not kill, the hope does not kill'). Whenever I was going to call my ancestors' names I would sing it. When MamJwarha gave me this song she said: "Mthiweyeza I can see that you like this song, so it is yours and you must always sing it whenever you want to supplicate your ancestors." When the novices sang this song at my *imvuma kufa*, I stopped them before they had even finished singing the first phrase. I said: "*a-a, hayi* ('no') sing for me *Nililela ntoni manyange*." So they listened to my instruction. As the people were singing MamJwarha was a bit cheeky. I did not know the reason for it but I think her 'things' told her the reason I was given the song. That was then the first dreamt song I was given by my ancestors since they knew things were going to be done deliberately wrong by MamJwarha. I believe my ancestors saw MamJwarha as not being a suitable 'guide' for me.

After my ritual I was called by other people for a job in Pretoria. Well, things did not go right for me. I would say, probably it was due to the situation I am in now. So one evening I had a strange dream and I thought to myself that I would not ask MamJwarha to unravel it for me, because she might not tell the truth about its meaning.

Myself: What was your dream?

Lunga:

"I dreamt I was shut in a fowl run and I was being bitten by *amangolwane* (i.e. 'hen-lice'). It was like, I was wearing a big size jersey and these hen-lice penetrated it. I would shake off the jersey, but they would not fall out, instead they kept on jumping about on my body." I became agitated and jumped out of the bed. I asked myself: "What sort of a dream is it?" On seeing these things jumping on my body I did not know what they were. I heard a voice saying: "You are being bitten by *amangolwane*"; at the same time the other voice said: "You must not confess your dream to MamJwarha because she will not tell you what it is means."

You know, it was like my whole body was full of sparks and when I got up I was really feeling sharp pains. So when I came back from Pretoria I went to *ooGaba* (some elderly people from the clan) and told them that I wanted to go to see a 'person'. All this happened after my *imvuma kufa*. In the first place, when my goat was ritually killed it did not 'cry' (i.e.bleat).

So, another goat had to be bought hurriedly. I mean, it is rare for a goat not to bleat, you see, it means that there was something really suspicious about the whole thing. You know, I heard this song *Nililela ntoni manyange* earlier, before the ritual killing took place. It was really a warning that something wrong was going to happen. Can you then imagine how I struggled to get another goat? I had to go and ask for money from a certain European lady who lives in Grahamstown.

Myself: What is the connection between you and her?

Lunga: I was a student once at Rhodes University, she used to like me. Anyway, she gave me the money.

Myself: Did you postpone the ritual work?

Lunga: Let me say first, *ooGaba* did not want to postpone it. The ancestral spirits' 'things' are not supposed to be postponed. Should one set the date for the ritual work, then one will be obliged to perform it on that stipulated date. Should one ignore that, then misfortunes will befall one.

Myself: Did the second goat 'cry'?

Lunga: Hang on first, the second goat that was bought was almost like a kid, we needed it so that we could see at least which way the wind is blowing. It 'cried' but even that 'cry' was a feeble 'cry' *ekrokrisayo* ('that made us to be discontent and doubtful').

Myself: What did you do with the first goat?

Lunga: We ended up giving it away to people and it was customarily consumed. There was a reason for that goat not to 'cry', its tail was brown and it was supposed to be white. There was *uMhlekazi* ('white person') who woke up with *ithongo*: "She saw someone taking my goat's tail that was put alongside my head with other ritual items." The tail was taken because my ancestors wanted a white goat with no spot, and the hairs that were going to be plucked from it were supposed to be white. The hairs from the tail were going to be sewn onto my white head beads as a sign that *imvuma kufa* had been done for me. My uncle then suggested that I go and see a diviner that he knew of in Uitenhage, and her clan name was MaMvulane. I told her about the dream I had when I was in Pretoria. She said to me:

"A-a /hayi ('no') your dream is telling you about the current diviner who is training you. Your training place is not right and it is a place that will prevent you from successfully completing your *ukuthwasa* training.

Even the 'person' who is training you is not a fully-fledged diviner, she is still a novice according to the standards of your ancestral spirits. Your ancestors are more powerful than hers, hence they regard her as a novice."

I said to MaMvulane:

"But mama I have seen some of her pictures where she is wearing full divination regalia which is an indication that she was 'taken back home'. This is why I believe that she is a qualified diviner."

MaMvulane responded:

"That could be the case but according to your ancestors, being 'taken back home' does not mean one automatically becomes a fully-fledged diviner. I say to you, your ancestral spirits are more powerful than hers, meaning that *uyamoyisa* ('you overpower her')."

I then asked for advice and she said:

"I am not going to suggest this or that to you but I will tell you two things. Initially, it depends on you, whether or not you want to go and stay at her place, and carry on with your training, and become a confused initiate who will not know how to divine for people for the rest of your life. Secondly, it is up to you to leave her and get yourself a 'person' who will give you the right training, which your ancestors want you to have. Once more you have *iintlanga ezimdaka*²⁰ (invisible impure incisions') which, were supposed to have been removed before you were placed in divination training. Should you not remove *iintlanga*, you then become vulnerable to all kinds of misfortunes because you are living on the dark side. This means again that you will not get any visions."

While she was talking, I thought to myself, I am going to leave MamJwarha and accept MaMvulane to train me. I then asked MaMvulane if I should tell MamJwarha that I was going to leave her. She responded: "If she is really an authentic diviner, her *umoya* will speak to her." I then stayed at home and abandoned her training, just like that. So ever since I left her I have never seen her until now. The only thing she did was to phone me and say I am rubbish, and she also uttered other bad insults that I will not repeat. She said that I was besmirching her name by telling people that she possessed a lightning bird. I was surprised, because I never went around bad-mouthing her.

After a few phone calls from her, *oo*Gaba went to her place for reasons that were known only to them. They told me that on their arrival she asked: "Where is my son, I am worried because he has abandoned his training?" They answered her: "No mama, you did release us, and said that if we had a problem about that ritual work of the 'death acceptance' we can go and see 'a person' if we need to." What happened then was that, we took the son to a 'person' and he made his own decision not to see you again, because there are things that he is still busy organising.

Myself: Did your ancestral spirits direct you to MamJwarha?

Lunga: No, I never even dreamt of her. I went to MamJwarha because I was very ill and she was somebody who was known to be a good healer here in P.E. (Port Elizabeth). I did not actually know her. Somebody who knew MamJwarha advised my mother to take me to her for consultation. My mother does not know P.E. (Port Elizabeth) healers, because we came from Grahamstown to live in P.E.

Myself: As your ancestral spirits were dissatisfied with *imvuma kufa* ceremony and you were also discontent with the 'cry' of the second goat, did not MaMvulane think of re-enacting that ritual work?

Lunga: Where I am now, I was told to start everything from scratch because all the ritual ceremonies that MamJwarha performed for me were invalid. The ritual ceremony that MaMvulane performed for me first was that of *ukuphuthuma izihlwele* (i.e. 'the fetching of the ancestral spirits') from the Great Place ('*emzini omkhulu*'). This coming weekend it will be a ritual work of *umsezo manzi*²¹ because at home we still have a big ritual debt of a 'dirty cow' which has never been ritually killed, now my ancestral spirits want it from me. MaMvulane also keeps on getting ancestral dreams in which she sees herself being covered by the rough sea. The sea then symbolises the Gaba clan and, they are crying (unhappy). She is then going to beg pardon of my ancestral spirits and a goat will be ritually killed (hence *umsezo manzi* ritual ceremony) meanwhile I do not have money for the 'dirty cow' so that I can carry on with my training without any hindrances. The 'dirty cow' is needed in order to 'pay off' all the ritual debts that we have at home. Once the 'work' of the 'dirty cow' has been done, I will re-enact my *imvuma kufa*.

Anyway, when I started my training under MaMvulane's guidance, *intlombe* was performed for me; that is why you see these beads that are placed on my head, they are called *isiphuthumo*. After that ritual work of *ukuphuthuma izihlwele* ('the fetching the 'multitudes'), they gave me this song:

<i>Ingxaki yam iviwe</i>	My problem has been heard,
<i>Iya ndombelela</i>	It sings and claps for me,
<i>Owu! le ngxaki yam</i>	Oh! This problem of mine
<i>Iyandomebelela</i>	It sings and claps for me.

The meaning of the song:

MaMvulane told me that my *ithongo* song was confirming that my ritual ceremony has been done properly the way my ancestral spirits wanted it to be done. They had also heard my cry and plea. One evening I had *ithongo*, it was like I was at *intlombe* and I led off this song.

<i>Ngulo ngulo</i> ²²	'Sickness'! 'sickness'!
<i>Yiyo le lengulo</i>	It is this 'sickness'
<i>Ngulo ngulo</i>	'Sickness'! 'sickness'!
<i>Yiyo le lengulo</i>	It is this 'sickness'
<i>sayinikwa ngabalele</i>	that we had been given by those who are sleeping.

What the song *Ingulo* means to Lunga:

Ingulo in this context means an ancestral calling from one's ancestral spirits in order for one to become a diviner. This ancestral calling is something that has been passed on from one generation to the other. If there has been a diviner in one's family then, the ancestral spirits will select a person to take over what has been left for her by the deceased. What I am saying is, if my ancestral spirits say: Mthiweyeza we want you to sing this song. When they give one a song they do not give one a choice; the value of the first one becomes as important as the second one. You will feel it your in nobody if your ancestral spirits are happy about it. That is why one's dreamt song should be sung with such great power because, as one sings, one is also drawing one's ancestors' attention, so as to feel their presence in the ceremony. My blood reports to me when my ancestors are happy with the way my dreamt song has been sung. My *ihlombe* goes very high, you should have seen me yesterday, there was *intlombe* at my trainer diviner's place in Uitenhage and it was 'hot'.

Myself: Between the western songs that you have studied, and those of *iintlombe*, which ones do you like most?

Lunga: You know, at times when I am at home I sit back and relax and listen to classical music. You see, I like opera now more than before. Sometimes I listen to classical music for the whole night, and during the day when I clean my mother's house I listen to it. I even forget sometimes to listen to radio stations and if I don't it would be metro radio that I would listen to. However, most of the time my mind is projected onto classical music.

Myself: Your feelings interest me because many 'white people' I have interviewed, have told me that a radio (that is turned on) disturbs the ancestral voices that one hears in one's ears. It is my first time to hear *umguli* who does not have a problem with listening to a radio.

Lunga: I fully agree with that, there are 'white people' who cannot listen to a radio. There is a girl who is in the same training with me who did not listen to any radio station. She gradually started to change and show interest, and I reckon it is my influence. You see, let me tell you what makes some of the 'white people' disinclined to listen to radios; they grew up being exposed to *intlombe* life style. In my case music is everything to me, hence I went to study it. I had been exposed to other types of musics like church music, boys' initiation songs, *amagwijo*, traditional ritual work songs, choral, jazz, classical and popular music before I came to know the value and the meaning of *iintlombe* songs. *Ukuntlomba kwam* ('my being immensely involved in séances') does not necessarily mean that what I have studied, will vanish into thin air just because I have been surprised by my Xhosa 'sickness'.

The 'Xhosa sickness' is like herbs that have been infused in boiling water (which is opera according to my terms) whose end result will be a good medicine for the nation and me. When I am at *intlombe*, I do what is expected of me by my ancestral spirits and my trainer diviner. I listen to opera and sing my classical pieces whenever I want to, I do not get punishment or bad vibrations from my ancestral spirits. I have kept all of my College work and songs at home and I always think about the College and the students with whom I sang and how well they have progressed. When I saw one student on CNN singing I said to myself: Yes! If it were not for my *ukuthwasa* situation, I would also be appearing singing on TV. Anyway these are just thoughts, since I had an ambition to be a great musician one day, do you understand what I mean?

Myself: As I see it, I believe that, for you, to be in the 'world' of *intlombe* and of opera, is a piece of good fortune, people are going to gain a lot of knowledge from you. God and your ancestral spirits have a great purpose for you, so hold on! Trust, and soon things will go right for you.

Lunga: You see, when you are in my position it is not easy to plan for the future because my life is controlled by God and my ancestral spirits, and I'm no longer leading an ordinary life style. Have you ever been in a situation whereby you do not see light at the end of the tunnel, everything just comes to a standstill? You then find yourself in a tight situation where you will not even find an outlet, meanwhile there is one, but you have to deal with the problem at hand and face the challenge. One other thing, my *amathongo* give me hope, I would talk to myself and say: "Ay! Mthiweyeza do not loose hope, one day your *ithongo* will be fulfilled."

MaMvulane also gives me support, confidence and hope and says:

"Be strong and don't you worry yourself, you are still needed in this training by your ancestral spirits, as soon as you finish with it, they will give you everything that you need, you will go back and finish your music degree. One thing you must remember is, you have 'white blood' that makes you differ from other ordinary people. So therefore, there will be some things that you will be allergic to, that ordinary people will not understand. What I mean is, you should persevere and look forward Mthiweyeza."

Myself: How do you view the writing of divination songs in staff or sol-fa notation as a person who has been a music student?

Lunga: Listen, one time we were driving back from Gwiligwili (a village in the Eastern Cape Province) to Uitenhage and in the car were my co-initiates who were very tense. I thought of a way of making them relax. I then said: "Oh! *intlombe* 'business.'" One initiate asked: "What is it Mthiweyeza?" And then I said: "No, I am just thinking of something (there is a school in Uitenhage called Molly Blackburn which offers music as a subject). I said to them: (Lunga gave an example by singing a divination song in an operatic style of singing) "You know we sing these *iintlombe* songs carelessly, we do not mould and control our voices when we sing, one just throws one's voice anyhow. If you notice at Molly Blackburn, they mould and vibrate their voices when they sing." I said: "You see what happens when a person is educated? You do things properly, now these 'white sicknesses' of yours have made us forget our school way of life." They all laughed because it was funny for them to hear a divination song sung in that manner.

Anyway, let me come back to your question. I think it will be right if divination songs can be written in musical notes, but it must not be for diviners, because their songs are propelled by *umoya*. It will be proper if it is written for schools, though one will have to rearrange them so that they can be sung in a choral style. I see it being a right thing also for researchers to write it in musical notation to set an example of how each song that one is going to talk about, sounds like. One can really do that if one is pressed. Otherwise what I think is, in reality if somebody wants to know how a song sounds like, one should go to *intlombe*, and once one participates, then one will be able to sing correctly too. I cannot imagine a diviner's dreamt song or an initiate's being written in musical notes. That sounds rather odd for me. You know other people are very conservative with their cultural or religious things. They become over-protective, they will not foresee that *amathongo* songs should be written in musical notes, they will see it as a waste of time, and on the other hand it will be seen as though the ancestral spirits are being despised.

Myself: Lunga, culture is dynamic, the present diviners are different from those of the past years, and the songs also are mixed with the hymns. Now don't you think that this could be another way of preserving our culture if these songs could be musically notated?

Lunga: People who can preserve this culture are those who are in it. It is just when one gets a divination 'calling' one decides to run away from it. I mean it is one's 'homestead sickness' so why does one run away from it? Let us say, the following day one dies, do you see, that means one will be making things difficult for another generation. Once one dies, *intwaso* does not also die, it will emerge within the family members. These are the ritual debts that I have just talked about to you; at the end of the day there should now be cows that are 'dirty' to 'wash off' these ritual debts that were caused by that person who had run away from them. So people who are supposed to boost our culture are the people who are like us, you see. Even the point that these songs should be musically notated, let me take an example from the music that I have studied, an opera, and also this *iintlombe* songs. I like it that way because the minute I change *iintlombe* and do them from an operatic point of view, it won't sound. It will be like I am pushing everything towards the western culture. Then I have to treat this differently, people should know that I *thwasa*, that is how I will boost my culture, meaning whenever the time for *intlombe* comes for me to attend, I will go and sing there. I mean that is the way I see it, and anyway there are a lot of *amathwasa* in schools.

Myself: As many as they are, they are in the dark. A lot of people enter the practice not knowing what they are going to be faced with. Some get initiated under the influence of *impundulu* and some are 'closed'. Don't you think that all these should be surfaced, and that there are 'witch-diviners'.

Lunga: You are right there because I also had the same problem of getting initiated by a witch-diviner. New books must be written about the practice of diviners, as you have said, culture is dynamic. There are foreign things occurring in divination practice that the society needs to be made aware of. One other thing, people are hungry so some charlatans see divination practice as the way of making money. Once more, at least if there will be such books available soon in the near future, they will be of great help to various institutions in order to know more of what is happening in the 'world' of diviners. It will teach the educators and the employers that there are times when things go wrong and happen because of *intwaso*. I think in the case of people entering the practice without knowing what one will expect, that is also a plan of the ancestors in order to give *ithwasa* a lot of experience about their guides. If your 'multitudes' are powerful, you will know immediately, your blood will tell you or you will get visions and you will dream. This is how the ancestral spirits will give one revelations. Once they see that our child is sinking, they will direct one to another diviner.

Myself: Don't you think that divination songs should be surfaced (publicised) because even now when they talk they say: "*Asilalanga yingxolo yala magqirha phezolo* (i.e. 'We did not sleep because of the noise of these diviners last night')?"

Lunga: What I see is that people must be guided and informed, that there is nothing wrong in being a diviner. Like these songs you are talking about, there are people who hate *iintlombe* things but sometimes you get these people who project the wrong impression to society, that they are diviners, whereas they are not. I am sure that is what makes people furious and hate diviners. The way also that woman (MamJwarha) did bad things to me only to find out *uligqirha eliligqwirha* (i.e. 'she is a diviner who is at the same time a witch'), so you see such things. Otherwise it is right that the songs should be projected and should be preached about.

Myself: Lunga, even to me when I am still lingering outside *intlombe*, I also hear diviners making a noise, but once I step in my ears catch something powerful that is healing.

Lunga: It is like that, I agree with you, but there are people who are just stubborn. Just as you show someone that something must be done this way, for this or that reason, the person will respond with: "Go away, or that is bull..." But on the other hand, it is true that people should be made more aware of divination songs. I think that even those people who really love (all) music, will see the need of this -people like me, once they see a (divination) song written in musical notation, they will most certainly be interested. For someone who grew with a love for the songs, and did not necessarily attend school, divination songs will certainly interest him. Otherwise there are African traditional groups like AmaMpondo who promote such songs in some of their CD's. For instance, if I can raise this point to the Minister of Arts and Culture he will have an interest, he will not say I am wrong, because I fall under Arts and Culture. I will be promoting the older African musical traditions, which are still regarded by some people as a backward music. But there are people who are numb, and have blinkers over their eyes.

Myself: What effect do *iintlombe* songs have on you?

Lunga: (He took a long deep breath before he gave the answer). I become emotional in other songs and in some others I feel very down. You know that *intlombe* song can lift up your spirit, which was at zero level. Ay! I wish you were at *intlombe* we had yesterday. There are things you just cannot explain, you see, you just wish one could be there and see for oneself, because there are certain things that one cannot explain, because they happen at that particular moment that the observer is there, it happens suddenly. However, there is one thing that I can tell you. There are songs which when they are sung, *zitsho kamnandi*, (they do you good) and as a result you feel and wish that they (songs) could be sung endlessly, but then, those people (who are affected like this), don't get their stimulus (power) from the fuel (petrol). They are not cars, even cars come to a stop when they run out of petrol. One other thing, people should also consider the drummer.

Myself: Does drumming also have the same effect *iingoma* have?

Lunga: I am telling you, you know there (at MaMvulane's), they keep on saying ever since uMthiweyeza has been drumming. I would hear MaMvulane say: "Ay! Mthiweyeza, you are reminding us of ooNcilashe (i.e. the Ncilashe people, meaning the ancestors of the Ncilashe clan)."

Even after *intlombe* her sister, who is also a novice, was talking about me saying: “Hey! Mthiweyeza the way he drums, I don’t know what is happening to him of late. The way he drums, sounds like it is ooNcilashe who are drumming.” The way I play is how they were taught (so they say) when they were young. If the drum is played the way I play it people will find themselves in the right ‘gear’ and they find that they are so into -this- (both *intlombe* and music) emotionally. There are certain things that just happen, and sometimes you think of so-and- so who can lead off a certain song; maybe that particular song needs the kind of voice that person possesses. You find out then that, *Uhh!* That song heals me, it heals me.

Myself: Do you also lead a song at *intlombe*?

Lunga: Oh yes! Only yesterday (I did so), that is why I was saying to you, I wish you were there, you see, there are times when the spirit sends you and says: *Khawuhlabelle!* (‘just lead off a song!’). Something like that does happen.

Myself: Lunga, you remember that day we met in the College of Music, you were wearing a string of white beads around your neck. You told me that you went to do a ritual work at home and that you struggled to get money to buy a goat, and had you not been able to do so, you would not have undertaken the ‘work’?

Lunga: It is that day when Patrick recorded our voices; actually, it was after that performance, when I listened to my (recorded) voice. I said to myself: *Kanti* my voice sounded like that, and I recalled everything; I pictured (in my mind) so-and-so reacting like that, okay no wonder! Why was so-and-so like this, and the other person like that, and the other European was like this. At a time when we were involved in a particular (task) a certain person did this to me, and she was with another performer, she reacted differently. All these reactions came as a revelation. I then drank a whole bottle of wine because, you see, I was so frustrated. I was just thinking to myself that is this kind of rubbish that I have been singing for people, meanwhile the people who guide me, they don’t tell me that Lunga, there is a problem with your voice.

(It seems as though Lunga was recollecting an occasion when he listened to a recording of himself singing. As he listened, the music evoked a vivid picture in his mind of the whole situation in which the recording was made. He saw all the people who were present, and what they did and said; the entire recording performance came up not only as a vivid recollection, but also a revelation.

He suddenly became aware of what he perceived to be the poor quality of his singing. At the same time he felt angry, and somewhat betrayed, because no one had been critical of his singing, which was so obviously flawed. These people were his teachers and musical advisors, and yet they did not acknowledge the poor quality of his voice. Lunga's recollections made him so angry and frustrated that he drank a whole bottle of wine. He felt as if his friends and advisors had deceived him).

Myself: Maybe they did not want to discourage you, don't you think so?

Lunga: I asked her: "Mrs Stern why didn't you tell me that I have such a problem?" She answered: "No Lunga, we were hoping that your voice will come right. And one more thing, I felt I should be patient for a time, and maybe at the end of the day your voice would take the direction we wanted it to take. Your voice is not that difficult to train, compared with some other voices I have had (to train). You have a natural tenor, there are just few things that need to be looked at.

Myself: Did you discover after the opera production that you were experiencing *ukuthwasa*?

Lunga: No, I knew it before the opera production but I had a problem. I needed money to buy a goat and the only way to find it was to be part of that opera production. At home, my family did not have money to buy me a goat. My mother is battling financially, she does not work. After I was paid, I sent the money home and told my family to buy me a goat. They asked how I obtained the money, and I replied that I had earned it from the opera performance in which I took part. It was a week or so before I began to feel it.

Myself: Who ritually killed your goat that never 'cried'?

Lunga: It was ritually killed by my uncle.

Myself: According to custom, people take up their sticks and consult a diviner when (the goat) has not 'cried'.

Lunga: That is what I said ooGaba should do. Even MamJwarha said: "If you are doubtful, you should go and see a diviner." You see, what I do not like is a delay. If I want to do something I don't want anything to stand in my way. I want to get on with it. I hate postponing things *amangomso as'ezihogweni* (lit. tomorrows lead to hell i.e. to keep delaying something that must be done might change in the process and this could result in extreme problems/difficulties. The Gaba people, they kept saying, okay, all right Cihoshe! we will have a meeting.

I agreed to that, because I was in Pretoria, hoping that by the time I came back from Pretoria, they would have done everything. When I returned from Pretoria I asked my mother (about the affair), and she told me that nothing had been done as yet. I said to her: “You see now, I will consult a ‘person’ myself, I will be both Lunga and Gaba.” I did so with my mother, who is always supportive of me, and with an uncle from Uitenhage. Ever since, I have been under MaMvulane’s training and things are going well for me. The day after she divined for me I felt very relieved, like (you feel) when you place a large block of ice in a warm place, it melts. That is how I felt (a weight off) my shoulders, everything was falling into place, and my blood began to course freely. That is to say, I am not going to complain about trivial matters; each and every route (of experience) has its own problems. The main thing is, I see which way the wind blows (i.e. I see what path or route I should take).

Myself: I wish you all the best, I wish you success in your ‘work’ (divination training), good fortunes, and an enlightened journey, and you should get all the blessings.

Lunga: Oh! Thank you very much my *Mhlekazi wam!*

CHAPTER EIGHT

FINDINGS

Divination as an institution is culturally and religiously situated in African society. In South Africa *inyanga* (Zulu), *ngaka* (Sotho) *gqirha* (Xhosa) are as old as Africa.... They are here to stay -by popular demand of the people they serve (Gumede VM, 1990:231). This explains why divination is an institution that has never fallen into abeyance, although major attempts were made by the missionaries who dismissed the African way of life as evidence of religious and cultural depravity, which should be replaced by their gospel and their civilization (Villa-Vicencio, 1995:65). What is noticeable nowadays is the fast growth in the number of people who are 'called' to the profession of diviners. Interestingly, this number includes Europeans who are approached by diviners and advised or persuaded to enter the practice. (See ch.four pp.64-70) for data which provides evidence of this)). Among these Europeans are:

- Chris Reid, who was *approached* by some diviners in the seaside village of Port St. Johns, and who *pleaded* with him to consult another diviner about his potential candidacy. Mr Reid did so and subsequently underwent training and graduation in the profession.
- A German tourist, Matthias by name, who was also approached in the same small village by a local 'witchdoctor', who *offered* to divine for him. It was as if the local healer had spotted Matthias as a likely initiate. He partially agreed to undergo some rituals but was confused and said he was going to discard the beads and the red cord before he went back to Germany.
- Another German national, Stephan Tippach by name, who encountered a diviner (female) who told him that he was a potential *sangoma* and was *referred* to Dr Khubukeli who would train him. In the newspaper report, it was not stated whether or not she was the *sangoma* who referred him to Dr Khubukeli.
- Peter Von Maltitz, who initially had an *interest* in the institution of divinership, but was later *advised* to enrol in Xhosa divination training by a Yoga instructor.

Mr von Maltitz and Khubukeli later met at Woodstock School of Interpretation of African symbols where the latter wanted to 'bid' him (won him over) to the ranks of diviners, subject to Khubukeli's sister's approval.

- Dia Groenewald, likewise *approached* by a *sangoma* who *offered* to ‘cast the bones’ and told her she had divinership potential. Later on, a certain *sangoma* by name of Ivy, *approached* Dia Groenewald and told her that her future trainee -a European- was already for waiting for her at Dia’s shop.
- Similarly, a *sangoma* *approached* Johan Pretorius (Dia Groenewald’s bother) who advised him to undergo training in Worcester.

As diviners are in many numbers, it would seem that comparatively few of them are bona fide traditional healers. They include some novice diviners in the last stage of training who claim to be fully-fledged practitioners, and they undertake to initiate individuals whom they themselves have diagnosed as being ‘sick’. This is abhorrent to legitimate diviners who claim that ‘there is nobody who can circumcise another boy’ (initiates cannot train initiates). Other diviners are those who, although graduated have (according to the way they were trained) never visited the sacred sites where the ‘sick ones’ are supposed to be taken, in order to commune with their ancestors.

It happens that when initiates eventually discover that they have been under the training of a bogus diviner, they either abandon their training, or simply leave their diviners, and wait until such time as they are shown the others, by their ancestors. In other instances, *umguli* will (with her family) approach a diviner (that she has been seeing at *iintlombe* and developed a trust in) and ‘buy’ her. There is direct reference to this in the song ‘*Uyinkukhu na?*’ (‘Are you a fowl?’) (p.219), in which on line of the text goes ‘*kweminy’ imizi igqirha lithengwa ngemali*’ (‘in other houses a diviner is bought with money’) which supports this. There have also been cases of novices consulting other diviners, who agreed to take them on as trainees, only to discover when under training, that they are in a worse situation than before.

There have been several radio talk-show programmes on Umhlobo Wenene (those being Twelve Down, and *Ukholo Lwemveli* i.e. African Traditional Religion), in which the topics under discussion were related to the practice of diviners and their authenticity. It was on the 5th of February 2002 that I went to the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) to seek some information on transcription recording. There I unexpectedly encountered Nokuzola Mndende in the office of her producer, Rev. Nq̄iwa. I began a discussion on the subject of authenticity among diviners, and both these persons expressed their views about this matter.

While we were talking Ms Mndende was sorting out her correspondence from the listeners of her programme *Ukholo Lwemveli*. She asked me to read one of the letters she had received which I did and its contents were based on the topic we were discussing. Later in the recording studio, she read all the letters and asked me to comment on that one in particular. One listener wanted advice since she was left confused by different diviners who were training her, one of whom 'closed her up'. My comments to her were:

- I become confused when a 'sick person' has approached a diviner for help and, instead of her bringing light and goodness in this sufferer's life she then chooses to close her up.
- I feel that such bogus diviners who lure people to the practice under false pretences see it (the practice) as financially rewarding.
- The ancestors, who know only too well that the country is economically repressed, and that the majority of the people they 'call' are unemployed, and poor, are responsible for misdirecting their descendants to those diviners who are bogus, because they have trained under the influence of *impundulu* and will behave just as badly towards their own initiates. Others *bathwele*,¹ and are witches who practice under the guise of divinership. Do ancestors really have an interest in the well-being and welfare of their descendants?
- My last comment was: It is regrettable that they (descendants) have to undergo such an ordeal before they are shown the legitimate person who will fulfil the requirements of their ancestors. I do not understand why, -if the ancestors are so concerned about the welfare of their living descendants they do not direct them to a bona fide diviner who will train them properly. Changing trainer diviners is a costly affair, involving re-enactment of rituals and therefore time, and money. In the current severe economic situation, people say *batsala nzima* (lit. 'they are pulling hard' meaning they are struggling financially and socially).

Lunga (see case study eight p.259) said that the goat he slaughtered did not 'cry'/bleat; thereafter things went wrong for him, and the diviner was the real cause. Lunga had to travel from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown to borrow money to buy another goat so as to re-enact the ritual work. In this current year (2002) another similar incident (to that of Lunga) occurred. One diviner told me that at *intlombe* of 'recovery' (graduation ceremony) she attended, a goat of *ukwandlelela*² neither 'cried' nor 'hummed' (as Mndende would say), and the diviner gave *intlabi* a green light to proceed with the ritual killing instead of instructing the family of her novice to go and consult another diviner who would tell them the cause.

A week later at the same house, the diviner witnessed the ritual killing of a beast which did not even give a sound, and the same host diviner did not take action. When the ritually slaughtered goat or beast does not 'cry' the meat will not serve its purpose of *isiko* but will be consumed by people just to avoid waste and this *isiko* will turn into an ordinary gathering. This means that there has to be a re-enactment of both *ukwandlelela* and the graduation ceremony. Even if the original fault lies with *intlabi* or the family of her trainee, the host diviner is responsible for departing from time-honoured customary practice, and allowing her novice's family to proceed with the ritual killing, thereby pre-empting an unsuccessful *isiko*. As a messenger or servant of the ancestors she has acted irresponsibly.

Regarding diviners' regalia, they do not choose what to wear; in almost everything they are guided by their (ancestral dreams). To outsiders (those who do not know what happens in diviners' practice) the regalia all looks the same. As a result, when they talk about it, they refer to it as a diviners' uniform. Since Xhosa-speaking diviners come from different chiefdom clusters and clans, the animal skins for their headdresses and skirts are made of strips of different wild animal (*izilo*) pelts (*umthika*) which symbolise the ancestors of *ingethe* (forest). Diviners also possess certain ritual artefacts/equipment which they have been given by their ancestors, and they are supposed to use on specific days only. Unfortunately this is not always the case (being given artefacts from the ancestors), because there are bogus diviners who buy *amatshoba* (diviners' switches) from the vendors. There was actually a place in Port Elizabeth in one of the townships called *Ilali eBomvu* ('the Red Village') that sold diviners' switches. (The hairs of the true *itshoba* are supposed to come from the beast of 'recovery'). However, all of these (regalia) differ from one diviner to another and the associated symbolism also varies accordingly. According to Baw' uGxarha diviners' dress is not a ritual attire that can be worn outside diviners' 'business' (*iintlombe*), and for reasons of fashion. At the official opening of parliament (2002) on TV news, I saw a middle-aged woman who wore full divination regalia. When I mentioned this to Baw' uGxarha he severely criticised it and stated that divination regalia is an attire of 'sickness' which one wears during the day at *iintlombe* especially when there is going to be a ritual killing of a goat or beast.

Divination nowadays is taken as one of those 'things', some people want to boast about. A novice diviner who was in the last stages of her training, invited the City Vision (community newspaper) journalists to attend her special ceremony, to photograph and write about it.

This was just another 'show off' manoeuvred by the novice, and a way of advertising herself in order to attract clients, and such actions diminish the value of *ingulo emhlophe*. Ancestors were treated with great reverence and respect by earlier descendants. Nowadays they are being taken for granted as if people are no longer sure whether or not they are still in existence. They are no longer feared nor given the respect they deserve. One trainee informed me that an initiand, who was made to 'enter the billycan of *ubulawu*,' was accused of being intoxicated in the presence of all the *ntlombe* people, by a proxy diviner (since hers was having *isimnyama*). This happened after he had made her ingest *ubulawu*, and she vomited it up in the same *ubulawu* billycan. According to the trainee informant, the initiand was not intoxicated, but the proxy diviner simply refused to acknowledge his responsibility for his own, deliberate mistake. Nevertheless, even if the initiand was drunk, this incident demonstrates gross irresponsibility on the part of the proxy diviner - or perhaps he was the 'intoxicated' person who had pounded and mixed the wrong medicinal 'ingredients' which resembled his homestead *ubulawu*.

Such actions leave many people disturbed and confused, and when they talk about themselves, they say they are:

- Social Workers (who nonetheless do not live up to their profession, if one considers the large number of mentally challenged people living in penury on the streets. (See preface p.xxi-xxiv for example Mbuyiselo's case). These include also victims of witches who have been 'blown away' (*phephethwa*-ed).
- Doctors (Some do more harm to their patients than heal them, buy prescribing the wrong medication).
- Teachers (Some of whom may instruct their initiates in matters and taboos of divination practice, but also behave immorally with them. In this regard, female diviners are just as guilty as their male counterparts).
- Priests (Some of whom utter insults at *entungo* which is regarded as one of the sacred places).
- Lawyers (Many of whom are willing to 'defend' the cause of their clients when they face court judgement).

The number of bogus diviners is on the increase, as is the number of witches, who are recruiting among the youth. One diviner told me that some children under the age of ten years receive training from their mothers as children witches.

Doctor Totana alluded to this when he gave a class of students an explanation of the asterisk, (symbolising the sun's rays). He said that *iintlanga ezimdaka* ('the evil incisions') with a 'filthy' substance applied to them are made like an asterisk on the back of an infant daughter's thighs, and sometimes near the anal region. This would be one of a ways of initiating infant daughters into witchcraft, so that once they reach a suitable age they can begin with their evil tasks. To substantiate what my informants have said, I am going to provide examples of two of several cases that I know of:

Case 1: A music student who went for auditions was not chosen to enter for a production though she believed that she deserved to be part of it. She consulted a diviner who divined for her and said: 'When your teacher was listening to you singing, it was really noise that he listened to, you were making noise, girl, that he could not tolerate. This was done deliberately by one of the student-friend who also went for auditions. She did this out of jealousy by using 'dirty' medicines.

Case 2: Another case is of a music student (a self-proclaimed virgin) e-mailed a friend in September, and November, 2000, and received a final e-mail some three months later (9th of February 2001) with subject get 'dotted' today!, So-and-so (mentioning her name) is going to 'dot' you!, and I am going to 'dot' you! According to the student, the 'dot' meant to harm and inflict demons with evil medicinal plants (*umthi omdaka/izitofile*), and in the process of 'dotting' she got exposed to other students. There had been no quarrel as such to provoke such an action, but the e-mailer made the point that she had the potential to be a great witch.

These two cases -and many others I know of- indicate that witches are everywhere, that educational institutions are not immune to them, and that virgins can be witches. The danger of carrying *izitofile* at such places is that they affect other people who are vulnerable and have not protected themselves. Also they fill the environment with dark heavy energy. Within the past three years, I recall listening to students in conversation in the College of Music and School of Dance, discussing the dark forces that prevailed there. One student approached me and asked if it would not be a good idea to invite diviners to come and hold *intlombe* at the College. He believed that their mere presence of diviners and the power of singing would bring light. I told him that it was a good idea, but that the *intlombe* music might disturb those who are involved with classical music.

African music is still regarded as noise by some other people, and more especially when it incorporates drumming, and this is an essential aspect of diviners' *iintlombe*. So perhaps those who have faith in real diviners and in protective medicines should go for them, or resort to prayer or whatever means they think to be effective. Witchcraft is an ancient practice and is here to stay, and is particularly prevalent in situations in which jealousy and intrigue are rife, and create immense social disharmony and conflict. Regardless of all these adverse prevailing cultural conditions created by people, the ancestors are still in authority, being the messengers of God. They punish where the descendants have neglected performing the necessary rituals and punish those responsible for having intentionally performed rituals improperly. They still give blessings and protection to those who abide by their ritual rules.

Amasiko are still acknowledged or being vital and necessary, but the details of observance and frequency differ among the different clans and kinship lineage. Some people prefer to adhere to the original, indigenous ways of performing rituals, and this is what Nokuzola Mndende's radio programme '*Ukholo Lwemveli*' teaches people. However, there are those who move with the times and do not want to be left behind by a new 'syllabus' as they put it, when talking generally about cultural change. These are the people who create confusion in perceptions about African Traditional Religion issues, and Xhosa-speaking people are severely criticised for having abandoned certain customs like *iintonjane/ukuthombisa*, *iintlombe zabafana*, *uphundlo* and many more. Xhosa cultural activists believe that if people looked back to their cultural past (that is to say when they lived a more healthier life-style), in which established principles of right and wrong in behaviour were culturally prescribed, it would have a significant impact on the HIV/AIDS pandemic, for which there is as yet no cure, and concerning which the ancestors are particularly silent, because they are not revealing any medicinal plants in diviners' *amathongo* which might successfully treat the virus.

The *hlonipha* custom, which carried very strict rules of behaviour and language, to be observed by individuals of certain age and status in social and official life, is still observed by most diviners, whose ritual language abounds in *hlonipha* terms. Xhosa brides were particularly affected by the custom; they had to observe stringent rules of etiquette towards their husbands' fathers and their other senior male relations, and to obey certain food and drink taboos.

Nowadays, however, *hlonipha* is considered old fashioned and even absurd, by most young women. This custom of *ukuhlonipha* makes me recall the day I attended *intlombe* wearing long pants. One old man called me and reprimanded me, saying that it would be the last time I would attend such an event, wearing pants and therefore walking 'naked' before the 'multitudes' of *intlombe* people.

At another *intlombe* I attended (see p.146) a diviner who gatecrashed it, was wearing tight-fitting cycling pants, and she was immediately given a piece of cloth with which to cover herself. Then too, on another occasion I met with a student while travelling by train from Paarl to Cape Town. We spoke about diviners, which prompted her to describe a 'disgusting' spectacle she had witnessed at *intlombe* in her home village in Lady Frere, Eastern Cape Province. She saw an elderly female diviner dancing in a state of virtual nudity. All she wore was a very small fore apron, which hardly did the job it was designed for. Whenever the singing ceased in order to permit someone to supplicate to the ancestors, this old woman was handed a towel with which to cover herself, but each time this happened, she discarded the towel when the singing resumed. After hearing this account, I advised the student to write to *Ukholo Lwemveli* Radio programme and to ask whether it was acceptable for a diviner to dance naked at *intlombe*, and in the presence of male diviners. For my part, I considered this incident to be grounded in witchcraft; it widely known among *amaXhosa* that witches tend to go about their nefarious activities in a state of nudity. The behaviour was also an insult to the ancestors of the homestead at which *intlombe* was convened, and also to the other diviners and *intlombe* participants' 'multitudes'

When I raised all these issues with Ms Mndende, she concurred with my views, but pointed out that in all social and ritual institution there are such people who are a disgrace to their profession, and community. One finds witchcraft practitioners among church people as well. Ms Mndende assured me that, since listeners to her programme included diviners, they would answer the issues raised by me. Some of these issues underlie the reasons why people who have experienced a genuine 'call', have run away from *intwaso* and joined the Zionist-type, and other Separatist Churches. Many Born Again Christians believe that *umoya wezinyanya* are demons. I personally feel that the ancestors are responsible for those who become bogus diviners, and who are debasing the cultural significance and value of a programme like *Ukholo Lwemveli*.

In the earlier twentieth century literature on African Religion, which was largely the product of European scholars, the traditional Religious system (cosmology and world-view) was seen to differ markedly from what were referred to as 'World Religions'. To cite W.D. Hammond-Tooke, who has written extensively on the subject: the traditional religious system...

"is firmly rooted in the social structure, and membership of cult groups is determined by birth (they are thus, by their very nature, non-proselytising), the objects of worship are structurally determined and they are unashamedly this -worldly in orientation."

The same author continues:

"Unlike Christianity, for example which accepts suffering as inevitable and indeed necessary, merely promising grace to face it, all Bantu Religions are concerned with attaining good life here on earth, and their rituals tend to be pragmatic. A dualism is recognised, as in Christianity between good and evil, but the war waged between them...is essentially here and now and not in an apocalyptic future existence. The witch and sorcerer, the very embodiment of evil, is a constant threat to the well-being of man and beast, and the whole complex of witch beliefs, with its related institution of divination, must thus be seen as an integral part of the religious system."(Hammond-Tooke in 1974:318 (ed)).

Another very important difference between African Traditional Religion and Christianity, is that the latter does not involve a system of beliefs. The Christian faith does not mean belief in a number of things; rather it means a single, individual disposition of belief (i.e. with mind and heart) in Jesus Christ. With the increasing number of African-centred studies of African Traditional Religion by African scholars, in the past 3 decades or so, the immense distance between African and western religious concepts increased and, when viewed from the present perspective, the two religions present very oppositional states, with a huge divide between them that cannot be breached. And yet the current state of contemporary religion among Africans belies, since many Africans find the two religions to be compatible, and they live in two spiritual worlds without apparent conflict. This is evident in the views expressed by certain individuals who participated in the *Umhlobo Wenene* Radio debate, and which I have presented in some detail. It is not easy to make a clear-cut distinction between those Africans who profess Christianity and those who do not, for a number of reasons.

Many professing Christians maintain a considerable degree of continuity with the Christian religion; they combine their membership of one or other of the established churches -Catholic, Protestant, with adherence to certain elements of the African Traditional Religious system. On the other hand, there are those Africans who do not profess Christianity. But even though they adhere to traditional beliefs and practices, they have not escaped Christianity's influence. For example, the original Creator or Supreme Being of the ancestor-based Religion, who was acknowledged long before the advent of missionaries, who was distant, and approachable via the ancestors, is no longer so remote among Christians, and is invoked in prayers. He is seen to be much concerned with his followers daily existence, and is prayed to when misfortune strikes, and the prayers are particularly efficacious when submitted by groups of people e.g. Women's *Manyano* groups in the established churches, and by prophets and strong charismatic leaders in Zionist-type churches, who build prayer movements around them (but do not cause breakaways). For Zionists especially, prayer is a powerful means of tapping spiritual power.

Ancestral transgression is re-interpreted in Zionist terms as transgression of God's laws; in both cases, propitiation to restore good health and goodwill is achieved by living life correctly and by observing the customs/laws laid down by the 'ancestor religion'/the Christian faith. Methods of prophesying in Zionist churches also have affinities with traditional divination methods: both involve asking questions, and acknowledging the ability of the ancestors/Holy Spirit to allow ill-health -and the need to remove it by appeasement/atonement. Zionists pray and use laying on of hands to heal (the emphasis on spiritual healing), and this often becomes a highly emotional activity. Traditional methods of healing are usually avoided, as are western medicines (though in other Zionist-type churches, beliefs have been syncretised with African Traditional Religion). Water and ash -which had been prayed over, are used, as are other objects like sticks, flags, anklets and wristlets, all of which are ascribed to the Holy Spirit, and which are used to restore health and well-being. The wearing of special dress, a cloak, or a cassock, headdress, decorated with certain symbols like crosses, stars, circles, are also worn, because the Holy Spirit prescribes them. However, in spite of the affinity between traditional African and Zionist's religious practices, the Zionists are adamant that all that they do in their religious practices comes directly 'from the Bible', and not from traditional religion.

African Zionists are very much concerned with spirit possession (i.e. possession by *uMoya oyiNgcwele*, the Holy Spirit), which is an enormous source of knowledge and energy. It is also the 'source of power by which Zionists overcome the forces inimical to life, and by which vitality is enhanced' (Hammond-Tooke: 1974:432).

When contact is made with *uMoya oyiNgcwele*, it is manifested in the highly emotional and dramatic actions of the possessed person, who may talk in tongues, move about and use certain actions and gestures. In the Zionist context it is manifested in the lively singing, dancing, clapping of hands, and even drumming, and other forms of quasi-ecstatic behaviour, so typical of Baptist and Pentecostal churches as well. All this is interpreted as proof that the Spirit is working in that person, and is imparting the special knowledge, which is given to certain privileged individuals. This kind of emotionalism is also apparent in traditional diviners' religious practices when one has been held by *umoya wezinyanya* ('the ancestral spirit'). I am not certain what happens to a Zionist diviner once she is held up by *umoya* at *intlombe*, whether or not it is *uMoya oyiNgcwele* or *umoya wezinyanya* that possesses her at time, or whether she is reacting to anyone who has just arrived. MaDlamini stated in one of the earlier chapters that people have two 'multitudes' the Christian ancestors and non-Christian ones, and these have to be satisfied. For some Xhosa, people who serve both sets of ancestors are said to sit on the fence. There is a counter argument to this view, in the notion among many that 'possessing' ancestors are not immediately identifiable. People are not asked what type of *umoya* is holding them (when it happens); the identity is known only to the possessed person. When Sabela (p.188) sang a Zionist song with a diviners' text, he was held by *umoya*, and he was the only one whom *moya* was obviously holding, but whether of the *Ngcwele* or *izinyanya* kinds. I cannot say.

When diviners find that some alternative but useful knowledge is available (from outside the indigenous framework), they are able to include it in their stock of techniques, and do not feel it to be 'odd' (incompatible) e.g. the use of Zionist church songs in séances is on the increase, and vice versa. This may be facilitated by the fact that Zionist beliefs are compatible with indigenous ones -in that they are also part of a non-scientific world-view. But equally revealing is the way in which séances songs are adopted for performance in a church (Zionist) service, and which entails quite an amount of stylistic adjustment on the part of the regular church members.

The style of singing in Zionist-type churches is intimately related to the specific social situation in which the general principles of worship are put into effect. Consequently, when diviners' songs are adapted for performance in the church (and vice versa) the songs are related to another set of ideas that is part of the social situation upon which the effectiveness of the songs depends. So the singing style differs considerably from that appropriate to the original (*séance*) context.

Although this study has been concerned with the meaning and value of diviners' (*iintlombe*) songs, Zionist church songs have a place in the study because they are readily integrated with divination practice. There is no valid reason for excluding these church songs, because they are an essential part of so many *iintlombe*. Their songs tell one who they (diviners) are, and their particular stance in relation to Christians, and in relation to their vulnerability in a world that is constantly exposed to witches and sorcerers, in which a diviner may become a witch (*igqwirha le gqirha*). Songs are prescriptive for diviners' rituals, the forms and procedures of which are never set, but flexible. At *intlombe* anyone with a powerful voice can lead a song at one's request. It (a song) is a powerful agent for invoking the ancestors, and collective performance ensures the communal presence of all the ancestral spirits of the various clans the performers represent, and who assist in creating a spiritual world within the physical world. When the songs are sung and ritual speeches are made, it is way of addressing the audience and the ancestors at the same time. Singing variant texts all at the same -which happens in *intlombe* songs- is sometimes viewed as noise by other people, but the music is no less efficacious for all that. In this regard, E. Krige's comments are particularly opposite (1936:306). "...The initiate sing and dance while people clap for him, and this noise is beneficial to him for the spirits come down where there is noise." (cited in Joseph 1983: 53-89 vol.6 no.3 p.76). Diviners' songs are richly polyphonic and the singing of variant phrases at the same time makes the song sound like a massive sound structure of concentrated 'noise'. However, the songs play a vital role in divination practice, and are no less important than the medicinal plants that are used by diviners. In fact, some initiates are given their songs by their ancestors long before they are shown the plants they may acquire. The repertory of *iintlombe* songs represent indigenous, classical' Xhosa music which carries historical, religious and moral values on which the Xhosa culture is based. These songs of *iingoma zabantu abadala* were honoured and respected by the ancestors, and remain of importance in the lives of many of the people today.

Most diviners' songs are a known rather than an unknown, because for them to be functional, they must be shared even if they have their owners. But since some authentic diviners may unfortunately happen to be mixed with a group of bogus diviners, possessors of evil substances and witch diviners, no one knows if the songs they sing do carry value to the ancestors. Professor Mamponya of Wits University (Dept.of Music) once said: Music of healers is a sacred language they can never tell a lie through it. It is a pure medium for communicating with God (through the ancestors). The question is: Is it still sacred when it is sung by this group (i.e. bogus diviners) mentioned above? I believe that there are times when the ancestors do not listen because the space that they are supposed to congregate in, is occupied by dark forces and the ancestors watch them from above *entungo*. I believe this is the reason why diviners sometimes argue angrily among themselves at *entungo*. In certain *iintlombe*, before the official opening, the diviners sing hymns and pray directly to God, to ask for guidance and peace. People who know the power of prayers say evildoers are scared of prayers.

Diviners' songs encompass four interrelated activities -singing and dancing, drumming and clapping. Improvisation (*ukucabela*) is an essential process and occurs both in the vocal phrases and in the dancing. (By 'improvisation' I mean variations on standard patterns). *Ukutyityimba* (rippling shoulders) is also done, but each diviner has her own way of approaching the ritual dance style. A song is always started by a lead singer, which is responded to by a chorus phrase, after which individual singers contribute their improvisations and expand the song structure. The songs of diviners constitute a very vigorous oral tradition and their texts are usually short and repetitive, and allusive and even enigmatic in nature. The performance of the songs may include new sounds -including ululating (*ukukikizela/ukuyiyizela*) and constantly varying phrases spontaneously contributed by the diviners and initiates, and which in most cases are based on their *iingulo* experiences. Diviners' songs grow from elementary beginnings -at least one pair of leader and chorus phrases- into complex polyphonic songs with interlinking variant phrases. This expansion of musical sound arises from the initial phrase-pair, which do not enter at the same time, and which lay the tonal-harmonic foundation and rhythmic framework of the song. Sometimes individuals will incorporate exclamations at the end of the songs and some slight insults because of *ihlombe* (listen to CD1 track no.22 (time =1:09-1:12)).

At the end of the song, diviner Alfred praising the Khayelitsha novices because their singing was so powerful and moving, clearly the result of their great *ihlombe*. One can hear him clearly shouting *Ga! Moer! ngabaseKhayelitsha abo* ('those are from Khayelitsha') (take note of them they are not here to play, their ancestors work in them). This was a message that he was trying to pass on to the audience or other initiates present.

Cyclic form, antiphonal structure and polyphony, evident from the material above, are basic principles of 'classical' Xhosa music (i.e. music that has its origins before contact with colonisers), and these principles continue to operate in contemporary *iintlombe* songs because their origins are culturally and historically based. These principles apply also to the form and structure (with some variation) of all the indigenous African music of the region. Historically, diviners' songs were context bound, being performed in their ritual context (*intlombe*). Today the use of such songs has become more flexible, and some divination songs are performed with jazz backing. The Lady Frere Ngqoko Women's Ensemble have released a CD (which in one of the tracks has the song '*Unongangela*' CD1 track no.21) which is Nofenishala's dreamt song (see case study five for more information about the singer). The song is sung in its traditional context and was recorded at Nofinishi Dywili's home (the leader of the group). This same song occur on CD1 track nos. 18, 19 and 20 which I recorded. The former track nos. were recorded at different séances I attended. Track no.20 was sung at the beer gathering at the home of Nogcinile, with Nofenishala as lead singer. Some of these songs are sung at homestead social ceremonies and when there is *umphumo* of a newly circumcised boy.

Whenever there is a gathering of diviners, songs play a significant role in their spiritual lives and the drumming is of crucial importance for the song. One can identify this music from a distance -unseen- from the total sound produced by a combination of features that are always present. I have referred to the polyphonic vocal organisation which grows from a basic phrase-pair, and from which additional improvised phrases are deduced, each starting at different points of entry. But they also overlap with other phrases, and to add to the complexity, certain phrases become fixed (*ostinati*) in relation to the varied ones (see Hansen 1981). Although the special ritual dance dominates the event, it has to be joined with the vocal-musical activity -the drumming and claps adding fire to the proceedings.

The music is intended to induce a collective experience of *ihlombe* -a state of ecstasy, or close to it, and the emphasis is on communion with the ancestors, who are invisible but nevertheless palpable members of the people present at the séance. There is something called *umbilini* ('loosely translated as anxiety') which is a very painful experience for diviners and their novices, and which only subsides when the proper song (i.e. a dreamt song) and drumming has been employed for the sufferers.

Drumming cannot be used without singing, but this is what happened in the case of Frieda, a European female *sangoma* who appeared on the SABC 1 Programme titled Free Spirit, in February 2002. At her gathering (of mostly European adults and children) both *djembe* drums (of Mali, West African origin) and proper diviners' drums were played but there was no singing. The whole affair resembled a drumming session. Her dancing style was also peculiar, resembling the prancing style of Peter Von Maltitz described earlier on in this dissertation. According to Frieda who gave a short of herself, when she dances she feels the power of her ancestors -who have been trained- utilising her body. Possibly she attained a degree of *ihlombe*, but the prancing actions were hardly appropriate for the situation. If she is a true diviner as she claims to be, then her explanation that her ancestors have been especially trained to pass through her body and the medicines she wears, and thereby assist in the 'communion' process, is rather puzzling. I never knew that ancestors could be 'trained'; it implies that they know nothing, whereas in fact cultures it is they who transfer knowledge to their living descendants. According to Baw' uGxarha, those ancestors who are in fact 'trained' are those of diviners *abathweleyo*, and they use *imigubo* (i.e. powder= see. p.29).

Lamla (1975) notes that the dancing often causes hysteria, especially among the novices. Hansen (1981) describes them becoming almost beside themselves, as the performance works up to a musical and emotional climax, to be broken by revelations or supplications and invocations by an individual devotee. Some novices tremble, weep, often extravagantly when a séance commences. They may even faint at the moment of musical climax. There is no doubt that the purpose of the music, and its religious content, together with the hypnotising effect of continual repetition and variation, all contribute to such behaviour. However, it is a known fact (to which I have drawn attention earlier on) that similar behaviour results from those, 'white people' who drink commercial beer before they go to a séances.

Commercial Lager is sometimes served at *iintlombe*, not as a stronger alcoholic beverage, which will add more 'punch' to the traditional beer. It is usually served during a short intermission. Participants become literally 'high-spirited', being transported to a drunken, or hysterical state by the liquor, rather than becoming genuinely possessed by *umoya* of the ancestors. This is one of the reasons why some diviners have lost prestige and are no longer taken seriously by community members. Then too, there are those diviners who are clearly concerned with financial gain, and troubled people. Such diviners are stubborn and avaricious and denigrate the profession, in which are to be found people of high personal character and great wisdom. The question arises, how does one distinguish the charlatan from the bona fide diviner? Who is one to trust? The ancestral dreams? Since fraudulent diviners do exist, and therefore 'misuse' (or even abuse) the ancestors, whom should one consult- God? Since so many contemporary Africans in both rural and urban environments continue to consult diviners, and rely on them for counsel and decision-making, and health-care, potential clients will have to make their own choices.

Carrying out this research was like making a long and circuitous journey into the 'World of Diviners'. As a participant observer, I sometimes felt myself to be on the fringe of certain events, a situation unlikely to promote a sensitive study of my subject. But in most cases, some diviners would 'pull' me 'in' from my marginal position, in order that I should gain insight into, and have a deeper understanding of what happens in their world. It is said that when an ordinary person dances with 'white people' at *entungo*, that person will become deranged. When I was politely but firmly forced to dance with novices, holding the host diviner's spear in one hand, I became in touch with inner being, so to speak. It was as if I looked inside myself, at the external events which were to occur around me -looking outside from the inside, as it were. However, nothing happened to me apart from my enjoyment of the singing of *uNonkala*, a favourite song of mine. I know that if I had divulged this to a diviner, she would have found it to be indicative of *ukuthwasa*, the song being an ancestral 'gift' calling me to accept *intwaso*.

According to Doctor Totana, there are many manifestations of *ukuthwasa* that do not necessarily lead to divination training. He told me that praise singers (*iimbongi*) may and do experience this state, as do artists and musicians. They are all *amathwasa* but they do not have to undergo training because they have not been 'called' to diagnose and heal (unless, of course, they experience a true ancestral calling with its attendant 'troubles').

In this particular context, *ukuthwasa* of musicians and artists is manifested in their creative abilities, talents which are given by God who is the creator of all things. I believe that in any intensive study a person undertakes affects that person in one-way or another. I know of at least of five well-educated individuals who have been working closely with diviners, and are now officially part of their world. Ms Mndende is one of them, and when she told me that she was undergoing initiation I replied: I think that your deep and sustained involvement in African Religion matters, and your project with diviners, has impacted on you. I do not believe that you are experiencing the ancestral 'illness', but you have deep love for what you are doing, you are a cultural activist. Her response (made me laugh for I knew how she was going to say) was: *Hey! mntana ndini kuqhubeka ntoni ngawe, usindisiwe? Uzakundibhida* (Hey you child! what is going with you, are you 'saved' (Born Again Christian)? You are going to make me confused.

During this research, I was frequently told by diviners that I was receiving a 'calling' to their profession, but I resolved to remain impervious to such claims. Baw' uGxarha once told me that before diviners leave for *intlombe* they pray to their ancestors for protection; others talk to their magic charms (mixtures of pounded medicinal used to lure people), and say: we must not become hungry while you exist; since we are about to leave for *intlombe*, and so we should return from it with a client. Baw' uGxarha added that this happens mostly before big séances, where these diviners pour the powdered mixture into their whistles, and blow them when *intlombe* a climax of *ihlombe*. At this point, the powder will enter the mouths of the people who are singing loudly. Any person present who may be susceptible to this, will dream continually about the diviner who will ultimately train her.

As I described earlier in this dissertation, I had been having troubling dreams about a diviner and beads, and I spoke about this to a novice (Thongolemveli) who had approached me in my dreams (see Appendix 5; vol.2 p.14). I had in mind her tutor diviner who had given me hostile looks, but when speaking about this, I was careful not to mention the diviner's name. It was a shock for her to hear what I had to say, since she was also involved in my dreams. I asked to convey my greetings to her trainer diviner, but she replied: That diviner hated me so much that I decided to leave her, she is 'filthy'. This response provided a satisfactory explanation for the strange dream I had had, and the beads I found arranged on the floor.

I love being an African and I am proud to be one but when such things like these happen I wish I could transform and become someone else. I always ask myself: why is that European researchers who attend séances remain immune to such bewitchment? The same may be said for those initiated into *ukuthwasa*; they do not encounter problems such problems with their diviners, that is to say, they do not leave them while in the training process. They remain with their trainers until they graduate. (Exclude Frieda, who did not train the orthodox way, but trained initially in Swaziland, and then moved to Botswana to acquire certain other skills.

A large number of cultural insiders who receive a 'call', and have little or no knowledge of what happens in the diviners' world, will benefit from this study. It may also be helpful and beneficial to cultural outsiders who interact with African students, and who are largely ignorant and even prejudiced towards African cultural patterns, and particularly divination systems, which continue to play a central role in cultures in rapid transition. The case of Lunga illustrates this point. Neither Mrs Stern nor Professor Gobatto were able to understand why Lunga was falling behind in his studies because they know nothing about the cultural background of their African students. Another opera student, a similar situation, she is a member of a Zionist-type church, having joined along with her mother who has experienced the symptoms of a 'call' to the office of diviner but is unhappy about it, and prefers to find her solution in the role of a prophet in the church. The situation is still unresolved, and who knows, her daughter, the opera student, may well be affected by it, to the detriment of her studies. How will she be able to explain her situation to instructors who are likely to view it with disdain and impatience? There is also a student of jazz in the College of Music who shows signs of the 'calling', and is greatly troubled by this undesirable condition. She suffers from continual headaches, which threaten to interfere with her University programme. I feel that it is high time that the Jazz department (and other departments) staff members acquaint themselves with cultural issues pertaining to their African students, and become more sympathetic towards their problems, through having more tolerance for their cultural customs and beliefs. My supervisor who is a cultural outsider has shown a deep respect and knowledge of what is happening in my culture (I strongly believe this applies too to the students she lectures).

During my research, I experienced cultural hardships that made me want to de-register as a student because these were having adverse effect on my health and work progress. But because of her understanding, my supervisor made time to listen to my woes, was very supportive and encouraged me to persevere in my research. Other outsider staff members become 'numb' towards such culture-related problems, and this discourages the students, who later become 'drop-outs'. Weekly performers' classes of one-hour duration are part of the obligatory activities in the College of Music. If there was a similar programme for public lectures, based on African cultural issues (and many of them, for example can take the form of particularised discussions involving music within dynamic systems of knowledge upon which social and ritual actions are based), it would help to promote tolerance and understanding, and mutual respect between 'outsider' staff members and the people they interact with daily in the lecture rooms.

PHOTO PLATES: THE PROCESS OF BECOMING A DIVINER

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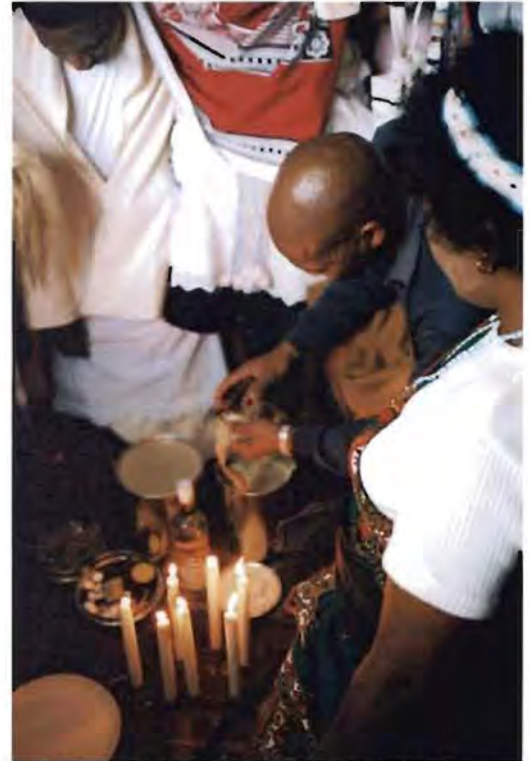
1. Ritual items.



2. The host diviner informing participants of the purpose of the ritual ceremony.



3. Diviner's colleague lighting the candles to facilitate a higher state of awareness.



4. The proxy pouring *ubulawu* of his clan.

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5. The proxy churning up *ubulawu* of his clan.



6. The host diviner has sprinkled *ubulawu* of her clan on top of the induced froth.



7. The host diviner churning up the combined *ubulawu* of the two clans.



8. The host diviner daubing the froth on the initiate.

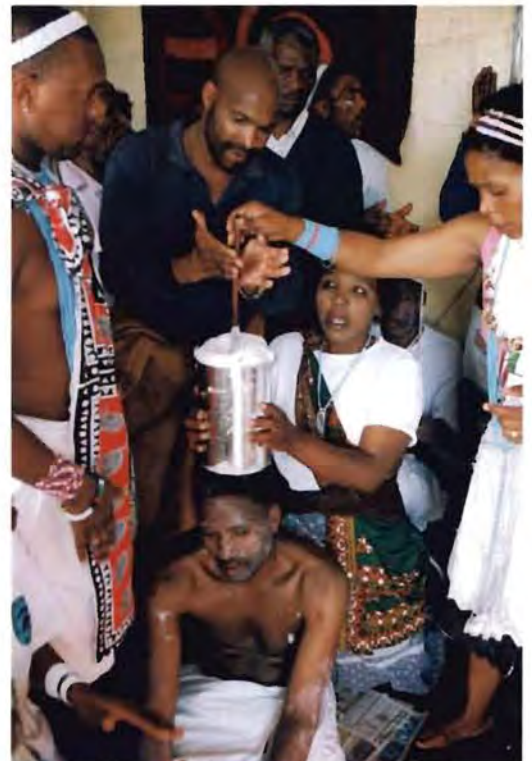
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9. The host diviner employing *ixhayi* to daub the initiate with the froth.



10. The host diviner daubing the joints of the initiate.



11. The placed billycan of *ubulawu* on the initiate's head is the confirmation of the acceptance of the ancestral calling.

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12. The final binding ritual admission to enter divination practice.



13. The host diviner induces the froth to dip the initiate's beads before they are placed on him.



14. The host diviner hands over the beads to the proxy to place them on the initiate.

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15. The novices singing and clapping for the ritual dancers



16. The initiate dancing for his ancestors. His stick, *matshinitshini*, protects him from evil forces.



17. The host diviner held by the spirit of her ancestors.

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18. The head-beads of the initiate, referred to as *imingqa*, indicate that she has not undergone *imvuma kufa*.



19. The head-beads, worn by the novices called *isiweqwe*, show that they have undergone *imvuma kufa*.



20. The eyes are fixed towards the eyes where the ancestors are said to brood.



21. The headdress *umqhele* indicates that he is close to becoming a fully-fledged diviner.

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22. The novice, robed with *ingcawa*, waiting in the sacred room to be fetched by her trainer diviner.



23. The novice, and the diviner, heading towards the cattle byre for her graduation ceremony.



24. The trainer diviner adorns the graduand.

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25. *Intlombe* congregation celebrating the 'coming out' (graduation) of the novice.



26. The newly-graduated diviner and her family partaking of *umshwamo*.



27. The host diviner, churning up *ubulawu* after which the new graduate is going to ingest the froth.

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28. The diviner's apron is made from strips of different animal skins and is called *umthika*.



29. The diviner's intricately beaded overgarment, referred to as *intsimbi yesinqe*.



30. Diviners dancing in their full regalia.



31. Divination practice has no age limit (even children can receive an ancestral calling).

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32. The internationally acclaimed Ngqoko Women's Ensemble. Third from the left is Nofenishala (now a diviner). She states that wherever she performs, her diviner's drum needs to be played to ease her *umbilini*.

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33. The Internationally acclaimed mouth bow performers Nogcinile (left) and Madosini (right).

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33. Madosini, the internationally acclaimed musician, plays a divination song on *Uhadi*.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE:

¹Identities keep shifting, in South Africa there are Whites/Europeans who prefer to be called White South Africans and others prefer to be called Europeans. However, there are those who (Professor Kaschula is one of them) prefer to be called South Africans. In this study European has been used when referring to Whites to avoid confusion between them and diviners who are called 'white people'.

²Harriet Ngubane (1977:51) states that each child is placed under the protection of the ancestors by a sacrifice of a goat known as *imbeleko* (*beleka*, vb., to carry on the back. The skin of the goat is usually prepared to be used to wrap the baby on it's mother's back).

³Red people are people who have retained the ancestral cult and semi-pastoral life and, because of their picturesque red-ochred dress, the members are known as 'Red people'. Red ochre, or the blood of the earth, is the colour of those beloved by the spirits of the ancestors, and for their people it is the colour of faith and happiness (Broster J.A. 1981: 17).

⁴This is another method of singing similar to *-vuma* (cf. p.41) but *ombela* strictly involves clapping and dance.

CHAPTER TWO:

¹See Hodgson (1982) for detailed information on the concept of Qamata/Thixo which was adopted by Xhosa from Khoisan after they branched off from the parent Nguni body.

²According to Baw' uGxarha: traditionally the procedure would include offerings like billycan of traditional beer, Xhosa tobacco, *ubulawu*, melon seeds (*iintanga zomxoxozi*), sweet reed (*imfe*), pumpkin seeds (*iintanga zamathanga*), white beads (*iintsimbi ezimhlophe*), a portion of meat *isiphika* ('right fore shoulder and breast') from a sacrificed animal (if the ritual offering involved the ritual killing). The time to go to the sacred place would be twelve midnight or an hour later. And people were to return home before dawn. On their way to the sacred place where the ritual would be performed, for example, the river, *umguli* would lead or direct the group. Once they arrived, the first speaker would be the trainer diviner and followed by *umguli* who would beg her ancestors to remove darkness and reveal light so that there should be no evil agents preventing her from fulfilling her potential, wishes and intentions of the ancestors, to become a healer. One member of the family would also be given an opportunity to convey a ritual message to the ancestor. Signs would be given by the ancestors like a big heavy splash, indicating that everyone was welcomed by the ancestors. After this, *umguli* would be instructed to fetch water from *emzini omkhulu* ('lit. the Great House' i.e.the river') for mixing *ubulawu*, which would be churned up by the diviner and *umguli*. The relatives would then be given two or three seeds and some white beads to offer to the river people.

The diviner and *umguli* would offer with the billycan filled with traditional beer and one overflowing with *ubulawu*. These would be placed uncovered in the water and would float in the direction of the ancestors for them to consume. The two billycans would emerge after a while or the following day. *Isiphika* would also be placed in the river for them to consume it. Since the ritual slaughtering took place at the river, the chyme would be sprinkled on the banks to confirm that the *hlwayelela* ritual was actually performed. The rest of the meat would be cooked and consumed there and the bones would be burnt at the same ritual spot. People work differently some would use another approach but basically and traditionally this is how the *hlwayelela* river ritual was performed.

³ See J.H. Soga {1931}

⁴ See Klaus E. Muller and Ute Ritz-Muller (2000) in *Soul of Africa*.

⁵ Baw' uGxarha states: it is someone who possesses a charm with the aim of enriching oneself.

⁶ Peires, (1981: 111) states: In April 1835, Hintsa, the King of the Xhosa (of the Royal House of Phalo), was treacherously taken prisoner by the British. In an attempt to escape, he was pulled from his horse, and shot through the back and through the leg. Severely wounded, he tried to escape by falling down a riverbank and into a watercourse. A British Scout, George Southey by name...coming up fast behind him, blew off the top of his head. Then some soldiers cut off his ears as keepsakes to show around the military camps. Others tried to dig out his teeth with bayonets. Thus died Hintsa, King of the Xhosa, for trusting the honour of a British Governor'.

⁷ See Peires 1981:75

⁸ See West (1975:24) for *Manyano* federation.

⁹ The Xhosa (and Zulu) term *ukuhlonipha* means essentially 'the paying of respect'. In Xhosa it is a custom and a system which covers both action and speech, and applies to both men and women, although women are more affected, especially with regard to their behaviour towards their relatives-in-law. A married woman has to wear her clothes modestly, and show respect and subservience, by keeping her eyes down, and observing certain eating taboos.

The traditional *iqhiya* she wears -a black cloth wrapped tightly round the head to come down low over the forehead- is another of many signs of respect which a bride has to observe. But *ukuhlonipha* of speech is more restrictive. A woman may not use the names of her in-laws, nor any word that contains the roots of these names. For example, she cannot use any word in which the first syllable is the same as the first syllable of an in-law's name. She gets around this difficulty by substituting a synonym, or the name of a substitute commodity. Another word altogether may be used, with the result that the speech of women may, and does differ radically from that of men. A woman may not even call her own husband by his name, but may address him as *bhuti kabani* (i.e. 'brother of so-and-so') or by some improvised name. A woman is not released from *ukuhlonipha* until she is an old woman (but still, that depends on the clan into which she got married). There are large collections of fixed, distinct *hlonipha* words which have been compiled, and which are used as substitutes for the prohibited words, and they vary from district to district, and even from one community to another. This is not surprising, considering that the people using the system are largely non-literate and have to memorise all the words.

A breach of *-hlonipha* is traditionally a serious matter, incurring the payment of a goat or the equivalent in money, and often a prescriptive ritual.

Regarding *hlonipha* usage, anthropologists E.J. Krige has noted:

"...by certain universally accepted rules of transmutation any word in the language maybe changed so as to lose all identity with respect name" (The Social system of the Zulus, 1936:30). The speech *hlonipha* custom was also observed by male initiates (*abakhwetha*), who are taught the use of substitute words in the place of other everyday words which cannot be used at anytime while the initiates are in the seclusion lodge. In this case it is not clear as to who is being *hlonitshwa*-ed, but the available information indicates that it is seen as a means of discipline and as a mark of subservience and respect, showing humility, since the initiates are still in seclusion and have not yet attained social manhood. See J.H. Soga ({1931}: 208-213) for more information on the subject of *hlonipha* by the male initiates. There is also observance of *hlonipha* speech among diviners and their novices, and I make references to this in this study. As a point of interest, Xhosa kings and chiefs were also accorded the custom. Their names were being sacred, they were revered by being addressed by other names e.g. 'Father', and by their many individual praise-names.

¹⁰Ntsikana, a famous Xhosa prophet who died in 1821, was a convert of the Reverend Joseph Williams of the London Missionary Society. Although he was an illiterate man, Ntsikana composed hymns which are still modern-day Christian congregations. In addition he made fascinating prophecies warning of the growing importance of buttons without holes (money) and foretelling of smoke belching fire (trains), which would move over the countryside (Alan Mountain 1998: 12). See also D.Dargie (1988:105-106) about Ntsikana.

¹¹See V. Buhrmann (1984), M.V. Gumede (1990), H. Ngubane (1977) and T. Mdleleni (1990) for detailed information on *amafufunyane*.

¹²Baw' uGxarha states that they are the sick people who have been admitted to be under a diviner's care. They differ from those who have the ancestral calling. They are also referred to as *oonototi* ('the cans/metal containers'). Some of *oononkonkxa* suffer from *amafufunyane* and serious illnesses that require daily supervision of a diviner. The patients live at the diviner's home until the illness is cured. They spend much time raising *ihlombe* (by singing and clapping) with trainee diviners when they perform *unontongwana*.

¹³Literally, *camagu* means 'be appeased' or 'be propitiated', but it carries a connotation, in ordinary speech, of sincere thankfulness towards or satisfaction with the addressee. *Camagusha* is similar, and the host's explanation at the meeting of kin may draw a comment like *siyacamagusha*, meaning something like 'we thank you sincerely'. Even where there is reason to be critical of the host, this is done in a very tactful and conciliatory manner, the object being, for example, to correct some procedural fault, and not to seek a quarrel. P.A. McAllister (1988).

¹⁴*Intsonyama* is the muscle of the right shoulder that is detached from the sacrificed animal and is eaten by the officiate, *umguli* and her family (excluding *abendi*) in the cattle byre. Cf. (Soga {1931}:145) and Hammond-Tooke (1989).

¹⁵See Soga ({1931}) for more details on *ukushwama*.

¹⁶*Umnyama* when used metaphorically to symbolise death, can be translated as 'pollution'. 'Pollution' then is viewed as a marginal state between life and death. *Umnyama* is conceptualised as a mystical force, which diminishes resistance to disease, and creates conditions of poor luck/misfortune, 'disagreeableness' and repulsiveness (*isidina*) whereby people around the patient take a dislike to him without any provocation. The behaviour pattern observed by those in a state of *umnyama* is known as *ukuzila*. It entails withdrawal from social life, abstinence from all pleasurable experience, avoidance of wearing any finery (H. Ngubane 1977:78).

¹⁷*Umbilini* is an energy source residing in people generally, and diviners and their novices especially. The term is used to describe a feeling of anxiety or anxious anticipation, a feeling of unease experienced in the chest or abdominal area, with heart palpitations. *Umbilini* rises up (to the chest area) at certain times, usually at the instigation of the ancestors, and for reasons which have to do with the affected person's current situation, for example, when a diviner makes contact with the ancestors (a critical moment), or when a person experiences feelings of apprehension, or of impending doom, usually being a warning sent by the ancestors. For more detailed information cf. Burhmann (1984:60) giving quotations from her informants about *umbilini*.

¹⁸Cf. AbaMbo www.sacred-texts.com/afr/fiwa/fiwa07.htm

CHAPTER THREE

¹See preface pp.xx-xxi for *ukuthwetyulwa*.

²In 1820 (so Peires states, 1981), Nxele and some companions overpowered the crew of a small boat and attempted to escape (during his imprisonment in Roben Island), but the overload craft capsized and he was drown (For in-depth information on Nxele cf. www.google.com/search (SECHABA-Makana). See also Nelson Mandela 'Long Walk to Freedom' (1994:404-405).

³See J.H. Soga ({1931}).

⁴*Ibekelo* is an evil substance placed at the entrance of a homestead or in the pathway that the victim is known to use most. Broster (1981:86) states: As soon as the person for whom the medicine is intended steps over the material, he becomes violently ill either with excruciating pain in his foot which leads to rheumatic swelling of the joints, or with violent headaches, nose bleed or stiff neck.

⁵*Ubulawu/isilawu* (pl. *izilawu*) are various sacred medicinal roots that are use by all Xhosa clan members, be it in the institution of diviners or by non-diviners. There is a Xhosa saying thus goes: *isiduko ngasinye sinesilawu saso* (each clan has its own homestead medicinal roots), for example if one belongs to the clan of Qwambi, one will not be allowed to use *izilawu* of a clan other than one's own. These roots are ground upon a big stone and then a handful is placed in a billycan of water. One takes a two-pronged wooden stick (*ixhayi*), places it in the contents of the canister, and twirls it rapidly between the palm of the hands so that the contents froth up (the process being called *ukuphehla*). The *phehla* process is usually accompanied by invoking of the ancestors, and also the singing when it is performed at *intlombe*. The white foaming substance rises up, and should it overflow *icamagu livumile* is proclaimed. The person for whom the ritual is performed is made to ingest the foam and the rest of it is rubbed onto the face and body. The same procedure is followed in the institution of diviners when a *thwasa* is ritually anointed.

CHAPTER FOUR

¹See Berglund (1976: 167) on the significance of the colour white, of diviners' regalia.

²See Hirst (1990:96) about *intwaso* not responding to Western medical treatment.

³See (ch. eight p.277) about evil incision as explained by Dr. Totana

⁴Thikoloshe-familiar of a witch. Another name that is used for it, is *uhili*, cf. Broster (1981:58), Hammond-Tooke (1989:75), J.H. Soga ({1931}: 185-191), Gumede 1990:58).

⁵Hammond-Tooke (1989:75) states: *Umamlambo* is a familiar owned only by men; it is a charm, bought from a herbalist. Citing Wilson et al 1952: 190 (Hammond-Tooke states that *mamlambo* has the power to take any guise, such as a baby, a beautiful woman. Cf. also J.S. Soga ({1931}), Broster (1981:59), Pauw (1975:234).

⁶See J.H.Soga (1931:213-216), Broster (1981:50-60) for more details on *impundulu*.

⁷Amandau/Ndau spirit possession is clearly explained by Thomas Johnston in the article: 'Possession music of the Shangana-Tsonga' in African Music, vol 5 no.2 (pp.10-21) 1972.

⁸*Kwasa-kwasa* is a sexually suggestive type of dance that originates from Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) cf. www.google.com/search (*kwasa-kwasa*) (RADIO BRIDGE OVERSEAS).

⁹Satyo S.C. (2001:139) states: *Kwaito* is a new type of music which is an amalgam of elements of a wide variety of genres. It includes elements of Jazz and Reggae, and so is a type of creolisation of music. The information he obtained from some *Kwaito* devotees was that the term comes from the word '*kwaai*' whose *Kwaito* meaning is 'good' 'excellent'. The *Kwaito* word has been re-deployed from the Afrikaans '*kwaai*', meaning 'bad-tempered, vicious, harsh, strict'. Satyo says: his informants advised him that the ending '-to', is possibly a recycled form of the Afrikaans '*ding*' meaning 'thing' or of the Nguni '-to', the root for 'thing'. *Kwaito* according to this reconstruction, means 'kwaai ding' or 'funky stuff'.

¹⁰See J.S. Soga ({1931}), Hammond-Tooke (1989:73-89) about *ubugqwirha* (witchcraft).

CHAPTER FIVE

¹When people are instructed to sing *ingoma* ('a song), it is expected that they should *ombela* it i.e. the singing has to involve clapping, dancing. *Ingoma* cannot be sung in the manner of *ukucula* ('a western style of singing') because *ingoma* is not *iculo* (multipart choral song in strict metre involving no physical movements). When people sing *ingoma*, they have to be visibly moved by it.

²*Iindaba zabahlekazi* (lit.'ancestral news' meaning revelations to their 'white' descendants). The ancestors, diviners (male and female) or elderly male persons are sometimes referred to as *abahlekazi*, this is a sign of respect. J.S.Soga ({1931}:11) explains this by stating: a Xhosa-speaking person meeting a total stranger will address him, irrespective of appearance or evident social position, as 'Mhlekezzi'- (lit. most beautiful one), or 'Nkosi' ('chief') or 'Mntakwethu'('child of our family') nor does he lose any of his personal dignity in making use of these terms of respect. This is but one of many characteristics, which indicate in his respect to others a respect for himself.

³*Indlamu* was originally the name of a Zulu dance form, which became popular among Zulu male migrant workers in urban-industrial areas. The style was then cultivated by migrant workers of different cultural backgrounds, who perform the dance in their various local fashions. The dance has a characteristic basic metre, and the concerted stamping of alternate feet on the ground is the most typical action. But the different 'cultural' groups have different dancing speeds, and even the method of stamping on the ground differs. Versions of *indlamu* include: Mpondo-style, Mpondomise, -Bhaca, -Hlubi, -Ntlangwini and Xesibe style (all Xhosa-speakers), and Swazi, Zingili and South Sotho variants. See also David Coplan (1985:268).

⁴Hansen states that *ukutyityimba* is done when the dancer shakes parts of the body - upper and lower- and causes the muscles of the torso, and sometimes even the facial muscles (cheek areas) to ripple and quiver. She further says that the basis of *ukutyityimba* is a rapid forward and backward movement of the knee of the leg upon which the dancer is standing, whilst the other knee is poised as a counterweight. Some of the dancers combine this with a rapid forward and backward shuffle on the ball of the foot. *Ukutyityimba* is a cultural marker of Xhosa music, and is cultivated by everyone, and of all ages, and each perform *ukutyityimba* in an individualistic way. The rippling quivering is also used in a non-musical sense: e.g. to describe the movement of a spear when it has hurled into the ground or into an object, and it quivers along its length.

⁵Xhosa-English Dictionary entry: (McLaren; Bennie 1963:30): 'joyful excitement'. The concept *ihlombe* ('joyful excitement') and *intlombe* (a party or event with singing and dancing) have the same radical or root: - *ombe*. *Ihlombe* is a Xhosa concept that has been discussed in great detail by Hansen (1981:24-25). It is a state of 'shared transcendental experience in which the participants are 'raised up', and go 'right out of themselves'....When people make music together,...their joy in associated action as well as their reciprocal response unites all of them -the performers and audience alike- in a very close bond of *ihlombe*. It should be noted that it is not music itself that induces the condition, but the process of making music, which is ideally done on a large scale. Hansen states: *Ihlombe* becomes apparent when singing becomes louder, when the pitch rises, when the dancing becomes hectic and violent, and when the music becomes expressive with improvised words and sounds...singers either add their own 'new' words, or vocables, which allow for greater freedom of musical expression.

⁶*Nontongwana* is a test of ability made by the trainer/diviner for her novice/s. The aim is to find an object that has been hidden by trainer/diviner. Usually, diviners, relatives and non-diviners who constitute the audience gather to test the novice's performance. Sometimes it is done at the diviner's home during the neophytes' training and in this case it does not need observers other than trainees. For detailed information see Lamla (1975: 97).

⁷A process of churning up the homestead medicinal roots with a forked stick. Sometimes witches can also use the same term *ukuphehla* for churning up their 'dirty' medicinal roots for evil purpose.

⁸*Umnqundu* is a very bad swear word in Xhosa, the English translation is 'a backside' and it does not have the same connotation as in English

⁹See Hammond-Tooke (1989:59,63).

¹⁰*Umtshilo* is a dance done by novices while still at the circumcision school. See Hansen (1981: 498-520) for a detailed account of this dance, and circumcision music generally.

¹¹ For detailed about Ciskei/an cf. www.google.com/search (Armoria Patriae-Republic of Ciskei)

¹² See D. Dargie (1988:65)

¹³ *Umjikelo* -a noun- derived from a verb *jikela* meaning to turn around in a circle. The essence and enjoyment of this is the competitive spirit of fund raising, one church raising more money than the others. This is highly accompanied by moving and captivating singing and the latter is what influences the congregation to dig out from their pockets the last cent for the offertory. Each group brings a stipulated amount usually put into a moneybag and this money is referred to as *ingxowa* ('the bag'). To boost individual collection for each moneybag, people would pour drop of *amathontsi* ('drops'). This means that they raise the small change by a slow process of putting cents or small amount of money at intervals in a competitive spirit to the highest amount. The circulation of this fund-raising is from one church to another at monthly intervals

¹⁴ The CCACZ was organised in 1896 and re-established in 1906. Its Headquarters are in Zion City Illinois USA and the first Apostle was John Alexander. This information was obtained from Rev Manyaka's ordination certificate.

¹⁵ Rev. Bishop John Frans was assigned to be the head of CCACZ in South Africa whose headquarters were in Cradock. He was well known for his healing powers and 'catching up' of *izithunzela* (cf. Broster 1981:60, Hammond-Tooke 1989:77 about *izithunzela*).

CHAPTER SIX

¹ Among the Xhosa-speaking people practising male initiation, *umfana* pl. *abafana* is the Xhosa term for a young man who has undergone the initiation rite, and who thus attains social manhood. In the international setting he automatically became a member of the post-initiation youth gathering called *intlombe yabafana*. In this context, this term also denoted the night dance party of *intlombe* group, attended by the young men and their female social equivalents. *Intlombe zabafana* were usually formal affairs at which full traditional dress and traditional beer was obligatory. The party took place over a weekend, and the music was a highly complex rhythmic music accompanying dancing by the young men and women. It involved responsorial singing and 'melodic segmentation i.e. a system of hocketting in which individuals sing ostinato melodic-rhythmic motifs' (Hansen 1981:366). All this occurred within a rhythmic-metrical framework of handclaps provided by the young women, together with the cross-rhythmic patterns of vocal percussive sounds made by the young men. The musical result was a massive harmonic build-up resulting from the rhythmic interplay of individual melodic-rhythmic motives (Hansen 1981:359-388). *Intlombe zabafana* dances are no longer a regular and important aspect of Xhosa social life, and the music has suffered neglect. But there is evidence that certain groups of Xhosa musicians in the Eastern Cape are retaining the music as one of the Xhosa 'national' styles, this being part of a strategy aimed at ensuring the continuity of older Xhosa traditional music as a vital part of the Xhosa cultural heritage.

It was at *iintlombe* dance parties that young men often met their future wives. It was an event at which the young people literally bared themselves, their characters and personality traits. Young women were not permitted to wear any kind of breast covering, the upper torso had to be exposed. They wore short traditional skirts *umbhaco* (pl. *imibhaco*) and a certain amount of beadwork and other ornaments. According to senior Xhosa men and women, it was possible to ascertain whether or not a young woman was chaste, by the state of the breasts. *Intlombe* was thus a social institution in which young adults were educated in the expected standards of social and sexual behaviour. Any girl who contravened the strict sexual code was to be immediately excluded from the group. She would lose the respect and friendship of her peer-group, and the disgrace would remain with her for the rest of her life. Her parents would also suffer, since such a girl would hardly be sought after as wife.

²Soga ({1931}:216) states that *intonjane* ('girl's initiation') is a custom observed when a girl reaches the age of puberty. It is derived from *ukuthomba* -to menstruate for the first time. With the first appearance of the menses the girl is ordered into seclusion. She may be secluded for as long as a month, but that depends a good deal on the ability of the girl's father or guardian to provide food for the people who assemble at different times for the observance of the custom. (There have been a number of debates on *Ukholo Lwemveli*, Umhlobo Wenene Radio programme concerning the age a girl/female is supposed to observe the custom. Some people said even if one is married and has children a custom may be performed; it does create ritual problems but it heals if one is suffering from a certain sickness).

³When these are done, one is being moulded to become a responsible person as one acquires a new status in life. The ancestors are always present so that the person who exhorts could address the physical and the spirit world. In fact to the latter he will be making some requests and asks blessings for the new person.

⁴Every home has a song called *ingoma yekhaya*, used when there are ritual works. Its function is to invoke the ancestors and invite them to be present at the 'work' so that they may be among the clan members. The ancestors will guide the proceedings and also partake of what is to be consumed through libation and also protect the family from witches who might be present at the ritual event.

⁵The use of seven candles emanates from the Book of Revelations 4:5. The Zionists believe that seven candles symbolise the seven Godly spirits illuminating the temple of God. Diviners also use seven candles in their ritual ceremonies. MamNcotshe for example, who is an adherent of African Traditional Religion used seven candles in a séance she hosted, (cf. plate no.4 p.291) and which were of Christian ritual origin.

⁶Xhosa tobacco is also used when there are ritual works at a homestead not necessarily of 'white people'. Doctor Totana informed me that: traditionally, people attending the event would use the pipe of the host when performing a smoking ritual. Two pipes would be provided -for elderly men and women- to take a puff and pass it on to someone else in their group. It was said people would be sharing the smoke with the ancestors. He went on to say that the Xhosa tobacco was used by mothers and fathers before they went to bed to make a child. They would smoke at the same time lying on their backs. As the smoke would rise, it would be inviting the presence of the ancestors, before their lovemaking performance commenced.

If their smoke intermingled, it meant that the ancestors approved and they could go ahead and make a child. If the smoke did not intermingle it would mean that one of partners had been mischievous, therefore they could not proceed with the lovemaking.

⁷*Ixhayi* is cut from different trees: *isibetha-nkunzi*, *umnquma* and *isidakane* for *phehla*. The information I obtained from Doctor Totana on the *phehla* is as follows: "The *phehla* is used for both the good (by 'white people' and when a homestead ritual work is enacted for a good purpose) and the evil (by the witches). The difference lies in the method of employing it. *Ixhayi* that is used for good purpose is from the above-mentioned trees. The witches get their *ixhayi* from their cursed tree. As *ixhayi* is placed between the palm of the hands and twirled, its initial movement is forwards to beat the dark side and the witches' movement is backwards to beat the light."

⁸A type of everlasting plant growing on mountain slopes, in Botanical terms it is called *helichrysum*. This plant is burnt at the rituals of diviners or during consultation. See also Broster (1981:54-56), Lamla (1975:106).

⁹See end note no. 16 of ch. seven

¹⁰See end note no.2 of ch. two

¹¹See preface xxv on *uhadi*

¹²Baw' uGxarha states that *Somagwaza* is a 'mountain song' i.e. a ritual song of circumcision. People begin to sing it a night before a boy is taken to the mountain (the school of circumcision) and young men perform a dance called *umgubho*. The following day as preparations are made to take the boy to the mountain, this song *Somagwaza* is again sung. It is started at the home of the boy until they reach the destination. It does not matter how long a distance is from the home to the mountain, the song is sung continuously. On the day of the 'coming back' of *umkhwetha* (the novice) from the mountain the same song, *Somagwaza* is sung. *Somagwaza* is also performed in another religious context, *intlombe* by great diviners. The novices are not allowed to sing this song when they have their preliminary séance. It is also employed by other clans as the homestead song (of invoking their ancestors) and therefore is classified as *Ingoma yabantu abadala*. See Hansen (1981:578-579) for detailed information on *u-Somagwaza*.

¹³*Umthonyama*: dry cow dung that has been eroded and deposited in a corner of the cattle-byre.

¹⁴*Umtshotsho*: cf. D. Dargie (1988: 33-35)

¹⁵See end note no.3 of ch. five.

¹⁶They are called *abantu bomgubo* because it is believed that the small calabashes they wear around their necks are filled up with crushed medicinal plants, which assist them in divining.

¹⁷See end note no.10 of ch. seven on the definition of *umdudo*.

¹⁸See V. Burhmann (1984).

¹⁹See L. Thomas (1999:22).

²⁰A seclusion lodge sometimes referred as *ibhuma*.

²¹A place where alcoholic beverages can be bought and drunk.

CHAPTER SEVEN

¹Thomas (1999:5) states: St. Johns Apostolic Faith Mission was founded by a prominent healer Mother Mokotuli Christina Nku who opened her house as a healing station for people in 1918.

During the early 1930s, she left the predominantly white Apostolic Faith Church and started St. John's Apostolic Faith Mission, a church focused on healing in a way that blended the signs, symbols, and practices of her own Sotho culture and those borrowed from the Protestant Christianity.

² See Thomas (1999:51)

³When an initiate reaches a level of being a 'five to' her regalia changes with some new ritual artefacts being added. Her skirt that has always been white with no decorations, is at this stage sewn with pieces of animal skins that she has been shown in the dreams by the ancestors. They are sewn in a haphazard fashion and also the daubing of the white ochre has to be applied in a pattern of circle of dots.

⁴Soga ({1931}:166) states that *umshologu* is an evil sent by and emanating from, the ancestral spirits, whose duty is to afflict some person or family, as a punishment. Soga's definition creates confusion because according to diviners *umshologu* is an ancestor who afflicts a person with 'white sickness'.

⁵Listen to track nos (18, 19, 20 and 21 for different versions of *Unongangela*).

⁶*Oononyanya* is a *hlonipha* word for *izinyanya* who are sometimes referred to as *Oonomathotholo*. The song basically sounds the same as *Oonomathotholo bayeza kusasa*

⁷Professor Dargie states (in CD accompanying notes Afrique Du Sud entitled 'The Ngqoko Women's Ensemble' 1996): "*Ithamsanqa* means luck. As a diviner one needs luck to divine people's problems successfully, and to discover answers. So the diviner asks for luck -in fact here it means the power to foresee." I totally disagree with Dargie's explanation. Songs can have different meanings for various diviners but they (diviners) do not need luck in order to divine successfully. The 'luck' or good fortune rather, refers to the calling and the froth from the churned up *ubulawu*. It is the ancestors that give the revelations in order to be able to divine and the froth is one of the agents, which makes communication possible between the 'white person' and the ancestors. Luck here has been used rather too loosely as something that has happened by chance. Probably when the song is sung in another context in beer gatherings, then 'luck' is acceptable, but not in a religious context.

⁸Gumede (1990: 90, 109) states that they are protective medicines which are not edible but sprinkled about the yard to protect the homestead, kraal against the witchcraft of the evil ones, human, spirits or familiars. See also Soga ({1931}:216).

⁹ See West 1975.

¹⁰Soga ({1931}:219) states that *umdudo* is a men's dance that involves three movements, and from the first of these the dance takes its name. It is performed in the courtyard where the dancers line up in two lines and wait for *umyeyezelo* (opening dance song), the second movement is called *ingqaqu* and is more spirited than the first one. The third movement is *umxhentso* and in this a person employs his style of dancing. This *umdudo* is done at the girls' initiation. Another kind of *umdudo* is done at weddings. I do not see a relation between *umdudo* of the Zionist and the discussed one.

¹¹Gumede (1990:38) states that one gets *idliso* when someone wishes to harm the patient and puts poison or *muthi* into the patient's food or drink.

¹² See David Coplan 1985:15

¹³It means that they carry powerful energy that they cannot endure because they are still at low stages of training.

¹⁴See end note no.5 of ch. seven.

¹⁵A powdered medicinal plant. See Broster (1981:81)

¹⁶*Utsiki* is a goat that is slaughtered for a newly married woman so that she may be customarily introduced to the ancestors of her husband. There is a special meat that is cut and broiled for her and it has to be dipped in a pint half filled with milk and there after consume it. This process is called *ukutyiswa amasi* (lit. to be let ingest curdled milk). This permits her means to drink tea/coffee of her husband's family with milk.

¹⁷A sound of a heavy falling object.

¹⁸Sticks are of great significance in Xhosa culture and are used for various purposes. There are sticks for war, and for more practical purposes, ('peace' sticks) as those which are carried by diviners and senior men, who ought not to walk barehanded. When men go to *iimbizo* they will carry such 'peace' sticks. This is the same stick that is carried when consulting a diviner.

¹⁹This refers to a loud and hoarse or unpleasant sound. For example, (listen to CD1 track. no. 32) towards the end of the track (time = 1.58) one of the followers' raucous voice stands out clearly above others.

²⁰Cf. p.57 of this dissertation.

²¹Ritual work for communing with the ancestors and to beg pardon of them.

²²See video extract (L) for *ingulo*

CHAPTER EIGHT

¹ See end note no. 5 of ch. two

² See Pauw (1975:114) about *umsezo-manzi*. This refers to the preliminary ritual slaughtering of a small animal (*idini elincinci*). For more details about sacrificial animals see A.M.S. Sityana (1978) and Soga ({1931}).

APPENDIX 4

¹See end note no. 5 of ch. four

²According to Broster (1981:60) *Inyoka yabafazi* is a mythical snake exclusive to women. It is believed to measure 100-200mm and has two heads, one at each end of its body. The woman harbours it in her vagina and uses it to cause the most terrible diseases.

³*Inkwakhwa* is mentioned in connection with Nobantu, wife of the Mpondomise king Zwelinzima who is exhorted by Nozihlwele about the caring of the sacred snake/reptile cf. A.C. Jordan: 1980: 168.

APPENDIX 6

¹ It is the beer that has been left over from the first strained one, which has been topped up with more sediments and water and left overnight to re-ferment. The following day, it is again strained and consumed and is a good remedy for a hangover.

²Madosini is an Internationally acclaimed veteran musician who composes and plays traditional songs on *uhadi* (unbraced gourd-resonated struck bow), *umrhubhe* (unbraced friction mouth-resonated musical bow) and *isitototo* (jaw harp). She is also a storyteller. See preface (pp.xxv-xxvii) for the function of the instruments.

³See end note no.4 of ch. four.

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GLOSSARY AND INDEX::

- aluka* (ukw) a rite of initiation into manhood 3, 5, 108
- aziso-sesinqe* (is) diviners' beads that they wear around the waist 49
- bandla* (ama) the cohort (the ancestors) 91, 92, 197, 198
- beleko*(im) birth-ritual 3, 5, 11, 33, 34, 48, 73, 194
- bekelo*(i) an evil substance that has been secretly placed at the entrance (of a gate or of the door house) or in the pathway by a sorcerer for the victim to step over it and be harmed 45, 222
- betha ibhekile* (uku) to churn up the billycan of the homestead medicine (*ubulawu*) for a 'sick person' 95
- bethelela* to protect and 'strengthen' the household against evil energies 128
- bhaco*(um) a Xhosa traditional skirt worn by 'ordinary' women and also by female and male diviners 52, 66, 67
- bilini*(um) anxiety 17(vol.2), 18(vol.2), 21(vol.2), 26, 36, 63, 87, 101, 105, 106, 124, 137, 173, 177, 195, 200, 211, 212, 213, 227, 236, 247, 248, 286.
- bizwa* to be 'called' to a profession of diviners by ancestors 60
- bhilo*(i) white cloth used as a screen during a ritual ceremony made by diviners to conceal the ritual objects of an initiate; sometimes referred to as *umkhusane* 63, 145
- bulo* (um) immoral behaviour 12 (vol.2), 13 (vol.2)
- buhlanti* (e) (locative) the cattle byre 23
- buyisa* (uku) ceremony enacted to bring the spirit of the deceased head of the homestead back to be a home ancestors 24, 25
- bhuma / ithonto* (i) make-shift hut traditionally of grass but nowadays it is made of plastics 190, 210
- cabela* (uku) to improvise a song text 112, 113, 198, 285
- camagu!* Be appeased! Thank you! agree; the term is used by diviners when they greet ordinary people or people who belong to their institution 32, 76, 78, 89, 121, 147, 206, 253

- camagu* (oo) string of beads worn by an initiate 78, 224
 -*chanti* (i) a fabulous water-sprite which constantly undergoes a chain of transformation and is believed to mesmerise people, when it has transformed into a snake 12 (vol.2)
- cima* (uku) to give an enema 194
 -*ciko* (i) an orator; a gifted song maker 82
 -*chila* (uku) it is the chewing of a certain root or portion thereof, and thereafter to expectorate, when one has had a bad dream; that is done to ward off evil forces or witches that were present in the dream 57
- chosi!* peace! -also a way of stopping a song by a singing group 89, 206
- cula* to sing in a western style 201, 209, 220, 249, 258
 -*cuba labathwa* (i) marijuana/dagga 206
 -*daba zabahlekazi* (iin) ancestral revelations 81
 -*danga* (isi) a sacrificial necklace worn by diviners and *iintlabi* 49
- dini*(i) a sacrifice 10, 24, 34
 -*diloza*(i) beads worn by diviner 49
 -*dlamu*(in) a contemporary popular dance style originally created by Zulu migrant workers ancestors (Zulu); (Swazi=idloti) 86, 146
- dlezana*(in) lit. a cow recently calved 92
 -*dliso*(i) poison or bewitching matter causing sickness 172, 208
- dlokolo*(isi) a diviner's headdress 49
 -*dlozi*(i) (Zulu/Swazi) ancestor 12,30, 69
 -*doda*(ama) *amafufunyane* that have been transformed and they act like *amakhosi*, people who possess *amadoda* use them as a divining tool 30, 62
- dudo* (um) the men's dance traditionally performed at girl's puberty celebrations (*ukuthombisa*) 150, 205, 206, 207, 208
- duko*(isi) a clan name 151
 -*dungamzi*(i/ isi) euclea lanceolata -species of tree with thin, cracked bark. Bark and leaves used as a purgative 84
- entla* the area opposite the entrance/door of main hut, where ancestors like to gather 23
- fana*(aba) a young man who has undergone the initiation rite and who thus attains social manhood 123

- fele*(iim)
 -*fukama*(uku)
 -*fufunyane*(ama)
- futha*
- gabha* 🐘
 -*gadla*
 -*gwadla*
 -*gangxo*(um)
 -*gcawa*(in)
- Gcwele uMoya* (oyin)
 -*gobhe* (iin)
- goma* (in)
- gosa* (i)
 -*goduswa* (uku)
 -*gubo* (in)
 -*gubo* (um/imi)
- gubu* (i)
 -*guli*(um/aba)
- gqirha* (i/ama)
 -*gqithi* (in)
- gqwirha* (ubu)
 -*gqobhoka* (ama)
- gqongqo* (in)
- gxa* (ulu)
 -*gxaji* (imi)
- strips of animal skin 195
 to brood over 157, 167, 178, 210
 an illness that causes the sufferer to become delirious, manic, hysterical, and displays violent and aggressive behaviour 25, 27, 28, 29, 30
 to steam the body up with mixture boiled or cooked herbs 194, 17 (vol.2)
 vomit 194, 17 (vol.2)
 sound of a heavy falling object 245
 to talk ill of a person 251
 a bandoleer worn by diviners 49
 a ritual blanket used by novice-diviners and those initiates who undergo the rite of circumcision 34, 141, 152, 184
 Holy Spirit 116, 118, 282
 dance form performed by Mpondo people, the term also refers to the songs accompanying the dance style 86,
 the song ('classical' Xhosa term) that involves physical movements and is in a call and response form 41, 48, 104, 118, 122, 191, 200, 203, 205, 212, 232, 268
 a church steward 203, 204
 the taking back home of a trainee diviner
 a blanket 175, 176
 powder/crushed medicinal roots/ plants 29, 147, 286
 a drum 108, 115, 225
 the sick one (a novice/neophyte) 56, 57, 58, 59, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 141, 142, 144, 145, 147, 149, 150, 157, 158, 159, 176, 220, 224, 228, 246, 264, 273
 diviner/s 11, 12, 14, 15, 35, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 53, 64, 65, 104, 237, 249, 251, 267, 283
 the custom of the cutting off of the first joint of the little finger 36
 witchcraft/sorcery 74, 267, 283
 'pierced' people (schooled or westernised people) 211
 a dried cow hide traditionally employed by Xhosa-speaking women as an accompaniment to their songs and as an accompaniment to *umtshilo* dance songs for initiated young men 108
 a digging stick 159, 195
 diviners' head beads 49

- gxwala* (in) a white ochre, clay, used for painting
circumcised young men 53, 54, 184
- hadi*(u) unbraced gourd-resonated struck musical
bow 138
- hiya*(li) Swazi traditional cloth but Zulu diviners
sometimes wear it, too 59
- hlabela*(uku) to lead a song 41, 79
- hlahlo*(um) is a divination song of 'Old People' 80, 143
- hlathi*(i) a forest 64, 134
- hlaza* (um) cancer 222
- hlehazi*(um) Your Excellency 137, 260, 271
- hlombe*(i) joyful excitement 90, 94, 95, 103, 104, 116, 119,
124, 146, 154, 161, 167, 184, 188, 191, 196, 218,
227, 284, 285, 286; 288
- hlonipha* (uku) respect, revere, honour 22, 62, 135, 217, 278, 279
- hlophe*(elim) *igazi* 'white blood' (to have an ancestral calling)
- hlophe* (em) *ingulo* a 'white sickness' (an ancestral calling) 25, 54,
56, 276
- hlophe*(om) *umntu* a 'white person' (a diviner/ novice) 48, 54, 55
- hlotshazana*(um) a billycan 224
- hlwayelela*(uku) to scatter seeds 134
- hlwele*(isi/izi) multitude/s 23, 220
- hule*(i) a person who sleeps around 216
- jikelo* (um) a church fund-raising 116, 117, 188
- kathazo*(iin) troubles caused by 'white' sickness 56, 121
- kenkqe* (in) an ancestral calling 212
- khafula* (uku) render invulnerable by using a special
protective medicinal plant 40
- khapha* (uku) to accompany the soul of the dead 24, 25, 34
(head of the family) to the spirit world
- khazi* (i) cattle given to a parent 51
- kholo Lwemveli* (U) African Traditional Religion 114, 115, 274, 278,
279
- khono* (um) the right shoulder 145, 148, 149, 163, 185
- khonto* (um) a spear 32, 141, 153, 158, 164, 184
- khosi* (ama) ancestors 13, 28, 30, 62
- khusane* (um) a screen 63, 225
- khwetha* (aba) the novices 184, 195
- khwetheza* (uku) divination training 247
- konjane* (in) swallow 137, 138, 231
- kwakhwa* (in) revered snake of the Mpondomise clan also
called majola 12 (vol.2)
- kwasa-kwasa* (i) a sexually suggestive style of contemporary
dancing 61

- kundleni** (en) (locative) the courtyard; the open space between the main hut of the homestead and the cattle byre, that is used for meetings, ceremonies and musical performances 23, 49, 157, 159, 185, 195, 210
- laliso** (um) night vigil 206
- lambo**(um) river 134, 254
- landela** (uku) to follow 41, 79
- lawu** (ubu/isi) homestead medicinal roots (a frothy substance that is daubed on the head and upper torso of a novice diviner undergoing initiation). 22, 29, 50, 67, 88, 95, 102, 126, 128, 129, 142, 144, 161, 164, 165, 178, 179, 197, 203, 210, 212, 215, 220, 224, 225, 252, 276
- lawula** (uku) to confess ancestral dreams 81
- laza**(um) ritual impurity 128, 13 (vol.2)
- lobola** (i) a dowry 51
- lowo**(imi) elderly people of the homestead 31
- lunga** (ubu) a ritual necklace made of hairs plucked from the tail-brush of a beast worn by adult women (married and unmarried) 51
- lungu** (um/ abe) a European (s) 53, 207, 235, 236, 239, 240, 241, 250
- mabophe** (u) a forest shrub/creeper (two types); -leaves used as preventative medicine 47
- mamlambo/ ichanti** (u) water-sprite, water snake 235, 237, 238, 239, 12 (vol.2)
- manyano** (u) a women's federation 15, 281
- mnyama** (isi) pollution 34, 50, 185, 276
- masengwane** (u) friction drum 255
- ndlalela inkomo** (ukwa) preliminary ritual slaughtering of goat 351
- ngoma** (isa) Zulu/SiSwati diviner 12, 29, 65, 66, 69, 70, 150, 272, 273, 286,18 (vol.2), 21 (vol.2)
- ngomso asezihogweni** (ama) lit. tomorrows lead to hell (don't put off until tomorrow what can be done today) 270
- ngxengxeza** (uku) to appease the ancestors 35, 254
- ngxola** (uku) lit. to shout (begging the ancestors to bring revelations 57
- nobhala** (u) a secretary 117, 188
- nomathotholo** (oo) revered word for the ancestors' voices 114
- nontongwana** (u) test of ability performed by trainee diviners 59, 91, 92, 94, 160
- nozala** (u) parent 83, 117, 118
- nqula**(uku) to supplicate 63, 154, 161

- ntungo** (e/i) (locative) the eaves/ threshold of the homestead is one of the sacred places where the homestead ancestors brood. When some diviners and novices do the ritual dance, in most instances that is where they look 23, 52, 87, 110, 111, 127, 130, 132, 134, 140, 141, 180, 181, 183, 186, 189, 212, 213, 215, 219, 220, 232, 233, 234, 276, 284, 287
- ntu-omnyama** (um) a 'black person' (an ordinary who has not been 'called') 55,87
- ntyontyela** (ama) gossip 219
- ombela** sing and clap for also, involves dancing 6, 29, 59, 63, 79, 97, 103, 108, 124, 133, 140, 145, 146, 195, 212, 220, 221, 225, 226, 231, 232, 249, 252, 257, 258
- oya** (um) the spirit 105, 106, 116, 118, 119, 188, 203, 232, 261, 266, 283, 287
- pepho** (im) species of small everlasting plants (*Helichrysum miconiaefolium*) that is burnt at diviners' séances; it also burnt when they divine for their clients, in order to have clear ancestral visions 128, 237
- phehla** (uku) the churning up of crushed medicinal roots with a forked stick called *ixhayi*. This act of *ukuphehla* can done by witches too when they do it for evil purposes. 95, 96, 98, 128, 129, 142, 152, 164, 224
- phephethwa** (uku) to be 'blown' away by the witches from one's family or society for the purpose of being made a Zombie 276
- phumo** (um) a coming out ceremony/a ceremony of being taken back home (*ukugoduswa*) of a trainee-diviner 114, 132, 286
- pundulu** (im) a lightning bird 57, 60, 64, 207, 267, 274
- Qamata** (u) The Most High/God 10, 21, 22
- qhela** (uku) to get acquainted 159, 167, 170
- qweqwe** (isi) diviners'/initiates' headband made of beads 49, 149
- qina ukubetha** (in) to stamp the foot 103
- qombothi** (um) sorghum beer 16 (vol.2)
- qubula** to extract something from someone's body by suction 45
- rhumo** (um) ritual fee that is paid to a diviner after consultation 69
- saliwe** (u) diviners' beads 49
- shwama** (uku) to open a feast by ritual tasting before the rest of the people partake 33, 67, 145

- sebenzi* (um) ritual work performed for the ancestors 31
- simbithi* (um) ritual stick 51
- siko* (i/ama) a custom 11, 13, 275, 278
- shologu* (um) a spirit emanating from the ancestors whose duty is to afflict a family member/s as a sort of castigation 198, 218, 248
- shumayeli* (um) preacher 204
- Somagwaza* a ritual song of circumcision; also sung as a homestead song; also adapted for performance in séances, and called a song of the Old People 80, 121, 143, 144, 186, 202
- tantyisi* (i/ama) These are wild plants that grow randomly in the fields. When they grow they look like maize and they become ripe at the same time as maize. When they are harvested, the pulp is pushed out of the seed leaving a husk which is used to make beads. 47
- thakathi* (um) sorcerer 73
- thamsanqa* (i) piece of good fortune 101, 102, 112, 113, 122, 153, 154, 162, 163, 176, 199, 200, 202, 214, 219, 22 (vol.2)
- thwasa* (i/ama) novice diviner 27, 56, 57, 212, 217, 227, 223, 231, 244, 249, 252, 266, 267
- thwasa* (uku) to experience the ancestral calling 15, 46, 48, 56, 58, 64, 105, 175, 182, 184, 194, 208, 210, 212, 214, 217, 223, 228, 242, 255, 256, 257, 260, 264, 270, 287, 288, 289, 14 (vol.2)
- tlabi* (in) a head of the clan who is responsible for ritual sacrifices 10, 32, 76, 274
- tlanga* (iin) incisions 57, 261
- tshana* (aba) nephews and nieces 33
- tshayela-inkundla* (uku) preliminary ritual slaughtering of a goat 24
- tshinitshini* (uma) a ritual/medicinal stick carried by initiates to protect themselves from being harmed 51, 52, 105, 129
- twaso* (in) a state of being afflicted with 'white sickness' which is characterised by *iinkathazo* ('troubles') -pains in the head and body, periods of dissociation during which the afflicted person experiences visions or day dreams, 17, 18, 27, 60, 61, 181, 183, 207, 208, 211, 216, 223, 227, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 254, 256, 257, 266, 262, 267, 287, 14 (vol.2), 15 (vol.2)
- tywala* (u) beer 36
- thebe* (isi) plate made of olive tree leaves 145, 149,
- themba* (i) a bead of reverence 49
- thethe* (isi) ritual 12, 13, 34

- thika* (um) a diviners' apron made from strips of different animal skins, which has been revealed to them by the ancestors 49, 146, 275
- thikoloshe*/hili (u) a familiar of a witch 64, 139, 233, 234, 21(vol.2), God 10, 22
- Thixo* (u) to possess a charm with the aim of enriching oneself 274, 286
- thwele* (ba) evil substance always carried by witches to harm a person 104, 277
- tofile* (isi/ izi) war doctor 40, 46
- tola* (i) a liberation struggle dance-song that incorporates political slogans in a call and response form. It became popular in the 1980s and united the oppressed to fight oppression against the apartheid regime. 80
- thokoza* Zulu/Swazi greeting of sangoma equivalent to *camagu* used by Xhosa-speaking diviners 215
- thongo* (i/ ama) an ancestral dream 38, 57, 60, 62, 80, 81, 82, 83, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104, 107, 112, 113, 121, 124, 129, 131, 134, 139, 142, 148, 158, 159, 160, 173, 179, 211, 212, 213, 214, 217, 219, 220, 221, 230, 231, 246, 247, 251, 260, 263, 265, 278, 12 (vol.2)
- thonyama* (um) cow dung heaped in a corner of a cattle-byre 32, 144
- thonto / ibhuma* (i) a seclusion lodge 157, 166, 190, 210
- troni* (um) patron 193, 194
- tsiki* (u) a goat slaughtered by the in-laws for a newly married woman in order to introduce her to the ancestors of her husband 132, 244
- tshila* (uku) to perform a dance of *abakhwetha* (male novices undergoing a circumcision rite) 108
- tsobhna* (i) cycling tights 146
- tshoba* (i) diviners' switch 50, 52, 63, 135, 184, 195, 275
- tsholoza* (uku) a style of singing at girls initiation celebrations 145, 146
- thunyelo* (i) an evil sent 46
- tyityimba* (uku) the rippling and quivering of the muscles of the torso when dancing 88, 188, 284
- vala* (uku) to 'close up' an initiate 60
- vandaba*(um) headband beads which are part of diviners' artefacts worn underneath the headdress at a séance or worn when they are going to divine for a client 47, 48, 53
- vivane* (isi) a cairn 36
- vubu* (im) whip made of hippo-hide; hippopotamus 43, 52, 63, 110, 181
- vula-kabini*(u) beads 49
- vula-tasi/ngxowa* (im) fee paid by a patient who is going to be a trainee diviner 56, 248

-
- vuma* to agree/the singing of two or more people 40, 201, 257
- vumisa* cause to assent/divine for 40, 41, 42, 53, 91, 92, 94, 236, 237
- wahla* (isi) the singing and dancing (for the ancestors) 151, 190
- watsha* (i) diviners' string of beads wrapped around from the wrist up to just below the elbow 49
- washo* (izi) healing treatment used by the Zionists prophets involving in particular ash, salt, vinegar 194, 202, 203
- xhayi* (i) forked stick 128, 129
- xhwele* (i) herbalist 47
- xhentsa* to perform a ritual dance designed to induce and to socialise trance 63, 87, 136, 140, 145, 146, 147, 195, 200, 212, 213, 221, 232, 249
- xili* (in) Xhosa traditional bag 71, 125
- xoki* (i) a liar 13 (vol.2)
- yaca* (isi) ritual necklet 48, 148, 149, 213, 380
- yakayaka* a raggedly dressed person 191
- yambane* (isi) diviners' beads 49
- yeza* (i/ ama) medicine/ medicinal plant 48, 147, 212
- yeza lokuqhumisa* (i) a medicinal plant used for fumigating 18 (vol.2), 21 (vol.2)
- yilo* (i) a person who cannot sing 231
- zakuzaku* (oonoma) male family members acting as representatives of a prospective husband to negotiate *lobola* 195
- zilo* (izi) ancestral spirits who manifest themselves in the form of forest/ river animal 275
- ziko* (e) (locative) a hearth, fireplace a sacred space in the centre of the hut. This area is referred to by diviners as *entungo* (locative) -when they do their ritual dance 23

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APPENDICES

Nunziatina Nomalibo Faxi-Lewis

MMUS

January 2003

VOLUME 2

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Radio Debate (cf. p. 16)

“Saba ndithi ezi zinto zimbini azidibani. Ubugqirha necawa ngekhe, ndithi ngekhe, ezi zinto zimbini ngamanzi neparafini okanye ndingaphinda ndithi yimpumalanga nentshonalanga.

MaDlamini: Abantu abasoloko bebunyasha ubugqirha banengxaki enzima. Ndisand' ulukuthi ezi nkolo zimbini azinakudibana kodwa uvela sowu nesibindi ugxeke amagqirha uthi ngabahedeni. Uthetha ukuthini kanye?

BAC: Mama, bendisithi ezi zinto zimbini mazingaxutywa kuba ngelinye ixesha xa abantu bezixuba, bavele baphambane; nyani, umntu uyagula aphambane. Abahedeni mama, ngabantu abasakholelwa kwizinyanya, abantu abangekalufumani ukhanyo lobuKrestu. Ngabantu ke aba abashumayeli abazama ukubaxelela ukuba mabaguquke kuba ubuKumkani bamaZulu busondele, ukwenzela ukuba zebangagwetywa.

MaDlamini: Andifuni ukubhidana tu nawe, ndifuna ukuba siyonwabele le ngxoxo. Kukho nje into enye endifuna ukukuxelela yona, andizokujika kwinto endiyiyo ngoku. Okokuqala, ndisisidalwa esidalwe nguThixo esifana nesidalwa esingumKrestu asidalileyo. Uyabona njengokuba usithi, amagqirha ngabahedeni, kulungile, ndinguye umhedeni kwaye ndizakuzinza kwelicala lobuhedeni. Lo ohleli phezu kophahla uyakuhlala khona nangemini yomgwebo. Yazizintoni tata? Ndakhe ndaba lilungu lecawa kodwa ndaphuma kwaye ndakhutshwa yinto.

BAC: Buya mama uYesu uyeza.

MaDlamini: Andingekhe ndibuye.

BAC: Buya ukwenzela ukuba ungafeli ebumnyameni.

MaDlamini: Ndiselukhanyweni olukhulu gqithi. Into ebangela ukuba manditsho yile, abantu abangamaKrestu baya-theorize-a kakhulu, umntu akasoze abone ii-actions tu kubo. “Abahedeni” bayathetha kwaye ba-act-e kuba neyiphiphina into abayisebenzisayo, idalwe nguThixo.

BAC: *Hayi mama, noko, wena owakhe wabaselukhanyweni kuya kufuneka ubuye ukwenzela ukuba izono zakho zizo kuxoleleka.*

MaDlamini: *Enkosi Saba.*

[*Umfundisi uBangani waba sisithethi esi landelayo*]:

Mfu: *Ndibulisa bonke abaphulaphuli baka-twelve down. AmaKrestu ahamba noJeremiya Chapter1 Verse 10. Imbangi yokuba babenomsindo namagqirha yinto yokuba bayazi ukuba abanalungelo lokuyeka i-“programme” kaThixo okanye bayeke abantu baxoxe ngento engeyontando kaThixo. Yi-duty yethu ke ngoko ukuba nanini isizwe sethu silahleka, kufuneka sibabonise indlela.*

Saba: *Yintoni ke eyenza ukuba intwaso ithathwe nje ngento e-evil? Njengokuba ubusowuvile, abantu bazamile ukusondela kuYesu nje ngendlela yokubaleka ubugqirha kodwa ibakhuphe ezicaweni zabo. Ide yangena nasebafundisini. Kutheni amaKrestu eyityhalela kude le nkqubo ingathi ngumsebenzi omdaka?*

Rev: *Hayi, mnta kaMbixane ndifowunela kanye ukuphendula loo nto. Okokuqala mnta kaMbixane nabaphulaphuli baseMzantsi Afrika baka-twelve down, yinto engasoze yenzeke ukudibanisa ezi zinto zimbini. Ndithi s, o, z, e, soze! not kumntu ebemamkele nyani uYesu kwaye ngesiquphe avele azivumele ukuba makabanjwe kwenye inkolo. Mandenze umzekelo ngam, uyabona as soon as uBangani ekhutshwa bubugqirha ecaweni, qiniseka ukuba uBangani waye ngekabililo ikholwa. Ndithetha ukuba uMoya oyiNgcwele kaThixo ubungeka ngeni. Baphulaphuli baka-twelve down, ukuba umntu ongumama okanye ongutata ungenwe ngamandla oMoya oyiNgcwele kaThixo kwaye emva koko ahambe aye kwintwaso, ithetha ukuba uMoya kaThixo oyiNgcwele awukhange uqalise uphile ngaphakathi kwakhe. Umoya wobugqirha awuhambiselani namandla kaThixo. Ndiyaphinda Zawa (Saba) s, o, z, e –soze! Akunakho uthi ubungenwe nguMoya kaThixo kuqala uphinde uye entwasweni.*

[*Baw’ uMotsoene waba ngolandelayo ekutsaleni umnxeba*]:

Baw’ Motsoene: There is a lot of misrepresentation especially when it comes to African Traditional Religion, the Bible will be quoted out of context kwaye *yi-mistake enkulu leyo. Andiyazi why abantu bejwayele ukwenza le nto. Liqiniso ukuba abantu abaninzi abangamagqirha abahambiselani neChristianity kuba ba-avoid-a i-cultural clash. I-Christianity has been viewed from kwi-Western culture i.e European culture ne Asia. Yiloko i-most yamagqirha iba-comfortable kwi-ATR kuba ithetha i-language abayi-understand-ayo. I-ATR zange ithi kwaye ayingekhe ize ithi izinyanya nguThixo. Kodwa abantu, more particularly abamnyama basa-maintain-a ukuthi abantu ba-worship-a izinyanya, that is a misrepresentation. People worship God, they revere ama-ancestors abo.*

Abantu bathi akukho possible ukuthetha noThixo nje ngokuthi engumntu omkhulu kanjena, so abo ba-nearer kuThixo zizinyanya who are the conveyer belt. Bathi kwizinyanya please talk to God on our behalf kuba sise kude kuThixo nina nikufuphi. Coming again to the question of Christianity and ATR, uza kuthola ukuthi there is a common cause kuzo zoyi-two lezi Religions. Zombini ezi-group zikhuluma ngento enye zithi, there is a Great Being above all us esimthandazayo. Ba-differ xa bezo-convey-a ii-messages. Kufanel' ukuthi sizibheke izinto, I think it is incorrect and intolerant for umntu athi xa umntu eligqirha akangekhe abe ngumKrestu. Ukuba igqirha liyafuna ukuba ngumKrestu akukho mntu fanel' ukuthi ame endleleni yakhe okanye amgxeke as long as uKholo lobuKrestu lu-preach-we ngendlela enga zokulahlekisa abantu. Ukuba it is for a good purpose kulungile. Umakhulu wam waye ligqirha ekwanguye nomKrestu and utat' omkhulu wam engumfundisi. So andiyi-understand-i yonke le nto abantu abayitshoyo, (bagxeka amagqirha akwangamaKrestu). Umntu angaba li gqirha while engumKrestu ukuba umntu u-feel-a comfortable ngalo nto. Ezi religions azi-clash-i.

Baw'uMvandaba: Saba ubugqirha bu-outdated. Mabaguqukele ebuKrestwini qha bona. La magqirha Saba ebedada ematyaleni amakhulu kwaye asazula. Imali iphelile, izihlangu zikrazukile. Abavuna nganto kule nto bebeyenza. Imali yabo iphelile kwaye nabakhwetha babo bachithe iimali ezininzi kobu bugqirha. Abafumenanga niks. Abanye bathe bakuqonda ukuba bachithe ngexesha labo, bavele bazilahla pha ezo ntsimbi baya ecaweni. Ndilusizi ngaba baphuma ecaweni for ubugqirha. Okokugqibela i-wrong-o kwaloo nto yokuzidibanisa.

Baw' uZulu: U-Thixo uphe abantu iitalente ezahlukileyo. Andikevi ngegqirha elafayo kwaye alalingena izulu, nakumaKrestu ngokunjalo. NguThixo yedwa oyaziyo. Ndinga ukuba abantu mabaqalise ukujongana neetalente zabo uThixo abaphe zona. Ndiligqirha kwaye ndiyayihamba icawa, akukho namnye umntu oyakuma endleleni yam kwaye kungekho mntu onelungelo lo kugweba. NguThixo owaziyo kwaye oyakugqiba ukuba ndenza into elungileyo na ngokudibanisa iNkolo yakwaNtu nobuKrestu.

Mphulaphuli: Zawa andizo kuphendula nto mntu ebeyithethile ndizo kubeka nje into ebebengayazi kutsho kubekho i-light-ana. Ndiza kuthatha u-doctor Luke onke amakholwa ayamazi ukuba waye ngugqirha, ndithathe umfo ethi ibhayibhile wayenyanga gqithi uSimon. Aba baso babenyanga ngento enye, ii-plants. Umahluko yayingulo: uSimon wayenga guqukanga and uLuka yena engumlandeli wakaYesu kodwa babesebenzisa indlela enye yokunyanga ngeengcambu, ii-barks, nee-leaves. So abantu bane-mistake ngenxa yokuba xa kuthethwa ngo-doctor Luke eBhayibhileni bacinga ukuba waye sebenzisa i-stethoscope njengabagqirha sibabonayo.

I-stethoscope sisanda ku- invent-wa bayayazi abantu be-History loo nto nabe-Medicine. I-penicillin, i-ether le yokwenza i-anaesthetic ukuze umntu xa eza-operate-wa avele adomeke alale, zisanda ku-invent-wa ezonto, i-X-rays zizinto ezisanda ku-invent-wa odoctor Luke sebafa kudaala. Zazingekho ezo zinto ngexesha loo doctor Luke, iipilisi zazingekho ngexesha loo Luka. Mna ke ndinobungqina balento ndiyithethayo. Ndabona izinto ngamehlo am nakwii-Museum zakhona ndabona, apho ooLuka babehamba khona.

Ndandisiva ngabantu neeHistorians zalapho andithethi nto nje ndiyifunde encwadini. U-Luka noSimon were using plants ezi zisetyenziswa ngamagqirha namaxhwele, qha umahluko ikwinto yokuba uSimon yena wayengaguqukanga uLuka wayengumlandeli kaYesu. So yingozi ukuba umntu athi xa omnye engancedwa yipilisi then makayiphose nje kuThixo akukho nto enye enokunceda.

Abanye abantu banokulahlekiswa yintetho enjalo yokuba umntu ukuba akancedakali zipilisi then loo nto masuke nje ayiphose kuThixo. Uye afe abulawo yiloo nto ukuba iyambulala kuthiwe uThixo uvumile. Yingozi ke leyo. Ingxaki yile, abantu bazi bona ezi-plants zikhiwa emhlabeni izizinto ezimdaka. Amagqirha ahlanganisa ezinkolo zimbini alunge kabi kuba yayingekho wrong-o ku-Luke ukuba athi engumlandeli kaYesu kwakho abe ligqirha. Kutheni ke ngoku ibonwa nje nto engalungile ukuba ligqirha eli ngumKrestu? Enkosi.

Appendix 2: Baw' uGxarha's experience of curing the *fufunyane* victim
(cf. p.28)

“Ndiyincutshe kwaye ndazi qhelisa ukunyanga abantu abanamafufunyane. Baza kule flat bephambene tu. Ngeloo xesha umntu lo unamafufunyane uphefumlela phezulu engcangcazela wonke. Uyakubona omnye ekhangeleka e-wild ingathi uzakusuka aqhawuk' abaleke kuba amafufunyane akadibaniselani nendima yamayeza. Umntu lo unamafufunyane uvela abanenkani ale mpela ukuba makanikwe uncedo afune nje ukulwa. Kumntu onjalo kufuneka ungamsizeli umhlome impama ingen' ebusweni, emva koko uyakubona azole athi ncwaba. Emva koku uzakubona anikwe isiyobisi ayekwe alale for ii-hour-a. Nje ukuba emva kweezo-hour-a abe sezingqondweni, uzakuchazwa, anyangwe ngala mzuzu esemzini wegqirha ukwenzela ukuba lona malimjongisise kakuhle. Angakhululwa ke emva kwee vekana xa kuqondwa ukuba ngokuthandabuzekiyo uphilile kodwa konke kube kuxhomekeke empilweni yakhe. Ngelaa xesha ephantsi konyango lwegqirha, uye waba ngunonkonkxa oncedisayo ke ekombeleni for amathwasa.

Xa amagqwirha esenza lamafufunyana adibanisa:

- *Ithot yejin okanye ibrendi*
- *Inyongo yebhokwe ebixheliwe*
- *Iilekese*
- *Izipem*
- *Imbovane zamangcwaba*
- *Izityalo zamangcwaba*
- *Namanye ke amayeza angcolileyo*

Yonke le rhamosh idityaniswa ingqushwe phezu kwelitye elikhulu de ibe ngumgubo. Ngexesha ekungqushwa ngawo lo mthi unikwa amagama anje ngala: Goloza, Mfutshan' akafikeleli, uChophel' uphondweni. Nengoma ke iyombelwa ngelixesha lomthi uthiwayo. Emva koko uthi uye ugalelwe kwiselwa elirhaswe ngemibala yeentsimbi, impempe ke iye ibethwe for wona uye uyalwe ukuba ulandele imigaqo nemiqathango. Emva koku eliselwa liye lithathwe liyokubekwa emangcwabeni ze liphuthunywe ngosuku olulandelayo. Yinkqubo ke elandelwayo phambi kokuba lisetyenziselwe abo bazakuthi bachaneke.

Le nto yokuba umntu makachaneke ngamafufunyane yenzeka phantsi kweempembelezo ezithile apho athe wagula khona, waza ngelishwa wasiwa kumntu ongcolileyo, bekucingwe ukuba ligqirha lokonyani. Ezi zangoma ziye za-train-wa ukuba mazenze umsebenzi wokungcola kubaguli babo kwa nasemathwaseni abo bezenza phantsi kwegama lengulo emhlophe.

Umguli lo uye anikwe ke amayezwa ekuthiwa ayanyanga, phakathi kwawo kubakho elingumgubo azokuyalelwa ukuba makalikhothe, phambi kokuba awushiye umzi wesangoma. Nje ukuba elifufunyane lingene egazini iyakuba ngunamename. Ukusuka apho nje ukuba i-treatment ingalandelwa ngokwendlela isibindi somguli lo sivela sibe nezilonda; uyakuva nje abantu besithi unomhlaza. Kuye kube yimfuneko ke ngoku ukuba umguli lo asoloko ephehla atye isilawu sefufunyane, uzamene ebhodla, ebhodl' intw' engayaziyo nokuba yintoni. Ukusuka apho ubayilonto esoloko ixhuzula ethetha pha naphaya, yonke nje i-rubbish ongacinga ngayo. Phofu yonke le mfitshimfitshi ithethwa leli fufunyane ngelaa xesha isusi sakhe sibhampayo.

Nje ukuba lo mntu onamafufunyane aqalise ukuhambisana ebisa ecaleni, ezi zinto zizakuyitsho njengokuba yonke into yenzekile, phakathi kwabantu okanye kwisoka lakhe. Uyakuwava esithi: Thina sanelisekile nguzipeqengeshe kuba uyakonelisa kunye nathi. Wena uvaleke vingci akuyazi ukuba siyathandana nobani-bani. Nje ukuba makathi qabu, angazi ukuba bekuqale kwathini. Into nje omaze uyiqaphele amafufunyane athetha isiZulu awusoze uweve ethetha isiXhosa, nangona umntu lo onawo engumXhosa. Ayililo neliphi na igqirha elikwaziyo okanye elithanda ukuwanyanga amafufunyane. Abantu balo mguli badla ngokuthunyelwa kumntu ongenangxaki yokuwakhupha okanye awajike ibe ngamadoda okanye amakhosi azokuba namandla ukodlula amafufunyane.

Aba bantu banamakhosi bawasebenzisa ekuvumiseni kwaye iyi-duty yawo ukuba makakhusele akhokele umniniyo. Anamndla gqithi aweva amapolisa ekude. Uyabona ke ngamafufunyane la ajikwe aba ngamakhosi, njengokuba udla ngokuva abantu bekhwaza besithi Makhosi!okanye Makhos' uGcaleka! Kodwa akho amakhosi okwenyani awokudibanisa izangoma zokwenyani namadlozi azo. La enziwayo amakhosi akabe namaxesha okuba-choosy, kukho amaxesha afune ngenkani inyama, uilekese okanye ibhulanti kodwa isimanga awungekhe uze umbone umntu onamafufunyane okanye amakhosi enxilile. Kodwa nje ukuba anyanzelise athi, afuna into ethile, ayayifuna ke qha qwaba.

Xa engayifuni into akayifuni ke kwaphela. Umzekelo: Ukuba kuye kwabakho indoda encwase umnini makhosi aza wona akamfuna, akusoze kubekho ukuyukelwa tu for loo ndoda. Uyakumva umnini makhosi esithi: Amakhosi awakuthandi, kuzakufuneka ke uwamkele ngebhotile yebhulanti okanye kungenjalo kuzakufuneka uyokuthenga inkukhu uwaxhelele. Kwakho xa umnini makhosi efuna ukuthandana nomntu ngenjongo zokulala naye ze loo mntu angabonisi mdla, uyaaxoka, akasoze amale umnini makhosi nje ngokuba loo mntu efunwa ngawo nje."

Appendix 3: MamNcotshe's interview on diviners' regalia (cf. p.48)

Myself: *Kutheni kuyimfuneko nje ukuba "abantu abamhlophe" banxibe iintsimbi? Zidlala eyiphi indima ebugqirheni?*

Ncotshe: *Jong' apha, ubusazi ukuba iintsimbi neengoma zamagqirha zenza usembenzi omnye, wokucandela umntu indlela yokuya kwizinyanya zakhe? Xa umntu efuna ukubiza izinyanya zakhe umntu usebenzisa ingoma yakhe yethongo. Anditsho? Xa abantu bezokuxilongwa okanye bezo kuvunyiselwa igqirha lifaka entloko umvandaba walo lizokwazi ukunxulumana nezinyanya zalo. Umvandaba unceda ukuba igqirha libe sekukhanyeni lwezinyanya zalo ukwenzela lizo kuboniswa unobangela wengxilongo. Singathi umvandaba ufana nje ngalaa ntsimbi yakwagqirha yokuxilonga. "Abantu abamhlophe" baya zithonga iintsimbi zabo bade baboniswe nendlela eziyilwe ngayo. Ikwanjalo ke na kwiingoma, umntu unikwa ingoma ekufuneka ayisebenzise ukubiza izinyanya zakhe, ude aboniswe nendlela emakayombele ngayo ukwenzela ukuba izinyanya zakhe umntu zimsabele.*

Ngoku ke ndiza kuphendula nokuba ndiza kunika impendulo engaphelelanga. Okokuqala, xa umntu engena esigqirheni, umntu ungena engumntu nje kodwa eneempawu "zengulo emhlophe", kuthiwe umntu uyathwasa. Kukho amalungu athile omzimba ekusoloko kujoliswe kuwo (zizinyanya), izihlahla, amaqatha intloko nentamo, wonke lama lungu omzimba abotshwa ngeentsimbi ezimhlophe ukwenzela ukuba isigulo somntu sithomalale. Iintsimbi ezimhlophe ziyimfuneko kakhulu esigqirheni kuba umntu unxityiswa zona kuqala phambi kokuba aboniswe iintsimbi eziyenye imibala. Akukho gqirha linokuthi zange lagqitha ezintsimbini ezimhlophe. Umntu uba ligqirha eliphpheleyo ngenxa yezi ntsimbi zimhlophe. Ethubeni ke njengokuba umntu eqhubela phambili nge-training yakhe uye aveliselwe eminye imibala. Njenga kwiingoma, nje ngokuba umntu emane ngokuqhubela phambili egqitha kwii-stage ngee-stage umntu unikwa iingoma ezininzi zizinyanya zakhe. Enye into ebalulekileyo ngeentsimbi ezimhlophe yile, zinxulumene ngokwa sesikweni nebhokhwe, nje ukongezela ulwazi kwimisebenzi emininzi ibhokhwe ibhekiselwe entweni yokuba kuthiwe liyeza nje ngeentsimbi nazo zibhekisele ekuthiweni liyeza. Wakhe waqaphela na xa umntu esenzelwa imbeleko, lo mntu wenza intambo uthatha usinga kule bhokhwe ixheliweyo aluphothe ukugqiba kwakhe alugaye ezintsimbi.

Iintsimbi ezimhlophe zamagqirha zisetyenziswa njenge sichongi ukwenzela ukuba abantu bakwazi ukohlula phakathi komntu nje kunye "nomntu omhlophe". Ibaluleke kakhulu into yokuba "umntu ogulayo" ahlale efake iintsimbi ezimhlophe ngalo lonke ixesha nokuba ngumngqa. Uyaqonda? Ke singamagqirha e-new generation ngamanye amaxesha sikhe sizikhulule iintsimbi sifake izinto ezibengezelayo. Kodwa iveki iyakubande gqithi for ukuba igqirha lihlale ngaphandle kweentsimbi zalo. Igazi lo mntu omhlophe soloko lifuna iintsimbi ezimhlophe so zidlala eyona ndima ibalulekileyo "kwingulo emhlophe". Yiyo loo nto ngelinye ixesha uva amagqirha xa bethetha ngabo bazibiza nje "ngabantu besizwe esimhlophe".

Myself: *Amagqirha ayazinxiba na iintsimbi ezimnyama?*

Ncotshe: *Uyazifumana iintsimbi ezimnyama evenkileni kodwa “abantu abamhlophe” akufunekanga bazinxibe. Kodwa akhona amagqirha azinxibayo iintsimbi ezimnyama ndingazi nokuba xa kunjalo bakhonjiswe zizinyanya zabo ngoloo hlobo. Uyaqonda ke ngoku? Akhona amagqirha anxiba iintsimbi ezimhlophe ndakuze ndikukhombise ngeny’ imini. Ubuyazi ukuba ezintsimbi sizinxibayo zina magama?*

Myself: *Ndazi nje ezimbalwa zazo. Ungandipha amagama ezo uzi nxibayo?*

Ncotshe: *Kulungile ke zezi:*

-isidanga

-ithemba

-vula kabini

-iwatsha

-isiqweqwe: (imigxaji, umvandaba)

-isiyambana

-imigangxo

-idiloza

-usaliwe

-isaziso sesinqe

Myself: *Igqirha linga senza isidlokolo na ngofele lwenkomo xa lifuna?*

Ncotshe: *Hayi, isidlokolo sisikhumba senyamakazi umntu athe wasi boniswa zizinyanya zakhe. Izidlokolo zethu azifani nje ngemithika. Kubantu abangaziyo ukuba kwenzakala ntoni kwinkqubo yasesigqirheni, bacinga ukuba izidlokolo zethu ziyafana kanti akunjalo. Ifele lezidlokolo kwa nele mithika ithathwa ehlathini nasemlanjeni hayi kwisilwanyana sasekhaya.*

Myself: *Ngubani ekufuneka ethunge isidlokolo?*

Ncotshe: *Iba ngumsebenzi wegqirha eli umntu aphantsi kwalo okanye umntu kwi-family yomkhwetha. Kwaye nakwi- family umntu ekufuneka ezithungile ezi zinto kufuneka abe akanamatyala esiko. Ezi zinto ziyagcinwa de abe uqwebe imali eyaneleyo for ukuthenga inkomo, uza kuzinikwa ngala mhla azakugodusa ngawo okanye azo kubekwa enkundleni ngayo. Into ekufuneka uyifake engqondweni yile, ayilo gqirha futhi elifaka umkhwetha isidlokolo iba yintloko yekhaya okanye umntu ophatha amasiko ekhaya.*

Myself: *Kutheni ingenziwa liggirha nje loo nto?*

Ncotshe: *Isinxibo “somntu omhlophe” yinto e-belong-a kwi-family nangona igqirha umntu aphantsi kwalo kufuneka ezisikelele ngokuthi azidyobhe ngobulawu. Emveni koku uye azinikezele kwintloko yekhaya eza kumnxibisa. Mna nje ngegqirha andinakho ukumnxibisa umkhwetha kuba andizalani naye kwaye intloko yekhaya kufuneka ibe iphose amazwi imyala ngeli lixa imxibayo ngalo.*

Myself: *Umntu ulifumana njani itshoba? Isoka lam leNgesi labukela iteyiphu yeTV yentlombe endandiye nayo e-England. Wabuza ukuba obaboya bamatshoba ayizonwele zabelungu na? Wayebuziswa kukubona obunye uboya bu-blonde obunye bu-brunette.*

Ncotshe: *Hee! Hay' bo! Zange ndakhe ndayicinga le nto kodwa u-right neh! Amatshoba ethu ayafana nyani neenwele zabelungu. Ngumsila ke wenkomo lowa. Amagqirha anemibala eyahlukileyo yamatshoba kuba baboniswa iinkomo ezahlukeneyo zizinyanya zabo. Awukwazi ukukhetha umbala wenkomo ungakhange uwuboniswe zizinyanya zakho kuqala. Uyabona, umzekelo, zange ndawuthanda tu umbala wenkomo enda wuboniswayo. Yayi yinkomo ebomvu enomsila omnyama kwaye ndandi ngafuni tshoba limnyama kodwa ke ndandi ngena-choice kwafuneka qha ndihambe ndiye kukhangela inkomo emnyama. So umntu ulifumana itshoba lakhe enkomeni yethongo. Umsila uyanqunyulwa enkomeni nje xa igqitywa kuxhelwa, ifele lomsila liyasikwa kukhutshwe umsipha ze kufakwe intonga eza kuthungwelwa kulo. Le ndawo ivelileyo yentonga ivele irhaswe ngeentsimbi ezi mibalabala.*

Myself: *Yintoni umsebenzi wetshoba?*

Ncotshe: *Itshoba linamdlala nje awodwa, so igqirha liya liphatha xa liza kuchaza umntu. Entlombeni ngaphandle kokuba igqirha lixhentse ngalo lilisebenzisa ekukheni igwebu lo bulawu, litshize ke zonke iikona zaloo ndlu nalapho ekungeni komyango yonke le nto isenzelwa ukugxotha imimoya emdaka.*

Myself: *Xa amagqirha esentlombeni akafumani zingxaki, apho ezi mfele zenyamakazi zabo zahlukeneyo zingqubana khona okanye zibe neziphumo ezingalunganga kubakhwetha?*

Ncotshe: *Loo nto iyenzeka, mandinga yikhanyeli. Iyenzaka kubantu abathile. Nam ndandikhe ndayiva kumaxesha amaninzi xa ndandi kwesa-stage sokugqibela ebukhwetheni. Ndandisele ndiyibonisiwe inkomo yam yokuphila, neemfele zomnqwazi nomthika kodwa ndandinengxaki ekuzifumaneni (iimfele). Kwaye kwenzeka ke ngenye imini xa ndandi sentlombeni igqirha elali nxibe eli fele ndandilithongile laza lazokuma ecaleni kwam, ndagula ngoko nangoko. Ndathathwa ndasiwa egumbini lokulala, ingoma yethongo yombelwa apho igqirha lam landingxengxezela kwizinyanya zam. Nje ngokuba ndisithi le nto yenzeka amaxesha amaninzi, kwaye ke kwafuneka ndiyeke ukuya ezintlombeni ndiyokufuna eli fele. Igqirha lam lathi nokuba ndifumana intwana nje encinci yalo ilungile kuba iyakwenza umahluko omkhulu. Kwaye nezi nyamakazi siziboniswayo emathongweni kunzima kanjani ukuzifumana.*

Myself: *Ngamagqirha aluphi uhlobo ahlala esiya entlombeni enganxibanga iimpahla zawo zesigqirha? Ndiwubuza lo mbuzo kuba ndikhe ndawabona enganxibanga ngokupheleleyo?*

Ncotshe: *Zikhona iintlombe apho amagqirha angaya enganxibanga iimpahla zawo kodwa ukunxitywa kweentsimbi kubaluleke gqitha. Kukwayi mfuneko kwakho ukuba banxibe iimpahla ezipheleleyo xa kukho umsebenzi wesigqirha ekuza kuxhelwa kuwo ngaphandle kwemeko apho igqirha lithe laba nesimnyama.*

Myself: *Inkomo ifika nini? Okanye iza nabani ekhaya?*

Ncotshe: *Uyabona nje ukuba uqalise ukuthetha ngokufika kwenkomo, uzakundibhida kuba ngoku usebenzisa ulwimi lwaselokishini. Inkomo yinto esoloko ifumaneka ebuhlanti. Ndithetha ulwimi lwasezilalini ngoku. Andiyazi ke ngale yasedolophini efikayo, eyam zange ifike. Ndayiboniswa nendawo, ndayo kuyilanda ebuhlanti.*

Myself: *Uthini ukuba akuwufumani umbala obuwubonisiwe?*

Ncotshe: *Ndizakuyifumana komnye umzi nokuba andizalani nokuzalana nabo bantu. Ndizakunikwa imali ndiyokuyithenga (ndikhatshwa ngootata abadala bekhaya). Yindlela ke esiyifumana ngayo iinkomo, azifiki.*

Myself: *Ayibiyongxaki into yokuthatha inkomo yesinye isiduko?*

Ncotshe: *Hayi, nje ukuba uqale ubonise inkomo uyaxelelwa apho kufuneka uyifumane khona nokuba yeyomfama ongumLungu. So akubikho ngxaki kuloo meko.*

Myself: *Kutheni ke iba yingxaki ukuxhwitha uboya enkomeni yomfama ongumLungu xa kusenzelwa isizathu sentambo yesiko.*

Ncotshe: *Isizathu sesi, kwimeko yentambo yesiko akukho nasinye isiduko esingenazinkomo. So umntu uya kweso siduko sakhe ayokucela khona ukuxhwithelwa uboya. Ezidolophini ke akukho zinkomo uyakuya ezilalini ufunise ngesosiduko sakho. Inkomo ekuxhwithwa kuyo yile yenzelwe isiko, iintetho ngokusesikweni ziyenziwa ngaloo mhla ikhethwe ngayo. Uyakuva intloko yekhaya xa iphosa amazwi ithi: "Nantsi ke inkomo yobulunga yalapha emaNcotsheni, abantwana balapha bayakuphila phantsi kwayo." Nje ukuba ife kukhethwa enye kwinzala yayo. Yiloo nto inkomo yesiyaca kufuneka ukuba ibe lithokazi ingabi yonkunzi. Abakhethi nje nokuba kukweziphi na iinkomo, umzekelo inkomo yobulunga ayikhethwa kwiinkomo zekhazi. Yinkomo ezalwe apha kweli khaya okanye ethengiweyo, hayi kwezelobola.*

Myself: *Iintonga ezi zicinci zidla ngokuphathwa ngamathwasa ziintonga nje okanye zinamandla awodwa athile.*

Ncotshe: *Elaa swazi liphathwa ngamathwasa libizwa ukuba ngumatshinitshini. Okokuqala umatshinitshini liyeza, liyeza eliphathwa ngabantu "abagulayo" balisebenzise njenge ntonga. Umntu "ogulayo" akaphathi nje nayiphi intonga. Igqirha liphatha umsimbithi ngamanye amaxesha.*

Myself: *Unceda entweni umatshinitshini?*

Ncotshe: *Liyeza elibamba imimoya emdaka. Njengokuba ithwasa lingena esigqirheni, soloko kukho abantu abangafuni ukubona impumelelo ebantwaneni babantu babathumele ngemimoya emdaka. Umatshinitshini unceda kulo ndima ngokukhusela umntu ekonzakalisweni kwakhe ziintshaba zakhe. So ke liyeza elikhuselayo.*

Myself: *Kha undithele gqaba-gqaba ngokubaluleka komkhonto.*

Ncotshe: *“Umntu omhlophe” uyinikwa le ntonga ngabantu bakowabo ukuba aze aqine elubizweni lwezinyanya zakhe. Aziphathe kakuhle kwaye abesemimoyeni emihle “kwingulo” yakhe, ukwenzela ukuba azokwazi ukulwa neentshaba zakhe ezilwa naye ngemimoya engcolileyo. Ngoku umntu xa esilwa ngomkhonto ithetha ukuba, umntu uza kuya kuma enkundleni awubambe nkqi athethe nezinyanya eziza kumbonelela ngokhuselo. Xa use ungumkhwetha umkhonto wakho uwuphatha ngalo lonke ixesha, awunakho ukuhamba nje ngezandla ungaphethanga nto ungumkhwetha.*

Xa umkhwetha ethetha negqirha lakhe okanye nokuba leli phi na igqirha, uyaguqa abambe umkhonto nkqi ejonge phantsi ebonisa intlonipho, ebeka izinyanya zakhe nezegqirha. Xa echaza abantu kufuneka awubambe umkhonto ezandleni. Umkhonto ukwasebenza kakhulu ekombeni iingcambu zamayeza, umkhwetha angaziboniswa zizinyanya zakhe xa ebethatha hlawumbi uhambo olude. Le nto ikwa bhakiselele nasemagqirheni kuba nawo ayawuphatha umkhonto. Umkhonto uphathwa entlombeni ligqirha okanye umkhwetha xa eme entungo enqula. Ngelinye ixesha igqirha lingaphatha nemvubu xa lime entungo okanye itshoba.

Myself: *Imvubu ibaluleke ngantoni?*

Ncotshe: *Yho! mnta kabawo yinto ke leyo endingayiqondiyo. Andiyazi, ndiqinisekile yeyokubetha abakhwetha.*

Myself: *Bendibuzwa ngabantu phandle ukuba kutheni amagqirha angamadoda bethanda ukunxiba imibhaco okanye amajalimani entlombeni. Ingachazeka njani le nto?*

Ncotshe: *Mamela umbhaco nejalimani yinto enxitywa ngumntu wonke ‘ogulayo’ kungajongwanga sini. Esigqirheni akho mama natata. Sidityaniswa ngebhanti enye zizinyanya zethu, yiloo nto nasentlombeni xa igqirha lithetha lithi: “Thina magqirha, hayi magqirha namagqirhakazi. Le nto yenza ukuba baxhentse lula kuba akukho nto iba bambayo.*

Appendix 4: The snake dream I had about my aunt (cf. p.63)

'I saw Nomawabo in my dreams holding a big snake below its head. My aunt and the other initiate were kneeling facing her. She brought the snake closely towards my aunt so that she could kiss it. She (my aunt) looked surprised but I could see from the way she clasped her hands together that she was not prepared to take the snake and kiss it. As Nomawabo persuaded her to kiss it I was praying that she must not touch or kiss it because it would be part and parcel of her being for the rest of her life.' I was disturbed by what I saw, because, apart from recognizing *ichanti*, I was unable to interpret its significance in the dream. Baw' uGxarha informed me that:

"A snake can be used for evil purpose and can constantly change its form. To certain men who do not want to have sexual relationships with women, it is said they sleep with a snake called *umamlambo*¹ (see pp.235, 237,238) and it is not a (fairy) tale that there are females who keep snakes inside their 'private parts' and around their waists.² But should it exist in the female 'private parts' you will notice it (snake) with its two heads."

He went on to say:

"There is a sacred snake called *inkwakhwa*³ or uMajola, who is the ancestor of the Mpondomise, and is greatly revered by them."

In the morning when I woke from the dream, I phoned my maternal grandmother and told her about it. I suggested that the dream most likely had something to do with hostility on the part of Nomawabo, and I urged my grandmother to inform my aunt about this. My grandmother replied that she would see my aunt during the course of the week, and not immediately, because she was attending *intlombe* convened by Nomawabo. I then consulted Dr. Totana of the Mashigo Institute in Woodstock and asked him to interpret the dream for me. He also suspected hidden animosity, and that, the diviner was definitely involved in a 'dirty game'. During the week, my aunt, after having received a message from my grandmother, phoned me and said:

"Your dream corresponds with bad experiences I encountered after my *imvuma kufa*, because after that ritual ceremony, I had *ithongo* (ancestral dream) of another ritual work I had to perform. When I confessed my *ithongo* to them, Nomawabo became sarcastic and told me that I dreamt too much and that she was sure I made up my *amathongo*. At one stage she accused me of flirting with Zanethongo who is even younger than Mpumi (my aunt's son who is 38 years old). She made these accusations because we, as their initiates discovered that she and Zanethongo were involved *kumbulo* ('in an incestuous relationship')."

Hearing the anger in her tone of voice, I was convinced that she had deliberately used the word *umbulo* ('incest') knowing exactly what it meant. It seemed as if she wanted to emphasize the immoral behaviour the two novices were engaged in and that it was totally unacceptable in the practice of diviners. She chose to use the word *umbulo* because it is the 'filthiest' act and that society cannot tolerate it. However, the two novices were not relatives and came from totally different clans, but this does not mean that I condoned their behaviour. In Xhosa society it is a known fact that this kind of behaviour can never be condoned since it is regarded as *umlaza* ('ritual pollution/ impurity'). See Hammond-Tooke (1993:187) about *umlaza*.

My aunt went on to say:

"One morning, while passing by Nomawabo's home to perform the routine ritual washing and internal cleansing before going to work, Zanethongo came out with his bath medicines and emetic. They keep their medicinal plants in their bedroom) *ayingo mlaza lowo?* ('is n't that a ritual impurity?'). It is a sacred rule of divination practice that novices have to abstain from sex. He (Zanethongo) stood there by the door stretching and yawning; worst of all, he thing he did was to push his hand into his short pants and began to scratch his groin. After that he stirred up the emetic medicine with his finger that he used in scratching his groin. I vomited before I even drank that vile concoction. The time came for us to take a bath for (ritual) cleansing; he ordered each of us to wash in the same warm water and infused herbs. This meant that one had to wash with someone else's dirt. *Ga sies!* They are filthy man.

Yho! Listen, this (matter) was confirmed by *utat'omkhulu* (the old man who was Nobulali's former trainer diviner) over the last weekend at her *intlombe*, when he said to me: "Nonkosi (my aunt's divination name that she was given by Nomawabo) you must be very careful of Nomawabo. She is my niece, and also was my initiate, so I know her, she is a liar ('*ulixoki*'), an instigator of quarrels ('*ungumxabanisi*') and, above all she is a very jealous person ('*ungumntu onomona*'). A gifted person like you will never complete her training under her guidance *uyokuval' unye* (lit. she will close you up until you shit yourself meaning she will suffer and no diviner will be able cure her), I am telling you, she is not right, she is dangerous." So I don't have money and time for her shit. She despises me and also shows disrespect towards my ancestors. So I am out of the training of *umbulo*, I will wait until I am shown another person. So your dream was right."

Appendix 5: How I was nearly lured into divination practice (cf. p.72)

In August 2000 while I was in Cradock over a weekend, preparing a ritual dinner for my ancestors (see Appendix 6). I had a strange dream, which was as follows:

“I was reading a book on cultural activities, as I was reading, turning to the next page, I saw a still photograph of diviners dancing at Robben Island. The page turned into a Television screen, and these diviners began to dance non-stop. All of sudden the face of one diviner, who gave me a hostile look, was zoomed in. I was shocked and confused because of the look she gave me.”

Two days later, I went to Queenstown to consult my healer on the other issues, but did not mention my unsettling dream, since she was to divine for me. Among other things, she advised me to be careful in my research, because some ‘white people’ thought I was making money from it. When I heard this, I told her about my dream. Then in December 2001 (more than a year later) the very same diviner appeared in my dreams, wearing the same hostile look. This time her trainee Thongolemveli (divination name) also approached in the same dream to ask what it was that made her diviner hate me so much. This was no less disturbing, and I shared the dream with a friend with whom I was staying at the time. In the second week in January of this current year (2002), the same unfriendly face turned up in a dream. When I related this to my friend, she advised me to phone the Queenstown healer, which I did. She advised me to take certain ‘preventative measures’, but I neglected to follow her instructions. Two weeks after I had divulged the dream to my healer, I awoke one morning (22nd January), after having spent the night sleeping on the floor (because of back problems). As I turned my head, my eyes fell on four white beads, which were lined up in a row next to my Bible.

I was very unnerved by this, and decided to leave them lying on the floor. I dressed and took a taxi to Langa township to attend rehearsals for an arts project involving Khayelitsha youths and refugees for other African countries. Thereafter I returned to Cape Town by taxi, and when I sought for change in my purse, in order to pay the taxi driver, I found four white beads among the small change. I was stunned, and unable to believe my eyes, but remained in control of my emotions, and asked myself whether this was a sign that marked the beginning of *intwaso*. No sooner had I thought about this possibility when I quashed it. *Unotshe!* I said to myself (no, it won’t ever be!). It just is not possible, not now when I am busy completing my dissertation. It (*intwaso*) will never come about in this way! and certainly not after having dreamt of the same hostile face, three times! (I recalled her telling me I was showing symptoms of *ukuthwasa*, and that it manifested because I was researching divination songs). I phoned my healer about the four beads, and she advised me to make a small ‘ritual’ before I actually touched them and threw them away. According to her, the beads were ‘unclean’. But to me, it was obvious that the angry-faced diviner wanted to accomplish her objective –and lure me into her practice.

I consulted several people in Langa and Paarl about the incident of the beads and their answers were all the same: *Ezo ntsimbi zimdaka!* ('those beads are not 'filthy'). I was also given the phone numbers of a Port Elizabeth diviner whom I should consult about this matter. When I did so, I told him I was speaking on behalf of another person. His response to this was:

"He! Uyabona ke iyaxaka xa kanti lo mntu akazalani nokuzalana neli gqirha. Nje ngokuba liqumbile emaphupheni, yena umphuphi lo uyaboniswa zizinyanya zakhe ukuba lingcolile likhohlakele. Iintsimbi zona uncedile azilahle kuba kaloku bese limloba ngoku ngezantsimbi. Into omaz' uyiqaphele ntombazana amagqirha ngoku ayakwazi nokutsalela abantu entwasweni benga thwasi nje kuba befuna imali. Abantu balambile kaloku."

('Ay! You see it causes confusion when it has occurred that this person is not even related to this diviner. As this diviner is angry in her (the victim's) dream, the dreamer herself is being shown by her ancestors that that diviner is evil and cruel. She took a good step by throwing the beads away because the diviner was 'attracting' her into *intwaso* by showing her those beads. What you must know, girl, is that diviners nowadays can lure people who do not have a 'calling' to *intwaso*, just because they desperately need money. By the way people are hungry' (they seek means to survive)).

It is a known fact that ancestors are very displeased with their living descendants if they neglect certain requests from them. Now, when a diviner gives someone an angry look in dreams, and the dreamer is not even related to her, then this raises all kinds of questions and possibilities which have to be investigated.

Appendix 6: My experience of witchcraft (cf. p.74)

The following is an account of an illness that the researcher encountered in the East Cape Province:

“It was in August 2000 that I made a decision to go to Cradock (my birthplace) to slaughter a sheep for the Qwambi clan who played the most important role in my up bringing. This was what I could term a traditional dinner. I requested the killing to take place at my mother’s uncle’s home -what I refer to as the ‘big house’ since Qwambi rituals are usually enacted there. (Although my maternal uncle had died some years ago, his eldest son, Ali, being the senior male member of the House of Qwambi, is the chief officiate in small sacrifices). Opposite the ‘big house’ is the home of my maternal grandmother, which I will refer to as the ‘small house’.

On a Wednesday evening my mother and I took a bus to Cradock, arriving there in the early hours of the following day (Thursday). Since we were tired from the long journey we went to bed and slept for a few hours. I was awakened by my mother crying out in her sleep. Startled, I shook her gently, and asked her what was wrong. She said: “I am seeing a woman in my dreams throwing tree leaves on the window.” We both felt that such a dream had to have some special significance for us, but the question was, what? Later that morning we went to buy ingredients for the brewing of *umqombothi* (‘sorghum beer’) obligatory for the forthcoming ritual work and, which would be ready for consumption on the Saturday ahead. To my dismay, after the *umqombothi* gruel had been cooked, its colour, which should be ‘light pinkish’, changed into grey. I was very frustrated because whenever I brew *umqombothi* at my grandmother’s home, many people always turn up, again and again, on successive days for *ivanya*,¹ because they enjoy its flavour. They always complement us on our beer of the Qwambi clan saying that it tastes like yoghurt. Vexed at the poor quality of the beer, I asked my aunt to pour it in the yards of the two homes on the grounds, in honour of the ancestral spirits of the Qwambi. Thereafter my aunt and I went to buy new ingredients, which meant that the necessary fermenting process would delay the availability of the beer by a day; it would be ready to drink only on the Sunday.

In the afternoon of the same day (Thursday) a woman of about seventy years of age came to our house. Apparently she knew me -since childhood- but I did not know who she was, until she told me her name. This woman had a light complexion, and small eyes, was virtually toothless, and spoke in a thin, reedy voice. She was noisily sucking cherry flavoured Halls Drops, (used as a mouth refreshant, and for sore –throat relief), and in the process she displayed what appeared to be a tongue of unusually large size. (Later I was told that she was diabetic). She asked me, “Are you Nanziya?” and I replied in the affirmative: “I am Nunzia.” She then asked where I was living and I replied, “In Cape Town.”

She persisted with questions about my precise abode and locality, which began to make me feel uncomfortable. When she learned that I was residing in Rondebosch, she said: '*O! Ukweziphezulu iindawo* ('So, you are living a high standard of life').' At this point I told her I was a student at UCT, staying in a university residence, and with no regular income. She gave me a rather malevolent look, and a smile that was closer to a grimace, which made me more ill at ease. However, she asked to leave us and went on her way, and in a short while, with other pressing matters at hand, I ceased thinking about her.

The following day (Friday) at about 8h30 I phoned a diviner friend living in Queenstown. I had not seen her for almost a year, and I made an appointment to consult with her on Tuesday the following week. Then I went to have something to eat with my mother but after just one mouthful, I began to experience *umbilini*. I was unable to swallow. I went outside for some air, and also to conceal my state from my mother, but she saw that I was troubled and anxious. As the symptoms increased I became more frantic, and ran to phone my diviner. She was shocked to hear about my condition, evident in the way I was speaking, because the onset of the condition had been so sudden. It was decided that I consult her without delay, and I travelled to Queenstown by taxi, a trip which took two hours. I found my friend anxiously waiting for me, and when I explained my purpose for coming to Cradock in the first place she was even more shocked. Since my purpose was a good one -to thank my Qwambi ancestral spirits for having raised me- it was incomprehensible that I should be experiencing *umbilini*. The diviner did not divine for me, but prepared some special plant medication that I should take home. This was:

iyeza lokugabha –('an emetic medicine')

elokusela –('one to drink for *umbilini*')

elokufutha –('for steaming my body')

nelokutshiza indlu ngaphandle –('and also for sprinkling inside and outside the house').

She also instructed me to return to her on Tuesday of the following week. On that Friday evening Ali and I sprinkled the medicines about the grounds of the big and small houses and thereafter I went to take a bath. After that, I underwent steam medication (steaming up my body) and washed myself. This ritual treatment had to be observed for three days. The next day, Saturday, was the day of the ritual slaughtering of a sheep, and, to my surprise, the toothless old lady was at the house with an older acquaintance, Manci by name, whose deceased husband was a cousin of my maternal grandmother. After the ritual slaughtering my mother had the task of cleaning the intestines and tripe, and I asked her to ensure that she worked alone, without interference from anyone, including the two old ladies. It was not that I had sound suspicions about them, but I intuitively felt that their hands were not 'clean', and that their presence boded ill for me. However, Manci attempted to converse with my mother, and complained that some people in Cradock suspected her of practising witchcraft.

There were rumours in the small town that she had been seen prowling about a circumcision lodge at night by the initiates, acting furtively. Mancé ignored the rumours, which she said were totally unjustified. As she spoke she presented a pathetic picture of a frail, ailing person, and her plaintive voice and its apologetic tone, asthmatic breathing and the way she hugged herself, as if she was very cold, added to the picture of human misery, which evoked some sympathy from my mother, who advised her to pray, for herself and also for her accusers. Some time later, the two women left us but returned on the following day (Sunday). That morning, my uncle Ali and I visited his father's grave, to inform him about the 'work' I was doing and to ask for the protection of all my ancestors against evil forces. After praying at the graveside we returned to the 'big house'. At about 11h00 I again began to experience *umbilini* ('the anxiety'), palpitations and shivering were more severe, but after taking a dose of the special medication prepared by my *isangoma* friend, I felt better. Some time after that people began to congregate at the big house; about eighty in number subsequently witnessed my ritual work, but before it took place, all the women assembled inside the house, while the men were outside. I went inside to greet the women and to chat with them, and it was not long before the toothless old lady came up to me and enquired after my situation, and how I was managing to live without an income in Cape Town.

While she spoke, her friend Mancé left the living room but returned almost immediately; tiptoeing into the living room and glaring at me. Her extraordinary manipulation of her right eye alarmed me: it wriggled in its socket, and the pupil seemed to spin in one-way, and the iris in another. Almost immediately I experienced a sharp pain on my shoulder, which suddenly went weak and I had severe *umbilini*, I suddenly realised that Mancé must have caused it all. Frightened but also very angry, I left the room and walked across to the 'small house' to phone my *isangoma*, and I told her: "I have seen the person who is making me feel this *umbilini*, and I ask you to permit me to use *iyeza lokuqhumisa* ('medicinal plant for fumigating')." The diviner asked me where I would use it and I told her that I would apply it in the 'big house'. I would smear it on a piece of smouldering wood, and place it in the main passage, whence the smoke and odor of the firebrand would filter into the living room where the people were sitting. The diviner wanted to know what the people were doing at that moment, and when I replied that they were being served food, she forbade me to use the medicine since people were eating. She told me to ignore Mancé, who would not have the power to do more harm to me. I was unhappy with this response, and complained that I was experiencing severe pain, and extreme dizziness which threatened to lead to unconsciousness.

I begged her permission to use the medicine, and she relented and told me to go ahead, but to 'take it easy, all will be well'. Without wasting any time, I placed the fumigating stuff in the passage and told a neighbour who was present (a professional nurse): "*Sisi*, (i.e. 'Sister') this thing is not going to harm you, there is something I just want to make right. The smoke knows exactly where it is supposed to go."

It was not long before Manci and the toothless woman suddenly fell asleep, still holding their plates of food in their laps. Astonished at this sudden lapse, people began asking: *Hee!* What's wrong with these two? Some people also laughed at the sight of the two women fast asleep, sitting upright with food in their laps. But there was also a great deal of censure and even scorn in their laughter, since it is unacceptable behaviour to sleep during a ritual work. One person exclaimed: "*Hee! khange balale phezolo!*" ('Good grief! They did not sleep last night' – meaning that the two women had been 'flying about doing their dirty work of witchcraft'). Another person suggested that *yiswekile emenza ukuba makalale* (lit. 'it is the 'sugar' i.e. diabetes that makes the toothless woman sleep'). A question was raised concerning the other old woman, Manci, and someone replied: "*Hey!* I am sure *yi esma* ('she has been attacked by asthma')." Comments like these, interspersed with small talk and about the sleeping women continued for quite a while, and the two slept on, quite unaware that they were the brunt of jokes and criticisms. When the time came to serve traditional beer, I assembled a group of girls (including Manci's daughter) in the kitchen and led them off in the singing of a divination song, which has also been popularised by Madosini² on her CD 'Power to Women'. The title of the song is, "*Bafazi! zeni ngandibulali*" ('Women! you must not kill me').

(Listen to CDI example song no. 2. The song was recorded at Ngqoko village in Lady Frere at the house of Nogcinile, one of the internationally acclaimed musicians. They were 'socialising' having a beer gathering, with her group of singers and some people from the village).

<i>He! bafazi ze ningandibulali</i>	Hey! women you must not kill me
<i>He! bafazi ze ningandibulali</i>	Hey! women you must not kill me
<i>Ndilu sana ze ningandibulali</i>	I am a little child you must not kill me
<i>Ndilu sana ze ningandibulali</i>	I am a little child you must not kill me
<i>Ndiyi mveku ze ningandibulali</i>	I am a little baby you must not kill me
<i>Ndiyi mveku ze ningandibulali</i>	I am a little baby you must not kill me

The meaning and importance of the song:

This song is about women who are witches and the victim is begging the witches that they must not kill her. To me it meant that there was still much that needed to be accomplished in my life. I had chosen to sing this song because I wanted to identify the two women as being witches. I had recognised them for what they are, and now their true identity had been made known to all the women present in the house.

At the time we were singing, one *sisi* remarked pointedly: "*Hay'ke homama niyumva umntwana uthi zeni ngambulali ulusana*" ('So mothers you do hear the child, she says you must not kill her she is still a little baby'). As we sang, I danced before the two old women, who had awakened from their 'sleep'. They clearly felt very uncomfortable about their predicament. The toothless woman hardly knew what to do with her portion of beer, continuously bringing the jug to her mouth, but being unable to take a swallow.

She subsequently gave up all attempts to drink and set down the jug and all the time she avoided looking at me directly. This was noted by the others present, one of whom exclaimed: "*Hee! Nas' isimanga ngumfazi otheni lo ungakwaziyo ukumjonga lo mtana?*" ('*Hee! Here's a mystery. What kind of a woman this is, who cannot look this child in her eye?*'). It was as if we were involved in a spiritual 'sparring', but it was the old lady who gave up first, slumping in her chair and closing her eyes, as if to withdraw from a situation. But not so Manci, who continued to glare at me with a sneering grin on her face. She seemed to be saying: "You see, look at me I am innocent I even enjoy your singing, I have got nothing against you but, I won't stop my 'mission' I am still going to get (harm) you." After a time I pulled out of the confrontation, and led the singing group from the room. I went to sit with my aunt in one of the bedrooms, and it was there that Manci found us. She said in a feeble, deceitful voice: "*He! umsebenzi wakho uvumile ntombazana.*" ('*He! Your 'work' has 'agreed' girl, meaning that my ancestral spirits had approved of my ritual work*'). I gave her a somewhat insolent reply: *AmaQwambi ebengena kungawamkeli u-enkosi wam yilonto uvumileyo* (the Qwambi ancestors would not refuse my 'thank you', hence it (my work) has 'agreed' (has been successful)). She responded by going to the kitchen and saying to my mother: "*He! umsebenzi womntana wakho mhle nyani. Loo nto unale ngoma yakhe ithi hafazi zeningandibulali.*" ('*Goodness me! The 'work' of your child is beautiful. And, she has this song of hers that says women you must not kill me*'). My mother responded: "*Hay' enkosi.*" ('*No, thank you*').

Manci then left the kitchen and walked over to the 'small house' and entered it. Through the kitchen window (of the 'big house') my mother saw Manci pacing the floor of the kitchen in the 'small house': so she sent my cousin Sonki to investigate Manci's movements. It turned out that another cousin, Busisiwe, was in the house, and I was able to question her about Manci's presence there. Busisiwe replied: "Manci found me here in the kitchen, and she wanted to go towards the bedroom but did not enter it. I asked her what she wanted there, since all the guests were assembled in the Big house. She replied with another question, concerning your whereabouts. On hearing that I had not seen you, she wanted to urinate in the house. Since she knew that the toilet was located outside the house, I told her to go and urinate out-of-doors. She refused, saying that she would be seen by the men. I told Manci to enter the toilet for the purpose, but I knew she was deliberately annoying me, and taunting me." After all, she knew fully well that I was in the 'small house', having seen me there ten minutes earlier. For my part, I could see that the divination song had had a disturbing effect on her, and had conveyed my suspicions about her. I returned to Queenstown the next day (Monday) where my healer cast the bones for me for the first time since our friendship began in 1995. From the fall of the bones, she was able to relate to me all the details of the occurrences of the weekend. She said: 'The bones show me an old dark complexioned woman whose late husband was your maternal grandmother's cousin and a friend, who accompanied her (to the event).' I responded: 'I told you over the phone that I had seen the person who affected me in a strange way. That's the one, her right eye moved oddly, and I experienced *umbilini* and a sharp pain in my shoulder.'

My *isangoma* continued: 'She has told her daughter that you say she is a witch, and she suspects that you went to see a 'person' (consulted a diviner). Her *thikoloshe*-s are very angry they say to her, "*uzaku sonzakalisisa*" ('You are going to make us get hurt') (imitating a baby talk and the small voice of *thikoloshe*).' I said to my healer: "I did not confront her and outright told her that she was a witch, she got it from the divination song I sang, that says: '*Bafazi zeninga ndibulali*.' My healer laughed and said to me: 'You know, I did not want you to hear about these women from me. I wanted you to see them for yourself first. I mixed all medicinal plants that I gave you with a certain herb that would make people reveal their evil secrets to you. So, you must not be scared or nervous, people are still going to talk and do things openly.' My *isangoma* like many diviners, is cautious about naming a witch or a sorcerer.

The following weekend, it was to be my mother's turn to do the ritual work, that would be held at her mother's house ('small house'). I asked my healer: Should I tell these women not to attend my mother's ritual work? She replied: 'Nzia leave them, don't you want them to expose themselves? You are protected, so, *sisi* I wish you all the best.' I returned to Cradock, where my mother told me that she also experienced *umbilini* and I gave her some of my *umbilini* medicine to calm her. On Saturday at noon, Manci and the toothless woman entered the yard, one walking behind the other. They greeted us, and I could not help noticing that they looked rather shame faced about something. When I walked up behind the toothless woman, I noticed that she was fumbling about in her pocket with her right hand. After entering the kitchen, she sat herself next to the door. I went to remove a piece of smouldering wood from the stove, and as I did so, my intuition told me to turn around, and I again I caught her digging around in her pocket, muttering and looking at me while so doing. Catching my eye, she became nervous and confused. I said to her: 'Tell me what you have been saying,' to which she replied with a query: -is Lunga's mother in Cape Town? (Lunga is my cousin that I went with to Queenstown and was also divined for, by my *isangoma*). I revolted: 'That's none of your business, and why are you asking? She replied evasively: "*Hay' bekufowuniwe pha kwam bathi aba bantu ungumama kaLunga ufuna ukuthetha noLunga*" ('No, there was a phone call that came at my place, these people say, she is Lunga's mother and she wanted to speak with Lunga'). I had had enough of subterfuge and I told her that she was talking nonsense.

The nursing sister who attended my ritual work the previous weekend, tried to resolve the tense situation between myself and the old woman by stating that probably the people who had enquired after Lunga, wanted to talk to her (old woman's) Lunga. The old woman agreed -yes, you see it's true, they did want my Lunga: (Subsequent enquiries by me revealed that she had no son called Lunga). On hearing this I took the piece of smouldering wood and *iyeza lokuqhumisa* -and placed them on the floor of the passage. The smoke from the wood filtered through to the kitchen, where the two old ladies were sitting. When I re-entered the kitchen they stared hard at me, before dropping their gaze to the floor. Their attitude brought to mind a remark made by my mother earlier on. She overheard their conversation while she was in the bedroom and they had been talking about death. She had relayed this information to me, saying: 'I do not like the topic of conversation of those people in the kitchen because I have come to do ritual work for my ancestors.

On entering the kitchen I interrupted their conversation abruptly, saying: 'We do not want the darkness here. You know what! You are witches, you bewitch openly now and please you must go and out of this yard. Another thing, I want people to sing and clap hands because if you don't clap, you will be digging around evil substances in your pockets plotting bad things. This ritual work that my mother is doing is going to be a success, just like the one I did last week.' I then led off a song '*Ithamsanqa*' and the people joined in.

The meaning of the song *Ithamsanqa*:

By this song I was again conveying a message to the two witches that my mother had undoubtedly received her piece of good fortune and blessings that she requested, from her ancestors. And furthermore, no matter how hard the two witches tried to use their evil energy against her, it would bounce back because our ancestral spirits are powerful. As the singing increased in volume and intensity, the two women sneaked away. My mother's ritual work had indeed been a success."

Appendix 7: The entreaties made by the novice at a séance (cf. p.90)

N: *Ndithi ndiyanqula ndiyathandaza ema*Wusheni

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndithi makuded' ubumnyama kuvel' ukukhanya*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndithi ndiyanqula nasegqirheni eliphetheyo apha u*Zangwa, *u*Ncuthu. *Ndithi ndiya camagusha!*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndithi ndibulel' umnquba othe wavuma ukuba masingene*

A: *Chosi!*

N: *Ndithi ndiyacamagusha besilel' apha kwayizolo*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndithi mna ndingu*Mbathan¹

*u*Matshaya

*u*Nondzaba

A: *Chos' camagu!*

N: *Nditsho koo*Qwathi

*koo*Dikela

*koo*Ntswayibane

*koo*Ngovane

*koo*Nomatyala, *camagu*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Nditsho koo*Ndlovu

*koo*Nengezi Malusi mabandla, *ndiyacamagusha*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Nditsho koo*Dlomo

Sophitsho

Yem yem

Vela bambhentsele, *masicamagusheni*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndithi invumisa,
Unontongwane
igqabi leyeza nomsebenzi walo
intsusa unobangel' emhloleni mabandla
masicamagushe.*

A: *Chos'!*

N: *Ndithi ndinqulel' isiban' esilayitileyo phakathi komquba endihlala kuwo.
Masicamagushe!*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndithi ndinqulel' umsebenzi. Masicamagushe*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndithi ndinqulel' ukugula ndibheke phambili. Masicamagushe*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndithi ndinqulel' intobeko aph'endleleni. Masicamagushe*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Nditsho kooDlomo, kooSophitsho, Vela bambhentsele. Masicamagushe*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndithi ndinqul' ukhoko wam. Masicamagushe*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndinqul' uSithole ndithi yindlezan' ezala umam' uMaNdlovu ozala umam'
uMabandla. Masicamagushe!*

A: *Camagu!*

N: *Ndithi* Dlomo

Sophitsho

Vela bambhentsele

*Ndithi laa ngoma ithe yakutsho izolo, yandikhumbuza umakhulu uMaDlomo mabandla
masicamagushe! Kwangathi ndingasuka ndilil' iinyembezi kuba ndingu mzukulwana
wesi zukulwana kooDlomo. Ndithi invumisa, unontongwana negqabi le yeza
nomsebenzi walo mabandla masicamagushe.*

N: *Ndithi kooNdlovu*

Nengezi

Ndithi kooQwathi

kooDikela

*koo*Ntswayibane
*koo*Ngovane
*Ndingu*Mbathane

Matshaya
 Nondzaba

Dikela
 Ntswayibane
 Ngovane

*U*Nomatyala

Ndlovu
 Nengezi

Yem yem
 Sophitsho
 Vela bambhentsele

Ndithi ndiyanqula ndiyathandaza,

Ndithi imvumisa,

Nontongwane,

Igqabi leyeza nomsebenzi walo, masicamagusheni.

Ndinqulel' uzeka kade umsindo.

Ndinqulel' igqirha naliphi ize ibe ligqirha lam.

Ndinqulel' ukuba ndazi ayingomama uMaDlamini qha neliny' igqirha ndililik' imbek' endiyinik' umam' uMaDlamini.

Appendix 8: Baw' uGxarha's experience of *ihlombe* (cf. p.103)

Ukombela kundinika ihlombe ndide ndifikele nakwindima yokuba ndibe nemincili ingqondo le ibe ngathi ihluthiwe. Kweli lixa andikwazi kuhlala phantsi tu. Kukho nje into ethi phakama, xhentsa ndibethe inqina, ndibonise indima yehlombe ngelaa xesha. Kude kube-worse xa iyingoma eyeza ngokwethongo, isingqi sayo nedlela elandelwa ngayo itsho ngqo ngale ndlela endayiva ngayo emathongweni. Ndixhentsa ndibile xhopho, imibono ke izivelele gqi ngeendlela ezahlukeyo. Ndivela ndibone izinto ezingena kubonwa ngeliso le nyama. Into endidla ngokuyiqaphela kumathwasa yindlela ababayiyo, bavele baphuphumale lihlombe livele libafikele ngokwa hlukeneyo. Abenye bavela babenefuthe lelihlombe de batyhilelwe zizinyanya apho bangaboniswa izitofile ezingabonzakalisa okanye abantu abasentlombeni abangazikhuselanga ngamayeza. Xa omnye wamathwasa athe waboniswa, uye anikwe invume yokuba achaze avelise elubala umntu lowo uphethe ukungcola. Ingoma iye ivunywe ukunika isingcoli indlela yokuzimela sinyamalale. Ukuba ke uvele tshona abebuzenza msulwa, ithwasa liyayeka ukombela libuyele kuso.

Igqirha lizakavela lithi: "Yiza nayo mntan' am! Injani loo nto? Iphethwe yindoda okanye ngumfazi? Yiza nayo usibonise. Yitsho ngqo ngoku, kuba kudala kuthiwa umntu ophethe ukungcola akuqondayo ukuba kuyahambisana naye, loo mntu makakubeke phandle kuba kutsarha abantu." Xa ke ithwasa lisiya kwesisi ngcoli ingoma iye iqine ibeshushu ivela imbeke kwelemimoya. Uye afumene ke ngoku amandla okuyibamba. Ithwasa liye lihambe negqirha eliza kumnceda, hlawumbi le nto ivele imenza axhuzule. Uzakuyibamba athi: "Naku okukungcola bendithetha ngako." Xa uBaw' uGxarha wayendinika le nkcazelo, wathi yinto eyenzekayo ekumava akhe. Ezi zingcoli zizekukhangela ukuba amathwasa athwase nyani na kwaye ukuba amagqirha ngawokonyani na okanye baya kwiintlombe basele ezi ndywala.

Appendix 9: MaDlamini exhorting her novice (cf. p.172)

MaDl: *Makuded' ubumnyama kuvel' ukukhanya! Le ntombi yakwaGxarha inde, iyagxanya. Bantu makuded' ub umnyama kuvel' ukukhanya! andina-worry ngaye. Umntu kufuneka axelelwe into ayiyo. U-Nontobeko magqirha endlin' am, uyavungama de ndiyeke ukuvumisa.*

MaDl: *Kukho nje isifo abanaso, butywala. Hey! bantu, obutywala, andazi ndingathini, ndiyacinga ukuba kungenxa yezinyanya. Yiv' omny' esithi: Hayi mama ndenza nje. Kanti sinyanya esi sinyolukileyo, esasithanda utywala gqithi. Akho nto ke ndinokuyenza xa isinyanya somntu besibuthanda kakhulu utywala esam singabuthandi.*

Aud: *Camagu!*

MaDl: *Ndithandazela umsindo Notobeko, ukuba uhle uyokuhlala ezinzwaneni. Bantu imbi into yokuba ligqirha eliqumbayo. Masicamagusheni!*

Aud: *Camagu!*

MaDl: *Igqirha akufuneki lifufumale ngumsindo, igqirha akufuneki liye kulala liqumbile licaphukile ukwenzela ukuba xa izinyanya zalo zifika, zikwazi ukuthetha nalo. Makuded' ubumnyama kuvel' ukukhanya. Le nto iligqirha ligqirha ligqirha ngokwethongo, iligqirha ngokombilini.*

Aud: *Camagu!*

MaDl: *Yiloo nto ndithand' ukuthi MamYirha xa umntu esithi: "Ndikhathazwa ngumbilini," masicamagusheni!*

Aud: *Camagu!*

MaDl: *Ndithi ke kuye kulungile kanye, ligqirha ke elo! Igqirha kufuneka libe nawo umbilini, akusoze ube ligqirha ungenambilini. Haz' ba xa usisiyatha uzibiza igqirha elingenambilini, uzakuziva njani iindaba zabahalekazi. Nontobeko ndifuna uvungame mfo ka bawo, ubave beseza undixelele uthi: Mama kukho abantu abezayo. Ndiya kuthandazela ufane nengqeqe mfo kabawo. Ndiyathandaza ndithi, makuded' ubumnyama kuvel' ukukhanya. Ndiyakuthandazela mnta ka mama uz' ungayiyeki le ndima, 'zunced' ungabuyi mya dade. Kukho intlupheko eninzi kowenu. Kubuhlungu into yokuba mawubizwe ebugqirheni uze ubhubhe unomkhonto.*

Aud: *Camagu!*

MaDl: *Ndiyathandaza bantu, ezi zizinto ezi chithayo, ezitshabalalisa umzi. Ndithi makuded' ubumnyama kuvel' ukhanya.!*

Aud: *Camagu!*

Appendix 10: Mgebe exhorting Alfred graduand-diviner (cf. p.178)

Alfred, ebomini bakho uyakukhetha zezi phi iindawo umawuziye. Ndizakuhlala phantsi ndikubukele. Xa umntu efikelela ebudaleni ebomini, uyazikhethela ayifunayo okanye emfaneleyo. Nje ngegqirha kufanele ke ukuba ube nemfihlelo, kukho izinto izinyanya zakho ezingazukufuna ukuba uzivelise. Nje ukuba kwenzeka ukuba into ingavumelani nobom bakho unganyanzeli. Ungabinamqweno wento engeyoyakho. Uzulinde de izinyanya zakho zikunike okufanele ukuba ubenako. Nje ukuba umntu abalekele kuwe efuna uncedo Alfred, umntu azafumane indawo yokuzimela kuwe, umnike ukhuseleko. Ungabonisi butshaba emntwini. Umntu ze abone ubuso obugcwele luthando. Kudala ezibhekile zobulawu ziphehlwa phezu kwakho. Ngoku lithuba lokuba mawuzibethele abanye abaguli, kwaye Alfred uzuyenze imisebenzi. Ngoku namhlanje igqirha lakho lize kukhulula, ukwenzela ukuba uzimele, ukwazi nokwenzela abantu imisebenzi ungenatyala. Nje ukuba uqalise ukwenza imisebenzi uzazi ukuba unetyala, yonke oyenza phantsi kwegama le zinyanya ayukusiwa so. Ndiya camagusha yithathe mama.

Kukho nje into endiyilibalayo ukuyithetha mama. Alfred ungaze ube ligqirha alingakwaziyo ukunyamezela ebomini, nje ukuba amathwasa azo kuchazela ngamathongo abo, ungaze uthi: Yi-nonsense yonke loo nto asinakuba ngamagqirha sonke apha eKapa. Uyawabona onke la mathwasa asemva kwakho, ucinga ukuba yindlu yokudlalisa leya. Babalasele gqithi ekuvumiseni. Abantu babuya banelisekile yindlela abachazwe ngayo. Ungaze udlale ngesiphiwo sakho Alfred. Kufuneka wazi ukuba sisiphiwo sakho esisodwa osiphiwe zizinyanya zakho. Uze wazi ukuba imithandazo yakho ifikile kubo.

Appendix 11: Case study one of Mhinki (vol.1 p.195)

Myself: Mhinki *njengokuba ilizwi lakho li-train-iwe kwaye ubukwalilo nelungu lekwayara, ukungena kwakho ebugqirheni zange ubengxaki ekutshintsheni ilizwi lakho ulise esiqabeni?*

Mhinki: *Ewe! Ndandicula ndingakwazi ukombela. Ingoma endandiyithanda ngokuya ndandikumkhwetha yayinguNonkala. Xa ndandimcula uNonkala ndandimcula ngalendlela yasesikolweni, ilizwi lam ndandilingcangcazelisa. Ndandinengxaki naxa kuza ekuxhentseni, Ndandi-march-a ndisenza u-left and right endaweni yokuxhentsa. Umyeni wam wayendixelela ukuba mandinyathele ngamandla loo nto yayizokundinceda kumbilini ukuba unyuke. Hu! Ndandohlukile kwamanye amagqirha ngelaa xesha kuyo nje yonke into.*

Myself: *Ingoma ithetha ntoni kuwe?*

Mhinki: *Ingoma ithetha ukuphila kwam, kuba uyabona xa ndinengxaki endizivayo ndombela ingoma. Entlombeni ngamanye amaxesha ndide ndikhale. Ndide ndibe nalaa nto ingathi ukuba ndingafa ngoku ndingadibana noThixo. Indlela le enamdla ngayo ingoma andikwazi ukuyichaza, ingoma yenye nje into endingayaziyo.*

Myself: *Yeyiphi eyona ngoma yakho yase caweni oyithandayo?*

Mhinki: *Ithi: 'Yesu wena ungumhlobo' ndinengoma ethi: 'Bendihleli emnyameni bendisiya ekufeni'. Xa ndisecaweni ndisiva ukuba kukho abantu andisindayo emagxeni, kuba uyakwazi ungazifumana endaweni apho usathana alawula khona, so akhona amagqwirha wena ecaweni, ndicula le ngoma 'Mandiluv' ufefe lwakho'. Phambi kokuba ndiye nasecaweni ndiyava apha ukuba iza konganyelwa bubumnyama. Into nantsi wena kukho nje abantu abanemimoya emdaka abasoloko befuna ukuphatha ngexesha le nkonzo. Loo nto indenza nyani ndibenomsindo, ndihlala pha ndijonge ndiqalise ukuba ligqirha ngoku ecaweni. Indiphazamisa kakhulu loo nto. Ndisuke ndivele ndithandaze ndicele uThixo andisindise ekubeni ligqirha ngala mzumzu.*

Myself: *Sesiphi isihlalo osibambileyo ecaweni?*

Mhinki: *Ndingumama nje womanyano.*

Myself: *Lithetha ntoni ihlombe kuwe?*

Mhinki: *Lithetha impilo kum, kuba ihlombe lindisa kwinqanaba le mimoya apho ndinxulumana nezinyanya zam, abazokundityhilela izinto ezininzi ezimalunga nempilo yam, abakhwetha bam, nosapho lwam.*

Myself: *Kutheni iingoma zasentlombeni zingavunywa na ecaweni?*

Mhinki: *Yinto yokuba amagqirha azihloniphe gqithi ingoma zamagqirha, enye into ayingomaKrestu wonke ayiqondayo inkqubo yasesigqirheni. Abanye bayabucekisa ubugqirha ze bathi amagqirha ngabakhonzi bakasathana, so ukuvunywa kweengoma zasentlombeni ecaweni kungenza ingxwabangxwaba. Kodwa ibengumnqa, abantu xa bengcwaba igqirha ebililungu le cawa, amagqirha ayalinikwa ithuba lokuba avume iingoma zabo kwaye nesithethi siyalinikwa ithuba lokuba sithethe ngomfi.*

Myself: *Avumelekile amagqirha na angene ngezivatho zawo emangcwabeni?*

Mhinki: *Amagqirha ayaya emangcwabeni, yindlela yokunika umfi imbeko. Enye into akukho ndlela yokuba bangaxibi iimpahla zabo kuba yindlela abaxolisa ngayo umfi. Benza izinto ebezenza xa ebephila.*

Myself: *Ukufa esigqirheni kusondezwa kubumnyama, nabantu abamhlophe badla ngokuthi xa omnye wabo ebhujelwe unesimnyama. Ngoku ukungena kwegqirha emangcwabeni ayibisiso na isimnyama?*

Mhinki: *Xa umntu omhlophe (igqirha/ithwasa) ebuya emngcwabeni, ufumana amayeza akhe amdaka, na-clean nje ngesilawu ebekwe phandle; uzakuthi ke azihlambe ngawo phambi kokuba angene endlwini.*

Myself: *Yintoni eyenza ukunqula kubaluleke kuwe?*

Mhinki: *Ndifuna izinyanya zam zindihoye zimamele izicelo zam.*

Myself: *Ukhe uzibize izinyanya zakho ecaweni?*

Mhinki: *Ngoku nje ngokuba ndisoloko ndiphethene nezinto zase bugqirheni, ngamanye amaxesha ndiye ndibhude ecaweni, abantu xa besithi Amen! ndithi Camagu! naxa ndithandaza ndivele ndibanqule. Yazi andithandi ukushumayela kuba ilwimi lam livela libambeke. Ngamanye amaxesha xa ndigqiba kuthandaza ndiyayibiza iminyanya yam ndibacele ukuba bandijonge, bandikhusele bandikhokele. Ezi zicelo ndizenza kuba ndifuna bazidlulisele kuThixo.*

Myself: *Ingoma yakho yethongo ithini?*

Mhinki: *Ithi, 'Khanivume, yintoni le ndingayenzanga endingendiyenzile'? Le ngoma yaza emathongweni am. Ithetha ukuba izinyanya zam kufanel' ukuba zindixelele okanye zindityhilele yintoni le ndingayenzanga endingendiyenzile.*

Myself: *Wayithonga nini le ngoma?*

Mhinki: *Ndayithonga nje phambi kokuba imvuma kufa yakulo tata ndiyenzelwe ngo1993. Xa ndandi zokwenza imvuma kufa yakulo mama utata kamama wam owayeligqirha, wandinika ingoma ethi: 'Amabandla', kwaku yimfuneko qho phambi kokuba ndishukumise iminyanya yam ndivume Amabandla ndivume no Khanivume. Hu! Ingoma ibalulekile kubomi begqirha. Amazwi ayo ahamba ngolu hlobo:*

Mawavel' amabandla

Nokuba ndifile

Ndizakuyishiya lebhokile

Ndiza kuyishiya le bhokile kuba kunzima ukugula.

Le ngoma ithetha into yokuba, nokuba ndingafa mna Mhinki, unyana wam uzakuwuthatha umshologu wam kuba umshologu awunokushiya nje. Kufenaka omnye umntu e-family-ni awuthathe.

Myself: *Amathwasa akho azazi njani iingoma zakho?*

Mhinki: *Iingoma endazinikwayo zingoma ezindala ezaziwayo, so izinyanya zam zakhetha ukundinika ezo ngoma ukuba mandikwazi ukudibana nazo. Kodwa ke ibalulekileyo kum yinto yokuba ndibaxele ingoma le inantsingiselo ni na ukwenzela bazokwazi ukuba ezi ngoma 'ziyathetha'. Abakhwetha bam ke baye bacabele, amazwi abawafakelayo ingaba ngawe zinto ezenzekayo kubomi babo basengulweni emhlophe.*

Myself: *Iingoma zibaluleke ngantoni kuwe?*

Mhinki: *Iingoma zibalulekile apha kum. Yazi kungedula ndibe nengxaki yokushiya indlu yam, ndizibone nje sendiphuma. Kukho ingoma ethi: 'Ndafel' eluhambeni' endayityhilelwa zizinyanya zam. Kangangokuba xa ndombela le ngoma entlombeni, abantu abaninzi bayandazi bavela bathi: "Yho! Lo mntu uneengoma ezininzi zamathongo azithandayo." Abayazi ukuba ngexesha nganye endimane ngokombela ingoma ethile, kukho into endityhalayo ukuba mandiyombele ngenxa yezizathu ezithile. Ndiya zihlabelela iingoma zam entlombeni okanye abakhwetha bam bayazihlabelela. Enye ingoma endiyithandayo ngoononyanya bayeza. I-step-father sikamakhulu wam (uMamYirha) wavela kwimibono esombela oononyanya ngeli xesha ndandixhentsa ngalo entlombeni, so kwafuneka ndibamise ndombele unonyanya.*

Myself: *Undafel' eluhambeni uthini xa evunywa?*

Mhinki: *Ndafel' eluhambeni
Lolwakho
Ndakumthin' unongangela
Unongangela ngowakho
He! Lukud' oluhambo
Olu hambo lolwakho*

Myself: *Ina ntsingiselo ni le ngoma?*

Mhinki: *Uyabona wena xa uligqirha usoloko usendleleni, uyabona mna ndazalelwa eDiyara ngoku ndiseKapa, ithethe into yokuba andihlelanga ndaweni inye. Ngeeweekends andikho khaya, ndiphumile ndiye ezintlombeni, okanye ukuba andikho apho ndise luhambeni olumalunga nezinto zeentlombe. Ndihamba imigama emide ndiye eMaXhoseni ndisiya ezintlombeni zabakhwetha bomyeni wam, ngenxa yomsebenzi wam ndiye ndazi iindawo ezininzi. Ndathi ndakuva u-stepfather kamakhulu wam endombelela, ndazibuza ukuba liyakuvela phi na icebo lokuhamba? Kwathiwa: "Liyakuvela kwizihlwele."*

Myself: *Kwiingoma onazo yeyiphi yeyiphi oyijonge nje ngenamandla?*

Mhinki: *Hey! Ungasuke ubhideke ufane nexoki. Uyabona xa ndisombela oononyanya, ndibone ndixhentsa, hey! ibangathi ndibekwe e-space-ni. Xa ndisombela uKhanivume, uyabona ke ngoku yeyona ngoma yam ke leyo, yingoma eyenza ukuba mandibuve ubukho bezinyanya zam. Kodwa ikhona ingoma ka makhulu wam kwicala likamama, wayombela xa ndandiye eDiyara ndiyokumenzela umsebenzi.*

Ndandiqala ukuba ukuba yingoma yakhe yethongo amazwi ayo ahamba ngolu hlobo:

*Uthakatha uthembeni
Umane usithi amagqirha anolwini
Nomama yenzek' indaba
O! Yongomama yewuyo!
Ho! Wuyongo! Woyongomama!*

Ibangathi ndiyambona uMamDlomo, le ngoma indinika ithemba, ukuba nezinye iingxaki endibanazo ngamanye amaxesha ziza kusombululeka. Nje ukuba ndiyombele le ngoma iyandithuthuzela, enye ingoma endiyithandayo 'Lithamsanqa,' uyabona yingoma kamama wam leyo kwaye akalothwasa, ungumntu nje omnyama. Wakhe wathi kum ngenye imini: "Mntan' am ndikunike ithamsanqa, wamkelwe ngu-stepfather wakho enditshate naye. Ukwamkele ngenliziyo yakhe yonke ngoku ndikunike ithamsanqa lokuba mawufumane iintsimbi uzokubona ukuba ufuna ntoni ebomini." Nje ukuba ndombele Ithamsanqa ndivele ndive ubukho buka mama nomakhulu, ndivele ndibe yindindi ndibhideke, ndibe nawo nombilini. Yonke le nto ivela yenzeke nge-speed-i njengo mbane.

Myself: Kwenzekani umntu xa efunyanwa ngumbilini entlombeni?

Mhinki: Ingoma iyombelwa for yena, amagqirha ayamxhumisa ukwenzela ukuba ashukumise umbilini wakhe, emva koko uye uhle kwaye lo mbilini ke uza ngeendlela ezahlukeneyo.

Myself: Umbilini wakho wona usuka phi?

Mhinki: Umbilini wam usuka embindini wesisu sam nje ngaphezu kwenkaba, uyenyuka uvel' ushukume ndiwuve ungonzo. Umntu ongazange abe nawo umbilini angacinga ukuba kukuxhalaba. Uvel' uvakale ingathi uyagodola, ushushu, ingathi uyoyika, ibangathi wothuswe yinto, uvela unyuke ibengathi uzakuphuma ngomlomo. Ukusuka apho ndivele ndibe deurmekaar.

Myself: Umbilini uyanyangwa ngeyeza?

Mhinki: Umntu ogulayo (othwasayo) uyaphila ngokuthi axhentse nangengoma. Alikho elinye iyeza nangona intelezi namanye amayeza angawunyanga hayi ukuyaphi. Kodwa ke inqabile into yokuba umntu ogulayo anikwe la mayeza for umbilini. Ukuxhentsa kuhambelana gqithi nempilo yomntu. Uyabona ngoku lithuba ndingasayi entlombeni so lithuba ndingasaxhentsi. Le nto ithetha ukuba ndiza kubane-rheumatism. Owu! kodwa xa ndisentlombeni ndiyaphila. Uyabona koo kwakubetha inyawo. Enye into emva kokuxhentsa ingqondo yam iba-fresh ndiziva ndikhaphukhaphu. Emva kweentsuku ezimbini ulala ukudinwa, ukuve xa kuthiwa umntu olele obentlombe.

Appendix 12: Case study two of the Zionist (vol.1 p.201)

Myself: *Bhuti uvuma kamnandi, ukuba akungxamanga khawusondele uze kundivumela, ungumZiyoni?* Waphendula: *“Ndinguye umZiyoni sisi,” kwabuza yena: “Sisi uyazithanda na wethu ingoma zaseZiyoni? Ungumntu womoya? Ndamcela ukuba makangene emotweni ndizo kuphendula imibuzo yakhe, kwaye ndithethe naye ngengoma zaseZiyoni.*

Myself: *Mandiphendule ke umbuzo wakho, ewe ndiyazithanda iingoma zase Ziyoni, ndikwanguye nomntu womoya. Khawundixelele ke ukuba ungubani?*

Zionist: *Igama lam nguMongezi wakaMatroos, ndinguMpondomise. Ndazalelwa eSada kwilali yakuDongwe. Abazali bam ke bazakuhlala apha e-Ashton kwiminyaka nje eyadlulayo. So ke ndisebenza apha njengomakhi ndikwajongana neegadi zabantu.*

Myself: *Kwicawa yenu niya cula okanye niya vuma?*

Zionist: *Ecaweni yethu sivuma iingoma zomoya nje ngale bendigqiba kuyivuma ngoku. Uyabona, xa umntu esendleleni ngalo lonke ixesha, umntu uphilela uThixo. Ukuba ke ngoko umntu uphilela uThixo, umntu ke ngalo lonke ixesha ubasemoyeni. So ke ndinjalo, ndisoloko ndimdumisa uThixo ngeendlela ngeendlela. Ibangathi ndiyambona uYesu xa ndivumayo. E-Ziyoni njengasesigqirheni siyavuma asiculi. Asinamaculo, iingoma zethu zisuka kwizicatshulwa zebhayibhile, ezinye zezamagqirha.*

Myself: *Kutheni nivuma iingoma zamagqirha eZiyoni?*

Zionist: *Lento yenziwa yinto yokuba uninzi lwamalungu ecawa yethu ngabantu abamhlophe abemke entwasweni yabo bazokungena eZiyoni. So ke ngoko ngabo aba baza nezingoma zamagqirha kubantu basecaweni. Kwezinye icawa zaseZiyoni kukho amagqirha apheleleyo angamaZiyoni abavuma iingoma zabo zasentlombe. Umzekelo wengoma yamaqirha esidla ngokuvuma qho ecaweni yethu ‘lithamsanqa’. Asizivumi eziya zemisebenzi yasenkundleni nasebuhlanti umzekelo, Icamagu livumile, Somagwaza, nomHlahlo.*

Myself: *Ithetha ukuthini ingoma ethi ithamsanqa kuni maZiyoni?*

Zionist: *Le ngoma kuthi ithetha ukuba njengokuba wamkele uYesu, ithetha ukuba ukunike ithamsanqa lo kumamkela entliziyweni nasemphefumleni wakho.*

Myself: *Kwenzeka njani ukuba igubu malisetyenziswe eZiyoni?*

Zionist: *Igubu laseZiyoni yinto amaZiyoni ayikopa emagqirheni. Iingoma zethu zaseZiyoni ziqale kula moya wase ntlombeni ukuba maziye koweecawa. Icacile into yokuba igubu laza nabantu bentwaso eZiyoni ababefuna ukuqhubeka nokunyanga kwabo kodwa ngendlela yasebuKrestwini. AmaZiyoni awasebenzisi mayeza esintu ekunyangeni umntu ogulayo, sisebenzisa iziwasho. Abantu babefuna ukusondela kuYesu ukwenzela ukuba bazokuba ngabaprofite, baguquka nje njalo ngoloo hlobo.*

Myself: *Unalo na ulwazi lokuba kutheni betyeshela ubugqirha?*

Zionist: *Imbangi yokuba abantu abamhlophe bashiye ubugqirha kungokuba umntu ongena kolu bizo elilungu lezi cawa ingezezomoya hlawumbi; ngoku ke abanye babaleka ukunxiba iintsimbi, nokusebenzisa imithi for ukunyanga. Zizinto ke ezi ezibonwa izizinto ezimdaka ngamaZiyoni. For ukunyanga sithandaza kuYesu ongummeli wethu nangona ngamanye amaxesha sizifaka nezinyanya sisebenzise iziwasho xa sizihlambulula. Kwii-case apho abantu abamhlophe bazokungena eZiyoni, umprofite wethu okwa ngumfundisi odlala indima yokuba ngumpristi-gqirha uyathandaza amfake ngokusesikweni ukwenzela ukuba azokukhonza uYehova. Ngolu hlobo ke umlingwa uye abe ngumprofite ngokwase Ziyoni. Akukho kuxhela nakusila tywala nje ngasesigqirheni xa ithwasa lifakwa ngokusesikweni. Ewe ke phofu xa abantu befuna ukwenza imisebenzi yakomawabo yamasiko, bavumelekile, ayiso sono eso.*

Myself: *Yintoni le ibangela 'abantu abamhlophe' abesebengene eZiyoni baphinde babuyele ebugqirheni?*

Zionist: *Ndiyacinga kuloo mathuba abantu abamhlophe bahanjiswa zizi zathu ezaziwa ngabo, kubakho elicala lezinyanya zakubo liba-strong-o, lide libenze ukuba mabajongane qha nesigqirha.*

Myself: *Ziba noluvo olunjani ezingoma zaseZiyoni kwibandla?*

Zionist: *Umntu xa kufuneka engenwe ngumoya kufuneka aqhutywe yingoma, ngakumbi xa ingoma yakhe yethongo ivunyiwe. Umntu uyakwazi nje ukuhlabela ingoma yakhe okanye umntu onelizwi elinamandla angahlabela. Yho! nje ukuba bayivume besemoyeni, ndiyakuxelela, uMoya oyiNgcwele uyehla emva koko uziva uphilile, uvele kengoku ubone izinto, imibono.*

Myself: *Abantu baseZiyoni bayabusebenzisa na ubulawu?*

Zionist: *Hayi asibusebenzisi. Sisebenzisa iziwasho endaweni yaso, xa umntu efuna ukusebenzisa ubalawu uyenza loo nto kowabo. Iicawa zaseZiyoni ziye hluka ngeendlela ezisebenza ngayo, ezinye aziwavumeli amalungu wazo kwaphela ukuba enze amasiko awo. Umzekelo, ndake ndalilungu lenye icawa yaseZiyoni (Jerusalem Apostolic Church of Zion) abakhokeli bayo abahlala e-Welkom nase Rhawutini. Ngemini umntu abhalisa ngayo ukuba maka belilungu lecawa, umntu uxelelwa nje zisuka ukuba ayikhomthethweni wecawa into yokwenza amasiko. Yaba ngumnqa kuba umfundisi wethu waye ngumprofite owaye kwaligqirha same time, kwaye wayemvuma gqithi uNonkala ecaweni.*

Myself: *Ibandla la yiphendula njani le nto?*

Zionist: *Babengena kwenza nto, kuba wayeyinkokheli yecawa. Kuma xesha amaninzi nokuba yintoni eyenzwa yinkokheli yecawa akufuneki ibuzwe. Ndaye ndayeka ukukhonza pha emva kwexesha, kuba ndandiwa hlonipha amasiko, ayinxalenye nobom bam. Esinye isizathu esandenza ukuba mandizichithe yayisesokokuba, ezinye izinto eza zisenzwa ngulo mfundisi zazimasikizi. Umzekelo, wayevela asixelele ukuba singakrexezi, nangona wayethandana nabantu abaninzi.*

Myself: *Ke nawe ubufuna ukukrexeza?*

Zionist: *Hayi njalo, ndandingafun' ukwenza loo nto, nditshatile. Into endizama ukuyibonisa yeyokuba inkokheli kufuneka ibengumzekelo omhle kubalandeli bayo, akufuneki aziphikise iimfundiso zakhe. Akusoze ukholelwe ukuba ndinga kuxelela into, yazi wakhe wandigxotha ecaweni. Wakhe weva ngento enje ngaphambili, umntu agxothwe ecaweni? Ndagxothwa ke mna ecaweni.*

Myself: *Sesiphi isono owasenzayo?*

Zionist: *Hayi, uyabona abammelwane bam babezakutyhila ilitye, ngoko ke ndandimenyiwe ukuya kuloo nkonzo. Into endayenzayo; kusasa ndaqala ndaya ecaweni yam, ngoku ke ngelixesha kuqhutywa ngenkqubo yecawa ndaye ndaya kuBaw'ugosa ukuba andikhulule phambi kwentsimbi yokuqala malanga. Umfundisi wayengekho yiloo nto eyabangela ukuba mandicele uBaw'ugosa andikhulule phambi kokuba icawa iphume. Wavuma ukuba ndingahamba. Ekufikeni kukamfundisi ndingekahambi ndaqaphela uBaw'ugosa esiya kumfundisi wabe semsebezela ezindlebeni zakhe. Ngelaa xesha sasi semoyeni gqithi sivuma siduda. Yonke nje into yavela yama ngesiqophe, emveni kokuba evele wasimisa wathi: "Kukho into endingaz'ukuyivumela okanye ndiyinyamezele, kukuphathwa ngomnye umntu ecaweni yam. Wena! Mathunzi yenza into yokuba ungabonakali tu, ndifuna umke ecaweni yam uphume ngalaa mnyango."*

Myself: *Khawundixelele, eZiyoni aniyisebenzisi ingoma okanye niyiqambe ngalamzuzu xa nifuna ukuxelelisa umntu ecaweni, njengamagqirha esanza ukwenzela ukuqanda ukuba abantu bangade bambane ngezandla?*

Zionist: *Hayi, ilungile into yokuba umntu axelelwe ngomlomo endaweni yokuba azulise, kanti ngeloo xesha umntu akaxolanga. Xa umoshe abantu kufuneka uyamkele into yokuba ubu-wrong-o. Ke, umfundisi wam wathi: "Nyana kaMathunzi phum' uphele ecaweni yam, hayi ekaThixo, kodwa kweyam icawa. Yho! ndandibuhlungu ngaloo mini, ndibuhlungu kakhulu, intliziyo yam yayikhathazeke nyani. Noko kunjalo, ndandingenakwazi ukwenza into ngaloo nto kodwa zange ndimbonise ukuba ndakhathazeka. Ndakhulula izivatho zam ndemka ukuya ekhaya. Ndababalisela ekhaya, emva koko, ndaya kutyhilo litye ebamelwaneni. Ndlela le endandibuhlungu ngayo ngalaa mini yandenza ukuba mandicinge ngezinto ezininzi. Ndazibuza: "Ndiyeke ukuya ecaweni, okanye, ndingamhoyi ndiqhubekeke ndiye ecaweni?" Emva kokucinga nzulu kangaka ndaza nempendulo. Ndazixelela ukuba: Hayi, icawa yeka Thixo, andisoze ndivumele umntu ame endleleni yam. NgoLwesiThathu ndiza kuba pha, ke loo nto akayi nokuya kwiicawa zangoLwesiThathu. Kodwa ndazixelela, ukuba angaza andibone andisayi kuhoya neyiphi na into embi aya kuyitsho kum. NgoLwesiThathu ndaba pha ngethamsanqa ndim owavula inkonzo. Ndabeka ilizwi ndashumayela nabanye baza bazokungqina phezu kwelizwi. Emva kwe nkonzo ndaya pha kuye endlini yakhe ndayokwenza uxolo.*

Ndambulisa ndambuza impilo: "Ewe, hayi (ndabona ukuba wothukile) ndiphilile akhontw' imbi," waphendula. "Ke, unjani ke mshumayeli wam?" Wabuza. Ndaphendula: "Hayi siyaphila, akhontw' imbi, sibulela nje ukuba sijongiwe.

Emandleni, uThixo usithwele sazo kufika apha. Ndizo kukubona ukuba uphila njani." Zange aphenndule zange kwabakho naloo ncoko, ndagqiba ukuba ndihambe ke. Ndaya ecaweni ngeCawa; waphatha inkqubo yecawa kwaye isihloko sentshumayelo sisithi 'nyamezela'. Andikhumbuli nje ukuba kanye ikweyiphi indawo ebhayibhileni. Njengokuba waye shumayela wathi: "Umntu onyamezelayo ufana nqwa nalo (etshe esalatha kum)." Waza kum wandixhawula isandla wathi: "Hayi mntaka Mathunzi uyakwaz' ukunyamezela.' Andiyazi ukuba bekutheni kuze ndithethe nawe ngolu hlobo indawo yokuqala. Ngungenxa yomoya ombi ebendinawo ukuba madikugxothe ecaweni. Sekungoku ndiyiqonda." Ndaphendula ndathi: "Tat' umfundisi ndiyabulela ukuba wenze uxolo nam. Ngelishwa nam sendenze isigqibo, ndiyemka ecaweni yakho bendingafuni ukuhamba ndingenzanga xolo. Andifunanga kuhamba kuba ubundigxothile ecaweni yakho, bendingonelisekanga nagenkqubo yecawa yakho." Ndaye ndahamba ndayakutsho kule ndikuyo ngoku.

Myself: *Ubizwa ntoni umxhentso wamaZiyoni?*

Zionist: *Umxhentso womoya ubizwa ukuba ngumdudo kwaye abaxhentsi kuthiwa bayaduda. Xa abantu beduda kufuneka babile babemanzi xhopho. Amandla engoma okanye umdudo ayaxela xa umoya uhlile. Kwimeko enjalo umpristi okanye elinye lamalungu ecawa liza kumisa abavumi libacele ukuba bavume kakhulu ngamandla. Sifuna ingoma ephilileyo. Yho! Nje ukuba ingoma ibeshushu siduda kwaye siwuve noMoya oyiNgcwele. Siduda de ukubila kuhle ngomsintila. Yho! Uyabona, kude kugqithisele ehlotyeni kwaye umntu akana kwaleka izivatho. Umntu kufuneka afaka nje ilaphu elilula, Yho! Yeny' indawo leya. Ngalo lonke ixesha mna ndiya zilungiselela, mzuzwana nje ndiphume endlini yam ndiyazazi ukuba ndiya engomeni kwaye ndiza kududa ubusuku bonke, ndiziphathela itawule ke for ukubula. Ukuba uthe akabila, abantu bazokwazi kamsinya ukuba umoya wakhe loo mntu awukho pha kuba umzimba womntu awunakho ukoma, ngexesha abanye bebila xhopho.*

Myself: *Ninaso isizathu sokuba xa niduda nenze isangqa?*

Zionist: *Ewe sikhona, isazinge siyasimanya sonke, kwaye leli xesha ke sibiza uMoya oyiNgcwele. U-Moya oyiNgcwele awunakuze umngene umntu engakhange abe usenzile isazenge okanye wajikeleza, emva koko umntu uvela awe abe nemibono.*

Myself: *Xa ujikeleza ngokuqinisekileyo awusoze ungabinasiyezi uwe. Ingaba ke abantu bawiswa sisiyezi okanye bawu kuba bengenwe ngumoya oyingcwele?*

Zionist: *NguMoya oyiNgcwele. Yithi ndikuxelele ngoku, nguMoya oyiNgcwele nyani kuba sekendawuva mna. Ndijikeleza, ndijikeleze ixesha elide andisoze ndiwe, ndithi andisoze ndiwe.*

Myself: *Xa wawungena njengelungu elitsha eZiyoni uqala ukujikeleza zange ube nesiyezi?*

Zionist: *Ewe, ndandidla ngokuba dizzy nje for ithutyana. Yayi ngenguwo umoya yayikokwaku jikeleza. Ndavela ndathi: "Man kufuneka ndiqhele ukududa." Hayi ngoku ndingajikeleza i-hour-a yonke andisoze ndiwe okanye ndingqubeke nokuba kusemntwini.*

Yi-exercise kangangokuba kunqabile ukuya umZiyoni ekhala ngamadolo okanye imilenze ebuhlungu. Uluncedo nakwaba bafuna ukuphila ngokwasemoyeni okanye abafuna ukuvuselela ukholo lwabo. Uyabona qho ngemiGqibelo sinemilaliso eqala ngo 8 ebusuku ukuyakutsho ngo 5 ekuseni. Ubusuku bonke nje kuya vunywa, kuya dudwa, kuya shunyayelwa, kuya thandazwa. Kanye nje ngasentlombeni apho iziyalo nokunqula zixutywe nokukhwaza kooCamagu! Chosi! Intshumayelo nemithandazo ixutywe kooHamen! Haleluya.

Myself: *U-Amen kuni maZiyoni uthetha ntoni?*

Zionist: *Kuthi thina maZiyoni uHamen! Uthetha umntu uyavumelana nento ethethwayo ngumshumayeli.*

Myself: *Ukuba ubunokuguqukela kwenye icawa ubungahambela nenkqubo yakhona?*

Zionist: *Sisi phambi kokuba ndiguqukele eZiyoni ndandingumWisile. Okoko ndazalwa zange ndaphupha ngoYesu, kodwa ngenye imini ndambona uYesu emaphupheni am ke ngoko ndaqqiba kwinto yokuba ndiguqukele eZiyoni.*

Waza ke kum ngolu hlobo:

“Ngo-1987 ndandiqhuba iveni ndisuka emaMpondweni ndisiya e-Ashton. Iveni yayithwele iingxowa zecuba labathwa eziyi-10. Ndabanjwa kwi-road block ngase Komani ixesha izizithuba zabo 9 ebusuku. Ityala laye lathethelwa kwinkundla yakuKomani kwaye ndagwetywa iminyaka eyi 8 emithathu yaxhonywa. Emva koko ndathunyelwa eMonti. I-apartheid yayisengamandla kakhulu, kwakungekho ndlela zakufowuna. Umntu kwakufuneka abhale i-letter ayinikile ipolisa lihambe liyokuyiposa, kodwa babevele nje bazikrazule i-letter zethu. Loo nto ithethe into yokuba abantu bam zange bazi ukuba ndandiphi.

Ndabela ukuba ndithunyelwe e-Ashton okanye e-Robertson kwakulapho ndandifuna ukusebenza isigwebo sam khona. Kwinyanga yam yesithathu etilongweni saba ne-hunger strike ke ngoko kwabakho umfundisi owayemane ngokuza kushumayela ilizwi likaThixo umfundisi uMadikane. Uyamazi? Ngenye intseni ndabona oomama abane benxibe iimpahla zaseZiyoni kwaye bethwele amalaphu a-green entloko. Bavela bandibiza ngegama lam (Yazi, asikokuqala ndibalisa elibali, ndaxelela abantu abaninzi ngalo). Babiza igama bathi: “Mongezi! AyingoYesu Krestu lo usemva kwakho?” Xa ndibheka ndathi: “Owu hayi! NguYesu lo, nguYesu ubuso bakhe endabubona emifanekisweni.” Ndajonga kubo ke ngoku aba mama ndathi: “Ewe! NguYesu, Nguye.” Bathi ke: “Owu! Unyamalele.” Xa ndibheka waye sengekho.”

Myself: *Khawundichazele ngenkangeleko yaka Yesu ibinjani na?*

Zionist: *NguYesu Krestu lo uqhelekileyo,, owayeliJuda onebala elimhlophe. Wayenxibe izambatho ezimhlophe, ebengezela kwaye enenkangeleko yobulungu. Yazi, ingathi ndavela ndathi kwaba mama: “Iintliziyo zenu zingakhathazeki, nizakumbona kwakho, akamkanga.” Ukuvuka kwam ndathi: “Owu! Thixo wam bendiphupha.” Ukusuka apho ndabalisela elinye ipolisa ngeliphupha.*

Myself: *Zange ucinge hlawumbi ubuhanjelwe yimpundulu?*

Zionist: *Hay! Hay! Iqhelekile into yokuphupha abelungu kuba siphila nabo, awunakundixelela ukuba zange uphuphe umlungu. Le nkolo yesiXhosa yokuba umlungu uzuvelisa ngokwe mpundulu yintsomi. Xa ndixelela ipolisa ngephupha lam lathi: "Liphupha elothusayo." Landibuza ukuba mdingena phi na icawa, ndamxelela ukuba ndingena eWisile. Wathi ke: "Ndinga kunika nje uncedo olunye, guqukela e-Ziyoni. Kulapho uyakumfumana khona uYesu."*

Myself: *Le nto ithetha ukuba akho Yesu eWisile ?*

Zionist: *Ewe! Akho Yesu eWisile, ndithetha mna uYesu lo ndifuna ukumkhonza akafumaneki pha. Uyabona ndinengxaki, ndifana nje nomntwana oneempawu zentwaso. Uyayiqonda le nto ndiyithethayo?*

Myself: *Akucingi ukuba yintwaso hlawumbi eyakufaka etilongweni kuba athi amagqirha ama-Xhosa idla kokwenzeka kwezinye ii-case, xa umntu eyichasile?*

Zionist: *Ewe! U-right kanye. Phambi kokuba ndibanjwe, ndandingena lwazi le ntwaso. Phofu ke, abanye abantu abamhlophe (amagqirha) babedla ngokundixelela kodwa ndivele ndingabahoyi. Ndayikholelwa into yokuba ndinentwaso emveni kokuba ndamkele uYesu (e-Jerusalem Apostolic Church of Zion) xa ndandixelelwa ngomye umprofite eKapa xa iqela lethu lasecaweni laliye emlalisweni kwaLanga. Nje ngokuba ndandiphakathi kwabadudi, umfazi owayenxibe iintsimbi zamagqirha wandijonga ngokukrokrisayo. Ndavela ndothuka andakwazi ukuzinza, ndamangala ukuba kutheni wayendijonge nolwahlobo wayendijonge ngalo.*

Wathi xa ezakuwa abantu bamnqakula wabe sesimisa ekuvumeni kwethu. Wathi: "Kulaa madoda mabini asandul' ukungena apha kule ndlu ndajonga kumhlobo wam umprofite ufuna ukumprofitela." Waphinda wathi: "Tat' onezambatho ezimhlophe (Ndathi: "Thixo ubhekisa kum ngoku") ndifuna ukuthetha nawe, ukuba usakhumbula kakuhle wakhe wagula yi-TB ukuba busazi ke yayingeyo TB leya yayi lidliso kwaye phezu koko unentwaso. Abantu bayakuzingela kodwa abakwaz' ukufumana, zintshaba zikatata wakho ke ezi zenza le nto kuwe. Ngabo ababulala utata wakho. Isisu sikatata wakho sasidumbile, loo nto yenziwa ngabo, bamthakatha. Ngoku bafuna ukukufumana kak'bi. Ke uzuncede nje xa wufumene ithuba, uzuze kwam ukwenzela ukuba sizo kuthetha."

Myself: *Waya kumbona na eKapa?*

Zionist: *Hayi andikayi, nje xa ndifumene ithuba ndakuya.*

Myself: *Usenazo na ezo mpawu?*

Zionist: *Ewe! Njengokuba ubundibona ndivuma, andikhathali nokuba andinaye umlandeli ndicula ndizilande. Ngelinye ixesha ndiya thanda nje ukuba ndedwa; le yenye yempawu zokuthwasa kwaye ndikholisa ukuba namaphupha amaninzi abayinyani endiwalawula kumprofite wam.*

Ukuba izinyanya zam ziyandifuna, ndiza kuyithandazela loo nto kuba andingekhe ndikwazi ukuba kwindima yokuba ndibe ligqirha kwakho ndibe ngumprofite ngaxesha nye. Iya kundixaka loo nto kuba ndiya kuthanda ukuba secaweni yaseZiyoni. Kodwa yazi ntoni! Le ndoda isandul'ukugqitha apha nge-van ngumfundisi wethu, ungumprofite kwakho abeligqirha kwaye, ungamayakhe ayithanda kakhulu nguNonkala ngasemlanjeni kwaye uyayivuma ecaweni.

Myself: *Ibandla liva njani xa kuvunywa uNonkala?*

Zionist: *Akhonto ibandla lingayithetha kuba ungumfundisi.*

Myself: *Ibiyingoma yomdudo le ubuyivuma?*

Zionist: *Ewe ibiyiyo. Owu! Ndiyakuthanda ukuvuma, xa ndivuma ndibuva gqithi ubukho bukaYesu. Ndiyaphila, ukuvuma kundenza ukuba mandiphile ubomi obunoxolo. Xa ndiphazamisekile, ndivela ndivume ingxaki ibe seyimkile. Xa ndifuna ukukhupha usathana endlini yam nasemzimbeni wam ndiyavuma ndidude. Andi-need-i bantu baninzi for ukwenza loo nto, ndingayenza ngokwam nje ndidedwa.*

Appendix 13: Case study three of MaDlamini (vol.1 p.210)

Myself: *Madlamini khawundithele gqaba-gqaba ngonobangela wentlombe obuyiphethe.*
 MaDI: *Intlombe yaleveki iphelileyo ibiyintlombe yokuthula umthwalo. Ukothula ke umthwalo kuthetha ukuba wazisa amagqirha asekuhlaleni ukuba umkhwetha ebegodukile eyokwenza umsebenzi wakhe wengulo emhlophe. Umkhwetha wam ebehlile ke eye emaXhoseni eyokwenza umsebenzi wemvuma kufa yakulo mama wakhe kwakunye nemfukamo. Wakhelwe ke ithonto. Le nto yemfukamo iyafana nje neyasekolukeni kwe nkwenkwe, nangona ke inkwenkwe kufuneka ihlale entabeni. Uhleli pha ke kwelaa thonto iintsuku ezine, ephehla ubulawu bakhe.*

Myself: *Kutheni le nto kufuneka ithwasa lifukame?*

MaDI: *Isizathu sokuba umntu kufuneka enze imfukamo kungenxa yokuba izinyanya zakhe zimfunela kufuphi kuzo, zizokwazi ukumsebezela enye yezinto zenkolo (enxulumene nobugqirha) ekufuneka zaziwe nguye kuphela. Ngexesha le mfukamo ubolekwa umkhonto wemvuma kufa yakulo mama wakhe awugcine ngaphakathi kwethonto lakhe. Ukuba ithonto lakhe lithe layakwakhebwa ngasemlanjeni umkhonto ubekwa ngakwithonto. Igqirha lakhe ke lizakumzisela zonke izinto zakhe zengulo yakhe ekufuneka ezisebenzisile ngelaa xesha le mfukamo.*

Myself: *Zeziphi ezo zinto?*

MaDI: *Andinakuxelela. Akufanelekanga ukuba wazi ngazo. Akho namnye umntu ekufuneka ezazile ngaphandle kwegqirha lakhe. Amaxesha ebendihambela ngawo ngu-5 okanye 6 wasekuseni, no 5 wokutshona kwelanga ndisenzela ukuqononondisa ngenkqubela-phambili yakhe. Matshona bendimphathela isonka esingena tyuwa.*

Myself: *Kutheni kufuneka atye isonka esingenatyuwa?*

MaDI: *Andizokuxelela, kufuneka qha azile kwizinto ezithile and phambi kokuba undibuze ubechama njani, ndizakuxelela, bendimphathela inkonkxa ebeyisebenzisa njengepowu. Xa agqibile ngayo ubevela ayidlulisele ngaphaya komkhusane. Uyabona, even abazali bakhe abavumelekanga ukuba mabamhambele. Akavumelekanga ukuba athethe nanye nawuphi na umntu ngaphandle kwam.*

Myself: *Kulungile ke ngoku ndifuna MaDlamini khe undixelele wangena njani kwingulo emhlophe?*

MaDI: *Owu! Nantsi, uwubuza kum ngoku loo mbuzo? Hay' ke, ndagula nam ngelaa xesha ndandimncinci. Enye into, wonke umntu ligqirha ekhaya utata, umama, abantakwethu, oodade bam, umalume nomakazi wam. Kodwa abazali bam babhubha.*

Myself: *Yayi zeziphi ezo mpawu?*

MaDI: *Ndandingafuni ndoda ebomini bam, and nyani ndandikhohlakele gqithi. Ndandingonwabanga tu ukundixelela kwabo ukuba ndinengulo emhlophe. Ndandingayithandi; ndandingafuni tu ukuba ngayo. Ndabaxelela ekhaya ukuba njengokuba bonke babegula ndandingazukuvela nje ndibe sendiyinxalenye yengulo yabo. Hay' ke njengokuba ingulo yam yayiqatsela zange ndibena-choice qha okwam yayikukuba mandiyivume kube kanye. Ndiyakholwa ukuba intwaso yam yayonganyelwe yinkohlakalo kuba okoko ndathi ndangena ebugqirheni ndabaligwala. Ndivela ndibe nombilini gou ngokukhawuleza xa umntu endi-shout-a, kwaye ndiwuve apha ezantsi nje kwesifuba and uvele unyuke. Sisehlo esibuhlungu kakhulu. Nina magqobhoka nithi yintliziyo.*

Myself: *Ndiqinisekile kuba wazalwa endlini yamagqirha waba neengoma ezininzi oye waziqokolela, ingaba ndinyanisile?*

MaDI: *Ndandinga yikhathalelanga inkqubo yasesigqirheni, so ndandinge nawo nomdla kwiingoma zabo. Ndandingena lwazi lungako ngezinto zabo kuba ndandingafuni kwa ukuzifaka kuzo. Nje ngokuba sendikuxelele, ndandingayithandi inkqubo yasesigqirheni. Kodwa emva komsebenzi wam wemvuma kuf' akulo mama, utata wam wandinika ingoma ethi: 'Ithongo malibuye'. Utata wam xa wandinika le ngoma emathongweni wathi: "Ndikunika le ngoma, xa ufuna ukusibiza usinqule entungo, maze uyivume." Ndiyayivuma ke le ngoma xa ndiphehla ubulawu.*

Myself: *Iingoma zamagqirha zinendawo yazo ngoku ebomini bakho.*

MaDI: *Ewe! Ingoma zamagqirha zinendawo nje eyodwa ebomini bam. Andinakuphila ngaphandle kwazo kuba ndiligqirha, kwaye igqirha ligqirha ngeengoma. Yazi, yinkqubo e-funny le yalapha. Ngelinye ixesha kuyenzeka ndithi ndisalele, kukho nje into ezovela indivuse indenze ukuba mandombele. So, ndivela ndivuke ndombele nokuba seku sezinzulwini zobusuku. Umntu akonokuvela angayihoyi loo nto kuba izizinyanya zomntu, ekufanele zithotyehwe, ziyam-control-a umntu. Uyabona, nje ukuba ithwasa lingene endlini yam lisombela nokuba sendikobunzulu ubuthongo ndakuvuka ndombele naye kuba ndiyayazi la nto ayivayo.*

Myself: *Uva ntoni?*

MaDI: *Ngumbilini, yiyo le nto ayivayo. Zizinyanya zakhe ezimtsalileyo e-bed-ini yakhe ukuba makombele axhentse, ukwenzela lo mbilini awuvayo uhle. Ngumbilini lo umvusileyo wamnyanzela ukuba makombele. Uyabona, nje ukuba umntu angawuhoyi umbilini, uvela ngakumbi. So, nokuba nguye yedwa uza kunyanzeleka ukuba makavuke ombele axhentse, kuba ithwasa lifana nje nomntu ogula ngengqondo. Umbilini awunayeza, iyeza for umbilini kukombela. Ngelinye ixesha abantu baye bawufumane lo mbilini, kanti kukho abantu azokuvumisa okanye ukuxilongisa. Ifana nje nasentlombeni, intlombe ayingekhe iphelele ngaphandle kweengoma zamagqirha kwaye zidlala elona zinga libalulekileyo kuloo msebenzi.*

Izinyanya zethu ziyayithanda ingoma nomxhentso. So, sizalwa ngabantu abanjalo. Akuboni ukuba uninzi lwabantu aba ziimvumi bayathwasa? Into enye yile ba-confused kwaye abafuni tu ukusondezwa kuthi (magqirha). Uyabona, u 'B' ngekudaloo wabaligqirha ukuba ibingeyiyo le nto yakhe yalo mculo umzulisayo. Ndiyakuxelela u 'B' ligqirha liphelele man! Ufuna nje iveki agqibe ubugqirha. Into inye nje ngaye le nkenkqe yakhe uyichithela ngoku-jive-a phezu kweetafile. Kukho laa mfana igama lakhe lingu 'R' uyayazi naye lowo ukwaligqirha? Thina magqirha singabantu abazaziyo iimpawu zentwaso. Siyayazi imikhwa yabo kwaye siyayazi into yokuba nokwakucula kungaka kutshisayo kuhamba nenkenkqe.

Myself: *Kutheni kungavumelekanga amathwasa axhentse namagqirha?*

MaDI: *Kuthetha ukuba ndinga thwasisa umntu ngoku avele azokuxhentsa nam? Ayivumelekanga loo nto kwinkqubo yethu. Igqirha lixhentsa nomkhwetha xa loo mkhwetha ithe kanti wenzela umsebenzi. Apho ke kufuneka axhentse entungo namagqirha nje for eso sizathu. Nje nje nje, amathwasa akaxhentsi namagqirha entungo ngaxesha linye. Amathwasa asava umbilini o-strong-o gqithi kumgangatho wabo kwaye bavela babe nobundlobongela, bangade baqhawule neentsimbi zethu. Ayithethi into yokuba thina magqirha asiwuva umbilini. Siyawuva kodwa ke iqondo lokuba usifumane liyohluka. Siyayazi ukuba masiwuphathe njani. Ikwa ngumsebenzi wethu njengamagqirha ukuba masiyiqwalasela inkqubela phambili kwaneqondo le mibilini yawo. Xa sinokuxhentsa sonke asingekhe sikwazi ukuzibona zonke ezi zinto. Sikwaphatha namatshoba ezandleni zethu, sinxiba iimfele zeenyamakazi ezahlukeneyo ezingabagulisa kuba ziyabasinda. Okokugqibela ndingathi isalelo sinyanzeliswe ngamandla sokuxhentsa namathwasa kuba xa kuxhentswa kunye kuza kunciphisa iwonga nesidima samagqirha.*

Myself: *Kutheni abantu 'abamnyama' bengavumelekanga ukuxhentsa entungo?*

MaDI: *Umntu angagula.*

Myself: *Yinyani ukuba igqirha alinakho ukuxhentsa ngetshoba lelinye igqirha?*

MaDI: *Le yo yinyaniso ekhoyo.*

Myself: *Isizathu soko yintoni?*

MaDI: *Owu! hayi yinkomo yakowabo, ifana nentambo (isiyaca). Ungamboleka umntu isiyaca sakho? Ifana ne-panty yomntu, ungamboleka omnye umntu i-panty yakho? Awungekhe, akunjalo? So iyafana nje loo nto, andinokuthatha itshoba lam ndibolekise ngalo komnye umntu. Ndawuboniswa umbala wenkomo yam emathongweni. So, litshoba lam lasekhaya, la nkomo yayixhelelwe mna kwaye naphambi kokuba ixhelwe kwabakho iintetho neziyalo ezenziwa ngumntu omkhulu ophatha amasiko asekhaya. Ke ngoko ela tshoba le lakwaDlamini, uyaqonda ke ngoku? Ayilotshoba nje, linenkathalelo ebotshelelwe kwinkolo yabaphantsi, khang ndilithenge e-slagpaal.*

Myself: *Iingoma zecawa zivunyelwa ntoni ezintlombeni?*

MaDI: *Kungenxa yokuba amanye amagqirha ngamaKrestu, kwaye ezicaweni abantu babanamaculo abo, abazithongi qha ke zona zivela emaculweni.*

Ndiqinisekile wakhe weva ecaweni abantu bethetha 'ngentonga yam'. So, la magqirha aza neentonga zawo entlombeni. Ilungile kuthi as long ukuba intonga yakhe umntu iza kumphilisa. Into ebalulekileyo yeyokuba umntu wenza into ekholisa izinyanya zakhe. Abanye banezinyanya ezakuguqukela kubuKrestu kodwa ezingazanga zawalahla amasiko nezithethe zakwantu. Ke, nabo badlala indima ebalulekileyo esigqirheni.

Myself: *Kutheni ke zingavunywa iingoma zamagqirha ecaweni?*

MaDI: *Amaziyoni ayazivuma.*

Myself: *AyingomaZiyoni wodwa angamaKrestu athwasayo, uthini ngabanye abasuka kwezinye iinkonzo bethwasa?*

MaDI: *Mamela, yazi ukuba ndingaya kwezicawa...ndivume ingoma yasesigqirheni umzekelo 'Ithamsanqa,' abantu becawa bangandijonga kakubi, bangandikhaba ndiphume phandle ecaweni yabo. Nje ngawe nje ngokuba uxakekile undi-interview-a, usenza olu phando lwakho ungothuka uthi: "Owu! Thixo wam khamjonge, uMaDlamini ucinga ukuba wenza ntoni? Akaboni ukuba uyandihlaza?" Nje ngokuba uzazi nezi ngoma ngoku zamagqirha akunakuze undi-join-e uvume nam. Amagqirha ayaya ecaweni kwaye aziphathe nje ngabantu becawa, xa besentlombeni babangamagqirha. Into endizama ukuyithetha yile, abazisi kuphixanisa entlombeni kwisiseko singabantu abamhlophe kwaye kukho imfuneko for intlonipho phakathi kwethu ke kwakho kufuneka sihlonitshiwe. Side sihloniphe nabantu abangengawo amagqirha, abantu abeza kwiintlombe zethu. Uyayazi ukuba nje umntu ame entungo, kubanzima into yokuba umntu makathethe into ayithandayo kuba laa ndawo ingcwele. Yi-pulpit yethu leya, ngoko ke intungo ayiyo ndawo yokuthetha imfitshimfitshi. Yindawo apho sombela khona sibize sinqule izinyanya zethu. Yile nto ndithi intlonipho ibalulekile kubantu abamnyama nabamhlophe, kuba abanye abantu abamnyama bazo kujonga ukuba lamagqirha athini kwezintlombe zabo.*

Abanye abantu bathi akukho nto kobu bugqirha kwaye abukho abuphili ayikho nje into ekuthiwa bubugqirha. Uyakuva umntu esithi: "Ukuba ngumntu omhlophe kufana nje nokuba lihule, amagqirha azizinto nje ezingenamsebenzi angamaxoki." Umamele? Ngeloo xesha uyazazi ukuba uligqirha lo kwenyani. Kukho intetho ethi: Isizwe sifa ngomnt' omnye. Kutsh' into yokuba, ngelinye ixesha hlawumbi ukunika nje umzekelo: umntu nje uzakubona igqirha elinguMamBhele lithe tywa linxilile, linxibe iintsimbi. Laa mntu ebebon' uMamBhele akazokuthi uMamBhele linxila uzakuthi amagqirha ngamanxila. Kwakhona umntu uzakudibana negqirha lithandana ngokungekho mthethweni, limetsha, abantu bavela bathi: "amagqirha ngamahule." Omnye uzakuya kuThokoza okanye kubantu bomgubo for invumisa okanye ingxilongo afumane igqirha lisebenza ngolunye uhlobo olwahlukileyo kwamanye. Ibanqabele abantu into yokuba bazi amagqirha ahlukile, kwaye xa kunjalo basebenza ngokwahlukeneyo, basebenzise izicwangciso zokuvumisa ezahlukileyo. Kwi-case ezinjalo uyakuva umntu egxeka kakubi esithi: "Amagqirha ngamaxoki."

Myself: *Kutheni kungavumelekanga ukuba umkhwetha alale neqabana lakhe?*

MaDI: *Ngumlaza lowo.*

Myself: *Kwenzekani na kubantu abatshatileyo?*

MaDI: *Intlombe yemvuma kufa yasebukhweni iye yenzelwe umkhwetha. Igqirha lo mkhwetha aphantsi kwalo liye lize azokulenzela imvuma kufa ukwenzela ukuba lizo kudibanisa izihlwele zaba bantu batshatileyo (umkhwetha no myeni wakhe) kunye. Indoda ithenga incamazana kunye nonomhlotshazana for umfazi wakhe. Ngelaa xesha ku phehlwa ubulawu übhekile zombini ezivela kula makhaya omabini zibekwe pha entungo loo nto isenzelwa ukuhlanganisa ezozihlwele zaloo makhaya. Incamazana iye ixhelelwe enkundleni. Umyeni kunye nootata abadala beli khaya baye banike umolokozana umkhonto wesiduko saka tata-zala wakhe. Le nto ithetha ukuba, nje ngamfazi weli khaya uzakuvumeleka ukuba ame kwinkundla yeloo khaya andele kulo, kuba umfazi wesi-Xhosa akuvumeleki ukuba ame enkundleni okanye ahle esenyuka enkudleni yasebukhweni. Ukuba isibini asitshatanga umkhwetha uza kuhamba ayokuxelela igqirha lakhe aphantsi kwalo, elizakufuna ibhulanti emhlophe kulo uthandana nomkhwetha, mkhwetha yena lowo uzakufuneka esilile. Konke oku kuzakwenzelwa kulo mkhwetha, izinyanya zakhe (umkhwetha) zizokwaziswa ngokusesikweni ukwenzela ukuba umthandani nomkhwetha angakhatywa zizinyanya zomkhwetha. Xa kuthe ke isithethe esinjena asalandelwa ngesi sibini, umkhwetha uzakuthandana namadoda amaninzi aphume engena eluthandweni lalo anaye. Yile nto kuthiwa intwaso iyahulisa –umkhwetha uyazenza ukuba abe lihule.*

Appendix 14: Case study four of MamNcotshe (p.217 in vol.1)

Myself: MamNcotshe, *kuthiwa intlombe ayinokuphelela ngaphandle kweengoma, ungakhe ucacise.*

Ncotshe: *Intlombe iba yintlombe ngenxa yehlombe. Iingoma zidlala elona nqanaba likhulu esigqirheni. Zingekho iingoma umxhentso awunokuze ubekho, uyabona, ezi zinto zombini ziyimfuneko gqithi ukusa umntu kwelemimoya. Ingoma ke ngoko ibekwa kwelona zinga liphezulu kwiintlombe. Eyona nto ebalulekileyo kwakho sisandi esivela ekungqisheni, naso sibanento esiyenzayo kumxhentsi ngelaa xesha. Ili gubu nokungqisha kunyusa umshologu ukwenzela ukuba umntu aze kunxulumano ngqo nazo. Le nto ibize umntu ebugqirheni yiyo ke le inhambelayo ngexesha lokuxhentsa. Uyayiqonda le nto ndiyitshoyo apha kuwe?*

Myself: *Xa uthi umshologu uyenyuka uthetha ukuthini?*

Ncotshe: *Ukunyuka komshologu kuthetha ukubasemoyeni ophozulu gqithi, apho uvela ube nemibono evela kwizinyanya. Umzekelo, xa abantu bexhentsa, sukucinga ukuba baxhentsa nje kuba befuna. Baxhentsa kuba izinyanya zabo zibayalele ukuba benze njalo. Ininzi gqithi into abayibonayo beyityhilelwa ngelaa xesha zizinyanya zabo. Ngelinye ixesha kukho into umntu ayivayo ezindlebeni zakhe, kuba ingulo iyodwa nje, kwaye nathi ke sinjalo ukungafani. Kobo bugqirha sibizwe zizinyanya ezivela kwiziduko ezahlukeneyo. Kufunek' uzubone amanye amagqirha xa exhentsa entlombeni, benza le nto bamamele, kodwa uyakubabona bevuma ngemilomo yabo. Ngelinye ixesha ungalibona igqirha nje ngokuba lixhentsa lijonge phezulu entungo, ngeloo xesha libona i-television, imibono ayiboniswa zizinyanya, omnye umntu angena kuyibona.*

Ngelinye ixesha nje ngokuba kuvunywa, igqirha livele lingafuni ukuba ingoma ize esiphelweni kuba 'lizo's'ke' (liza kusuka) liphazamiseke. Ngelinye ithuba igqirha lixelelwa ngobom bomntu ekufuneka li busindisile ngelaa xesha. Entlombeni ezi zinto zenzeka ngenxa yengoma. Anditheth' ukuba igqirha alina kuziboniswa izinto xa umntu ezo kuvumisa okanye eza kuxilongisa. Ndibonisa nje ukubaluleka kwendima iingoma eziyithathayo entlombeni, ndi-wrong-o? Ngel' iny' ixesha xa ndiphethe kuloo ntlombe ndixhentsa entungo izinyanya zam zivela zindityhilele izinto ezimalunga nalo mcimbi ndiwuphethayo. Intlombe iba yintlombe ngenxa yeengoma, igubu, ukuqhwaba nokungqisha iinyawo. Ingoma kufuneka ibeshushu ukwenzela ukuba umshologu unyuke. Into ebangela ukuba sixhentse ayonto nje yakudlala, sixhentsa kuba sikugula. Izihlewele zethu ziyayithanda ingoma, kwaye ezi ngoma zivela kuzo.

Myself: *Ithin' ingoma yakho yethongo MamNcotshe?*

Ncotshe: *Ingoma yam yethongo 'yinkukhu.' Ngelaa xesha ndandi ngumkhwetha yayi 'lithamsanqa'. Yayi yingoma enda ndibiza ngayo izihlewele zam ngayo. Enye ingoma yayi 'li camagu livumile'.*

Nje ngokuba ndiligqirha eli pheleleyo ingoma yam 'yinkukhu'. Amazwi ayo ahamba ngolu hlobo:

*Heeeyi! Heeeyi!
 Yho! Helele! mama
 Uyinkukhu na?
 Uyinkukhu na?
 Yho! Helele! Mama
 Kweminy' imizi, kweminy' imizi
 Yho! Helele! mama
 Kweminy' imiz' igqirha
 lithengwa ngemali
 Yho! Helele! Mama
 Uyinkukhu na lent'
 uv'amantyontyela
 Bendikuthanda
 Yho! Helele! Mama
 Bendikuthanda
 kant'uthengwa ngemali
 Yho! Helele! mama
 Zimb' iindaba*

Myself: *Yintoni amantyontyela?*

Ncotshe: *Abantu basasaza amarhe, sowuxhokonkxeka. Tyip! Tyip! Uyathabatheka awubuzi nokububa bekuqale kwathini uvel' ucaphuke nje. Kutheni uzihlupha ngezinto ezi ngenamsebenzi? Le ngoma yayi yingoma yelinye igqirha ekwakuthiwa ngutat' uGxarha, not lo wakho (utsho ebhekisa kum). Ndandingayithandi ke le ngoma ndiyithiye nyani kwaye ndandingenasizathu sokuba ndiyicaphukele kangaka. Kodwa ke umnqa wawungowokuba ngelaa xesha ndandi ngumkhwetha ndandi yixhentsela ingathi yingoma yam yethongo. Xa ndandi yixhentsela kwakungathi kukho into enyukayo apha ngaphakathi kum ndizifumanise ndikwelinye ilizwe kanti yile ngoma yayithetha into apha kum. Yayiyingoma katat' omkhulu wam, utata kamama. Ndayithonga le ngoma ndingayazi ukuba yingoma katat' omkhulu wam de ndagoduka ndayokubaxelela. Ndaxelelwa ngoko ke ngomniniyo. Yaba yingoma yam yethongo ndayithanda yaba yingoma nje eyodwa. Ndiyombela le ngoma xa ndibiza izinyanya zam ndizinqula ndise ntungo.*

Myself: *Usebenzisa kwale ngoma xa uphehla ibhekile yesilawu?*

Ncotshe: *Ndinengoma endandiyiphiwe xa ndibetha ibhekile (yesilawu). Ndayinikwa le ngoma emathongweni kwathiwa: "Xa ubethela abantwana babantu ibhekile uze uvume le ngoma:*

*Izihlwele zam
 ziman'ukutsho kamnandi
 Aph' aMaNcotsh'
 azaman' ukutsho kamnandi
 Kukhw' iintw'ee
 ziman'ukutsho kamnandi
 Baph' abakuthi*

zebeman' ukutsho kamnandi
 Ndicel' abakuthi
 zebeman' ukutsho kamnandi

Intsingiselo yala mazwi ithi: Xa uphehlelela amathwasa akho ngobulawu, uze wenze le ngoma. Xa ndithetha ngezihlewele ndibhekisa kwizinyanya zomlibo wamaNcotshe nakwiziduko zama Ncotshe. Apha ndiyababiza ngale ngoma ukuba mabazokundisebezela ezindlebeni bandikhombise indlela e-right, nje ngokuba ndidibanisa izihlewele zamaMaNcotshe nezomguli kunye. Xa ndithi kukho izinto ezimanukutsho kamnandi, ndibhekiselele kwi-voice yezinyanya xa ibizwa kuthiwe yimikhulungu. Apha kule ngoma ndiyazicenga izinyanya zam ndizibongoza ukuba zibekho ukuqala kwawo lo msebenzi de ufikelele esiphelweni sawo bandinike nengqondo ehlambulukileyo ukwenzela umguli ndimkhokele ndimcebise phantsi kweengqondo ezinyanisekileyo de abe ligqirha elipheleleyo.

Myself: *Yintoni umahluko phakathi kokucula nokombela?*

Ncotshe: *Uyabona, ebugqirheni akukho oo-do so mi re do (doh soh me ray doh). Akho-key yasemculweni. i-key ekhoyo yi-key yengqondo, umntu ohlabela ingoma uyazi ngqo ukuba kufuneka alitsho njani ilizwi lakhe. Alright! Uyaqonda, i-soprano ayisetyenziswa, ayikho indawo yayo pha. Indawo ye-soprano ithathwa yi-tenor. Ndingakuxelela qha loo nto. Ayikho tu i-soprano, kulindeleke qha ukuba umntu makakhuphe ilizwi lakhe elindongozayo, kwaye eli libutshothorha lelona lilungileyo. So ke, nokuba i-voice yakho i-train-we kangakanani na nje ngomntu ofundileyo, uyaphinda pha u-train-nwe ukombela isiqaba okanye isinontshongo. Amathwasa angena esigqirheni amazwi abo e-train-iwe bene-shaking voice (uthe esathetha wanqanyulwa ligqirha egama linguNomqondiso elithwasa phantsi kwakhe).*

Nomqondiso: *Nam bonanje, ukungena kwam esigqirheni ilizwi ndandi lingcangcazelisa. Amanye amathwasa ayedikwa akhalaze ngokugeza athi: "Tyhini! akaziva lo ukuba uyacula akusekwayaren'apha." Ndandivela nje ndingabahoyi, ndisuke ndiqhubekeke ngelizwi lam lekwayara. Ndaye ndatshintsha kodwa, yayi-funny nyani, kodwa ngoku andifuni ukuliva tu ilizwi le kwayara ecaleni kwam.*

Ncotshe: *Unyanisile uNomqondiso ngale nto ayithethayo, xa abantu bengena kule ndima babaneengxaki ezininzi zokombela nokuxhentsa. Amanye amathwasa ayabahlupha. Uyabona uNomqondiso wayengakwazi nokuxhentsa waye-jive-a. Into endizama ukuyitsho yile, umntu kufuneka azame ukuliqolisa ilizwi lakhe akhuphe ilizwi elikhulu eliqolileyo. Xa abantu besombela ukucaca kwamazwi akubalulekanga. Siyayazi into esombela ngayo, kwaye kukho intsingiselo kuyo yonke ingoma esiyombelayo. So ke asingeneli i-music competition, qha singena kwilizwe le mimoya apho siza kube sithetha khona nezinyanya zethu. Uyayiqonda le nto ndiyithethayo?*

Myself: *MamNcotshe umbuzo wam wokugqibela kuwe uthi ulilo na ilungu lombutho wamaqirha?*

Ncotshe: *Hayi, Yintoni loo nto? Andinalo no lwazi layo. Andinakho noku yichaza kuba andifuni ukuba nalwazi laloo mbutho indawo yokuqala. Ukuba ndandifunile ukuwu-join-a ngekudala ndazikhangela iindawo ezinawo, uyaqonda?*

Imbangi yokuba ndingawufuni kukuba ndazixelela zange ndigule for uyoku-join-a imibutho enxulumaniswa nobugqirha bam. Ndanelisekile bonanje ngale ndlela endiqhuba ngayo izinto zam zase sigqirheni. Ilishwa lale mibutho yeyokuba xa uthe waba lilungu unyanzelekile ukuba uvelise iimfihlelo zakho. Uyabona amagqirha angaphantsi kwesizwe esimhlophe kodwa ahlukile. I mean ufumana zonke ezi ntlobontlobo zamagqirha, abanyanisekileyo, abaqhathayo, abanye abanomona ngeziphawe zomoya. So ukuba lilungu kufuneka ubeke apha zonke iimfihlelo zakho zokuphilisa oziboniswe ngamathongo, yingozi yonke ke leyo. Ukuba hlawumbi u-special-ayiza kwiyeza le-cancer umhlaza okanye ibekelo kufuneka ubeke amayeza onyanga ngawo izigulana zakho apha etafileni. So yi-risk ubomi bomntu busemngciphekweni, uyaqonda?

Appendix 15: Case study five of Nofenishala (vol.1 p.223)

Myself: *Ukhona na umntu olithwasa phakathi kwenu?*

Nowayilethi: *Hayi.*

Myself: *Yaniphosa njani intwaso ninga baqambi abaziwayo bee ngoma nje?*

Nowayilethi: *Ndingathi izinyanya zethu zange zinqwenele ukusityumba.*

Nogcinile: *Lo (esalatha komnye) uNofenishala, othwele itawule emhlophe uyathwasa.*

Myself: Nofenishala!

Nofenishala: *Mh!*

Myself: *Wangena njani kwintwaso?*

Nofenishala: *Ndagula kwiminyaka emininzi eyadlulayo, kwakungexesha endafumana umntwana wam wesihlanu.*

Myself: *Kwasuke kwathini kanye-kanye?*

Nofenishala: *Ndaqala ndeva amahlaba emzimbeni wam. Iiminwe yam le yolishumi, ndandingakwazi ukwenza nto ngezandla ezi zam neempumlo zam zazimane ngokopha. Ndathwa ke ndasiwa emntwini.*

Myself: *Zange uye kwagqirha kuqala e-Lady Frere?*

Nofenishala: *Hayi zange ndaya kwagqirha, ndavela ndaya-straight emntwini utata wam wandikhapha. Umntu wathi: "Ufuna isiyaca sobuntombi, kwaye uzungalithengisi ifele layo ozakuthi uyixhelele yena. Ubeke nje walithengisa, loo nto iyakuthetha ukuba uyakulandelwa yingulo emhlophe. Ifele lavela lathengiswa, kodwa emva kwexesha elide ndava kwa esasigulo kwakho. Ndathathwa ke ndasiwa kwelinye igqirha elandixelela ukuba ndifumene ubizo lwezinyanya. Wathi ke sihambe siyokuthenga umhlotshazana ozakusetyenziswa for ubulawu, obabuzokuphehlwa. Ubulawu baziswa bagalelwa kumhlotshazana badityaniswa ke namanzi acocekileyo, ndaqalisa ke ukuphehla. Ngolu hlobo ndandingena esigqirheni.*

Myself: *Wenziwa phi lo msebezi?*

Nofenishala: *Emzini wegqirha.*

Myself: *Kwakunga fanelekanga na wenziwe kowenu?*

Nofenishala: *Wawukhona umsebenzi owawuzokwenziwa ekuhambeni konyaka.*

Myself: *Yayi ngumsebenzi wokurhintyela lo wawusendlini yakhe?*

Nofenishala: *Ewe, wandirhintyela ngoocamagu wandingenisa ke esigqirheni.*

Myself: *Xa kwenziwa umsebenzi onje akufunekanga na wenziwe kulo mguli?*

Nowayilethi: *Amagqirha asebenza ngokwahlukeneyo.*

Myself: *Emveni kokuba ubotshiwe kokuphi okwalandelayo?*

Nofenishala: *Ndahlala, ndahlala. ndahlala kwakhe; ke ngoku xa ndikwinyanga yesithathu ndiphantsi kwakhe, ndanyanzeleka ukuba mandigoduke.*

Myself: *Lalihlala kweyiphi ilali igqirha lakho?*

Nofenishala: *Apha eNgqoko.*

Myself: *Ungumamni?*

Nofenishala: *UnguBhomoyi igama lakhe nguNokhontoni.*

Myself: *Wena, ungumamni?*

Nofenishala: *NdinguMbathana, umama nguMaMkabane, igama lakhe ngu Nowest. Alright! bendisathi kwinyanga yesithathu ndiphantsi kwakhe, ndagoduswa ndenzelwa imvuma kufa. Kwathiwa mandihlale kwelaa cala le ndlu apho umkhasane wawumiswe khona. Babeka ke ibhekile yesilawu, ibhilanti emhlophe, nenkukhu exheliweyo.*

Myself: *Kutheni kubakho inkunku njena?*

Nofenishala: *Yayiye yezinyanya.*

Myself: *Ndiyabhideka, ayiyobhokhwe na exhelelwa izinyanya?*

Nofenishala: *Incamazana nayo yaxhelwa kuba awunakwenza imvuma kufa ngaphandle kwencamazana.*

Myself: *Usaziya iintlombe?*

Nofenishala: *Ewe, ngaphandle kokuba ndingaphesheya kunye neqela lethu.*

Myself: *Akukhathazi ke xa ungaphasheya?*

Nofenishala: *Hayi ndihamba nezinto zam igubu nomasengwana. Ndiyaxhentsa nokuxhentsa iqela lam lindombelele.*

Myself: *Ngubani odlala igubu?*

Nowayilethi: *Ndim ombethela igubu umasengwana adlalwe ngomnye weqela lethu.*

Myself: *Uvakala njani umasengwana kuwe?*

Nofenishala: *Kuba udlalwa ngexesha elinye negubu, undinika udlamko olukhulu, ulenza igazi lam libe fit nashushu. Nqwa nokombela xa kuhamba nezi zimbini, ndivela ndizifumane ndiphezulu kwelinye inqanaba. Le nto ivela yenzeke xa ndisentlombeni kodwa xa ndiphesheya ndiya zibamba noko kuba andifun' ukugula ndikude nekhaya.*

Myself: *Xa ningapheshaya nombela na xa esiva umbilini?*

Nowayilethi: *Asiyinzeli umbilini, sobe siyenzela abaphulaphuli bethu ukwenzela bazokubona ukuba sikwanaye nomntu omhlophe eqeleni lethu. Kodwa ke xa esiva umbilini unyuka, umxhentso wakhe uyawuhlisa.*

Myself: *Ingoma yethongo yakho ithini?*
 Nofenishala: *'Ngunongangela,' ndiyivume?*

Myself: *Ndingavuya kakhulu ukuba unakho.*
 Nofenishala:

L: *Hewuyo ho! Nongangela hewuyo ho!*

F: *He! Unongangela ngowakho*

Hewuyo ho!

unongangela ngowakho

Hewuyo ho!

Unongangela ngowakho

Ndizakumthini na

Unongangela ngowakho

Nongangela ngowakho

Nofenishala: *Camagu! Thula! Yingoma le endiyombelayo xa ndibiza izihlwele zam. Ndayinikwa ngutata katatomkhulu wam; xa wayendinika wathi: "Uzakumthini na lo nongangela? Uze wombele le ngoma 'unongangela' nanini na usifuna."*

Myself: *Le ngoma ithetha ntoni kuwe?*

Nofenishala: *Ithetha ukuba kukho umthwalo omkhulu endiwuthwele emagxeni am kwaye yiminyaka ndiwuthwele. Enye into eyithethayo yeyokuba ndihamba ndihlala esithubeni emizini yabantu. Unongangela yingxaki.*

Myself: *Uthetha ukuthini xa usithi uhlala esithubeni?*

Nofenishala: *Ndihlala egqirheni ngenxa yokugula. Ndiyasebenza, ndiyapheka, ndixilonga abantu, ndinyanga abantu, ndiyagabhisa, ndiyacimisa. Ndi-busy ndenza le misebenzi akho xesha lakuphumla. Andinabusuku andinamini.*

Myself: *Zivakala njani kuwe ezinye iingoma zasentlombeni?*

Nofenishala: *Azina nto ingako eziyenzayo nangona ndizixhentsela nyani kuba zingoma zengulo. Amandla wam ndiwanikezela wonke engomeni xa ndombelela abanye abakhwetha kuba ndifuna benze loo nto nakum xa ilithuba lokuba mandibize izinyanya zam. Ndiyayithanda le ngoma 'unongangela,' yeyona ngoma isegazini kum.*

Myself: *Nofenishala yeyiphi enye ingoma yentlombe oyithandayo?*

Nofenishala: *'Ithamsanqa'.*

Myself: *Umbilini wakho uvuka xa kutheni?*

Nofenishala: *Umbilini wam uyandixelela xa kukho umntu ozokuvumisa okanye ezokuxilongisa.*

Myself: *Mingaphi iminyaka usephehlweni?*

Nofenishala: *Ngunyaka wam wamashumi amabini anesihlanu ndilithwasa, andikabi lo gqirha eli pheleleyo.*

Myself: *Kutheni, iminyaka emingaka?*

Nofenishala: *Ngunongangela kubanakwam, abanamali yokundinceda phofu ke sendisondele ekugqibeni ngoku kwintwaso yam. Sendiyibonisiwe nenkomo yam yokuphila emandiyifumane.*

Myself: *Iminyaka yakho yokuzalwa mingaphi?*

Nogcinile: *(uphendulela uNofenishala), wazalwa ngo-1949.*

Myself: *Nike nizivume na iingoma zase Ziyoni ezintlombeni zenu?*

Nofenishala: *Ewe gqithi kuba sikwangawo namaZiyoni.*

Nogcinile: *Amagqirha ayekhe abangamalungu ecawa, ukubizwa kwawo zizinyanya zabo baza neengoma zabo zecawa ebugqirheni bazixhentsela. Kutsha nje besinamagqirha avela ngaph' eKapa abevuma iingoma zecawa bezixhentsela.*

Myself: *Zange yenze siphazamiso loo nto kumagqirha aselalini?*

Nogcinile: *Yintw' enye leyo kubo.*

Myself: *Ziyavunywa na iingoma zamagqirha ngexesha loku vuselela abantu ecaweni?*

Nogcinile: *Abany' abantu becawa bazicekisa ngendelelo iingoma zamagqirha ngoko kuyakuba nzima ukuvuma iingoma zabo ecaweni. Bafuma ihlombe labo xa iingoma zemvuselelo zivunyiwe. Abany' abantu becawa bawajonge ngelinye iliso amagqirha lokubakrokrela, abawathandi. Ukuba umntu wecawa ufumene ubizo (lwezinyanya) uzuqhuba zombini kungabikho ngxaki. Yonke le nto ke phofu ixhomekeke nayo kwizinyanya.*

Myself: *Ndiyabulela kakhulu Nofenishala, MamGcina, Nowalethi,*

Nofinishi, Nokhaya, Nogcinile. Ndibulela kakhulu ngokungazenzisiyo inga i-Nkosi inganani. Xa ndibuya kwakho andikuza ndiphaca njengangoku.

Appendix 16: Case study six of Monica (vol.1 p.228)

Myself: Mildred, *Mingaphi iminyaka ka Monica ezelwe?*

Mildred: *U-Monica una 10 years next year ke uzakuba na-11 years nge 18th kaJanuary.*

Myself: *U-Monica wangena njani ebugqirheni?*

Mildred: *U-Monica waye na 3 months kuqhala, uMonica wayenza nto zi-funny, uMonica engafani nabany' abantwana. U-Monica khange afune ukulala lamini ebusuku kanti ngomso bazakutshisa indlu yam ngobusuku, yasinda deur uyise kaMonica. So, waphinda uMonica ngoluhlobo akhula, ayathanda ukudlala phantsi kwe-bed idawo semnyama, uyaqonda? U-Monica khange avane nabanye abantwana ke. So, nge-18th zika-October 1995 hayi ndabona nyani uMonica uyagula, wasuka waphuma necawa katata wam.*

Myself: *Wayena ntoni?*

Midred: *U-Monica walahleka nge-18th zika- October 1995. Walahleka eVusta (i.e. Worcester) siphuma necawa katata wam i-Good Shepherd Churts (Church) wayi yi-outing. Sabeka itente sethu, wasuka nje uMonica walahleka, wahamba wayokufuna uMonica abantu ke ndaphinda wacinga uMonica walahleka, wabiza amapolisa yonk' into njena nje.*

Myself: *Waye nobudala obungakani ukwenzeka kwalento?*

Mildred: *Waye na-5 walahleka kwakhe. Wasuka nje after 6 hours thina sifuna wathi gqi uMonica edamini, wathi gqi etamini. Amehlo wakaMonica wayegoso wayebomvu, wafaka isimbi ezi-blue and white, after 6 hours emini. U-Monica walahleka ngo 8 ekuseni.*

Myself: *Naya ngasedameni nayo kumkhangela khona?*

Mildred: *Thina khange akhangele thin' okugqitha gqitha ke pha, so, ingqondo sekhaya khange acinge uMonica uphayaa. So, ke ke wakhal' omny' umfana wathi -hay' bo! Nankumntana, nankumntana ephum'etamini. Nyani xa sithi gqi nanku uMonica.*

Myself: *Yayiyi ntoni igama ledama?*

Mildred: *Yho! Andiyazi igama letama yintoni qha kuse Vusta (Worcester) eVusta. Utata wakhe pha endlini ndafowuna utata khe. Wabuza qha utata kaMonica ikhona imanzi kufutshane. Ndathi, "Ewe kukho idama." Wathi enza so ubanqanda ningakhali. Ndabanqanda nyani ke. Utat' akhe uwaqondile laa nto, wathi uzakufika ngoku. Wathi gqi uMonica xa ndithi nyani tyhini! YiMonica lo, wafaka isimbi sesi blue nesimhlophe. So, ke thina wabhalekela esibhedlele, nyani ke thina wabhaleka ke mna notata wakhe. Esibhedlele uthi uMonica ubhubhile.*

Myself: *Wena wawucinga ukuba uMonica ubhubhile?*

Mildred: *Nyani waphuma uphila uMonica wasuka waphinda wathi ulele nyani. Utata wakhe wabona nyani ingathi ubhubhile lo mntana wam.*

Siphuma ke nanku ugqirha nala matshini nton' nton' wabaleka wafakwa i-oxygen, ugqirha wathi nyani nyani yi-miracle le nto uyenzile because lo mntwana una 5 years bekufuneka ubhubhile. Nyani waphuma uMonica that was ngomnGqibelo. Ngomvulo uMonica wavuka neli phupha wathi mama ndicela umqombothi.

Myself: *Watsho nyani?*

Mildred: *Ewe, watsho nyani kodwa una-5 years. Wathi mama ndicel' uyenz' utywala, nyani ndayenza. Utata kaMonica wayothatha utat' omncinci eKhayelitsha notat' ophakathi eKukulethu (eGugulethu). Nyani walala uMonica waphupha inkomo yakhe injani na same week, waphupha zonke izinto zakhe. Ndabona nyani umntan' am uyagula. Nodado bawo wakhe emaXhoseni naye yigqirha. Wafowuna ke utata wakhe emaXhoseni wabachazela, wathi hayi uyagula makagoduke, ayokwenza umsebenzi wakhe. So, udado bawo wakhe walapha eNew Cross wagqibezela umsebenzi wakhe, waba o-right man nyani.*

Myself: *Akazanga waphinda wakathaza?*

Mildred: *Khange ha-a okoko wayenza imisebenzi yakhe. Naw' uyabona u o-right. U-Monica wawubhityile uthand' ukukhathaza isusu ntoni ntoni. Uphilile lo mntan' am ingxaki nje isikolo ke ngoku akafuni.*

Myself: *Kutheni engafuni sikolo nje?*

Mildred: *Akafuni sometimes ulele ekuseni akafun' ukuvuka athi uyowuzela kanti kuza kufika indwendwe kunjalo ke. Noba usesikolweni ayasuka nje ayalala. Ingxaki uMistress ayadibiza qho ath' unengxaki kaMonica, uMonica ufika nje esikolweni alale and ingqondo yakhe ayikho semsebenzini ntoni ntoni.*

Myself: *Monica zikhona izinto osazikhumbulayo ngexesha wawulithwasa?*

Monica: *Andikhumbuli nto.*

Myself: *Ingaba ukhona umahluko phakathi kwamagqirha nabakhwetha?*

Monica: *Ewe, ukhona umehluko.*

Myself: *Yintoni elindelekileyo emathwaseni?*

Monica: *Amathwasa kufuneka ahloniphe ngalo lonke ixesha. Umzekelo nje amagqirha angawanika amathwasa umsebenzi kodwa amathwasa akuvumelakanga ukuba bathumane.*

Myself: *Kule minyaka yakho unelungelo na lokuthuma abakhwetha?*

Monica: *Ewe, ndiyabathuma, kwaye bayandihlonipha nangona ndimncinci kunabo kodwa ebugqirheni ndimdala kunabo nangaphezu kunamagqirha amaninzi kuba ndatshona emazini ndenziwa izinto pha.*

Myself: *Wafundiswa ngubani ukuxhentsa?*

Monica: *U-Madlamini wandifundisa.*

Myself: *Ukombela nako wakufundiswa nguMaDlamini?*

Monica: *Andikwaz' ukombela ndiliyilo.*

Myself: *Zeziphi iingoma ezisegazini kuwe?*

Monica: *'Ngu Sichel' amandla 'nenkonjane'.*

Myself: *Ezi ngoma zize emathongweni akho?*

Monica: *Hayi, ndaziva zisombelwa ezintlobeni. Phofu inye ingoma eyaza emathongweni am ngu-Nonkala.*

Myself: *Uyakwazi ukudlala igubu?*

Monica: *Ewe, ndiyakwazi. U-Alfred wandifundisa ukulidlala. Wathi kum zendiye endlini yakhe uza kundifundisa into. Ndandicinga hlawumbi uza kundifundisa amayeza.*

Myself: *Uva njani xa uxhentsa namagqirha?*

Monica: *Andoyiki akubikho ngxaki ndiyaxhentsa kuba bandiqhelile. Nasemva kwentlombe ndiyahamba ndiyokuncokola nabo.*

Myself: *Nithetha ngantoni?*

Monica: *Sithetha ngezinto zamagqirha nabakhwetha abaselayo angamakhoboka otywala. Ndithi ndiyavuya kuba ndingenabakhwetha kuba bebezakundibetha.*

Myself: *Uthetha ukuthini xa uthi bangamakhoboka otywala?*

Monica: *Yazi amanye amthwasa bayawahlaza amagqirha abo. Basela gqithi babene-cheeky. Ngamany' amaxesha balwa kwabodwa xa benxilile. Kodwa amagqirha abo ayabangxolisa.*

Myself: *Yingoma ke okanye butywala ebangela ukuba babe semoyeni?*

Monica: *Amathwasa anengxaki enkulu yotywala.*

Myself: *Umoya wakho uyenyuka xa usombela uxhentsa?*

Monica: *Hayi andidli ngokuwufumana umoya.*

Myself: *Ukhe uwayale wena amathwasa?*

Monica: *Yho! Ndithi kubo: "Ndiyanithandazela ukuba nihloniphe amagqirha enu xa ninxilileyo. Xa nisafika ebugqirheni aniseli kodwa nje xa nisenisondele ekugqibeni niqalise ukusela, seninxila nokunxila. Ndiyanithandazela ukuba niwuyeke lo mkhwa umbi. Ndithandaza ukuba nibesendleni e-right ninyamezele ningabuyi mva de nigqibe.*

Myself: *Nyani uthetha ngolu hlobo nabo?*

Monica: *Ewe, xa ndisentungo.*

Myself: *Bayaphendula?*

Monica: *Hayi abaphenduli, abanokwazi entungo kuba kaloku bazubonisa ukuba bayadelela. Xa befuna ukuphendula bazakubethwa ngamagqirha abo.*

Myself: *Usadlala netshomi zakho?*

Monica: *Ewe xa kukho intlombe engingqini bayeza bazokundibukela. Emva komsebenzi ndiyakhulula ndinxibe iimpahla zam ndiyokudlala nabo. Bavele bathethe ngama-boyfriend abo mna ke ndivela ndivale umlomo wam kuba andina-boyfriend.*

Myself: *Wonwaba xa uhleli nabahlobo bakho okanye namagqirha?*

Monica: *Xa ndikunye netshomi zam. Naxa ndikunye namagqirha ndiva kamnandi bandixelela ngezinto ezininzi zamagqirha nezinye zesi-Xhosa.*

Myself: *Yaba yintoni unobangela wokuba utat'uMadiba angafuni ukuxhentsa noMonica?*

Siyabulela: *Utat' uMadiba wathi akasoze axhentse nothikoloshe entungo yena. Ngothikoloshe ke wayethetha uMonica lo. U-MaDlamini wambuza ukuba uthetha ukuthini xa athi uMonica nguhili. Wavela waxhuma wamphambanela umama (MaDlamini). Yayifani kanjani loo nto kuba wayengaqali ukuba sentlombeni axhentse noMonica. Savela sothuka sonke kuba sasi ngayilindelanga ke leya into kutat' uMadiba.*

Myself: *Monica khawundixelele ngela xesha utat'uMadiba engakufuni weva njani?*

Monica: *Zange ndikhathezeke.*

Siyabulela: *Hay' uMonica yayimhlupha kakhulu kuba ndikhumbula kakuhle sothi sisahleli sithetha apha endlini avele acinge ngalaa nto athi: " Hay' andin' akuy' entlombeni ngokuhlwa nje kuba utat' uMadiba uthi akana kuxhentsa nothikoloshe yena entungo." Intliziyo yakhe yayidla ngokuba buhlungu mzumzwana ngamnye, wayengasoze athethe nokuthetha ngayo kwaye ale tu ukuya entlombeni. Ukuba intlombe yayingazukuba right, wayevela ayive egazini. U-Monica wayelila akhale aphambane xa kuzo bakho ingxabano entlombeni. Umama wayevel' afun' ukumbetha athi abantu mabahambe baye entlombeni. U-Monica wayevela ale ngamandla kwaye amxelele ukuba akazukuya entlombeni. Nyani imbambano ayisoze iphepheke ngobo busuku kodwa ngaloo mhla athe wabonisa ngawo umdla engakhange atyhalwe ukuba makaye, akusoze kubekho mbambano entlombeni. Uyakuxhentsa kodwa akasoze ayeke ukuthetha ngala nto yokubizwa kwakhe ngokuba nguthikoloshe.*

Myself: *Wava njani ngale meko?*

Siyabulela: *Hayi, nathi besihlupheka. Mna intliziyo yam yayikhathazeka I for one, ndandophuke nyani entliziyweni kuba wonke umntu phakathi kwethu bakhwetha, wayeyazi ingxaki kaMonica yayi yintoni. Abantu babe buza ukuba uMaDlamini yintoni le ayibone kulo mntan' umncinci ukuba makade amthwasise kodwa babeyazi ukuba ingxaki yintoni.*

Myself: *Kukugula okunjani okwaqhubela uMonica ebugqirheni?*

MaDI: *Hayi! uMonica zange agule, wayedla ngokungcangcazela kakhulu, yenye yeempawu awayenazo, wayedla ngokungcangcazela pha kowabo. Xa exelelwa ukuba makaye esikolweni wayevela akhale azitshixele e-room-ini. Yonke lento yakhokelela ekubeni makathwetyulwe.*

Myself: *Ukuvela kwakhe wayenxibe iintsimbi?*

MaDlamini: *Hayi, izinto zakowabo, andinakuzixela. Waye qatywe ingxwala enxityiwe. Le nto ibonisa ukuba uMonica wayethwetyulwe.*

The Xhosa version of *mamlambo* incident (vol.2 p.235)

Myself: MaDlamini *abantu abaninzi bakubona kumabona kude we eTV owayeligazi nje, uvumisela umlungu owayene ngxaki yegazi elalise bathroom. Ndifuna ke ukuqonda kuwe kanye kwakusenzeka ntoni?*

MaDI: *Kwaku yinyanga ka-June 1998 ukufumana kwam ifowuni evela kwintatheli ye-eTV eyayifuna ukwazi ukuba ndibiza malini na ngemvumisa. Ekumxeleleni kwam wandazisa ngeentatheli ze-eTV ezazifuna ukundisa kwenye indawo engase-Stellenbosch ndiyokuvumisela umlungu owanengxaki enkulu. Zange bathethe nto ke ngegazi, elaliyiyo ke phofu ingxaki. Baza bonke baza kundilanda ngezithuba zabo 18h30 ukutshona kwelanga. Ndandise ndimxelele umkhwetha wam uNomntu, nomyeni wakhe uBhutana, noMonica lo waye lithwasa lam. Saqhuba ke sayokutsho e-Brackenfell apho sadibana nelinye iqela lee ntatheli. Abe belungu bazintatheli basithengela ihaf' yebhotile yebhlanti ne toti ye-savannah for uMonica. Bathi: "Sifuna nibesemoyeni ophakamileyo xa nifika pha." Ndathi mna mabandithengele i-drink kuba andiseli tywala ngaphandleni kobomsebenzi.*

Myself: *Ngowuphi unobangela owawuqulathwe kukuba kwimimoya ephezulu?*

MaDI: *Ndiyakholwa kuba nje babesibizele imvumisa eyoyikisayo.*

Myself: *Wazi njani ukuba yayi yimvumisa eyoyikisayo?*

MaDI: *Endleleni ukuya kwethu kulaa mzi, ndava nje ukuba sibizelw' inyoka. Jong' apha, ndiligqirha kwaye izinyanya zam ziyathetha nam. Ukufika kwethu pha, nje phambi kokuba singene kulaa ndlu, ndathi: "Yhu! Sibizelwe inyoka apha! U-Bhutana wathi: "Hay'bo sisi," Ndathi yinyoka le siyibizelweyo." Bendicinga sibizelwe isiporho." Ndathi: "Hayi, yinyoka." Nyani, saphuma emotweni kwathi nje singene endlini umbilini wam waqala wabila ngamandla futhi. Ndandimi ngasemnyango ngaphakathi, xa amehlo am aye athi ntlaa ifoto embi edongeni. Ndath'apha kum ngaphakathi: Yhu! Nantsi ifoto yenyoka eneempondo ezinkulu. Yayinamashiya amnyama, amehlo ebomvu, umlomo wayo obomvu wawuveleke nkaa kwaye yayinkulu ibhijabhijekile iluhlaza. Ndathi kuBhutana: Hmm! (Ndothukile ndinomnqa). Ngoko nangoko ndavala ucango ukuba bangayiboni le foto.*

Sahamba sayakuhlala e-lounge, nje ngokuba ezintatheli zazi lungisa izinto zabo zokufota, uNomntu wacela i-glass yokusela ibhlanti yabo ndasela ke nam i-drink yam. Nje ngokuba besisela ndathi kubo uyabona besibizelwe inyoka. Xa babe ready ukusifota basicela ukuba siqalise ngokuchaza lo mntu. Ndathi: Hayi, kulungile, andali ukumvumisela lo mntu, kuyimfuneko ukuba mandiwenze umsebenzi kwaye ndilapha for loo nto. Ndayalela uNomntu ukuba azilungiselele kuba nguyeye owayeza kuvumisela lo mntu, uMonica ke wamncedisa eku-light-eni impepho yile part yavela kwi-documentary ye-eTV.

U-Nomntu wathatha ke umkhonto kuba ezakuqalisa ukuvumisa kwaye wathi xa ezakuqalisa ukuvumisa uBhutana wathi: “Eyi! Le nto siyibizelweyo apha iyandoyikisa mna, ndiyoyika ngoku.” Le ndoda yathi kuNomntu: “Please phambi kokuba uqalise mandivale ucango ukwenzela ukuba abaqheshi bam bangavi into ezakuthethwa apha.” Salibona iqela labaqeshi kwaye yayikhangeleka ingathi zi-students. Wathi masithi cwaka, waqala wathi: “Niyawabona na lamabala egazi akule-mat? Ndiyayihlamba le mat ndiyi-clean-e.” waqhubekeka wathi: “Ezi-mark zikule-mat zihlanjwa ndim. Eyi! Kwangoko nangoko ndazixelela ukuba: Le nto siyibizelweyo imbi nyani. Umnini wale ndlu wasicela ukuba siye kwenye i-block yee-flats eyayingapha kwe-swimming pool. Xa singena pha kwenye yee-flats, kwaku mnyama thsu. Umnini flats lo mlungu sizo kumvumisela wathi: “Akusekho zi-lights apha kule-room, qho njalonjalo ezi-lights zicinywa yile nto, zophulwe yile nto.”

Myself: Yintoni le nto ayinagama?

MaDI: Le nto yayinegama kodwa wayengayitsho ukuba yintoni. Well, nje ngagqirha ndayazi phambi kokuba singene endlini ukuba ingxaki yakhe yayiyi ntoni. Kakade kwaku ngekho nento entle kulaa mzi kodwa yayingumzi omkhulu. Ngoku ngelixesha sise se-flat-ini wabuza: “Akho vumba lingaqhelekanga uluvayo?” U-Monica wathi: “Dabawo ndiyoyika.”

Myself: Wena wawungoyiki? Njengokuba uyibalisa mna iyandoyikisa, kwaye ixhala lam into yokuba ndizakuyiphupha njengokuba injalo.

MaDIamini: Tu ke loo nto, ukukhuthazeka endandinako kwakumangalisa. Ndithi kuwe iminyango ye-wardrobe nee-drawers zazivulekile zithe nkaa. Ndathi kuye: Yazi intoni? Usibizele inyoka, yeyona nto osobizele yona leyo. La ntatheli imnyama yabuza: “Mama utsho?” Ndathi: Ndutsho. Wathi: “Sixelele ke yeya ntoni?” Ndathi: Yinyoka katata wakhe le asibizele yona, ngoku akazazi iimpawu zayo, ungene emgxobhozweni kamamlambo kwaye akho ndlela yakuyibaleka ngoku. Utata wakhe zange wakwazi ukumxelela ngendlela ekufuneka ayiphathe ngayo phambi kokuba abhubhe. Yiyo le nto esiva uloyiko olungaka.” Wakhawuleza waphendula: “Ewe, kunjalo ndikubizele inyoka engandiphumlisiyo, nceda undinike ithuba lokuthetha madikuxelele ngayo.” Uyabona ngoku besi ngasawenzi umsebenzi wethu wokumvumisela. Wagqiba ukuba uzakusibalisele ngokwakhe ibali. Wathi: “Kuleveki iphelileyo ndikhuphe iinyoka eziyi-16 kule-flat, ezinye bezimfutshane, ezinye bezinde kwaye ezinye zinde zinkulu. Zange ndizibulale, ndazikhupha nje kakuhle ndayo kuzibeka kwelinye igumbi kuba ngokwe nkqubo yenkolo yethu asibulali. Kule veiki kwiintsuku ezimbini ezigqithileyo ndikhuphe 9 yamantshontsho so ngoko ke yi-25 yonke endiyikhuphileyo yonke.”

Ndambuza ukuba iinyoka ezingaka bezivela phi? Waphendula: “Nam andiyazi zivel’ aphi; into endingakuxelela yona yile, kukho inyoka enkulu pha kulaa ndlu yam ezijikayo ubuqu bayo ibangumntwana ngamaxesha amaninzi izijika ibe ngumfazi. Izibhijabhija isondele kum ize ngomva.” Ndaphendula ndathi: “Yinyoka katata wakho le, ingxaki yile, ngalo lonke ixesha ulala nayo iyamitha. Ibi yingxaki le kuba awazi ukuba mawuthini ngalo lonke ixesha ibeka amaqanda. Ndathi kwakhona, i-mistake utata wakho awayenzayo phambi kokuba abhubhe zange akubonise indlela eyiyo yokuyiphatha.

Waqhubekeka wathi: "Ewe! Ndingatsho nyani yinyoka katata wam. Ngokuya ndandise yidyongwana, kwakukho i-witchdoctor evela kulamazwe angentla ifake iintsimbi ezibomvu. Waza ekhaya waxhela igusha. Utata wam nale witchdoctor basela igazi lale gusha. Ndiqinisekile ukuba wonke lo msebenzi wawusenzelwa le nto, umamlambo." Ndathi: Uyabona ngoku, laa mntu waye zokuthwalisa uyihlo umamlambo. So wasixelela ukuba utata wakhe wabhubha engozini yemoto so ke wayishiya naye. Zange waxelelwa ukuba ayiphathe njani. Umane nje ngokulala nayo ayimithise kuba akanamfazi namntana.

Myself: *Uyimithisa njani?*

MaDI: *Ngel' iny' ixesha le nyoka isondel' apha kuye, iyazijika kubunto bayo ibe ngumfazana osedyongo ozibhijabhija umzimba lo wayo kwaye ozidlayo. Bundivile xa ndithi uyalala nale nyoka kwaye imithe? Umamlambo uyamitha nje ukuba indoda ilale nawo. Ngoku umntu onayo inyoka kwaye obenikwe ulwazi olungqalileyo ekuyiphatheni, uba lamaqanda enyoka awapheke avuthwe, ukwenzela ukuba umamlambo angakwazi ukuwaqandusela. Emva koko uza kuwabuyisela ukwenzela umamlambo awafumane kulaa ndawo ebewabeke kuyo ukwenza for ukuthintela umlo. Ngoku le nyoka rhoqo ihwa nalo mlungu kuba ine-family enkulu yiloo nto iza ngamandla kuye. Lo mlungu wasibonisa inxebakazi elikhulu entanyeni yakhe wathi wonzakaliswe yiyo.*

Myself: *Umdala ka ngakanani?*

MaDI: *Hayi man, la mlungu usemncinci, ngumfana. Wasixelela ukuba ngenye imini umamlambo wamonzakalisa ngento ebukhali. Waye nenxebakazi elikhulu wathathwa wasiwa esibhedlele, akotsho ke ngubani emzimbeni wakhe kwaye ulwa gqithi. Wathi: "Xa ndisiva le nto isondela, ndiva ngesikhalo sesikhwenene, nje ukuba siqalise ukukhala ndivela ndiyazi ukuba le nto ingaphakathi endlini. Emva kwesasikhalo kuvele kubekho umoya ovuthuzayo ongathi uyaporha ngesandi sayo esithi, hu-u-u-u-u- oza ngakum. Nje ukuba iqalise ukuba kufutshane, iza kuqalisa ilwe. Uyayibona le mela yayixhinile isondela ngakum iphethe le mela. Ndathatha eyam nam salwa." Ngoku umbuzo wam yayingulo: "Le nyoka yayifumana phi le mela." Phambi kokuba andiphendule nokundiphendula sava ngesandi sento eyophukayo e-kitchen-i. Xa sinjonga-jonga, lo mlungu wabaleka ukungena e-bathroom. Ethubeni enye intatheli yahamba yaya e-kitchen-i yabuya yazokusixelela ukuba i-glass yeliso le-camera yakhe yophukile kodwa kwakungekho mntu e-kitchen-i. Njengokuba sasi samamele le nto yokuphuka kwe-lens, lo mfazi womlungu oyintatheli walandela le ndoda ukuya kungena e-bathroom wasibiza ukuba sizo kunceda. Yayi ngumbono ombi omasikizi gqithi; igazi litsaza endlebeni yale ndoda liyokutsho ebhafini. Yho! zange ndimbone ubhutana e-nervous so nje ngokuba wayenzile nje ngobaa busuku.*

Wakhwaza: "Saph' ibhotile sisi kwezabhotile zamayeza sizi phetheyo." Yho! Kwakungathi kuse casualty. Kwa ngoko uBhutana wamdyoba ngeyeza apha ngokujikelezayo nendlebe le yakhe igazi layeka ke ukumpompoza. Aba bantu be-eTV basixelela ukuba babengaqali ukuba mayibone le nto yale ndoda imhlophe, yi loo nto eyenza ukuba banxulumane nathi sizokuba nceda. Basixelela ukuba ngenye imini xa babedlana iindlebe nayo beyifota, igazi lavela latsaza apha ebusweni bayo. Emva kwethuba le ndoda yasivezela umzimba wayo, owawugcwele amanxeba, kwaku soyikeka.

Wathi wayefuna ukuzibulala ukwenzala ukuba azokuphumla kule nyoka. Ngenye imini wazifumana elele ebhedini yasesibhedlele, engazazi ukuba wasiwa yintoni. Akayazi nokuba ngubani owakhulula intambo awayefuna ukuzixhoma ngayo. Umzimba wakhe wawu soyikeka ukujongeka, wawufana nomzimba wesiporho. Esidaleni saye samcela ukuba makasikhulule, sasesifuna ukubuyela ekhaya. Wasicela ukuba siyeni endlini enkulu, wasikhokela ukuya khona ukuya kungena e-bathroom wabe sesithi: "Uyabona, kukho igazi eliphuma apha kweliphahla livele ligcwalise le bhafu." Hey! Ndalibona igazi kwi-documentary ye-eTV, lalingqindilili. Waye-clean-a ibhafu ngezandla zakhe. Yho! ndathi kweza ntatheli, amapolisa kufuneka axelwe ngale ndoda. Kufuneka abanjwe anyanzelwe ukuba achaze ngentsusa yalo lonke ela gazi. Akanakho qho njalo aqhubekeke ngoku-clean-a ibhafu egcwele ligazi rhoqo ekuseni angayokuli-report-a emapoliseni. Uvuma ngokwakhe ukuba uvuka ngentseni ngo-2 okanye ngo-3 ayoku-clean-a i-toilet nebhafu ukwenzela ukuba abaqeshi bakhe bangaboni gazi, kwaye wayengafuni ukuba angalahlakena nemali xa benokuhamba. Ke ngoku ndagqiba kwelokuba abantu be-eTV bazise amapolisa ukwenzela ukuba bazokuphanda le nto yalo mlungu imagazana yoku-clean-a ngeentseni. Kutheni engahlupheki, abenexhala ngeligazi angalaziyo intsusa yalo?

Igazi liyacekiseka kwaye limasikizi, loo nto eliya yayinge lo gazana nje eliqhelekileyo, yayiyi le type yayikwenzela amanwele. Saba nethamsanqa kuba saza kwakhe sahamba phambi kokuba imibono yegazi iqalise. Emva koko le ndoda yaphinda yasikhokelela kweeza-flats besiyi kuzo kuqala ezi ngapha kwe-swimming pool. Ndandihamba emva kwakhe, uMonica esemva kwam elandelwa nguBhutana noNomntu. Nje emva koNomntu kwavela kwathi danga menye le nto yetshwaa e-swimming pool, la mlungu wathi: "Nantso ke igqithe nje emva kwethu!" Ukuba yayigqithe phambi kwethu ngeba sonzakala, xa ubone into enjeya ngeliso le nyama uyelama. Sangena ekamireni yakhe ndava ngoMonica sesithi: "Ndiyoyika." Ndamcenga ukuba aqine angoyiki. Ndaxuba ke amayeza ekufuneka laa ndoda iwasebenzisile ekutshizeni ngaphakathi nangaphandle, jikelele kwendlu. Ndamgalela usixhaphaxhapha emzimbeni wakhe, ndamqaba ngentsizi, ndamva ebuza: "I wonder ndizokwazi na ukulala zolileyo ngokuhlwanje?" Ndathi: Ewe, ngokuhlwanje nangomso uzokwazi ukulala zolileyo kodwa, ngosuku lwesithathu laa nyoka izakubuya strong-o kunangaphambili.

Awusoze ukwazi ukulala kule ndlu kuba ayisetyenzwangwa." Wacela ke icebiso. Ndathi: "Icebiso leli, uzuze endlini yam ukwenzela ukuba sizokupha uncedo kodwa okokuqala kuzafuneka ukuba uxhelele le nyoka igusha, seyine-family eninzi ngoku kwaye lenyoka ifuna igazi. Usilwa nje nale nyoka yinto yokuba akuyixheleli." Waye warhuma ke emva koko eza ntatheli zasigodusa. Emva kweentsuku ezimbini laa ntatheli imnyama yafowuna yaxela ukuba laa ndoda ilele zolileyo kwiintsuku ezimbi ezidlulileyo. Ngosuku lwesithathu inyoka iye yaphinda yathi gqi ngamandla yangena endlini yophula iifestile.

Appendix 17: Case study seven of Miranda (vol.1 p.242)

Myself: Miranda *ngowuphi unyaka ofakwa ebugqirheni?*

Miranda: *Kwaku ngo-* 1992

Myself: *Wawuhlala e-Kapa ngexesha owafumana ngalo iintsimbi?*

Miranda: *Ndandihlala eKapa kodwa ndahamba ndayokwenza umsebenzi wam wokungena entwasweni emaXhoseni, apho ndazalelwa khona.*

Myself: *Kwabakho imiqondiso eyakwenza ukuba uqaphele ngengulo yakho emhlophe?*

Miranda: *Into eyandothusayo yayintloko ebehlungu gqithi enga nyamezelekilyo endandinayo. Kodwa kwakhuko nezinye izigulo ezimhlophe ezazi ngaqhelekanga ezingakwazekiyo nokucaciseka, kuba ndandingazi nto mna ngeempawu zobizo lwase bugqirheni. Ndandidla ngokuba namaphupha acacileyo, ndandiphupha ngomlambo, amagqirha nazo zonke ezinye izinto ezisondele ezintsimbini zamagqirha. So nditsho nyani ke xa ndithi ndandingazi nto tu de ndaba nentloko ngesiquphe ebuhlungu kakhulu. Ndandisiva into ihamba entlokweni yam ngakumbi kwezindawo kufanel' ukuba kufakwe iintsimbi khona. Ngamany' amaxesha xa ndithi ndisabukele i-television ndivele ngesiquphe ndingaboni nje for ixeshana kwaye naxa hlawumbi ndi-ayina bendivele nje ndiyitshise impahla. Ibiba yintsokolo ke ukunyusa imilenze xa ndinyuka izi-steps. Sekukudala ethubeni ndafumanisa ukuba amalungu omzimba wam afuna ukurhintyelwa ngeentsimbi ezimhlophe kodwa zange ndayazi loo nto ngelaa xesha. Yandithatha kwa nexesha elide into yokuba mandiyi kuvunyiselwa kuba ndandingazi nto ingako ngezi zinto. Kwaye onke amagqirha endaya kuwo olatha kwintwaso. Zange ndonwabe tu zimvumisa zabo kuba ndandinga zi-picture-ishi tu ndifake iintsimbi zamagqirha. Yayi nzima into yokuba mandiyi-understand-e into yokufaka iintsimbi.*

Myself: *Waya kwagqirha phambi kokuba uye emagqirheni?*

Miranda: *Ithi ndikuxelele into, ndaqala ndagula xa ndandi seJo'burg ndisenza ii-drama series ze-TV. Ngaphandle kwentloko ndandimane ngokuba namahlaba abuhlungu esifubeni. Ndaya koo gqirh' abaninzi kodwa babengakwazi ukuyichana imbangi yala mahlaba. Ngamany' amaxesha ndandidla ngokuva nje izinto ezingaqhelekanga apha emzimbeni wam. Ndikhumbula one time ingu-January 1992 eJo'burg, ndandibuyela e-flat-ini yam ndivela kwii-rehearsals and, njengokuba ndandileqa i-bus kwi-terminus yaseBree Street, kwavela nje nges'quphe kwangathi umzimba lo wam wonke uyatsha. Andiyazi imbangi yoko.*

Myself: *Uthetha ukuthini? Iqondo lobushushu emzimbeni laliphakamile?*

Miranda: *Ha-aa, kwakungathi ii-part zam zomzimba zise mlilweni, nangona ndandinxibe ibhulukwe. Yayi mangalisa kuba kwaku ngekho mntu tu ecaleni kwam ukuqala ukuva le nto yokungathi ndiyatsha. Ukuqabela kwam e-bus-ini. Ndasuka nda-panic-a kuba andiyazi into eyayi senzeka kum yintoni na. Ndavela ndakhangela i-seat engena mntu apho ndandingahlala kufutshane nomntu omkhulu ongandixelelayo ukuba zazithetha ntoni na eza mpawu.*

Ndafumana umntu ndahlala ecaleni kwakhe ndathi: "Hee! Sisi ndiyatsha." Hey! Kwaku kubi nyani. Lo sisi wavela wandiphendula ngombuzo: "Hay' bo! Ungowaphi?"

Ukumxelela kwam ukuba ndivela eKapa wavela wakhuzwa wathi: "Hey! Ndiqinisekile ukuba uyabulawa mntwana womntu." Ndayiva into ayithethayo kodwa zange ndiyithathele ngqondweni kuba ingqondo yam yayikule yokuba ndandisitsha. Ndandi nengcinga enye engqondweni yam ukuba mandi yokufika e-flat-ini yam ndizoku jonga ezi ndawo nditshe kuzo. Ukufika kwam e-flat-ini zange ndithathe i-lift ndavela ndanyuka ngee-steps ukuya kwi-12th floor apho i-flat yam yayikhona. Ndafika ndafumana u- brother no- sister wam bethetha. Ndavela ndakhulula ekumangalisweni kwam, ndafumana nyani iindawo ezitshileyo emilenzeni yam ezazingamaxolo angathi ngaweveki ephelileyo. Izizalwane zam zazi khwankqisiwe zizilonda endingayazi ukuba nam ndizakuthi zuzize njani na. (savela sayihleka noMindara le nto) Waqhubekeka ngokubalisa: Yho! Ewe siyahleka ngoku, kodwa ibingahlekeki ngelaxesha. Akho owaziyo ukuba makwenziwe ntoni okulandeyo. Yazi ndaye ndafumana esinye isehlo esingamnanda malunga nezimpawu zentwaso. Ndandivela ndiphefumle nzima kunyanzeleke ukuba iimpahla zam mandi zikhulule nto leyo eyayi ndenza ndithukuthezeleke. Ndandingayazi ukuba ezi mpawu zazisondele kangako entwasweni kwaye zaqhubekeka iintsuku eziliqela.

Kusasa xa ndivuka kusasa bendivele ndinukiselwe livumba lomqombothi. Naxa ndibuyela endlini ndivela kwii-rehearsals bendivele ndive ivumba lebhokhwe e-flat-ini. Bendimane ke ngokuzibuza ngezi zinto beziqhubeka kum kodwa ndingafumani zimpendulo. Ibhokwe yayiyinto endandinga yiqhelanga tu kuba utat' omkhulu wam waye ngafuyanga zibhokhwe. Zange ndizidibanise nengulo emhlophe tu ezi zinto zazindehlela de ndaba ndiphathwa yintloko esimanga -ngalemuni kanye abantu basemzini wam bezakundamkela ngokusesikweni ndizokutyiswa utsiki. Ngale mini kuxhelwa ngayo ndandise-kitchen-i ngelixesha ndizokuva kukho into enzima ethi gadla phezu kwentloko yam. Ndavela ndabambekelela entloko ndabaleka uyokungena e-bathroom, u-sister-in-law wam owaye lithwasa naye wayiqaphela imbandezelo endandikuyo wazama ke ukuza kundinceda. Ndeva ingathi intloko yam iyaqhekeka ibazi-piece ngee-piece. Le nto yayinzima apha entlokweni yam yayimane ngokuhambahamba yade yazokuhlala apha phezu kwamehlo kanye embindini webunzi. Amehlo am ayedumbile ebomvu. Abantu ababesendlini babexhalabile bethe ngxungu babethetha ngendaba yobugqwirha becinga ukuba ndithakathiwe. Umama-zala wam wavela wandicebisa ukuba mandiye emagqirheni. Omny' umama omdala so owayephaya kulo msebenzi womtshato wanyenzalelisa umyeni wam ukuba makakhuphe imali yokuya "emntwini". Yayiyi ndlela shame yokundiqondisa ngengxaki yam yobuphakuphaku, nangona bonanje wayengazalani nam kodwa waba-responsible ekubuyiseni impilo yam kwinto eyayiyiyo. Waqonda ukuba imeko yempilo yam ayiqhelekanga wanqwenela ukundincenda ngokuba ndifumane ingxilongo namayeza.

So ngengomso kusasa ndahamba ndayapha kuye, wandikhapa ke ukuya emntwini owayehlala eNyanga East. Exactly phi? Andisakhumbuli kakuhle kodwa into endiyiqondayo yeyokuba indlela avumisa naxilonga ngayo yohluka mpela kule yamagqirha esiXhosa. Wathi kulo mama ndihamba naye: “Uyabona ukuba ebe ngumolokozana wakho lo bendi zakuthi kuwe mothule laa qhiya imnyama into ayifunayo ziintsimbi ezimhlophe. Lo mntu bekufuneka engatshatanga indawo yokuqala. Izinyanya zakhe zibenoma nguye, bezifuna into yokuba angene entwasweni kuqala phambi kokuba atshate.” Xa yayisengorhatya ndamxelela umyeni wam ngemvumisa ukuba ihambe yandibeka phi, waye ndinika imvume yokuba ndiyo kwenza umsebenzi eDikeni (kulapho ndiyenzela khona yonke imisebenzi yam kuba ndikholelwa entweni yokuba mandisondele ebuhlanti basekhaya). Amalungiselelo enziwa ke for lo msebenzi, kwaku ngo-1992 ke ngoko. Ndafakwa ekuthwaseni ngomnye umama ekuthiwa nguMaDlamini walapha eKapa qha ke onkaba yakhe yayiseMonti. Emva kokufakwa kwam entwasweni abazali bam badina nelinye igqirha abalicela ukuba ze liphathe omnye “umsebenzi” wam ozakulandela. Babengazinto ngaye ngaphandle kokuba bebona igqirha elindilisekileyo elifake iintsimbi. Kodwa “emsebenzini” wam wenza nje enye into endingazanga ndakwazi ukuyiqonda. Kwa ngobabusuku ndaba nethongo elalixelela ukuba inkqubo “yomsebenzi” wam khangele ilandlwe ngendlela. Bekufuneka ndisiwe emzini omkhulu ngoku loo nto khange yenziwe

Myself: Wenza ntoni?

Miranda: Wavela nje waxhel’ ibhokhwe, kuba abazali bam bamxelela ukuba ndinentwaso. Abazali bam bambona nje efake iintsimbi bayokudibana naye ke becinga bona ukuba ligqirha elizaziyo nyani izinto zesintu. Ngalemini yokuwiswa kwalaa bhokhwe ndava ilizwi lezinyanya zam emathongweni lisithi: “Ayikabiyo ke le, kuba sikufuna “emzin’ omkhulu” kutheni ungakhe ube pha?” Ukuvuka kwam ngalaa ntsasa, ndandi nomsindo ndikhathazeke nyani kuba yonk’enj’ into yahamba wrong-o. Ndamxelela umama wam ngethongo wahamba wayokuxelela utata ngalo. Igqirha laye layokuxelelwa ukuba ekwalenzayo zange kwamkele tu kwizinyanya zam. Impendulo yakhe yaba yile: “Hayi andimsi mna umntu “emzini omkhulu” esaqala ukungena kwintwaso, ndimsa emva kwe-six months.” Lo mntu zange acelwe ukuba makandithwasise qha kwathiwe makaninyange nje kuzo kudamba ukugula. Ndandihlupheke nyani yila meko. Ndabuyela eKapa apho impilo yam yaba mandundu. Ndixhalabe kakhulu ndaphinda ndabuyela eDikeni apho izinyanya zam zaye zandibonisa emathongweni igqirha elithile elalihlala likwasebenza eXesi ukuba malindise emzini omkhulu. Ngexesha eli lilo ndahamba ndayokudibana ndayokubonisana nalo, wandikhokelela “emzini omkhulu” apho ndaye ndafukama iintsuku ezixhenxe. Emva kwale mfukamo iimpawu zaye zadamba noko ndaphila kwakho. Emva kwemfukamo ndaphinda ndagula kwakho. Hey! Iseyiyo na le! Utat’ omkhulu wam wathi: “Makuthathwe iintonga”. Saya ke komnye umama ekuthiwa nguMaDlamini [nguMaDlamini 2 kolu phando]. Wasuka wandixelela ngazo zonke iimpawu zesigulo sam wanditsho ndaneliseka. Nje for ukungqinisisa imvumisa yakhe umama wandisa kwelinye igqirha eNY 18 eGugulethu. Wacela umkhwetha wakhe ukuba andichaze, inkcazo yalo mkhwetha yavela yafana ncam nale yakaMaDlamini 2.

Phambi kokuba andichaze wabuza ukuba ndizokufuna ntoni pha kuba sendi vunyiselwe kwaye neziza ngaphambili ndiyazazi. Abazali bam bathi mandikhethe ke phakathi kwala magqirha, ndathi ndikhethe uMaDlamini 2. Kwafuneka imvuma kufa yam ndiyiphinde kuba leyokuqala bayicingela nje ngento elambathayo engekho gunyeni. Emva kokuba iphindiwe imvuma kufa uMaDlamini 2 awaye yongamele ndaye ndabuyela empilweni yam entle. Yonke le nto yenzeka ngo-1992 kwaye okoko ndangena entwasweni ndithonga rhoqo. Emathongweni am, ndalibona igqirha ekwakufuneka liwugqibezele umsebenzi wam wokuthwasa. Ndandi walawula onke amathongo am egqirheni lam, elasoneliseka nangenkqubela phambili yam. Wandinika i-training yokonyani kwaye zange akhe anukwe ngabanye "abantu abamhlophe". Waye-good gqithi kum, kodwa yabazinyangana nje ndiqalisile phantsi kwakhe ndabona isiphene nje, wayengelo gqirha lipheleleyo. Wayengunomqhelana okanye "five to". Phakathi kwale meko ndaqhubeka ukuthonga ngegqirha elithile, ndaye nangeloo xesha ndaphelelwa ngumdlu kwi-training yam. Xa kufuneka ndiye kuye ndandimane ngokukubuyisela emva ukukhwethezwa kwam.

Myself: *Yintoni ebalulekileyo ekukhwethezeni?*

Miranda: *Yinkqubo yasesigqirheni eyenzelwa amathwasa. Umntu ufundiswa ngemithi, aboniswe ukukhanda iingcambu, amaxolo emithi nezinye ke izinto ezisetyenziswa esigqirheni. Ithwasa lithathwa ke nje ngokomntwana kunga khathalelwanga iminyaka yamntu ukuncedisa igqirha lakhe ngokwenza umsebenzi woku-clean-a indlu yalo. Xa abantu beze for ingxilongo okanye okanye imvumisa ithwasa lizakuguqa livumise.*

Myself: *Wade waya kulikhangela na elagqirha wawuhlala uliphupha?*

Miranda: *Ndanika omnye umama obizwa ukuba nguMaDlomo inkcazelo yegqirha elo ndandi libona emathongweni. Wandixelela ukuba uyalazi lihlala e-New Cross Roads kodwa akalaziigama lesitalato. Kuba ela gqirha lali ndibonisile i-adress yalo emathongweni, ndaqabela i-taxi ndaya e-New Cross Roads ndiyokukhangela indlu yakhe. Xa ndifika pha elokishini ndabuza komnye usisi ukuba akukho gqirha alaziyo elihlala pha engengqini, wandi khombisela ku-Section 4. Yaba lithamsanqa kuba eli gqirha lalisaziwa, nangona abantu babengaqinisekanga ngendawo abahlala kuyo. Ukuphanda kwam kubantu abaninzi ababengakwazi ukundinika impendulo engqalileyo yandenza ndixhalabe kuba ndandisiva ingathi ukuba ndingabuyela ekhaya ndingayifumenanga le ndlu yeli gqirha, abantu basekhaya babekundijonga nje ngexoki. Ndakhangela i-number-a yendlu ndade ndayifumana njengokuba ndayibona emathongweni kodwa ndoyika ukusondela kuyo. Endaweni yoko ndaya kwenye indlu e-next door yakwakhe, ndabuza ukuba kukho igqirha na elihlala kwindlu eyamene neyabo. Waphendula wathi: "Ewe, kodwa akukho mntu ngoku, lona nendoda yalo babheke emsebenzini kwaye badla ngokubuya ngo-5 matshona." Yandothusa mna into yokuba igqirha libe semsebenzini. Ndamcela ummelwane lowo ukuba andinike inkcazelo ngokwe nkangeleko. Inkcazelo yabamfutshane gqithi: -Umfutshane kwaye untsundu ngebala.*

Myself: *Zange ubethelwe ngumbilini xa usondela ngasendlini yakhe?*

Miranda: *Tyhini! Ndandisoyika. Imbangi yokuba ndiye e-next door kwakungenxa yombilini. Ukubuyela kwam ekhaya ndabaxelela yonke into. Zange bafune tu ukulindela ingomso. Ukutshona kwelanga ke saya pha kulaa ndlu yegqirha. Yabanguye owaphendula xa sasi nkqonkqoza. Ukungena kwethu ndathi: "Ngulo mama bendimbone emathongweni am." Oomawomkhulu bamxelela ngokundwendwela okusisiquphe. Ekuqaleni wafuna ukusi-"dodge"-a engafuni ukuphuma enyanini - kodwa ekugqibeleni wandihoya. Ndamxelela ngamathongo am, zade saza ekugqibeleni kwisivumelwano sokuba abeligqirha lam endizakuba phantsi kwalo. Wazama ukusi-"dodge"-a kodwa akaphumelela. Ndasele ndimnika ke imali yemvula-ngxowa, ukwenzela ukuba aqale kwakamsinya kuba "ndandikhathaza" kakhulu.*

Ndandifuna ukwenza invuma kufa yakulo mama ndigqibe ngayo ndizokubuyela empilweni yam. Ngendandazile ukuba akukho nto ifumaneka ngexesha elifutshane. Yayi zokuba sisidendelezelo sento ende yenkqubo. Kwaye nasemva kokuba "ndigodusiwe" xa ndandicinga ukuba ndingabuyela eJo'burg ndiqhubekeke nge-acting career yam kuqhum' uthuli. Ndayifumanisa le nto ingenzeki. Ngelishwa izimvo zam zaye zatshintsha kunye nendlela ebendibona ngayo kubomi bam bangaphambili. Ndafumanisa ukuba andisafuni ukuphila i-city life enengxolo nomphithizelo. Ndavela ndafuna ukuba sendaweni ethuleyo engena ngxolo. So ndaqalisa ke ukufumana i-jobs zoku-act-a apha eKapa. Kule into ndaye ndaba nethasamsanqa kakhulu kuba amagqirha amaninzi afumana ubunzima ekufumaneni umsebenzi ngapha "elubizweni labo".

Myself: *Igqirha lakho la landela na umgaqo olungileyo ekwenzeni eminye imisenbezi yakho?*

Miranda: *Yonke into yahamba kakuhle ndade "ndagoduswa". Ndandisoloko ndthandaza kwizinyanya zam ndithi: "Uyabona ngoku, ndiyamkele intwaso, ndicela zendisetyenziswe njengegqirha lokwenyani kwaye ndifuna ukubona iziphumo ezihle kubugqirha bam. Ndicela nandinike ubulumko ndichaze abantu ndibanyange. Yimisebenzi leyo endiyifunayo for abantu basekhaya ndisebenzise imali eninzi gqithi ekuthwaseni. Ndiyacela ukuba ningaze ninditshintshe, ndifuna ukuba nguMiranda Javu abantu ababemazi kuba umshologu usegazini lam." Imithandazo yam yaphenduleka kuba nyani zange nditshintshe ndise ngulaa mntu endandinguye ngaphambili. Kukho izinto endaziyekayo, nje ngendlela yokunxiba (ndandidla ngokunxiba ooshoti nee-skirt ezifutshane ne-top eziyi-bareback), kwaye ndayeka nokuya ezi-part-ini. Ndabona ukuba zonke ezi zinto ziyi-misfit esigqirheni. Njengokuba ndifumene elinye iwonga elitsha ebomini bam kufuneka ndibe ngumzekelo omhle kubahlali, ngakumbi kulutsha.*

Myself: *Abanjani amava akho okuqala entlombeni?*

Miranda: *Ndandixhalabile, kwakukho iintetho ezininzi ezivela kumathwasa kwaye ndava abanye besithi: "Yho! Ayiyo le ntombi ikwezi drama zeTV."*

Zange ndiyihoye into ababeyitsho. Ndasuke mna qha ndahoya le ndandizekuyo into. Kwakunzima kwaye njenga thwasa kufanele wombele uqhwebele lamagqirha ubusuku bonke. Ndandingakwazi ukombela (ndandidla ngokucula) nakuxhentsa oko. Amathwasa ayevel' athi: "Hay' suka awukwazi nokuxhentsa uya jayiva." Ndavela ndaba ne-cheeky ndabaxelela, ukuba besikhona isikolo samagqirha esifundisa ukuxhentsa so zebahambe bondibhalisa khona. Ndabaxelela ukuba yayinge nakwenzeka into yokuba mandifunde yonke into ngexesha elinye. Ngamanye amaxesha bendibava besithi: "Yhu! Hay' ingulo inamanyala." Ndandingafuni tu ukuba abantu bandisizele. Abanye babevele bathi: "Hay' torho wabanjena." Ndivele ndiphendule ndithi: "Ndabanjani? Ndi-right."

Myself: *Iitshomi zakho zava njani xa wawungena ebugqirheni?*

Miranda: *Ndafumanisa into yokuba iitshomi zam zaba nengxaki, zange bazi ukuba bandi-visit-ele okanye nje gokuba babesenza. Babevela bandijonge ingathi ndizokuxhelwa. Indawo yokuqala ndavela ndabayi-misfit kwilizwe labo lee-party, kwaye mna i-weekend zam ndandizi-spend-ela ezintlombeni. Xa ndandidibana nabo ndandingayazi ukuba mandithethe ngantoni nabo kwaye nabo babesoyika ukundibuza imibibuzo enxulumene nezinto zobugqirha.*

Myself: *Yabanjani impathi yakho ekhaya?*

Miranda: *Ekuqaleni babandi-treat-a ngokwahlukileyo de babuqhela ubugqirha bam. Uyabona kuba ndandi yicaphukela ingxolo, xa abantu bethethela phezulu bendibava besithi: "Hayi bethuna uMiranda akayithandi ingxolo." Ndandifana nomntu omtsha kubo ongathi uvela e-space-ini. Uyayibona loo nto, babeyazi ukuba ne-radio andiyifuni then bazakuthi: "Thobani iradio, hey! uMiranda akayithandi le nto." Babezidla gqithi ngento yokuba kukho igqirha ekhayeni labo.*

Myself: *Zange ufumane amahlaba engulo emhlophe na ukuqala kwakho ukuqeshwa ezifilimini eKapa?*

Miranda: *Ewe, ngelaa xesha ndandise lithwasa ndandi nengxaki yomlungu.*

Myself: *Kutheni?*

Miranda: *Uyabona ndandi-good gqithi eku-act-eni into eyayi ngaqhelekanga Yindlela endandizifumana ngayo ndibhidana ne-team ngalo lonke ixesha ndisenza into enxulumene ne-job yam. Yayi ngumcimbi onzima gqithi, kodwa emveni kokuba ndi-shout-ene nabo siza kuba ziiitshomi kwakho. Umlungu wayedla ngoku ndicunukisa. Uyabona nanini na besisenza i-film shoot, bekukho abelungu abeba-responsible for i-wardrobe. Zezi-group ke eziyi-two ebendisoloko ndiphikisana ndixoxa nazo; kwakungathi kufuneka siqala si-argue-wishe ukwenzela sizokuvana gqithi. Andiyazi, abelungu babedla ngokundicaphukisa nyani ngakumbi xa bevul' imilomo yabo, beza kuthetha into. Uyabona ngo-1987 for instance kwakukho endandi-act-a kwi-film ethi 'Friends Fruit and Wine', kwaye ndandi yi-main actress, kwaye kwakufuneka ibe ndim oqala arhabul' i-wine kwenye i-scene. Ingxaki yile andiseli mos, ngaphandle kwase micimbini yesintu. Kukho izinto ezimbi ezazindigulisa, ivumba le-wine nevumba le-make-up.*

Kwakuba-worse xa kufeneka ndifake ne-lipstick, ndandihamba ndiyokugabha. Xa kuza ekurhabuleni i-wine, bandigalelela i-appetizer endaweni ye-wine nalapho xa ndibamba i-glass umzimba wam ubuvela ungcangcazele. Babengafuni ke tu ukundinika enye i-part yoku-act-a kuba babebuthanda ubuso bam for laa-character. Ndandicaphukela nokunxiba izihlangu. Uyabona enye into ndanndisoloko ndithetha nabo ngesiNgesi, kodwa ngamanye amaxesha ndandivele ndingazi kwa i-meaning yagama nje elilula. Andiyazi nokuba yazizinyanya zam ezazi ndivala. Kwakukho amaxesha apho ingqondo yam yayivela ibe-blank nje ngokuba mhlawumbi ndifunda i-line yescript, i-direct-a ke ibivele indingxolise. Xa ndimi ecaleni komlungu bendivela ndive ivumba elibi gqithi. Bevela anuke, anuke kwaye anuke kangangokuba bephela ndingasabenzanga namlungu.

Phambi kokuba ndingene entwasweni ndandi nengxaki yomnye umfana womlungu, uNeill Henderson owayeyi-drama teacher yethu. Ngaphandle nje kwesizathu ndavela man ndamcaphukela qha, ndandingamfuni. Waye ngumntu o-nice kwaye zange saxoxisana nganto noNeill wayendibona ukuba andimthandi. Ngenye imini ndavela ndaxelela i-group yam ukuba ndicinga ukuya kuNeill ndiyokumxelela ngengxaki yam. Bavela bandi-discourage-a bandixelela ukuba uzakuva kabuhlungu. Kuba le nto yayindenza ukuba ndingonwabi, zange ndibahoye ndasuke ndahamba ndaya kuye ndayakumxelela ukuba ndifuna ukuthetha naye. Saye sahamba ke saya e-office-ini yakhe ndathi: "Neill, ndinengxaki andiyazi kutheni ndingakuthandi nje, andikufuni tu ecaleni kwam kwaye andifuni nokuva into ephuma emlonyeni wakho. Andiyazi unobangela waloo nto yintoni." U-Neill wothuka wathi: "No don't you worry, njengokuba uthethile wandixelela uzakuba fine. Iza kuphela loo nto." Emveni koko ndaba-worried gqithi nguye, ndava kakubi. Anyway, uNeill nam saphela sizitshomi ezinkulu, nangaphandle kwemeko leyo.

Myself: *U-Neill uyazi ukuba wangena ebugqirheni?*

Miranda: *Andiyazi ngaphandle kokuba wafunda ii-news-paper okanye ii-article zee-magazine.*

Myself: *Ukuqala kwakho ukuzimela zange ubenangxaki?*

Miranda: *Zange ndafumana zingxaki kuba ndandisebenza kunye negqirha lam.*

Myself: *Njenga gqirha yeyiphi inxaxheba oyidlayo ebugqirheni ngaphandle kokunyanga?*

Miranda: *Ndi-solve-a iingxaki zabantu abadala nokubabadala kum. Xa ndicinga ngayo ngelinye ixesha ndithi: "Owu! Ukuba bendingelilo igqirha, andiqondi ukuba bendingakwazi ukuyi sombulula noko le ingxaki, kuba noko ayindifuni. Xa uligqirha uyahlonitshwa gqithi ngabahlali, kwaye abantu bayamamela xa igqirha lithetha kuba bayazixelela ukuba igqirha lazi yonk' into.*

Ke ngoko ithethe loo nto xa uligqirha ubakumaziko amaninzi ubanguNontlalontle ubenguMfundisi welizwi. UYakufumana kukho namagqirha anceda abantu ngamatala abo ase-court kwakho bakwa dlala nendima yokuba ziiitshala. So abahlali balihloniphe gqithi igqirha.

Myself: Miranda, *ingoma yakho yethongo ithini?*

Miranda: *Xa ndandi yokwenza imvuma kufa yakamakhulu katata wam, ndanikwa uNonkala kuba yingoma yabo yekhaya. Xa ndandi goduswa nje ngegqirha eligqibileyo ngentwaso yalo ingoma endayithongayo yayingu "mgwadleni ndabashiya belila".*

Myself: *Ithetha ntoni kuwe?*

Miranda: *Man! Uyabona ngoku iyathetha. Xa ithi mgwadleni, uyakwazi ukugwadla kukuthini? Ithetha ukuhleba ngomntu utsho zonke iziznto ezimbi ezinge yonyani nje ngenxa yomona. Kodwa umhletywa akayihoyi yonke into ethethwa ngaye asuke nje azivalele umlomo. Ndabashiya belila ithetha ukuba umhletywa uzakuqhubekela ephumelela kakuhle ebomini bakhe nje ngokuba abahlebi bephikele kukumxusha. Amaciko athi: "Ndakubashiya bembomba besalibele kukundixubusha, ndimkile mna."*

Myself: *Umgwadleni yingoma yebhekile?*

Miranda: *Hayi, ingoma endiyi sebenzisayo ekuphehleni ubulawu ithi, O! ndizulelwa yintekwane. Sewukhe wayiva ngaphambili isombelwa. Emva koko ke ndombela ingoma yegqirha lam.*

Myself: *Uthetha ngegqirha elakungenisa ephehlweni?*

Miranda: *Hayi, andithethi ngegqirha ela ndiphumeza ebegqirheni. Uyabona ithi ndikuxelele into, nje ngokuba singabantu "besizwe sentsimbi emhlophe", ngelinye ixesha nje ngagqirha awusoloko usombela ingoma enye for onke amathwasa owenzela "umsebenzi". Ngelinye ixesha ingoma ethile ipha engqondweni yomntu ngoku ke kufuneka ayombe. Ukuba igqirha alikabi nayo ingoma yokubetha ibhekile linakho nokusebenzisa ingoma yekhaya okanye ingoma yegqirha lakhe ebelimphuze ebugqirheni. Kwezinye iimeko kuyenzeka ukuba igqirha libenayo ingoma yalo yebhekile, kodwa enzeke ngala mini kufuneka efake ithwasa ebhekileni izinyanya zakhe zivelezifune enye, ingeyiyo le yebhekile. Kungenxa yokuba umntu uneezinyanya ezininzi.*

Myself: *Ingaba iingoma nje entlombeni ngaphandle kweyethongo zinayo na into eziyenzayo kuwe?*

Miranda: *Zikhona iingoma entlombeni endizi xhentselayo. Andithandi ke kodwa ukuba abantu maba ndombelele ingoma yam yethongo.*

Myself: *Kutheni kunjalo?*

Miranda: *Ixhomekeke ngendlela ingoma yethongo eyiyo, ayiyo nto yakudlala. Ngemini endifuna ukuba yombelwe umhlabele akangekhe mhlawumbi ayihlabele ngedlela endifuna ngayo. Kakade kwamanye amagqirha zikhona iingoma ezithi amathwasa akuzihlabele bazi xhentsele nangona ingezo ngoma zabo zethongo, ivele ibanike imibono. Iingoma zamagqirha ziyaziwa ngamathwasa, ungava igqirha phambi kokuba linqule lithi: "Yitsho ingoma yam endigule ngayo."*

Appendix 18: Case study of Lunga (vol.1 p.253)

Myself: *Ndingahlala apha ecaleni kwakho Lunga?*

Lunga: *Ungahlala noko ndiyayiqaba ne-perfume ndingala magqirha ayiqabayo iperfume andingawo la karendepes (lindipasi) ndingala ka 2001.*

Myself: Lunga *waziqaphela nini iimpawu zokuthwasa kwakho?*

Lunga: *Ndaqala ukuyiva ngo-1997, kuba ndizalwe ndinayo. Ndayiva kwizinto ezazi senzeka egazini lam. Ndandingayazi ke qha ukuba zibangelwa yintoni de ndaya emntwini ochazayo ndinethongo kwakho endingaliqondiyo ukuba i-meaning yalo yintoni and lihleli lingapheli, nokuba ndiya phi limane lindi-strike-a.*

Myself: *Ithongo lakho lali ngantoni?*

Lunga: Well, *yayi lithongo lo mlambo:*

“Ndandithonga ingathi ndikw’ indlu enkulu, ezi zindlu zintle and ingathi e-front yayo kukho i-gutter okanye ifolo ehamba amanzi. Ingathi njengokuba ndiyokukha amanzi kukho izilo zasemanzini eziyi-two ezijongeneyo ingathi ngamacikilishi zinkulu, xa ndingena e-gate-ini kuba ndizakungena emnyango nazi zime ngoloo hlobo. So, ndothuka ndadideka ndingalazi ukuba li thetha ntoni.”

Kwaba semva kweloo thongo ukuba mandixelwe ukuba ndinguGaba; into eyenzekayo mna ndikhule ndisazi ukuba ndingumKwayi. So, kwafumaniseka ukuba kukho izinto esingazange sazixelwe so, zavela ke ngam. So, ndayazi then ukuba ndinguGaba, umntu womlambo and ndiyathwasa. After that ndagoduka ndiyokwenza izinto ezifana nentambo enkulu, nokungxengxeza. So yonke le nto yala maphupha yenzeka ndisesikolweni (UCT Collage of Music) e-Kapa. Emva komsebenzi ndabuyela esikolweni but esikolweni ukubani I would last into engangeveki, iphinde ingulo ithi ndilapha. So, kungoko ndagqiba kwelo ukuba mandinyamezele nangona kwakuzakuba nzima. I remember one time ngoJune ndizakubhala i-exam, eyi! Ndafunda ndafunda ndafunda. But during olwasuku le-exam ndahamba ndagoduka uyabona ndasuke andabinamdla wakubhala ndaphinda ndabuya emva kwe-exams. Ndaphinda ndizokubhala i-History nalapho ndafunda as usual xa ndiya e-exam room ndafika nda-lock-a pha. Kanti nangenye imini okwesithathu isenzeka le nto kwakuzo kubhalwa i-Harmony and Counterpoint ndahamba ndayokutsho e-exam room xa ndifika e-exam room kwa nikezelwa amaphepha i-music manuscripts ndasuka ndaphakama mna ndaphuma ndohlala e-room-ini yam. Sometimes bendihlala e-room-ini from i-weekend yonke ndingaphumi tu, ndiyokuphuma xa ndiza kuya esikolweni Monday. Okoko ndihleli e-room-ni andi-feel-ishi niks any kind of loneliness.

Myself: *Ngoku kwicala lokucula yayingaku affect-i le meko wawukuyo?*

Lunga: Too much, very very much *yayindi* affect-*a* *gqithi* vocally. Like *xa ndi kule* singing room there are certain things *mos umntu oculayo ekufeneka ezenzile*. *Umntu ufundiswa ukusetyenziswa ngee*-parts *ze*-body like *xa u-breath-a usebenzisa i-rib* cage. *Ndandi*-notice *ukuba ilizwi lam alifuni uku*-project-*a* no matter how much I tried *akuphumi niks*. *Bekuvele kuphume nje into ecekeceke engeyiyo ne-quarter ye lizwi lam*. *Le nto ibidla ngoku i-rritate-a itishara yam*, uMrs Sarita Stern. *Imbangi yokuba acaphuke yinto yokuba ebelazwi ilizwi lam ukuba li-good kangakanani na*. Even *nangoku waye ndi-audition-a*, *woneliseka ngalo*. So *ndithe ndakuqala uku*-experience-*a* *ii*-problems *ngelizwi lam*, *yabanzima tu into yokuba maka*-understand-*e* *ukuba yenziwa yintoni yonke le nto* –*nam ndandingayazi ukuba kwenzeka ntoni nge*-voice *yam*. *Ekhaya ndaxelelwa ukuba yonke le nto yenziwa kuba ndithwasa*.

Myself: *Ubuyithatha inxaxheba kwimveliso ze opera ngoku unengxaki yelizwi?*

Lunga: *Ewe, kodwa kukho into eyenzekayo andizange ndi*-understand-*e* *kutheni, ndayiqaphela ngokusuka uPatrick Tikolo andi*-record-*e*. *Sasi yokucula kwenye i-concert eyayi* organise-*we ngu* Safrits eKapa. *Ukumamela kwam le-tape, ndava ukuba ilizwi lam liphuma qho kwi*-key. Strange, *ngokuya ndandi se-stage-ini ndandicinga ndicula* right only to find out from *abantu ababendimamele ndandi* off key. *Kodwa ke, i-singing lecturer yam hlawumbi yayi ngafuni ukundi*-discourage-*a*, *yayivela indixelele ukuba izinto ziza kulunga*. You know, sometimes *xa ndandicula i*-facial expression *yezinye ii*-student *endicula nazo yayivela indixelele ukuba ndicula into engekho*. *Uyambona mos umntu xa e-irritated yinto oyenzayo*. *Ndandivela nje ndizi*-console-*e* *ndithi*, alright, *xa i-singing lecturer yam yandixelela yona ukuba kuza kulunga, hlawumbi wayethetha into yokuba i*-voice *yam isa*-develop-*a*. *Ukubuya kwethu kulaa concert uPatrick wathi: "Makhe simameleni amazwi ethu, sive ukuba sicule njani."* *Eyi! Zange ndikwazi ukuzimamela, ndavela ndayi*-switch-*a* off *la*-tape *ndazixelela ukuba andinoku mamela la-shit ndathi, ukuba ndi*-irritated *ngolu hlobo kubekeliselaphi kwabanye abantu ebebendimamele*.

Ever since then *ndazixelela ukuba andisobe ndicule kwakho*. I really felt bad *ngoba ndandisendicule kwii*-opera performances *ngale*-voice. *U*-Professor Gobbato *zange a*-complain-*e* *kum ngaloo nto*. *Ndacinga ukuba* since *bezazi ii*-voice *zee*-student *zabo zi*-develop-*a* *njani* most probably *wacinga ukuba i*-voice *yam isa*-develop-*a* and *ke yena* he knew what kind of voice I possessed. *Mhlawumbi waye*-plan-*e* *ukundi*-guide-*a* *ngelixesha i*-voice *yam i*-develop-*ayo* (*yayizingcinga nje zam zonke ezi*). *Ngelishwa endaweni yokuba i*-voice *yam i*-develop-*e* *yasuka yaba*-worse. Basically *zii*-experience *zam ezi, eza*-affect-*a* *i*-singing studies *zam*. *Into eyayi*-strange *yayiyekuba xa ndingaphandle kwe*-class *i*-voice *yam yayiba*-fine *kodwa nje ndiqalise ukungena phakathi kwe*-class *ibe*-wrong and I would sing off pitch. *I*-singing lecturer *yam yayivele ibe*-irritated. *So ndathi ndakuqonda ukuba ndiyathwasa ndacinga ukuba mhlawumbi izinyanya zam zithi: "Asizokunika le nto oyifunayo ngoku, kufuneka kuqala usikholise ngokwamkela intwaso*.

Once *sigqibe nje ngawe siza kunika ke into oyifunayo i-Music career.*” *Ndakhula ndisazi ukuba ndifuna ukwenza i-music ndi-major-ishe nge-singing enye into ndandi-believe-a ggithi ukuba i-voice yam izakundenzela imali and ndiyithanda i-opera. Ndaphoxeka ggithi ndakubona ukuba izinto azihambi ngalandlela ndandi-plan-e ngayo. Ukwenza kwam u-standard 10 ndaye nda-apply-ela for i-Teacher’s Diploma e-Cape Teachers’ College kodwa xa kufuneka ndiyile ndiyokufunda kunyaka olandelayo, ndaqonda ukuba mandiyiye kwenye indawo ndiyokwenza i-music kuba i-passion yam yayikuyo. Ndandi soloko ndikholelwa entweni yokuba i-music was going to be my life; zange ndazi ukuba i-career ye-music izakuza kwelicala le ntwaso. Ndandicinga ukuba xa ndicinga ukuba ndiza kufumana imali yayizakuba yeye opera not intlombe.*

Myself: *Lunga ilizwi li-trained, phaya entlombeni kuyombelwa. Akufumani ngxaki ukuba ilizwi lakho malibe lelesiqaba?*

Lunga: *Hayi! Ungothuka kanti ngendlela endivuma ngayo. Kodwa ndandihlupheka since ilizwi lam li-trained, kwakufuneka ndibe-careful ngendlela endivuma ngayo entlombeni. Ndandiqinisekisa ukuba ndingakrasi ndisenzela ukuba ndinga-damage i-voice yam xa ndibuyela e-class-ini yam yomculo ngomVulo. Xa ucula i-opera ilizwi lakho kufuneka kufuneka libe-clear li-project-e. Xa umntu evuma entlombeni akakhathali nokuba ilizwi lakhe liphuma esifubeni, emqaleni, esiswini okanye emqolo as long 'ba liphuma. So kukho loo mohluko, xa uyi-opera singer kufuneka i-voice yakho uyi-control-e. Kukho i-technique ethile umntu ekufuneka ayisebenzise, eyaziwa ngumfundi ne-lecturer yakhe kuba i-voice zee-singers azifani, nee-method zee-lecturer azifani so zinikezela abantu i-technique ezahlukeneyo zokucula. So xa uvuma entlombeni akho technique oyisebenzisayo ufundiswa qha iingoma, i-technique uyakuzibonela ngokwakho.*

Umntu uyakwazi ukrasa liphel’ ilizwi kuhlabele omnye. Akhomntu uzakuthi hayi i-vocal cords zakhe zidiniwe okanye amanyange asafuna ibranti. Kuvele kuthiwe qha khamnike i-glass yamanzi asele, kusuke kujongwe komnye kuthiwe, hlabela bani. Ngelinye ixesha ayingomanyange afuna ibranti, qha ke ngokwasentshona there are certain parts in the throat that a singer uses when singing. Ngoku ke bona bangamagqirha abazazi ezi zinto kuba i-most yabo abafundanga. Noko umntu onje ngam, unawo umqondo ukuba umntu kufuneka abe-cautious xa ecula. Yonke le nto yenzeka phambi kokuba ndibe ngumkhwetha. Kodwa uyabona ngoku into eyenzekayo kukho umahluko omkhulu, ilizwi lam has improved ndiyacula ngoku. Ndiyabona ngoku noko ilizwi lam liya somewhere. Yazizi nangona ndandixelelwe ukuba ndiyathwasa ndandifuna kuqala intwaso yam ikhe ime de ndigqibe ukufunda. Njengokuba ndiyamkele nezinyanya zam zibona ukuba ndiyayithanda intwaso yam izinto are just falling into their rightful place on their own. Ngoku akho nento yokuba mandicinge ukuba Owu! where am I going to place my voice, what technique is for this or that? Ukuba ndandisayenza i-opera ndiyakholwa izinto bezokuhamba kakuhle. So okoko ndaba-serious nge-training yam yobugqirha, izinto ngoku zenzeka ngale ndlela befuneka zenzeke ngayo.

Myself: *Zange ubenangxaki yokuxhentsa ukuqala kwakho entlombeni?*

Lunga: *Ewe yho! ndandinayo kwaye ndisenayo ingxaki yokuxhentsa kodwa hayi kangako, I mean, zange kanye kanye ndifundiswa. Kodwa ke, qha into abandixelela yona yeyokuba mandiphakamise inyawo liye phezulu xa ndixhentsa. So, noko kukho i-improvement kwindlela endixhentsa ngayo ngoku.*

Myself: *Into endifuna ukuyazi zange abantu abamhlophe babenangxaki ngendlela ocula ngayo kuba bona besombela?*

Lunga: *Ndicinga ukuba babevuya kuba phakathi kwabo, banomntu okwaziyo uku-project-a i-voice ngamandla kunabanye. Yazi amanye amazwi amathwasa avela afe nje esithubeni. So ndingathi ndilizwi lingatshiyo okanye limke liphele. So indlela yam yokuvuma yayingeyo ngxaki kubo, I mean, noko ndandingaculi iingoma zentlombe in an operatic way. Babevuya, ngamanye amaxesha ukuba sihleli nje kunye namanye amathwasa ndivela nje ndize nengoma ndibaxelele ukuba kufuneka bayi-harmonise-e njani. Bendivele ndibaxelele ukuba ingoma ayisoze i-sound-e right ukuba bonke bavuma i-unison. Igqirha lethu nalo belivela livumelane nam lithi even izinyanya azinokonwaba xa ziva i-sound e-empty kwaye e-lousy olwahlobo. Yazi, engomeni ndifuna ukuva okwaku-blend-a kwalamazwi, nokuba umntu uvuma ngelizwi elisitshoto, as long 'ba ingoma harmonise-eka. Uvele uyive egazini ukuba hmm! It really sounds great. Ngamanye amaxesha uvela ubeshushu uzive ingathi ufumana amandla, awuyazi nokuba avela phi within a short space of time. Ngenxa yezinye iingoma uyakwazi nokuya kulaa moya uphezulu wezinyanya.*

Myself: *Sele uyinikiwe na ingoma yethongo?*

Lunga: *Uyabona izinyanya zam zasekhaya zimane ngokundinika zonke ezi ngoma. Uyabona kukhe kwakho ixesha endaba nengxaki negqirha lam uMamJwarha xa wayephethe umsebenzi wam wemvuma kufa. Kwaye kwafumaniseka ukuba izinyanya zam zange ziyamkele yonke imisebenzi owathi wandiphathela yona. Ngexesha lo msebenzi wam wemvuma kufa nje ngokuba ndandi-busy ndisihla ndisenyuka ndisebenza, kwabakho ingoma izinyanya zam ezaziyombela ezindlebeni zam ethi:*

Zinyanya zam

Nililela ntoni manyange

Nililela ntoni

Ukuqala kwayo ukuvunywa le ngoma ezindlebeni zam, zange ndiyazi ukuba ithetha ntoni. Mandithi kwakukho ingoma endandi yithanda kakhulu uMamJwarha acele abakhwethe bandombelele nanini na xa ndizakunqula ndibize izinyanya zam. Xa uMamJwarha wayendinika le ngoma wathi: "Mthiweyazi ndiyabona ukuba uyayithanda le ngoma, so yeyakho kwaye uzuhlale uyombela nanini na xa unqula izinyanya zakho. Le ngoma ihamba ngolu hlobo:

Ithemba ithemba alibulali ithemba alibulali

Xa abakhwetha babesombela le ngoma kwimvuma kufa yam, nda-stop-a phambi kokuba bagqibe ne-phrase yokuqala. Ndathi: "a-a ndombeleni –nilela ntoni manyange.

So bandimamela, nje ngokuba abantu babesombela uMamJwarha wayebucaphuka. Andisazi isizathu soko kodwa ndiyacinga ukuba izinto zakhe zamxelela isizathu sokunikwa le ngoma. Yayingoma ke yokuqala endayinikwa zizinyanya zam kuba zazisazi ukuba izinto zikwenziwa wrong-o ngabom nguMamJwarha. Ndiya-believe-a ukuba izinyanya zamzambona uMamJwarha ukuba ayingomntu u-right for mna. Emva komsebenzi wam wandibizwa ngabanye abantu ePretoria for i-job, well, izinto zange zindihambele kakuhle. Ndingathi, mhlawumbi ngungenxa yale meko endikuyo ngoku. So ngobunye ubusuku ndabanephupha nje eli-funny ndavela ndacinga ukuba andisoze ndithi kuMamJwarha andilawulele kuba angangayitsho inyani ngalo.

Myself: *Lalisithini iphupha lakho?*

Lunga:

“Ndaphupha ingathi ndivalelwe ehokweni yeenkukhu and ndityiwa ngamangolwane. Ingathi ndandinxibe ezi jezi zinkulu kuthiwa ngoo waxa kwaye la mangolwane ayephumela kuwo. Ijezi ndavela ndayivuthulula kodwa angawi tu qha into ayenzayo amane ngokutsibela apha ngaphakathi kum emzimbeni.”

Ndavela ndadideka ndaxhum' e-bed-ini. Ndazibuza: “Li phupha elinjani daan eli?” Ukubona kwam ezi zinto zitsiba-tsiba emzimbeni wam ndandingazazi ukuba ziintoni. Ndeva ilizwi lisithi: “Utyiwa ngamangolwane,” at the same time enye i-voice yathi: “Uzungalichazi iphupha lakho kuMamJwarha kuba akosozе akuxelele ukuba lithetha ntoni.” Yazi umzimba wam lo wonke yayingathi ugcwel' utak' iintlantsi ukuvuka kwam ndandisiva nyani ii-sharp pains. So ukubuya kwam ePretoria ndaya kooGaba, kwaba bantu badala babephatha imisebenzi yam e-family-ini, ndaba xelela ukuba ndifuna ukuya kubona “umntu”. Yonke ke le nto yenzeka emva kwemvuma kufa yam. Indawo yokuqala ukuxhelwa kwebhokhwe yam zange ikhale. So kwafuneka kuyokuthengwa enye ibhokhwe buphuthuphuthu. I mean, inqabile into yokuba ibhokhwe ingakhali, uyabona yayithetha loo nto ukuba kwakukho nje into ekrokrelekayo ngayo yonk' into. Yazi ndayiva le ngoma ithi “nilela ntoni manyange” phambi kokuba umsebenzi wokuwisa ibhokhwe uqalise. Yayi yi-warning ukuba nyani ukuba kwakhuko into nyani ezakwenzeka. Can you imagine ukuba ndaa-struggle-isha kanjani ukufumane enye ibhokhwe? Kwafuneka ndiyokufuna imali komnye umlunkazi ohlala e-Rhini.

Myself: *Yintoni ekudibanisayo naye?*

Lunga: *Ndandike ndasi-student e-Rhodes University, wayendithanda. Anyway waye wandinika ke imali.*

Myself: *Nawubuyisela umva na umsebenzi?*

Lunga: *Oko kuqala mandithi, ooGaba zange bafune ukuyi-postpone-a. Nje ukuba umntu abeke umhla wokwenza umsebenzi, kuyanzeleka ukuba umntu awenze ke ngaloo mhla awubekileyo. Nje ukuba umntu angawuhoyi ulandelwa ngamashwa gqithi.*

Myself: *Yakhala ibhokhwe yesibini?*

Lunga: *Yima kuqala, ibhokhwe yesibini eyathengwayo yayifana nje netakane, sasiyifuna ke at least sizokubona ukuba umoya uyangaphi na. Yakhala kodwa neesosikhalo sasicekeceke isikhalo esikrokrisayo.*

Myself: *Wenza ntoni ngala bhokhwe yokuqala?*

Lunga: *Saphela sinikisa ngayo ebantwini yatiyiwa nje ke ngokusesikweni. Sasikhona isizathu sokuba laa bhokhwe ingakhali, umsila wayo wawu-brown and kwakufuneka ubemhlophe wonke. Kwabakho umhlekezi owaphakama nethongo: "Wabona umntu ethatha umsila webhokhwe yam owawubekwe ngasentla kwentloko yam nezinye izinto zomsebenzi." Laa msila wathathwa kuba izinyanya zam zazifuna ibhokhwe emhlophe engenabala noboya obabuzo kuxhithwa kuwo umsila kwakufuneka bubemhlophe. Obuboya babuzo kuthungelwa kwiintsimbi zam zentloko ukubonisa ukuba yenziwe imvuma kufa. Umalume wam wacebisa ukuba mandiyi kwelinye igqirha aweyelazi eTinarha, isiduko sakhe yayinguMaMvulane. Ndamchazela ngelaa phupha ndandinalo ePretoria. Wathi kum: "A-a iphupha lakho likuxelela ngeli gqirha uphantsi kwalo (uMamJwarha). Indawo yakho apho u-train-elwa khona ayikho-right kwaye yindawo izakuthintela ekubeni ukuba mawugqibe ukuthwasa.*

Kangangokuba nalo mntu uphantsi kwakhe ayilo gqirha ligqibileyo, use ngumkhwetha ngokuya kwezinyanya zakho. Izinyanya zakho zinamdla angumangaliso kune zakhe, yile nto basambona nje ngokhwetha. Ndathi kuMaMvulane: "Kodwa mama ndibone ii-photo zakhe enxibe iimpahla zasesigqirheni nto ke leyo ekhombisa ukuba waa goduswa. Yiloo nto ndicinga ukuba uligqirha eligqibileyo." U-MaMvulane waphendula wathi: "Ingaba njalo loo nto kodwa ngokuya kwezinyanya zakho "ukugoduswa" akuthethi ukuba umntu uvela abesaba ligqirha eligqibileyo. Ndithi kuwe izinyanya zakho zi-powerful gqithi kune zakhe, ithethe ukuba uyamoyisa." Ndaye ndafuna ke uncedo wathi: "Andizo kucebisa oku okanye okuya kukuwe kodwa ndingakuxelela nje izinto ezimbini. Okokuqala, kuxhomekeke kuwe ukuba uyafuna okanye akufuni ukuya kuhlala kwakhe, uqhubekeke nge-training yakho ubelithwasa eli-confused alingasoze likwazi ukuchaza "iindwendwe" abantu abazekuvumisa for ubomi bakho bonke. Okwesibini kuxhomekeke kuwe ukuba mawumshiye uzufumanele "umntu" ozakunika i-training e-right izinyanya zakho ezifuna ukuba mawuyifumane. Kwakhona uneentlanga ezimdaka ekwa kufuneka zisisuwe phambi kokuba ungene ekuthwaseni. Xa ungazisusi iintlanga ufumana amashwa la wonke kuba uphila kwicala lobumnyama. Loo nto kwakho ithethe ukuba awusoze ube nemibono evela kwizinyanya."

Ngelixesha ethetha ndacinga ukuba ndizakumshiya kanene uMamJwarha ndithathe uMaMvulane. Ndabe sendibuza uMaMvulane ukuba ndokumxelela na uMamJwarha ukuba ndizakumshiya. Waphendula: "Ukuba uligqirha lokonyani umoya wakhe uyakuthetha naye." Ndasuke ndavela ke ndahlala ekhaya ndayiyeka loo-training yakhe just like that. So okoko ndemka kuye zange ndiphinde ndimbone ukuzokutsho ngoku. Qha into awayenzayo yaba kukundifowunela wathi ndiyi-rubbish wathukisa ke nangezinye ezimbi endinga zukuzibiza. Wathi mna ndanyelisa igama lakhe ndihambe ndixelela abantu ukuba yena unempundulu.

Ndabanomnqa kuba zange ndihambe mna ndithetha kakubi ngaye. Emva kweezo-phone calls zakhe, ooGaba baya endlini yakhe for izizathu ezaziwa ngabo. Babuya bandixelela ukuba ukufika kwabo wabuza: "Hee! Unyana wam uphi ndine-worry kuba uyiyekile i-training yakhe." Bamphendula: "Hayi kaloku mama wawusikhululele wathi ukuba sinengxaki ngala msebenzi wemvuma kufa singaya emntwini ukuba siyafuna. Into eyenzakayo ke yaba yile, unyana samsa emntwini kwaye ke wathatha izigqibo zakhe ukuba angakuboni kwakho kuba kukho izinto ase-busy azi-organise-ayo.

Myself: *Wawu mboniswe zizinyanya zakho uMamJwarha?*

Lunga: *Hayi, zange ndamthonga nokumthonga. Ndaya kuMamJwarha kuba ndandigula kakhulu kwaye yayingumntu owayesaziwa nje mnyangi o-good apha eBhayi. Zange ndamazi. Umntu owayesazi uMamJwarha wacebisa umama wam ukuba makandisekuye ukuyokuvumisa. Umama wam awaziamagqirha aseBhayi kuba sasifudula singaba seRhini sazokuhlala eBhayi.*

Myself: *Njengokuba izinyanya zakho zazingaxolanga ngula msebenzi wemvuma kufa, nani nine sikrokro kwisikhalo sala bhokhwe yesibini, zange uMaMvulane acinge ukuwuphinda loo misebenzi na?*

Lunga: *Apho ndikhoyo ngoku ndaxelelwa ukuba ndiqale yonke into ekuqaleni kuba yonke imisebenzi uMamJwarha awendiphathele yona yayingavumanga. Umsebenzi uMaMvulane owandenzela wona kuqala yayi ngowokuphuthuma izihlewele emzini omkhulu. Kule weekend izayo izakuba ngumsebenzi womsezo manzi kuba ekhaya sisenatyala lomsebenzi omkhulu "wenkomo emdaka" engazange yawiswa, ngoku izinyanya zam ziyifuna kum. U-MaMvulane naye umane ngokufumana ithongo azibona kulo e-cover-ishwe ngamaza olwandle. Ulwandle ke luthetha izihlewele zakwaGaba kwaye bayakhala. Uzaku yakungxengxeza kwizinyanya ibhokhwe nayo izakuxhelwa (umsezo manzi wenzelwa loo nto) ngeloo xesha andinamali for "inkomo emdaka" yokuba mandiqhubeka nge-training ngaphandle kwezithintelo. "Inkomo emdaka" ifuneka kuba kufuneka kuhlalulwe onke "amatyala" esinawo ekhaya. Xa umsebenzi "wenkomo emdaka" wenziwe, ndakuphinda ndiwenze umsebenzi wemvuma kufa. Anyway xa ndandiqala ukuba phantsi koMaMvulane ndenzelwa intlombe that is why ubona ezintsimbi zisentlokweni yam, zibizwa ukubasisi phuthumo. Emva komsebenzi woku phuthuma izihlewele ndanikwa le ngoma:*

Iviwe le ngxaki yam, iyandombelela o! le ngxaki yam iya ndombelela.

Intsingiselo yengoma: U-MaMvulane wandixelela ukuba ingoma yam yethongo yayinqinisisa ukuba umsebenzi wam wenziwe ngendlela efanelekileyo, ngale ndlela izinyanya zam bezifuna ukuba zenziwe ngawo. Basiva nabo isikhalo nesicelo sam.

Ngobunye ubusuku ndaba nethongo ingathi ndandise ntlombeni ndombela le ngoma:

Ngulo ngulo

Yiyo le lengulo

ngulo ngulo

Yiyo le lengulo sayiphiwa ngabalele

Ingulo apha kule meko ithetha "ubizo" oluvela kwizinyanya zomntu ukwenzela ukuba umntu abeligqirha. "Olubizo" yinto edluliselwe kumnombo womntu. Ukuba kwakuthe kanti kukho igqirha kuloo-family yomntu then izinyanya zizokonyula umntu athatha apho ashiyelwe khona zizinyanya zakhe. So into endiyithethayo yile, ukuba izinyanya zam zithi: "Mthiweyeza sifuna ukuba mawombele le ngoma." Xa banika umntu ingoma abakuniki-choice ixabiso la leyokuqala liyafana nje neli lesibini. Uyakuma emzimbeni wakho ukuba izinyanya zakho ziyayivuyela. Yiloo nto ingoma yomntu kufuneka ivunywe ngamandla nomaya omkhulu kuba, nje ngoba umntu esombela umntu usondeza ubukho kwakho bezinyanya zakhe ukwenzela zizokuba yinxalenye yomsebenzi. Igazi lam liyandixelela xa izinyanya zam zonwabile xa ingoma yam yethongo yombelwe ngendlela abafune ngayo. Ihlombe lam liyaphakama, ngwundibone izolo, bekukho intlombe pha kwelagqirha lam uMaMvulane eTinarha kwaye ibishushu.

Myself: *Phakathi kwee ngoma zasentshona ozifundeloyo, kukho nezentlombe zeziphi ezisenyongweni?*

Lunga: *Yazi, ngamanye amaxesha xa ndisekhaya ndivela ndiphole nje kamnandi ndimamele i-classical music. Uyabona ndiyayithanda i-opera ngoku ngaphezu kuna ngaphambili. Ngamanye amaxesha ndimamela i-classical music ubusuku bonke nase mini xa ndisebenza ekhaya ndiyayimamela. Ndide ndilibale ngamanye amaxesha nokumamela ezinye ii-radio station ukuba andilibali ivele ibe yi-radio metro endi yimamelayo. Kodwa ke ixesha elinzi ingqondo iba kwi-classical music.*

Myself: *Izimvo zakho zindinika umdla kuba uninzi lwabantu abamhlophe endikhe ndaphanda kubo, bandixelela i-radio iphazamisa imikhulungu. Ndiyaqala ukuva umguli onganangxaki yokumamela i-radio.*

Lunga: *Ndivumelana nawe ngokupheleleyo ngaloo nto, kukho "abantu abamhlophe" abangakwaziyo ukumamela i-radio. Kukho enye intombi esukunye nayo pha esiphehlweni sikaMaMvulane ongazange amamele tu i-radio. Kancinci kancinci uqale ukutshintsha wabonisa umdla, and ndiyaqonda ukuba yi-influence yam. Uyabona, mandikuxelele kutheni bengenamdla wokumamela ii-radio bakhule be-exposed kwi-life style yeentlombe. Kwi-case yam i-music iyinto yonke yiyo lento ndaya kuyifundela. Ndadi-exposed kwezinyenye iindidi ze-music like umculo wecawa, iingoma zokwaluka, amagwijo, "iingoma zemisebenzi", ezee kwayara, i-jazz i-classical ne-popular music phambi kokuba ndibe ndazee ixabiso neentsingiselo zeengoma zasentlombeni. Ukuntlomba kwam does not necessarily mean into endiyifundeloyo izakuvela nje ithi shwaka just because ndiye nda-surprise-wa yingulo yam yesiXhosa. Ingulo yesiXhosa ifana nqwa nemithi etsaliswe emanzini abilileyo -yi-opera ke leyo- according to i-terms zam iziphumo zayo ingaba liyeza eli-good gqithi for mna nesizwe. Xa ndisentlombeni, ndenza lento elindekileyo ukuba mandiyenze zizinyanya zam kwanegqirha lam.*

Ndiyayimamela i-opera yam ndicule ii-classical pieces zam xa ndifuna, andifumani i-punishment okanye i-vibes ezi-bad kwizinyanya zam. Ndiwugcine wonke umsebenzi wam wase-College-ini kwaye ndisoloko ndicinga nge-College neezi-students ebendicula nazo, nendlela abaqhubele ngayo kakuhle phambili. Ukubona kwam esinye i-student sricula kwi-CNN ndathi: Yes! Ukuba ibingeyiyo le nto yam yokuthwasa ngendivela nam ngoku ezi-TV-ini. Anyway ziingcinga nje ezi kuba ndanike ndanomnqweno of being a great musician, do you understand what I mean?

Myself: Ngokubona kwam ndikholelwa ukuba lithamsanqa eli lokuba ube kwilizwe lentlombe nele opera zange, abantu bazakuvuna ulwazi olukhulu kuwe. UThixo nezinyanya zakowenu banenjongo enkulu ngawe, ngoko bambelela ethembeni izinto zakho zizakulungela ngoku khawuleza.

Lunga: Uyabona xa ukule position ndikuyo akukho easy tu uku-plan-ela i-future kuba ubom bam bu-control-wa nguThixo nezinyanya zam kwaye I am no longer leading an ordinary life style. Seke waba kwi-situation apho ungaboni light tu at the end of the tunnel. Yonke into nje ivela ime ngxixi. Uvele uzifumane ukweyona ngxaki apho ungekhe ufumane nekroba ngeloxesha likhona kodwa kufuneka u-deal-ishane ngale ukuyo iku jongileyo. Enye into amathongo am andinika ithemba, ndivela ndizixelele ndithi: Eyil Mthiweyeza ungalahl' ithemba ngenye imini ithongo lakho liza kuzaliseka. U-MaMvulane naye undinika inkxaso, nethemba athi: Yomelela ungazikhazi, usafunwa apha kwesisiphehlo zinyanya zakho, as soon ugqiba, bazakunika yonke into oyifunayo, uzabuyela esikolweni uyokugqiba i-degree yakho yomculo. Into inye omaze uyikhumbule, unegazi elimhlophe elikwenza ukuba wahluke kwabanye abantu. So ke koobakho izinto nje ozakavela ube-allergic kuzo, abanye abantu nje abange ngomathwasa abanga zokuziqonda. Into endiyitshoyo, uzunyamezele ujonge phambili Mthiweyeza."

Myself: Uyibona njani into yokubhala iingoma zamagqirha ngamagqudu noo-doh nje ngomntu obengumfundi womculo?

Lunga: Mamela kaloku ngenye imini sasi-drive-a back sisuka eGwiligwili ilala engapha emaXhoseni sisiya eTinarha emotweni kukho le-gang-e ndithwasa nayo eyayi-tense gqithi. Ndavela nje ndacinga ngendlela yokubenza ba-relax-e. Yho! Indaba yentlombe. Elinye ithwasa labuza: "Iyawa yintoni Mthiweyeza?" Ndavela ndathi: "Hayi kukho nje into endicinga ngayo (kukho isikolo ke pha eTinarha ekuthiwa yiMolloy Blackburn e-offer-isha i-music njenge-subject). Ndathi kubo: (uLunga watsho esenza umzekelo evuma ingoma yamagqirha kodwa ngohlobo lwe-opera) Uyazi apha, asizilungiseleli ezi ngoma zentlombe sibumbe amazwi xa sombelayo, siyawalahla nje nakanjani. Ukuba niyaqaphela phaya e-Molloy Blackburn bayawabumba amazwi bawatsho angcangcazele. Ndathi: Niyabona kwenzeka ntoni xa umntu efundile? Wenza izinto ngendlela, ngoku ezi ngulo zenu zenza ukuba masilibale i-life yethu yase sikolweni. Bavela bonke bathu qhuzu ngentsiki kuba babeqala noko ukuyiva leya into yokuvuma ingoma yentlombe ngolwa hlobo. Anyway bandibuyele kumbuzo wakho. Ndiyacinga ukuba kungaba right ukuba iingoma zamagqirha zingabhalwa nge-musical notes kodwa not for amagqirha kuba iingoma zabo ziqhutywa ngumoya. Ingalunga ukuba zi nokubhalelwa izikolo nangona umntu kuza kufeneka azi-re-arrange ukwenzela zizo kuculwa ngokwesikwayara.

Ndiyibona kwakho iyinto e-right na for i-researchers ukuba zibhale i-musical notation ukwenza umzekelo wengoma nganye aazokuthetha ngayo ivakali njani. Umntu angayenza ke loo nto xa kucaca ukuba u-press-ekile. Otherwise into endiyicingayo yile, enyanini ukuba umntu ufuna ukuva ukuba ingoma ivakala njani na isandi sayo, umntu makaye entlombeni nje ukuba athathe inxaxheba uyakwazi ukuba ingoma leyo ivunywa njani. I cannot imagine ingoma yethongo ye gqirha okanye yomkhwetha ibhalwa nge-musical notes. Ayiqhelekanga kum. Yazi abanye abantu basabambe amasiko nezithethe zakudala ngeento zabo zenkcubeko nenkolo. Bavela bazikhusele ukugqitha [izinto zabo] abanakuyibona kakuhle into yokuba iingoma zamathongo mazibhalwe ngee-musical notes, bakuyibona loo nto nje nkcitha xesha kwelinye icala iza kukhangeleka ingathi izinyanya ziyadelelwa.

Myself: Lunga, *inkcubeko itshintsha namaxesha, amagqirha akhoyo ngoku ahlukile kunaweminyaka eyadlulayo, neengoma ngokunjalo zixubile, nezecawa. Ngoku ke awucingi into yokuba inga yenye indlela esingagcina ngayo inkcubeko yethu xa zinokubhalwa ezingoma?*

Lunga: *Abantu abanga-preserve-a le nkcubeko ngabaphakathi kuyo. Ifana nale yokuba umntu "abizwe" umntu avele ayibaleke. I mean umntu yingulo yakowabo kutheni ke eyibaleka. Masithi, ngosuku olulandelayo umntu makafe, uyayibona loo nto ukuba uzakwenzela isizukwalana esizayo nzima. Xa umntu ebhubhile intwaso ayifi nayo ivela ithi gqi apha kwenye ye-family members. Ngalamatyala bendisand' uluku thetha ngawo ke lawo kuwe; at the end of the day kufuneka kubekho iinkomo ezimdaka for "ukuhlamba lamatyala" enziwa ngulaa mntu wawabalekayo. So abantu ekufuneka be-boost-e inkcubeko yethu ngabantu abafana nathi, uyabona? Njenga kulaa-point ukuba i-music kufuneka ibhaliwe ngee-musical notes, mandithathe umzekelo kule music ye-opera bendiyenza kwane zingoma zentlombe, ndiyayithanda le nto ngolu hlobo ilulo kuba a minute nditshintsha iingoma zentlombe ndizenze from an operatic point of view, ayisoze i-sound-e tu. Iyakuba ngathi ndityhalela yonke into kwi-western culture. Then kufuneka ndiyi-treat-e ngokwa hlukeyo, abantu kufuneka bandazi ukuba ndiyathwasa yindlela ke leyo endiza kuyi-boost-a ngayo i-culture yam ithethe loo nto ukuba nanini intlombe ibakhona ndizakuya ndiyokombela pha. I mean yindlela endiyibona ngayo kwaye phofu maninzi namathwasa ezikolweni.*

Myself: *Emaninzi enjalo, basebumnyameni. Uninzi lwabantu lungena kule practice lungazi into elizakudibana nayo. Abanye bathwasiswa phantsi kwempundulu abanye bayavalwa. Awucingi kubalulekile ukuba zonke ezi zinto maziveliswe ukuba, kukho amagqwirha-gqirha.*

Lunga: *Utsho kanye apho kuba ndandinayo nam ingxaki yokuphehlelelwa entwasweni ngumntu oli gqirha-gqwirhwa. Incwadi ezintsha kuyafuneka ukuba zibhalwe ngenkqubo yasesigqirheni nje ngokuba ubusowutshile wathi inkcubeko ayimanga ndawin' inye. Kukho izinto zangaphandle ezenzeka ebugqirheni ekufanele abantu basekuhlaleni baziswe ngazo. Eny' into abantu balambile so ke amamenemene abona ithuba ebugqirheni lokwenza imali. Kwakhona ukuba kungabakho incwadi ezinjalo kwixesha elizayo zingabal' uncedo kakhulu kwii-institutions eza hlukeneyo ukwenzela ukuba zazi lukhulu ngokwenzekayo "kwilizwe" lamagqirha.*

Izakufundisa ii-educators nee-employers ukuba kukho amaxesha ukuba izinto zihambe wrong-o esikolweni okanye emsebenzini ngenxa yentwaso. Ndiyacinga ukuba kwimeko zabantu abangena entwasweni umntu engazi ulindele ntoni, yenye yee-plan zezinyanya ukwenzela ukunika ithwasa amava nomkhokeli wakhe. Ukuba izihlwele zakho zinamandla, uyokwazi kwa kamsinya igazi lakho liya kukuxelela okanye uyakuba nemibono kwaye uyakuthonga. Yindlela izinyanya ezizakukutyhilela ngayo. Nje ukuba babone ukuba umntana wethu uyatshona, bambonisa elinye igqirha.

Myself: *Awucingi into yokuba iingoma zamagqirha kufenaka ziveliswe ngenkani ezikolweni kuba nangoku abantu xa bethetha bathi: "Asilalanga yongxolo yala magqirha phezolo?"*

Lunga: *Into endiyibonayo yeyokuba abantu kufuneka babe-informed kwaye be-guide-iwe ukuba akukho nto e-wrong-o ngokuba ligqirha nanje ngezingoma ubuthetha ngazo, akukho nto i-wrong-o ngazo. Kodwa bakhona abantu abazicaphukela nyani izinto zeentlombe kuba ngamanye amaxesha ufumana aba bantu bavelisa i-impression e-wrong-o kubahlali yokuba bona bangamagqirha kodwa bengengawo. Ndiqinisekile yiyo loo nto yenza abantu babenomtsindo bawacaphukele amagqirha. Nendlela laa mama (uMamJwarha) wenza izinto ezimbi kum only to find out uligqirha gqwirha so uyazibona ke izinto ezinjalo. Otherwise ilungile into yokuba iingoma zeentlombe kufuneka ziveliswe kwaye kushunyalwe ngazo.*

Myself: *Lunga nakum xa ndingaphandle ndingekangeni entlombeni ndiva amagqirha engxola kodwa nje ukuba ndingene ndiva enye into enamanye amandla kwaye ziyaphilisa.*

Lunga: *Injalo kanye, ndiyavumelana nawe kodwa kukhonje abantu abaneenkani. Njengokuba uvele ubonise umntu ukuba into mayenziwe ngoluhlobo for isizathu esithile, umntu ozavela aphenyule athi: "Hamba okanye that is bull." Kodwa kwelinye icala, yinyani into yokuba abantu kufuneka baziswe ngakumbi ngeengoma zamagqirha. Ndiyacinga ukuba even nabanye abantu abathanda umculo bangayibona imfuneko for le nto -abantu abafana nam nje ukuba bazibone ezingoma zibhalwe ngee-musical notation, ngokuqinesekleyo bangaba nomdla. For umntu okhule ethanda iingoma, kodwa akaya esikolweni (for umculo), iingoma zamagqirha zakumnika umdla. Otherwise kukho ii-African Traditional Groups njenga-AmaMpondo abe-promote-a iingoma ezi nje ngezi kwii-CD's zabo. Umzekelo, ukuba ndingayi-raise-a le-point kwi-Minister of Arts and Culture uyakuba nomdla gqithi, akasoze athi ndi-wrong-o kuba I fall phantsi kwe-Arts and Culture. Ndiyakube ndi-promote-a ezinye iingoma zakwantu ezi sajongelwe njengee ngoma eziphantsi ngabanye abantu. Kodwa kukho abantu abandindisholo, abafake ii-blinkers.*

Myself: *Zikuthabatha ngoluphi uhlobo iingoma zasentlombeni?*

Lunga: *Ndiba-emotional kwezinye iingoma and kwezinye ndivele ndizive ndi-down. Uyazi ukuba iingoma zasentlombeni zingaliphakamisa izingalakho lomoya, ebelikwi-zero level. Eyi! I wish ubupha kula ntlombe besinayo phezolo.*

Kukho izinto ongenakwazi nje ukuzicacisa uyabona you just wish abe ebephaya aze kuzibonela kuba kukho nje zinto ezithile umntu angena kukwazi ukuzicacisa kuba zenzeka ngelaa xesha umboneli ephaya, yanzeka ngesiquphe. Kodwa ke, inye into endingakuxela yona. Zikhona iingoma ezithi xa zisombelwa zitsho kamnandi, kwaye ngenxa yoko uziva unqwenela ingathi zingombelwa zingayekwa, kodwa ke aba bantu abafumani mandla abo kwi-petrol. Abazomoto, neemoto ziza ku-stop xa ziphelelwe yi-petrol. Enye into abantu kufena bavelele nomntu obetha igubu.

Myself: *Igubu nalo liyakuthabatha njengee ngoma?*

Lunga: Ndiyakuxelela, yazi pha kwaMaMvulane bamane ngokuthi okoko uMthiweyeza edlala igubu. Ndakuva uMaMvulane esithi: "Eyi! Mthiweyeza, usikhumbuza ooNcilashe." Even nasemva kweentlombe u-sister wakhe okwa ngumkhwetha ebethetha ngam esithi: "Heyi! U-Mthiweyeza indlela alibetha ngalo igubu, andiyazi ukuba kwenzaka ntoni ngaye of late. Indlela alibetha ngalo ela gubu ivakala ingathi ngooNcilashe aba balibethayo." Indlela endilidlala ngalo yindlela bona ababefundiswe ngayo (batsho njalo ngokuya babe sebancinci). Ukuba igubu libethwa ngale ndlela ndilibetha ngalo abantu bayokuzifumana bese-gear-ini e-right kwaye bayakuzifumanisa ukuba bangena phakathi kuwo umombelo nentlombe. Kukho izinto nje ezivela zenzeke and ngelinye ixesha uvela ucinge ngoban' bani ongavela ahlabele; hlawumbi loo ngomasobe ifuna umntu onelizwi loo mntu analo. Uyakufumanisa ngoko ukuba huu! Laa ngoma iyandiphilisa, iyandiphilisa.

Myself: *Ukhe uhlabele entlombeni?*

Lunga: Ewe yho! Izolo oku, yila nto bendisithi kuwe, ingathi kwabe ubupha uyabona kukho amaxesha apho umoya ukuthuma khona uthi: "Khawuhlabele!" Into enjalo iyenzeka.

Myself: *Lunga, uyakhumbula ngenye imini ndidibana nawe e-Music College ufake umngqa entanyeni. Wandixelela ukuba wayokwenza umsebenzi ekhaya, kwaye nemali yokuthenga ibhokhwe uyisokole ukuba yayingeyo le production ngowungaza waqala ukuwenza?*

Lunga: Kunga laa mini uPatrick waye-record amazwi ethu; phofu ke kwakusemva kwala-perfomance, xa ndandimamele i-voice yam. Ndathi: "Kanti ilizwi belivakala ngoluhlobo, so ndavela ndakhumbula yonke into; ndavela ndano mfanekiso kaban'bani e-react-a ngoluhlobo Okay! No wonder! Why so and so was like this, nomnye ebenjeya, nomnye umlungu ebenjena. Ngela xesha besi-involved in a particular task umntu othile wenze oku kum and ebekunye nenye i-performer uye wa-react-a nje ngohlobo olwa hlukileyo. Zonke ezi-reactions zaza nje ngesityhilelo." Ndavela ndasela ibhotile ye-wine yonke uyabona kuba ndandi-frustrated. Ndandicinga nje ukuba: "Is this kind of rubbish ebendiyiculela abantu meanwhile aba bantu bandi-guide-ayo abandixeleli ukuba Lunga kukho ingxaki ngelizwi lakho.

Myself: *Hlawumbi babengafuni ukuwisa umxhelo wakho, awuboni njalo?*

Lunga: *Ndambuza: "Mrs Stern kutheni ungandixeleli ukuba ndinengxaki enje?" Waphendula: "Hayi Lunga, besinethemba ukuba ilizwi lakho lakulunga. Kwaye enye into, ndava ukuba mandibe-patient for ixeshana, hlawumbi at the end of the day ilizwi lakho lizakuthatha i-direction esifuna ukuba liyithathe. Ilizwi is not that difficult to train, compared with other voices I had to train. Une-natural tenor, kukho nje izinto ezimbalwa ezifuna ukujongwa.*

Myself: *Wazazi emva kwala-production ukuba uyathwasa?*

Lunga: *Hayi, ndayazi phambi kwe-opera production qha kodwa ndandi ne-problem. Ndandifuna imali yokuthenga ibhokhwe and indlela yoku yifumana was to part of that opera production. Ekhaya babengenamali yoku ndithengela ibhokhwe. Umama wam uyasokolo [ngokwa semalini], akasebenzi. Emva kokuba ndabhatalwa ndayithumela ekhaya la maliukuba bandithengele ibhokhwe. Bandibuza ukuba ndayifumana njani imali, ndabaxelela ukuba ndayifumana kwi-opera performance endandithathe inxaxheba kuyo. Kodwa kwabasemva kweveki so ukuba mandiyive.*

Myself: *Yayixhelwa ngubani laa bhokhwe yakho ingazange ikhale?*

Lunga: *Yaxhelwa ngumalume wam.*

Myself: *Kudla ngokuthiwa abantu bathabatha iintonga kwangoko kuyiwe egqirheni xa ingakhalanga.*

Lunga: *Yinto ke leyo endayixelela ooGaba ukuba mabayenze. Even naye uMamJwarha wathi: "Ukuba niyathandabuza, zenihambe niye egqirheni." Uyabona into endingayithandiyo yi-delay. Ukuba ndifuna ukwenza into andifuni enye into eza kuma endleleni yam. Ndifuna ukuqhubekeka ngayo. Ndiyukucaphukela ukumane ngokumisa izinto amangomso asezihogweni. Oogaba babemane ngokuthi: Okay! Alright! Cihoshe sizakuba ne-meeting. Ndayivumela loo nto kuba ndandi sePretoria ndinethemba lokuba ndizakuthi ndibuya khona, bazakube beyenze yonke into. Ukubuya kwam ePretoria ndabuza umama wam ngomcimbi, wandixelela ukuba akukabikho yenziweyo. Ndathi kuye: "Uyabona ngoku ndizakuziyela emntwini, ndizakuba nguLunga ndibe nguGaba." Ndayenza loonto nomama wam, ohleli endi-support-a ekunye nomalume wam eTinarha. Okoko ndiphantsi koMaMvulane izinto zindihambela kakuhle. Emva kokuba wandivumisela ndaziva ndikhululekile ifana njenga xa ubeke isigaqa esikhulu somkhenkce kwindawo eshushu sinyanyibilika. Yindlela endava ngayo kwathi xibilili emagxeni am, yonke into nje yazingenela endaweni yayo, negazi lam laqala ukuhamba ngoku khululekileyo. Loo nto ithetha ukuthi andizoku-complain-a ngezinto ezincinci. Yonke indlela ineengxaki zayo, into engamandla yile, ndiyawubona umoya uyangaphi.*

Myself: I wish you all the best, *ndikunqwenelela impumelelo kumsebenzi wakho, namathamsanqa nendlela ezimhlophe, uzifumane zonke iintsikelelo.*

Lunga: *Yho! Camagu mhlekazi wam!*