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The realm of the supernatural among the South-Eastern Bantu: a study of the practical working of religions and magic

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subsequently had two children, both of which died after a few days.[1] A cause of frequent miscarriages, a case not strictly in point, is where a dead man's spirits affects his widow. Then she must leave her new husband unless she inyanga can, as will be seen later, lay the itongo.[2] The Zulu, then, resort to magic to help a woman in these circumstances: the same is true of the Xosa, where such a woman is accused by the igqira (diviner) of secretly harbouring dreams about Tikoloshe (the water sprite) or U-Mpundulu (the lightning bird). She must publicly confess her dreams; to compel her to do this the doctor (according to Soga here it is the diviner) gives her a medicinal wash and rubs powdered medicines into incisions on her body.[3] Here the cause is the dreaming of the mysterious beings; confession of the dreams is induced by magical means. Probably if the woman believes she has had these dreams, the confession acts as a sort of emotional catharsis of her fears and doubts and despair. But Macdonald has been cited above as stating that on these occasions the ancestors are specially invoked with extra sacrifices.

I have devoted a fair amount of space to the rite de passage of Thonga birth ceremonies, and therefore need do no more than indicate it among the other tribes. In the Nongoma District, Northern Zululand, the woman strives on the onset of the pains of labour. No man may be present, and the woman stays in the hut where she is delivered till the umbilical cord comes off.[4] During this period nobody must /

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1. Callaway, "Religious Systems," op cit, pp.348. Seq. This cure is analysed in the discussion of possession, supra.

2. Ibid, p.180. (3) Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op cit, pp. 297-8.

4. The cutting of the umbilical cord is of great significance, for "Native women declare they can instinctively detect blood-relationship by naval sensations." (Bryant, Dict. op cit, "i-Mbilati", p.187.)

must see the mother. She rises early in the morning, covers herself with a blanket, and goes to wash in the river. When the fluxes of blood stop, she smears her hut and resumes her household duties. The husband is not allowed to approach his wife or hold the baby in his arms for two or three months. He cannot sleep with him wife all this time, and if he does before the child is weaned "nothing happened". The mother must not drink milk for a month after the birth or, according to another informant, till the child can walk.[1.]

Other information on the Zulu shows this to be a marginal period for the mother. The woman must sit in a hut till the navel-string has fallen from the child,[2.] and anyone breaking in on the seclusion must make her a small present.[3.] Certain people, such as the father, and boys and girls at puberty, are not allowed in, says Kidd, and after the first until the seventh day the mother's fellow-wives. Other women must scrape their feet in the fire of herbs outside the hut to remove all evil influences they may have picked up on the journey there,[4.] and visitors all perform, of course, the ukulumula rite described before. According to Walk, after the isolation is over the hut is cleaned with dung and "intelezi" medicines.[5.] For a month the mother must abstain from amasi and wear special garments.[6.] She must not conceive again till the child has been weaned or it will be stupid,[7.] and when weaning takes place a goat is /

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1. Griffiths, MSS. cita. (2) Bryant, Dict. op cit, "Fukama", p.154.

3. Ibid, "Qokelela", p.533(4) Kidd, "Savage Childhood", op cit, p.16.

5. Walk, "Die Ersten Lebensjahre des Kindes in Südafrika", (Anthropos. Vol. 33. Nos. 1 & 2) pp.52-53.

6. Bryant, Dict. op cit, (7) Ibid, "ukuNyemfuka", p.468. "umkanda", p.294.

is slaughtered for the purification of mother and child.[1] After the birth of her first child a woman ceases to be umakoti (bride) and becomes umfazi (wife).[2]

Childbirth is also a marginal period among the Transkeian tribes; thus Kropf notes, as quoted above, that the infant is impure with ibashe, and sums up the isihlambezo treatment as "a purifying and consecrating process."[3] After the birth the Pondo woman is in a serious state of umlazi.[4] She may not drink milk, and no man will enter her hut till ten days after the birth.[5] According to Brownlee (Galla), this period used to be a month and all the vessels used by the woman had to be destroyed.[6] Macdonald also gives the period of seclusion as a month, during which time the father must not see his wife. According to Macdonald, if this were not observed the woman would suffer (the only statement of this kind) as her fertility would cease.[7] Among the Bomvana, men are excluded from the hut, and all articles are removed from it. The mother is in a state of taboo till a beast (igabi imbola, "paint with ochre") is killed for her, and during that time she may not paint herself with ochre. She is given the milk of special cattle in a separate bucket. After this period is over the hut is smeared to cleanse it; the woman must not conceive till the child is weaned, which happens two-and-a-half years later.[8] The Xosa woman washes for ten days after the birth, then the hut is

smeared /

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1. R.C. Samuelson, op cit.

2. Walk, pp cit, p.82. It is to be noted for future reference, that every mother invents a childhood song (isihlabelelo) for her child, which is sung during infancy, at first menstruation (if it is a girl) and at marriage. (Bryant, Dict. op cit, p.833.

3. op cit, p.147. (4) Hunter, MSS.

5. Macleans "Compendium of Kafir Law and Custom" (1858) p.125

6. Op cit, Vol. 19. pp.366-7. (7) Cook, op cit, pp.47 seq.

smeared with cowdung, and the mother is free to go abroad.[1]

The Zulu and Transkeian tribes do not have the rite de passage as clearly developed as the Thonga. The ceremonies are either inchoate or incompletely recorded. But the matrix of ideas is nevertheless there.

(c) Twins and other Abnormal Births.

The birth of twins is a more or less extraordinary phenomenon which may be received, as among the Herero or Bushongo, with great rejoicings as a sign of fertility, or with terror, as the manifestation of dread cosmic forces. It was in this latter spirit that one of Thonga twins was k[illed].[2] The bodies of twins should be buried in wet ground, lest the rain cease to fall; and the corpses of prematurely born children, children who die before the boba puri rite, and (in some Thonga clans) children who cut their upper teeth first, are similarly treated. Junod writes: "While any birth is taboo, owing to the lochia, that of children prematurely born is doubly dangerous..... They are a calamity for the whole land as they are connected with the mysterious power of Heaven,[3] and so prevent the rain from falling."[4] But so dreadful is the connection of twins with Heaven that, in addition to one being killed, special rites of purification were practised. Very special doctors presided over the rites, who, says Junod, were held to be only inferior to doctors of leprosy. The mother's hut is burnt with all her possessions and she goes, with the babes (at the time of Junod's description the Europeans had stopped "twin-killings") to a miserable little hut behind the others. In Zihlahla, all /

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1. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op cit, p.336.
2. Junod, op cit, Vol. 1. p.41.
3. i.e. a manifestation of an awful power.
4. Ibid, Vol. 2. p.319.

all the women assemble and go out in all directions, drawing water in old calabashes from every lake and well in the neighbourhood. They skip along singing "Mbelele! Mbelele! Let rain fall!" They return to where the mother is sitting with the twins in her arms and throw the water over her. The magician completes the purification by giving father and mother a special drug which is kept in his family. A little of this is put in the milombyana calabash, containing the diet-drink of infants.[1] In this rite there is, besides, a purification of the mother, a propitiation of Heaven. In Rhosen a goat is sacrificed and the psanyi (stomach contents) are poured with drugs into one of the water-pots by the doctor. He pours this mixture over the mother, and then a pot full of pure water, while she washes herself and the children. Until this is done no one can eat, and the following day it is taboo to work in the fields, lest the rain be prevented from falling. Among the Kumas the woman sits at the entrance of her hut; the drugs are poured over the doorway, thus purifying mother and hut at the same time. She then removes to her shelter outside the village, where she lives on her own, cut off from all the village, even drawing water at a special place lest other women be contaminated. She must seduce four men, who are pointed out by the divinatory bones, into having relations with her, but break off the act ante seminem immissum (lanla khombo). They will die. After each action, the medicine-man gives her a vapour-bath. Then she lies with a lover, gives birth to another child, is fitted out with new utensils, and starts life afresh. The twins themselves are not presented to the moon /

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1. Ibid, Vol. 2. p.434.

and they are weaned as soon as their mother has lahla khambo,[1] which is immediately on the reappearance of her menses. Junod says of these rites: "(i) The birth of twins is a death, consequently a defilement, indeed the worst of all defilements. Hence the purificatory rites which bear the character of passage rites: the mother is secluded and passes through a period of painful isolation after which she is again admitted to society after a painful 'casting away of her misfortune.' (ii) But the cause of the defilement is not an ordinary death,[2] but Heaven. She is Heaven; she is said to have made Heaven, to have carried Heaven, to have ascended Heaven."[3] I need add little to this. The dread misfortune is so great that it is only cleansed at the cost of four men's health or lives. The twins must be introduced into society as quickly and with as little (the yandla ceremony is omitted) fuss as possible. This rite, carries its dread consequences because it is a rite in which potentially supernatural dangerous power is negatived, not merely a rite which converts ambivalent power to social ends.

Junod remarks in a footnote that albinos are also connected with Heaven, they have been burnt by lightning in the womb. They are regarded with disgust as incomplete, and shunned, but no special observances are connected with them.

Among the Zulu, according to Kidd, deformed children in the olden days were never allowed to live, and when twins were born one was frequently killed by having a lump /

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1. Ibid, Vol. 2. pp.455-6.

2. Widows cleanse themselves after their husband's death by the lahla khambo. Vide infra.

3. Junod, op cit, Vol. 2. pp.437-8.

a lump of earth placed in its throat by the father, for fear lest he lose his strength.[1] If a twin child is allowed to live it is considered extraordinary throughout its life.[2] H.L. Samuelson notes that one of twins and all of triplets were killed;[3] the Matabele killed both twins, and sometimes children cutting their top teeth first. Deformed children were left for the hyaenas.[4] But according to Griffiths (writing it is true in 1929) the Zulu of his district observe no special ceremonies if twins are born, though one informant stated "that the father killed an ox or a cow - the thanksgiving beast, while another said that the father killed a goat and skinned it, cut the skin into long strips and placed them slantwise across each child."[5] Originally the Zulu dreaded the birth of twins, but now, apparently there is a tendency to welcome them.

Twins are not killed in the Transkei. The Bomvana midwife reports to the father who at once goes to the forest and selects two small euphorbia trees of about equal size.[6] It is most important that when these are dug out they should not be injured so as to bleed. The trees are planted against the woman's side of the hut. The afterbirth is buried next to a euphorbia tree, while the umbilical cord is plastered on the wall of the hut. The children are washed with a decoction of euphorbia root. Their lives will always be intimately connected with the trees planted for them.[6] The ceremony is much the same among the

Gcaleka /

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1. "The Essential Kafir," op cit, p.202.
2. Kidd, "Savage Childhood," op cit, pp.45. seq.
3. "Zululand - its Traditions, Legends, Customs", p.119.
4. Nielsen, "The Matabele at Home"; pp.4-5.
5. Griffiths, MSS. cits.
6. Cook, op cit, pp.97. seq.

Gcaleka branch of the Xosa, though Soga adds that the woman washes standing over the plants. "This serves the double purpose of charming away any evil influence from the little ones, and waters the young trees, which symbolize the two young lives."[1] Among the Pondo, according to Miss Hunter, twins are greeted with joy. They are said to be "people who have come from across the sea, and are therefore honoured." The euphorbias are planted behind the hut, and two aloes should also be planted. A fence is erected to protect the trees from stock. Before the weaning, beer is prepared and the twins are washed with an infusion of the roots.[2]

Besides the aberrant fact that these tribes welcome the birth of twins, the most interesting point in these rites is the use of the euphorbia trees and medicines. I can only suggest that the birth is an extraordinary phenomenon that it is suspected that the children are open to special danger, and that they are represented by euphorbia trees. As these thrive so will they thrive, and, of course, the hardiness of the euphorbia is remarkable.

(11) Puberty and Initiation Ceremonies.

At, or about, the age of puberty the state of the individual is changed. He or she has emerged from childhood, is more or less ready to become an adult member of the tribe: to marry and procreate children, to defend the tribe against enemy attacks in the case of boys, to take part in the economic and religious life of the tribe. The social personality is pregnant with latent power, which must be converted to /

1. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op cit, p.282.
2. Hunter, MSS. cita.

to social ends. There is also a new welling of physical forces which must be guided into safe channels. In other words, the sentiments which a boy (to exclude, for the sake of brevity, the girl) has built about himself, about various individuals and about the social groups to which he belongs, have to be re-orientated in the light of his new position. Some of the old sentiments need to be altered and new ones, socially conditioned, must be established, while other sentiments have to be suppressed and strengthened. Secondly, the sentiments which his social groups,[1] his relatives and friends have centred in him are in need of similar adjustment. This is done in the initiation ceremonies, which transfer the individual from childhood a further stage towards maturity, and in doing this function so that his new strength will be used in the interests of society, his sentiments will be socially centred, and his social personality properly merged into society. That is to say, initiation, as a typical rite de passage, a religious ceremony which translates powers and emotions, potentially ambivalent, to social ends.

Radcliffe Brown has summed up admirably the functioning of initiation ceremonies among the Andamanese, but his analysis is of such general application that I make no excuse for quoting him in full. "The position in the social life occupied by a child," he says, "is different from that of an adult; the child is dependent upon and closely united to his parents, and is not an independent member of the community. To this difference in social position there corresponds a difference in the attitude of a person towards a child /

1. I do not wish to personify "social groups". These sentiments are the individual's social personality, i.e. his status.

a child and towards an adult, and also a difference in the attitude of a child and that of an adult towards the society. As the child grows up a change takes place in his position in the social life, and this must be accompanied by a change in the emotional dispositions of the child himself in so far as these regulate his attitude towards the society and by a change in the attitude towards the child of the other members of the group. The initiation ceremonies are the means by which these changes are brought about, and by which, therefore, the child is made an independent member of the society.

"The ceremonies have two aspects according as we regard them from the point of view of the society or from that of the initiate. For the society they are to be described as the recognition of the change of status of the initiate, just as the marriage ceremony is the social recognition of the change of status by marriage. For the initiate they constitute a sort of moral or social education."[1] Elsewhere he sums up this first aspect as functioning "to endow the individual with an adult social personality."[2]

(a) Boys' Initiation Schools.

Among the Zulu circumcision is no longer, if it ever was, practised,[3] and the initiation schools found among the Thonga and the Kafirs are replaced by individual initiation and secular training in the military kraals. I shall therefore treat of the Zulu puberty rites in a separate section, after dealing with the initiation schools of the other tribes.

Junod /

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1. op cit, p.276. (2) Ibid, p.284.
3. Bryant, "Olden Times", op cit, p.572.

Junod[1] says of the Thonga ceremonies that they are a rite de passage par excellence, starting with separation rites, then having marginal rites and finally aggregation rites. He has, in his monograph, set out these stages clearly, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to analyse them in detail. I shall content myself with setting out the fundamental bases of the ceremony.

The circumcision school (Ngoma) is held every fourth or fifth year at the direction of the chief, who receives fees from initiates, among whom the uterine nephews of the chief takes precedence. All the initiates are boys from ten to sixteen years of age, or adults who have previously escaped initiation. The lodge is also attended by boys of the previous ngoma (who become the shepherds of this school), and older men who are in charge of the school.

The lodge (sungi)[2] is built in the wilderness, and the first separation rites is the boys going out of the kraal to it. This is symbolised by their jumping over a fire. Then are made to run the gauntlet of the men, and are whipped severely; their clothing is removed and their hair cut. Then they are circumcised, and now are said to have crossed (wela). After the circumcision they repair to the sungi for the marginal period.

The structure of the sungi clearly shows that it is separated from ordinary life, for it is a sort of crucible where the boys are treated for three months till they emerge as men. It is taboo to every initiated person and especially to women. In fact, a woman who has seen the "Shondlo", the leaves which the initiates wear on their wound, is killed. But there are also many other taboos. Sexual intercourse is taboo to the men and shepherds, lest the initiates die. Married /

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1. op cit, Vol. 1. pp.74.seq. (2) The sungi is protected with magical charms against wizards. (baloyi) Ibid, p.79.

Married people in the village may have relations, but there must be no noise and quarrelling between co-wives. In contrast to this taboo obscene language is encouraged, and when the women bring food to the sungi the shepherds who receive food from their hands "address them with as many unchaste words as they like." The mothers can sing obscene songs as they pound the mealies for the sungi. Special formulae and expressions are used in the lodge, instead of everyday terms. Of the rites of the marginal period Junod writes that "they are calculated to give the candidates the impression that they are new men, and that they must prove it by submitting manfully to all the trials of this hard and sometimes cruel initiation." These trials are blows, cold, thirst, unsavoury food, punishment and, finally, death. Meanwhile, they smear themselves with white clay every morning; "they are shining; they have abandoned the darkness of childhood", and they speak insultingly of uncircumcised boys. They must realise their new position. The boys practise hunting. So, says Junod, "the boys are taught endurance, obedience, manliness." They are also taught certain songs and formulae by a man who inherits the office from his father. Of these songs Junod suggests that they extol the ngoma and its lodge which changes the initiate from a small stupid child to a man, by showing him all its wisdom. There are many obscene references in the formulae. The only other exercise of the boys in the sungi is "stabbing the elephant", a long fireplace in the centre of the lodge round which the boys must sit warming their right hips at the fire.

After 3 months in the sungi the boys return to their homes through rites which separate them from the

lodge /

lodge and re-introduce them to normal life. Some time before the Ngoma ends, the men and shepherds raise a big pole, (mulagaru) in the yard. A man, half hidden in white hair, sits at the top of the mulagaru and the boys are made to lie on their backs with their heads turned towards the pole. They say, "Good morning, grandfather", and the man replies, "I greet you, my grandchildren." Then they talk to the "grandfather", may complain of their sufferings and ask permission to return home. This ceremony is repeated every morning. "It clearly means", decides Junod, "that the boys are being put into communication with the ancestor who represents the clan, that they are beginning to be admitted to the adult life of the tribe." A few days later the great doctor of the lodge gives the boys purifying medicines in beer, to remove the pollution of the marginal period.

The other aggregation rites are the Mayiwayiwane dance, performed by the boys in masks which cover the head and the upper part of the body. The dancers must not fall, nor must they let slip their masks, because the women, who are summoned to attend, must not recognise them. "The initiated must appear before them as a kind of supernatural beings and fill them with respect and awe." This dance takes place before the end of the ngoma, on the last night of which the boys must not sleep, but stab the elephant and repeat the formulas till morning. The great doctor burns the skin from the wounds, powders it and smears it on the Mulagaru. The initiates leave the kungi, nor must they look back, and the men burn everything connected with it: "all the filth and ignorance of childhood is burnt in this great /

great conflagration." The boys are led to the water where they wash off the white clay, cut their hair, and adorn themselves with red ochre. This is a separation from the sungi. The father of the school exhorts them to behave like men, and warns them not to reveal the secrets of the sungi. The taboos and restrictions of the ngoma are over and the final aggregation rite, the chameleon procession, takes place. The initiates, covered with ochre, march on mats to the capital of the chief. They go slowly, bowed to the ground, imitating the gait of the chameleon, "the wise, the prudent. They are men who think and no longer boys without intelligence!" They are sought out by their mothers and sisters: the mother gives her son a present of a circular bracelet and he strikes her softly, his sister more vigorously, and confides to her his new name. She dances and sings his prowess. The bracelets pass to the chief who then distributes them among the women past child-bearing age. To give them to a woman who can bear children is taboo, and similarly the chief must not use the fees he gets from the ngoma to buy a wife. The chameleon procession is repeated in the villages of the chief headmen; the ochre is removed and the boys go home.

The ultimate end of the rite is clearly that of initiation to adulthood. Junod points out that it is not directly an initiation to sexual life and marriage, since boys below puberty as well as men may be initiated there. Nor, says he, is it an introduction to the clan, because boys of one clan often go to the sungi of another chief."[1]

"It is /

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1. Usually they would go to their own chief's sungi, and it is more than likely that the tendency not to do so is the product of changed circumstances.

"It is true", he concludes, "that the Ngoma is the business of the chief, [1] only those who are really chiefs have the right to build a lodge. But though the initiated are exhorted to become good subjects of their chief, the initiation of the circumcision school is rather to introduce the little boy into manhood, to cleanse him from the bukhuna, [2] to make him a thoroughful adult member of the community." (I would add to the points raised by Junod that only if a child has attained "puberty" - by which, I take it, Junod means "has been initiated" - is the "muig rite", the means of introducing the spirit to the ancestors, performed at the burial. [3]) This is very evident from the rite. The three divisions of separation, marginal and aggregation periods show the transition from childhood to manhood clearly. The jumping over the fire, cutting of the hair, etc., remove the initiate from childhood and circumcision introduces him to the sungi. In the sungi he remains for three months, subjected to many hardships, removed from normal life, As circumcision introduces him to the sungi, it introduces him to adult life, and in the ngoma he is prepared for manhood. Circumcision marks his new status, and, as often happens, the operation is on the sexual organ, for, despite Junod's opinion, I think that this is largely a puberty rite, an introduction to sexuality. "When a boy has gone through the puberty rites, he is grown up and is allowed to practise the gangisa" - i.e. choose a lover. [4] Unfortunately Junod does not say what happens if an uncircumcised boy should do this. But one of the ngoma formulae runs: "Do you know the bird which harms the labia minora? It is the penis of an /

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1. "State of uncircumcision", "incompleteness." Junod, op cit, Vol. 1. p.58.
2. Ibid, p.94.
3. Junod, op cit, Vol. 2. p.376.
4. Ibid, Vol. 1. p.97.

an uncircumcised man;"[1] which seems to show that such conduct would be disapproved of. And among the Gaika an uncircumcised man who commits adultery is fined more heavily than a circumcised man.[2]

The effect of the ngoma training is easily interpreted in the light of Brown's analysis of Andamanese initiation.[3] The taboo on savoury food emphasises the social value of food, and strengthens the sentiments about it. Since the restrictions imposed upon him are imposed "by the whole society backed by the whole force of tradition..... he is impressed, in a forcible manner, with the importance of the moral law, and at the same time he is impressed with the social value of food."[4] Fire (warmth) and the protection of huts against weather and vermin also have their value enhanced. The boy is deprived of these when he is in a marginal period, out of the normal life of the tribe,[5] so that he is made to realise that these things are provided for him by society: their social value and the value of the tribe itself are emphasised. In the fullest sense of the word revelation, "the light of tribal revelation", as Malinowski puts it, "bursts upon him from out of the shadows of fear, privation and bodily pain."[6]

The secret, and almost unintelligible, formulae, which must not be disclosed under pain of death, have been handed down from the ancestors, and they implant the value of tradition and the power of the ancestors (who are represented in art by the man on the mulagaru) in the hearts of the initiates. The chief who controls the school also gains /

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1. Ibid, Vol. 1. p.576. Annotatio quarta.
2. op cit, pp.276. seq.
3. An initiate who dies is not mourned over. vide infra.
(2) Maclean, op cit, p.111. (Brownlee's Notes).
(4) Ibid, cit p.277.
(6) "Magic Science & Religion", op cit, p.39.

gains in prestige, for he directs the holding of the school, is paid for entrance to it, and it is to his capital that the initiates return. The social hierarchy of generations, (the men in charge, the shepherds, the initiates) is also emphasised. The sexual obscenities which mark the ngoma may be explained by a suggestion of Mrs. Hoernlé's, viz., that they break down morbid curiosity in sex by acting as an emotional catharsis.

The re-orientation of the individual's social personality is patent. He is taught to regard himself as an adult; his new physical power and his status, his potential fertility and strength in the tribe, are made manifest to him. His relationship with his father remains much the same, but his behaviour to mother and sister is changed. He is no longer dependent on the former or a playmate of the latter; he is a man. He breaks away from his mother by striking her in the chameleon rite and she presents him with a bracelet, she dances and sings his praises, in token of his new status, which is indicated by his new name. But the Thonga initiation concludes differently from the Andamanese. Though the boys are now men they are not aggregated as the equals of the older people; they are aggregated in the mayiwayiwane dance as adult members of their special age set, for in these Bantu tribes the hierarchy of ages is very marked.

In short, as regards these ceremonies, "for the society they are to be described as the recognition of the change of status of the initiate, ... for the initiate they constitute a sort of moral or social education." And these ends are served by rites which involve the

translation /

translation of power by processes which work outside of the rites themselves and of the officiants, i.e. by religious processes. The marginal period is, above all, the crucible where the powers are transmuted. The initiates are secluded in the lodge, and the new sense of manhood in them works itself out indirectly; the villagers know they are there and have to be careful for their skins. The boys' relatives realise what is happening to the initiates and during the marginal period their sentiments alter accordingly. The new physiological power of the boys and its attendant ambivalent, emotional toning; the reaction of the relatives; all these powers are made, in the rites, to concentrate in the chief, in food and shelter, in the tribe, the ancestors, the hierarchy and the boys themselves, crystallising in socially-conditioned sentiments.

The Transkeian initiation schools show the same principles as the Thonga ngoma. Initiation (ubukweta) is an introduction to manhood, for no girl would marry an uncircumcised man, [1] nor would he be allowed to inherit. [2] I do not think it necessary to analyse the rites among these tribes in any great detail, and will only refer the reader to Soga on the Xosa, (pp.247 seq.); Cook on the Bomvana, (pp.57 seq.) and generally to Maclean (pp.97-100 & 157-166), Kidd (The Essential Kaffir, pp.208 seq.) and Macdonald (Vol. 19. pp.268-9). I must point out, though, that here there seems to be more emphasis on moral instruction. According to Warner, the boys are instructed on their duties as men. They must obey their chief, defend their tribe /

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1. Maclean, op cit, p.100. (2) Ibid, p.157. Kidd, "Essential Kaffirs", op cit, p.208.

tribe and conform to custom, fulfilling all the rites and ceremonies of their forefathers. They must provide for their parents and dependants and be liberal to neighbours and friends.[1] Dugmore's papers tell us that the old men lectured to novitiates: "they are directed to lay aside the department of 'children' and act for the future as men."[2] According to Macdonald, they are harangued at the kraal of the clan head by the elders, the minister of war, the chief magician and the bards.[3] Kidd states that they are given a long lecture on their duty to the chief and the tribe, and are enjoined to follow their tribal customs and stand by one another through life.[4] The Bowana also lecture to the initiates on their future conduct,[5] as do the Xosa.[6]

Only among the Xosa apparently is there a sacrifice for the boys. Cook describes beasts as being killed, but states specifically that the ancestors are not involved.[7] The Xosa, however, perform an ukubingelelwa sacrifice, with a prayer to introduce the boys to the ancestors, and request the latter's blessing on the abakweta during their entrance upon manhood, and throughout the rest of their lives.[8] (The sacrifice for a child at its birth is also called ukubingelelwa;[9] so there may be some idea here of a re-birth of the initiate.) The religious working of this sacrifice /

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1. Maclean, op cit, pp.99-100.
2. op cit, Vol. 19. p.269.
3. Cook, op cit, p.64.
4. op cit, pp.53-4.
5. Formerly of course, they may have been involved.
6. Ibid, p.160.
7. Kidd, "Essential Kaffir"; op cit, p.208.
8. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op cit, pp.250, 257.
9. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op cit, p.250.
10. Ibid, p.293. Kropf, op cit, "bingelela"; p.34.

sacrifice is easy to understand. It is performed either at the home of the boy's parents, or at the chief's kraal, so that either the patriarch or the chief gains an accession of power. The anxiety as to the future of the boys as adult members of the tribe is released in the knowledge that they are now entrusted to the care of the ancestors, about whom the boys' sentiments will now be strengthened at this/council period.

It is, furthermore, interesting to note that slow healing of the circumcision wound is considered by the Kafirs, according to Kropf's statement, as a ritual sanction on incest by the boys.[1.]

Among the Transkeian tribes there are more magical elements than among the Thonga. Soga, for instance, describes the Xosa boys as wearing an ubulunga necklace to ward off evil,[2.] a charm carrying in itself supernatural power (though it may be the power of the ancestors) against evil. Great care is exercised in disposing of the foreskins and the blood (especially of a chief's son) lest abatakati work on them.[3.]

Otherwise a study of the Transkeian rites only confirms what has been discovered in the Thonga ceremony. I shall finally remark, however, that Mrs. Hoernle's suggestion that there is in the schools a violent sex-catharsis is borne out by the fact that in these tribes the women stimulate the boys' passions with lascivious dances, and sexual intercourse is necessary as a final cleansing of the impurity /

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1. Kropf, op cit, "bula"; p.46.
2. Soga, op cit, "Ama-Xosa"; pp.242 seq., passim.
3. Ibid, p.251. Kidd "Essential Kafir"; p.208.

impurity of the marginal period; some authorities say the boys may indiscriminately take women for sexual purposes.[1]

(b) Individual Initiation.

R.C. Samuelson writes that when a Zulu "came to the age of puberty the occasion was made a great deal of and certain ceremonies were observed, accompanied by feasting."[2] The ceremony is purely individual. When the boy notices a seminal discharge, he rises before the sun is up and takes all the cattle out to graze. He bathes in some stream, as the Zulu always do after a menstrual or seminal flow. Then he returns to the fields and remains with his companions till the cattle are taken home for the milking. His absence in the veld reveals to the umzi what has happened. He may not milk the cows or eat food of a milky nature, lest he be deprived of his strength, and he is given a dry dish of kaffir-corn, not maize, mixed with medicines. This he eats in the isibaya, and it is "to fortify him and strengthen him." He must not enter any of the huts till after sunset or converse or be with women. The next day his head is shaved and he again bathes, washing with strengthening medicines.[3] Now he is ready to return to normal life. Samuelson records that the boy chews and swallows a clod of earth from the road, and that a beast was killed in honour of the occasion, which was celebrated by feasting and dancing.[4] This dance, now almost obsolete, was a women's dance, called isiBakuba.[5]

There is /

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1. Opera cita: Maclean pp.180, 98.; Kidd, "Essential Kafir", p.208. Kropf, "umSuka", p.277; Cook, p.58., Soga, "Ama-Xosa", p.253.

2. op cit, p.355.

(3) Ibid, p.347. Lugg, Man, 1909, op cit, p.115. (No.72).

4. Op cit, p.347.

(5) Bryant, Dict. op cit, p.29.

There is, obviously, a vast difference between the workings of the ngoma and ubukweta, and the Zulu ceremony. The reason is, I suggest, because much of the teaching given in the school in other tribes, was gained by the Zulu boy when, a year or two after reaching sexual maturity, he ran away to a military kraal.[1] This offered the complete break from his old life, and the beginning of his entrance into manhood. The Zulu no longer considered puberty a sign of this, but looked rather to entrance into the military kraal. I feel sure that puberty among Zulu boys was attended with more ceremony before Tshaka established his military kraal system. As it is, besides this hypothesis, the ceremonies as described show the boy at the beginning of sex life, being strengthened with medicines and with the clod of earth, from which he probably assimilates the strength of all who have passed by that road. These are clearly magical rites, working by the law of participations. But he is also in a stage of danger and must avoid milk, the value of which important social food is emphasised, with its close association with cattle and the clan. He must shun women (the mark of the break from his dependence on them, since these will normally be the women of his umsi) and wash in the stream and with medicines. He is separated from his old life (the shaving of the head) and there is feasting and dancing to recognise his new status. The purification with medicines I take to be the remnants of religious ceremonial, the toning down of the new power of the youth lest his /

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1. Stuart, op cit, p.72.

his new strength be used anti-socially.

But, according to Junod,[1] the ngoma has died out among some of the Thonga clans as well, and has not been replaced by anything like the amakhanda. Here, however, its disappearance, I presume, is largely due to European influence. The ngoma has been replaced in most clans by individual rites. On the first emissio seminis the boy washes his body, and, according to one informant, the doctor is called in to strengthen the boy so that he may not, in his relations with girls, be weakened by them; i.e. this is purely a sexual rite, a magical act designed, through the power of certain medicines used by the specialist, to make the boy powerful in his intercourse with women. The passing of this period is marked by the piercing of the boys ears. This is not really a religious or magical custom, though the boy must chew juncus root to strengthen him for the operation and thereafter observe certain taboos till the wounds have healed, e.g. not eat salt, not go near girls, not eat food prepared by woman having intercourse with their husbands. To do these things would make him ill.

(c) Girls' Puberty Ceremonies.

None of the Thonga, the Zulu or the Transkeian tribes have communal initiation of girls, though sometimes a few girls may undergo the rites at the same time. The Thonga girl, indeed, only reveals the appearance of her menses to her mother and that is all there is to it.[2] The Northern clans, however, have a characteristic rite. The girl, when she thinks that the time of nubility is near, chooses /

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1. op cit, Vol. 1. pp.94. seq.,
2. Junod, op cit, pp.176. seq.

chooses an adoptive mother, possibly in a neighbouring village, for whom she works. On the appearance of her menses she runs away to this adoptive mother and reports to her. Then, probably in company with three or four other girls, she enters on a month's seclusion, shut up in a hut. If ever they come out, they must veil their faces with very dirty, greasy cloths. Every morning they are led to a pool, and immersed in the water up to the neck. Other initiated girls or women accompany them, singing obscene songs. No man must see them, or he will be beaten, and perhaps go blind. In the hut the girls are tormented by the women, while they sit shivering with cold from their bathe. They are instructed in sexual matters and told to be polite to grown up persons. At the end of the month the adoptive mother takes the girl home and presents her with a pot of beer. Here is performed, as on the return of the boys, the Kunga rite, the breaking of silence while the mother dances and sings the praises of her daughter. The adoptive mother is given small presents which she distributes among the old women. If the girl is already betrothed her fiancé gives her a present and the veil will be taken away. The girl's new status used to be marked by tattooing, by the pointing of their teeth, and by an operation on the labia minora.

These rites, says Junod (~~cit.~~ p.178) "distinctly mean the aggregation of the girl to adult society, and all this Khomba custom is a very good example of a passage rite, the passage being from the asexual to the sexual group". The khomba adds little to the interpretation of initiation rites as done for boys, but I would note that the institution of

adoptive/

adoptive mother, like that of the father and mother of the negoma, seem to show that the Thonga recognise that there is at puberty a re-orientation of the individual's sentiments. Here we have the adoptive mother acting at nubility, as the psychiatrist acts for complexes, viz., as a transference point of sentiments away from childhood and the mother to suit the girl's new life as an adult woman. The custom is stripped of almost all ceremony, but it is my contention that the separation period in itself is a religious device allowing of the safe channelling of emotional power stirred up by this re-ordering of the sentiments.

The Zulu ceremony is more complicated. It marks, as usual, the attainment of a new status, and this is doubly indicated by the fact that if the girl be a first-born child, her mother ornaments herself by smearing spots of black or red over her face and body.[1]

When the girl's menses first appear[2] she runs off and hides. The other girls look for her and the matter is reported to her father through her mother. He orders a partitioning off of the hut (umgonqo) and sends boys to cut wood for the partition. (Nowadays a curtain is used).[3] When the umgonqo is ready the girl is brought back to the kraal, wrapped in a cloak of skin, so that not even her feet can be seen. She is taken to the umgonqo,[4] where she reclines in a ceremonial position on her elbow (fukama).[5] She is given a medicinal/

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1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "qakaqa", p.524.
2. Ibid., "tomba", p.641.
3. Wanger, op.cit., No. 331.
   Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "umgonqo", p.192.
4. Wanger, op.cit., No.333.

medicinal specific.[1]

After the girl has entered the umgonqo, boys are sent as messengers to all the neighbouring kraals to invite the girls to sing the puberty songs. All these girls, as well as the young men, arrive on the same day at nightfall. The girl and her contemporaries wear a grass rope, umkanzi, for as long as she must abstain from amasi.[2] The girls take an old earthen pot and of it construct a drum on which they make a deafening sound.[3] They clap their hands, and sing obscene songs, intended to help the discharge.[4] They sing till midnight, when, though some of the boys go home, others remain at the kraal. The girls sit on the other side of the partition in the umgonqo hut, where they all sleep unless there are too many of them. In the morning they go home while the nubile girl remains shut in the hut with her mother. On the second day, wrapped up closely and accompanied by a single girl, she bathes in the river.[5] (According to Lugg she also bathes before the news of her discharge is conveyed to her mother.[6])

On the second night the boys and girls again assemble. They sing and play as before, and lie with each other.[7] Callaway says that the boys have to give presents to the girls' king[8] and the/

1. Ibid., "imPindisa" p.502, "inTwalabombo", pp.668-9; Bryant, "Zulu Medicine", op.cit., p.54.
2. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.294.
3. Ibid., "Ngungu", p.429.
4. Ibid., "ukuNqukuza", p.448; "yongoza", p.718.
5. Wanger, op.cit., p.100 (No.585).
6. Lugg, Man, 1909, op.cit.
7. Wanger, ibid., loc.cit.
8. As to who this "king" is, vide Callaway, "Nursery Tales", op.cit., pp.253-6.

the woman in whose hut they sleep.

The period of seclusion varies, according to the father's decision, from two weeks to three months, during which time the girl is conscientiously rattened; whenever she goes out she covers her head and adopts a shy demeanour. She must not eat amasi or any food containing milk or curds.[1] Anyone breaking in on her seclusion must pay a fine.[2] The father announces his decision to end the seclusion by telling the women to brew beer. While this is being done the father, who previously should not see his daughter unless she is covered up, enters the hut and says to her: "My child, you will come forth tomorrow (ukuvela emgonqweni), I shall give you the goat to enable you to eat sour milk (imbuzi yokudla amasi) and your puberty ox (inkomo yodwa)."[3] He tells the other girls that their feast will take place the next day. That feast terminates the ceremony. At it the girls don their ornaments and paint themselves red and white, while the umgonqo girls and the others of her age wear izidwaba (married women's skirts).[4]

According to Bryant the father sacrifices an ox or goat to enable the girl to eat amasi,[5] and it appears that this ox or goat is known as umHlonyane[6] or eyokubeletisa itunga ("to cause a girl to carry the milkpail on her back"),[7] (But there is a further

interpretation/

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1. Lugg, ibid., loc. cit.
2. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Qokelela", p. 539.
3. First menstruation was known as "[illegible]". Bryant. Dict., op.cit. p.124.
4. Wanger, op.cit., No. 585, p.100.
5. Dict., op.cit., "omula", p.475.
6. Ibid., p.256.
7. Ibid., p.663.

interpretation linguistically possible of this phrase, as beleta means "give birth, ... carry straddled on the back, as an infant",[1] so that unless Bryant's interpretation is recorded as given him by the Zulu, the itunga ox may have reference to the girl's fertility.) This seems to be Wanger's imbuzi yokudla amasi, i.e. a goat, though Wanger specifically states that the um-Hlonyane or "is identical with the 'inkomo yoku-kunga' slaughtered by the maternal grandfather or uncle upon the girl's first visit to his kraal".[2] Bryant states explicitly that the umHlonyane is killed by the father but by the verb "kunga" he explains is meant to 'tie up' a child, "i.e. make fast its ties of relationship by making it a present of a goat, beads, etc., on the occasion of its first visit in life, as would a man or woman to his or her grandchild, nephew or niece, or as a father or elder brother would to a child or sister (acc.), who had become an um-Ngoma, upon her first visit after initiation,"[3] i.e. an inkukunga inkomo would be any beast or welcome after initiation to a new status. Callaway says it is a bullock (inkomo yokwemula) that is slaughtered by the father,[4] and Lugg that he kills either a goat or ox.[5] Probably the number and types of animal killed varied, for, though all these/

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1. Ibid., p.30.
2. Wanger, op.cit., No.336.
3. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Kunga" p.331. N.B. the Thonga ukunga" aggregation rite.
4. "Nursery Tales," op.cit., p.192.
5. Lugg, loc.cit.

these animals seem to be slaughtered to release the girl from abstinence from amasi, Tyler states that when a girl attains nubility a cow is slaughtered lest she be barren.[1] The maternal relatives, too, may well have celebrated her coming-of-age.

The sacrifice ends the seclusion. According to Callaway the cauli is placed over the shoulders and breasts of the girl. Her head is shaved and her whole body bathed; then she dances and thereafter can eat amasi.[2] The imikanzi grass ropes are then burnt in the presence of the old women, and should they crackle it is a bad sign, indicating that the girl has not properly observed the rules of confinement and abstinence.[3] When the beast or goat is killed, writes Lugg, an assembly of people is held at which the event is publicly announced. The young people dance, and then the seclusion hut is cleaned out and smeared with dung.[4]

The girl is now of marriageable age, says Bryant, and in order to draw her father's attention to the fact she once more ceases to eat amasi. He slaughters a beast for her again, liberating her from her abstinence and acknowledging her right to look about her for a husband. "This ceremony is the ukw-omula par excellence."[5] "Marriageable (i.e. adult) age seems to be the determinant of the ceremony, not physical puberty as such, for Lugg states that "in cases of exceptionally/

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1. Tyler, J. "Forty Years Among the Zulus," (1891) p.122.
2. Callaway, "Nursery Tales", loc.cit.
3. Meyr, G. "Zulu Kaffirs of Natal", (Medicines) Vol. XXX, p.392.
4. Lugg, loc.cit.
5. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Ukwola", p.475.

exceptionally early development the event is kept a secret until such time as the girl is considered to have attained the age when the fact could, within the bounds of propriety and common decency, be given publicity."[1]

When a princess royal comes of age the jubilation is more widespread. All law and order are at an end - each man, woman and child lays hold of any article at hand, assegaais, shields, mats, pots, etc. The king says nothing, since it is "a day of such general rejoicing that it is improper to find fault." If during this time anything which he values is taken he can recover it by paying a fine.[2]

The Zulu tomba ceremony is characterised by rejoicing because the girl has grown up and is about to become an adult member of the society. There is more widespread rejoicing if the girl be a princess royal, and if she is a first born child her mother also changes her status; has she not a marriageable daughter, capable of making her into a grandmother? The girl, during the marginal period which is to allow of the re-ordering of sentiments that centre in her, i.e. the readjustment of her social personality, is secluded. This adjustment must not be affected by the entry of strangers or relatives. Anyone entering the hut/

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1. Lugg, loc.cit.
2. Callaway, "Nursery Tales", op.cit., p.182.

but is fined. But the girls of her own age are closely associated with her. She is in a dangerous state, partly because of her new latent power, which may act for good or ill, partly because of the discomfort she causes her relatives through their having to recognise her new status. This power must be used to social ends. She has to abstain from amasi, a valued food closely connected with the clan; its value is emphasised. The seclusion is terminated by the father's admission, through the slaughter of an animal, that she is grown up, and her new status is publicly recognised at a feast where she wears the isidwaba, the married woman's skirt. A cow, i.e. a female animal, may be sacrificed to ensure fertility for the girl who is ready to enter marriage.

After puberty and before marriage the Pondo girl[1] should tomba ile ("go through the rites of initiation into the society of adult women"). If she does not the imishologu, the ancestors, will be annoyed, and the girl will be barren, or her children will die, or she will constantly be ill. As the ceremony is often avoided owing to poverty, the diviner may on occasion order it to be performed after marriage.[2] The girl goes home for this, as the ~~intonjane~~ intonjane (girl's initiation) ceremony always takes place at the father's or the paternal uncle's kraal.

The girl enters on a three months' seclusion/

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1. Hunter, MSS.

2. vide, Soga. "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., p.219, Cook, "Bomvana", op.cit. p.67. It is easy to understand how a girl who has not tomba ile can, from fear of the consequences, suffer them.

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seclusion. The mother and her intimates (amazi-bazana) mark the event by killing a goat. The next day the father orders beer to be made and he ritually kills a goat. The neighbours attend and there is dancing of the umgquzo dance, by the married women of the neighbourhood. The intonjane lives in a screened-off portion of a hut, attended by a young unmarried girl. A fire must burn continually, inside or outside the hut; if it goes out it must be re-lighted from the fire of the indlu enkulu. The intonjane (who is thus addressed) must not drink milk, nor use certain words, and she speaks only in a whisper "lest her mother should hear her". When she leaves the hut she is closely wrapped up. In the hut she chews tambookie grass and smears her saliva on her body, bleaching her skin. This is said to be essential. Neither her father nor her mother can visit the hut, though young men may, subject to their paying a fine if they look behind the screen.

After a month the ingquzo dance is performed and a beast (it must be an inkomo) is killed.[1] This is eaten by the men and women. The amazibazana kill the finest goat in the flock for themselves. The inkomo yengquzo "is not an idini (sacrifice) and they do not kuza (call aloud upon the imishologu) but it is an itayale (debt) which must be paid to the imishologu. Otherwise a girl fails to be pregnant, etc. The ingquzo dance is itself an indlela yo kunqula - a way of calling upon the ancestors."[2] The intonjane wears/

1. For a chief or rich man's daughter a more elaboratc, more alcoholic dance takes place.

2. Miss Hunter's informants were emphatic on this last point.

wears the gall-bladder on her wrist; a chief's daughter, for whom four beasts would be killed, wears all four gall-bladders. The girl eats the flesh of the shoulder, and the skin belongs to her.

After three months the girl goes to the mountains at dusk, wrapped up closely, and accompanied by unmarried girls. She takes with her strips (umbamo) of the grass she wore on her neck and waist, a handful of the ixopo grass on which she lay, some wooden pegs and chewed remains of tambookie grass. At the kraal-gate she burns the umbamo and some ixopo, and the rest of the ixopo, together with the pegs and tambookie roots, she burns on a mountain top. The girl and her companions strip and jump to and fro through the fires. (Another manuscript of Miss Hunter's on intonjane describes the girls as jumping first through the fire on the hill, secondly over the fire at the kraal-gate, across which fire there has been laid a pole used for closing the kraal-gate.) From the mountain they race back to the hut. The next morning the girl is again killed for and she washes in the river (but not if she is in a period). Her head is shaved, and she wears long skirts for a further week. While her daughter is at the river the mother burns the rest of the ixopo grass and scatters the ashes. She smears the hut. Next morning the girl rises at dawn, fetches wood and water, passing round the inkundla, the place before the cattle kraal where the councillors sit, like an umtshakazi, a bride.[1]

Miss/

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1. For these terms see Kropf, op.cit. pp.92, 401.

Miss Hunter comments on the intonjane, that the essentials are:- (1) the killing of the umgquzo goat or beast; (2) the seclusion, strictly from the mother and her social equivalents; (3) the sitting in darkness and the bleaching with tambookie grass; (4) protection from umlaza by various taboos; and (5) the umgquzo dance. The rest is merely superadded "children's nonsense".[1] She adds that there seems to be no idea that the ceremony is strengthening, but it is a safeguard against disease because the debt to the ancestors must be paid. In her section on "umlaza" Miss Hunter says that other persons suffering from it need not avoid the intonjane.

To the basis of this Pondo ceremony, I shall add a few observations from other Kafir tribes. Among the Bomvana, as described by Cook, it is interesting to note that "only the mother and father of the girl are debarred from entering the hut," and that certain rites are observed before the girl can drink amasi, evidently to accustom her to it. Here, too, there is greater ceremony, including cattle-racing, at the intonjane of a rich man's daughter.[2] Among the Xosa, of most significance is the fact that to the hut neither "father nor mother must go - they are strictly forbidden, as are also females on the mother's and grandmother's side." The Xosa kill a beast called eyokuzhata ~~the marriage~~ - the marriage animal. Of it Soga writes: "While there is no priest-diviner connected with this custom, and while no special religious ceremonial is involved the/

1. The words, of course, of older Pondo informants.
2. Cook, op.cit., pp.67 seq.

the killing of this animal is propitiatory. It is an offering to, or a request made to ancestral spirits for good luck, so that before the girl marries she may be attended by good health, and when the fates have been propitious, and she marries, that she may have children, and both she and they be fortunate in all respects."[1] Cook refers to the free sexual relations of the young people who attend the ceremony, and Soga describes this under the head of uPondlo.[2] Kidd says that the Pondo ceremonies are attended by wild orgies: the girl is treated in such a way that "the last traces of chastity are consumed in the burning fire of unbridled lust." In some tribes, he adds, a slight operation is performed on the girl's sexual organ. "At the dances the very minimum of dress is worn by the women, who are allowed on this occasion to carry assegaais in their hands.[3] Warner says that when a Tembu girl's nubility is announced "all the women immediately assemble, and rush to the cattle, and which they drive into the cattle-fold, (regardless of all laws respecting females not being allowed to enter the cattle-fold, &c., for this is a privileged day among the women)." Warner also mentions the freedom of sexual intercourse among the boys and girls present,[4] as does Macdonald.[5] Impregnation is, however, forbidden. Macdonald states that a slight surgical operation is/

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1. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., pp.216 seq.
2. Soga, op.cit.
3. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., pp. 209-10.
4. Maclean, op.cit., pp.100-2.
5. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XX, p.117.

is performed on the girl's genitals, and there are, he says, various obscene practices which are ended by the slaughter of an ox in honour of the event.[1] In his second paper he indicates that this is a thanks-offering to the spirits.[2] Kropf describes the sacrifice for a girl at her first menses as tombisa[3], and part of the blood of the sacrifice is set aside for the iminyanya, the departed ancestors of the chief.[4]

The most significant thing about the intonjane, as compared with girls' initiation ceremonies in the other tribes, is the predominant role of the ancestors. They are constantly appealed to and thanked with sacrifices. The emotional working of these sacrifices has already been analysed in the section on boys' initiation ceremonies - the release of anxieties, hopes, etc., centred in the girl who stands on the threshhold of womanhood, and the concentration of that power, socially determined, in the girl, the sacrificer, the ancestors, the group. Secondly, the intonjane is an initiation to womanhood, for it shows the typical features of a rite de passage. During the period of seclusion there is the re-orientation of sentiments. The strict ban on the father or mother's entering the hut is noteworthy. The girl's strongest sentiments are about them, and they are to be displaced from their position by her future husband. Therefore they avoid her while her emotional re-orientation, as well/

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1. Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp.269-70.
2. Ibid., Vol. XX, pp.116-9.
3. op.cit., p.397.
4. Ibid., p.286.

well as theirs, takes place. The same attitude is adopted to others of their, and especially the mother's, generation; it is to her own contemporaries that the girl remains the same, save that with them her status is enhanced. Her passage to higher status is marked by jumping over a fire, by shaving, washing and the visit to the mountains. i.e. by the Pondo's "Children's nonsense". The bleaching with tambookie grass, which Miss Hunter says is essential, may express the idea of a rebirth, since native children are light-coloured when born. The intonjane of a prominent man's daughter, being of more importance, is marked by more sacrifice and rejoicing, indicating that there is here a greater need for readjustment of her greater social personality. The free sexuality which makes Mr. Warner and Dudley Kidd raise their hands in Mid-Victorian horror, may not work as they assume it does. It may serve, as has been suggested, as a violent emotional catharsis, ridding the girl once and for all of orgiastic leanings, as a final fling before she settles down to staid married life. Finally, I suggest that the women are in this ceremony, their "privileged day", given the occasion for a catharsis of their many disabilities, as they are allowed to seize the cattle, enter the fold, and carry assegaais. This point is further elaborated in the section on the Zulu Nomkubulwana ceremonies; and here it is sufficient to note that it is woman's day, and she makes the most of it, breaking the rules of ukuhlonipha and giving herself up to lewdness not otherwise allowed.

Kropf records the Kafirs as using the new fertility of the girl to the good of the cattle. "A girl on reaching the marriageable period is washed/

washed with water in which u-Buka[1] has been macerated. She binds it also in the doors of the calves and cattle enclosures, and sprinkles the calves and gives them an infusion of it, that they may become strong, be always fat and never cast their young."[2] This is a magical rite, transferring the girl's power through the ubuka to the calves, and it is a magical rite in which the officiant, though not a specialist, is filled with power.

(d) Conclusion.

Initiation ceremonies, in short, are rites de passage which, performed usually at puberty, transfer the initiate to the status of an adult, readjust his or her social personality; involve the blessing of the ancestors on the new adult member of the community; act as a catharsis for ambivalent emotions and for dawning sexuality; and introduce the boy or girl to a new life, with its responsibilities and rights. The ceremonies are in general religious, for they indirectly, i.e. outside of the ritual itself, transfer power variously derived so that it concentrates in various objects of social value - ancestors, chief, tribe, patriarch, social hierarchy, food and the initiate.

(iii)

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1. A climbing plant.
2. Kropf, op.cit., "u-Buka", pp.44-5.

(iii) Menstruation.

Most men, so-called civilised as well as primitive, have a horror of menstrual blood.[1] Its feminine peculiarity, its unfailing regularity, have endowed it with the mysterious power of the supernatural. (Moreover, at least according to Macdonald, the Kafirs have noticed the connection between the continuance of the catamenia and the woman's period of fecundity.[2]) In most societies, then, women during their periods are subjected to many taboos.

Junod cites the menstrual flow as one of the five physiological phenomena "which are believed to be attended with defilement, and which call for special precautions and rites."[3] Women in their periods must not approach the kraal or look at the oxen. The oxen might suffer, be attacked by a bad cough, or get thin. Should a drop of menstrual blood fall in the cattle kraal, this would endanger the health of the whole herd. For this reason, too, woman must always pass round a herd, lest the calves die.[4] During her periods the woman is strictly taboo to her husband. Should he have intercourse with her his health, courage and strength would fail. "As regards the woman, these days constitute a real marginal period during which she is absolutely secluded from her husband. She must keep to the left half of the hut and not trespass across the centre line. If she wants snuff, she is not allowed to go to her husband/

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1. vide, Lowie, "Primitive Religion", op.cit., pp.211 seq.
2. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XX p.118.
3. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, p.387.
4. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.184-5, Vol.II, pp47-8.

husband in the part in which he lies; she must send a child to fetch the tobacco she wants! During these days she sleeps on a special mat and puts on special clothes, the old ones which she brought with her for this purpose on the day she first came to the conjugal dwelling. When cooking, she must not touch the mealie meal with her hands, but with a spoon .... At the end of the period, she smears the floor of the hut and puts on her ordinary clothing."[1] According to Junod's Latin annotation twelve, the menstruating woman is "yila" (taboo) for six days. On the seventh day she crosses the river to wash herself. Even on the eighth day she must not cohabit with her husband lest perchance some blood remain on her pudenda without her knowledge. Junod then proceeds to hide in Latin the erring husband's urinary and sexual afflictions.[2]

The woman during her tiweheti is also taboo for other persons, and Junod mentions a case of a newborn child suffering from hernia of the scrotum owing to menstruating women having taken it in their arms.[3]

There is less information on the Zulu, but I assume from Bryant's words that the "Goya" seclusion applies to women during the menses, for he says that it is"a frequent custom in Native female life,"[4] and elsewhere he describes a peculiar way in which the menstruating girl must recline.[5] One of the taboos to which she is subject is that she must not pass through a field of ground-nuts, lest these go rotten.[6]

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1. Ibid., Vol.I, p.187.
2. Ibid., Vol.I, p.518.
3. Ibid., Vol.I, p.187, footnote (1).
4. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.194.
5. Ibid., "iNqulu", p.448.
6. Ibid., "isi Dhlubu", p.105.

She must also abstain from amasi for seven days at each period.[1] This taboo is also recorded by Griffiths.[2]

Brownlee notes that during their menses Gaika women may not partake of milk, formerly for a period of seven or eight days which was later cut down to the period of the flux. Should this custom be infringed the husband may be fined from one too three head of cattle.[3]

According to Kropf, the woman must abstain from milk during her menses,[4] which generally, from his reference to her clothing, must be considered unclean.[5] Baca women are secluded during the continuance of the flow, generally for a period of six days, when they are not allowed to see or touch cow dung. Should a man touch a woman during the period, his bones become soft, and in future he cannot take part in warfare or any other manly exercise.[6]

Of the Xosa approach to the menses Soga writes: "There is a deep-seated abhorrence of the menstrual discharge on the part of Xosa men, at all stages of its course. The blood is regarded both as a danger to stock, in particular to cattle, and a defilement to anything it may come into contact with, hence the unmarried girl, from the earliest appearance of the discharge, is strictly secluded." The married woman in her periods is not secluded, but/

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1. Ibid., "omula", p.475.
2. MSS. cita.
3. Maclean, op.cit., p.125.
4. op.cit., "ukOmula", p.298.
5. Ibid., "uSiShuba", p.366.
6. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XX, pp.118-9.

but she must avoid stepping over a stick (the stick is the man's staff of office); she moves round household utensils; and rubs cow dung on her throat. "Repugnance to this form of sickness has made the cattle kraal taboo to women." A menstruating woman would weaken the cattle.[1]

The Pondo woman,[2] when menstruating, suffers from umlaza, which lasts till the washing after the flow has ceased. She is therefore dangerous to cattle, and must always go round a grazing herd, and never step over yokes and skeys. The daughter of the kraal avoids the isibaya when she is menstruating. "This conception of umlaza," says Miss Hunter, "seems to me to show conclusively that the detouring of a bride and her strict avoidance of the kraal, is a hlonipha of her fathers, living and dead, and has nothing to do with the avoidance of cattle. A bride could herd cattle if necessary, but not shut them up in the kraal." In other words, she avoids the kraal of her new home out of respect for her old ancestors. I am afraid that I cannot see how Miss Hunter is conclusively led to that opinion. It seems to me that, since all women, agnates as well as affines, avoid the kraal when menstruating, there is a taboo directed against the menstruation; the general hlonipha by the bride arises out of her attitude to the living members of her husband's family. Pondo women must also avoid touching sticks or spears, which are therefore thrust into the thatch or laid against the wall. The penalty for disobedience is that the flow will never cease. It is interesting to note that a wife must never/

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1. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., pp.299-300.

2. Hunter, MSS. cita.

never tread in her husband's spoor lest he become soft; a sister may walk in her brother's save when she is menstruating and then she does not go to the men's side of the hut. Here one may infer that it is the extremely intimate association of spouses, bound by sexual relationship, that leads to the extra taboo.

These menstrual taboos can be briefly analysed. Once man has the idea that the menses are connected with some mysterious power he evolves precautions to "insulate" him against that power. Hence the seclusion and restrictions, which act as a safeguard against it, protecting especially objects of social value. The processes are therefore religious, for the things protected gain in power, as the sentiments about them are re-inforced. These are, then, religious taboos. Only the power of the menses is dangerous in this way; the fertility power of women is of tremendous value to the group.

(iv) Love Charms.

Various magical practices are connected with love-making. A Ronga boy who cannot get himself lovers has the old village cock put on his head and keeps it there for a long time, till it scratches him with its claws. "The boy will now succeed; he will be like the cock, who never lacks spouses."[1] Here the cock transfers its Casanovan character to the boy by scratching him.

Mankhlelu, a great doctor, had another treatment for a boy or girl who could not find a partner. He took a she-goat if he was treating a boy, a he-goat for a girl, and anointed it with fat mixed/

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1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.100-1.

mixed with his powder, rubbing it from mouth to tail. Th[illegible]e stretched out all the limbs, killed it, and collected the psanyi, the half-digested grass of the stomach. The boy (to take him as typical) rubbed this on his body, cleansing away the filth. The particles were gathered by Mankhelu in a lizard-skin bag which is made into an amulet. This the boy's sister must, after sunset and naked, hang about her brother's neck. The rest of the substance is smeared on the hut. "This ceremony", says Junod, "is a characteristic hondlola, the same which is performed on the weaning day, and after any serious disease; it is a rite of removal of impurity."[1] All one can say of this is that apparently the unattractive boy is looked on as impure; he is cleansed with the psanyi which he also carries about his neck. The fact that his sister must appear before him naked, which is clearly not good manners, even if it is not strictly taboo, may be to shock their ancestors into getting him sweethearts, though the killing of the goat is not a sacrifice, nor are they elsewhere invoked.

A boy may avenge himself on a disdainful girl by giving her a fowl or egg treated with drugs, so that she will bear an animal, a pigeon or a snake, or her genitalia will be changed and take on the appearance of the male organ.[2] This is black magic, magic in that the drugs carry the power which affects the girl, black in that if practised it would be condemned.

Zulu and Natal love-charms, as analysed from Bryant's "Dictionary",[3] are used to several ends.

There/

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1. Ibid., loc.cit.
2. Ibid., loc.cit.
3. Vide quoque, Wanger, op.cit., Nos. 306-328; 797-800; 808-810.

There is first of all the ubulawu, "a love potion or medicinal charm of any kind (mostly consisting of herbs), as so commonly by young-men in their dealings with girls".[1] The fat of birds is also frequently used.[2] The ubulawu charms vary through mild herbs, such as the iButu (p.60)[3] which is used "for attracting the girls"; the uTokolo (p.639), supposed to consist of the fat of a fabulous water-baby, and which is of wondrous power; uMbuta (p.727), a magnetic stone which draws the girl; uVendhle (p.678) sorrel, which brings the girl to consent; camphor, uZamlandela (p.721), which irresistibly compels the girls to follow the young man carrying it; inDonya (p.116), a red substance which fills the girl with fear of the young man and makes her an easy prey; to uZukela (p.733) a herb which can "quite knock up" a girl and render her incapable of refusing. These are all magical charms, the power of the medicines acting on the girl who will not succumb to natural charm and persuasion. Thus they enable the youth to go beyond his own powers, through the powers of certain materials.

The iHabiya (p.220) is a stronger charm still, for it causes a girl to hayiza, i.e. to fall into "fits of shouting hysteria in which she repeatedly cries out Hayi! hayi! or hiya! hiya!" In Natal washing-soda, mixed with butter and the hearts of a cock-dove and Mabengwane (p.871) owl, are used for this purpose. (vide u-Soka-lakwa'Zulu, p.596). The fat of the eagle's eye, with other ingredients, is similarly used. (i-nTungqulu, p.202).

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1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.351.
2. Ibid., "uMangwashi", p.376.
3. In the succeeding paragraphs the figures in brackets are numbers of pages in Bryant's Dictionary.

The iliFupo (p.818) is a milder medicine, which only makes the girls dream of the young men. Here is support for Lévy-Bruhl's argument that the dream carries in itself the result in reality. The uNginakile roots (p.433) are used for this purpose. The um-Welela shrub's roots (p.694) are spat out in the direction of the girl desired, and the spitter exclaims, "Hamba! 'mwelela-kwelipesheya, 'mzaca osikomb' ama Ngwane," which I translate as, "Go, mwelela! Cross over! may she languish for me, she who has been painted out!" Here we have the force of a spell added to the power of a medicine.

A young man having won a girl, may make her "firm" by the process of "betelela", using an isibetelelo (p.33) charm. The instructions are: "Take of the i-mBembela (cuttle-fish), uMenaye (plant), u-nginakile (plant), u-Zililo (plant), ama-Futa engwe (leopard's fat) and u-Lukuningomile (plant), each a part and mix with the spittle of any particular girl and your own;[1] place all, carefully covered up, beneath a projecting rock in some precipice, and the girl is firmly fixed against all comers." The fat of the mouse-bird (i-nDlazi, p.100) is used for this purpose, "because it is always sticking at home in its nest,"[2] and the uMabope herb (p.372) which is generally used for "tying up".

Instead of attacking the girls, a youth may prefer to make himself attractive, for which he uses a love-emetic, generically known as isiLungu (p.663) and examples of which are the in-Tlantlana (p.634) and uKalimele (p.289) climbers/

1. The law of participations. The spittle (part) can affect the girl (whole).

2. ditto, the quality of a bird is believed to reside in its fat.

climbers, u-Twalabombo (p.668) and u Qume (p.548) are similarly used. It will be seen later that purging is generally a way of cleansing and stirring up the brighter powers within.

Married women have different charms to use on their husbands. These are generically named izinTando (p.611) and secure the husband's favour as against co-wives. Such a charm might contain, besides several plants, the fat of the blindworm and rock-rabbit.

The Zulu husband protects himself against his wife's adultery, when he suspects her of infidelity, by treating her with certain medicines which convey the iliZembe (p.725) disease to her paramour at their intimacy. This will be further considered in the section on disease.

Finally, charms (izi Shingoshi, p.676; imi-Qumgqiso, p.202) are used to make a rival unattractive to the opposite sex; e.g. ili Sita (p.592) a white, sparkling stone.

Kropf, on the Transkei, mentions only one love-philtre, intando, a climber used "to procure love by rubbing the leaves with the hands and rubbing the scent or foam from the water in which they have been put over the face."[1] Kidd, without specifying tribes, says generally that the Kafir witchdoctors (he may be speaking of Zulu or Natal tribes) supply love-philtres.[2] According to Soga it appears that among the Xosa this love-magic, when causing hysteria in the girl, would be considered as sorcery. He suggests that this hysteria may be a complete surrender to intense sexual emotion. He records a case of a girl who was told by/

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1. op.cit., p.383.
2. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.155.

by a young men that he had thus bewitched her (ukuposela) and who had developed acute hysteria, screaming at the top of her voice, in a nervous state bordering on prostration. A few cuts with a switch cured her. Another girl, in similar circumstances, walked into the river and was drowned.[1] Among the Pondo[2] ubulawu is the generic name for roots used to wash with so as to gain success in any enterprise. "No man," says Miss Hunter, "trusts in his own strength to gain the affections of girls." Anyone who knows of a love iyeza can use it. Thus a man may chew certain roots at sunrise, and spit them out to the rising sun; at the same time he pronounces his sweetheart's name. Then she will love him. In this rite the roots carry power, and they are brought into contact with the girl through the use of her name, a frequent example of the law of participations. Or he may chew certain roots while he is talking to her, or work on some article belonging to her and then return it to her. Then ubulawu are used against rivals; they are chewed and spat in the direction where the rival lives. Girls may also use love medicine (iyeza yetando), but for them it is a shameful thing, though it is not for men.

To use amayeza to cause hysterics to overtake a girl so that she cannot help running to her lover is ukuposela. According to Miss Hunter, "when a man has been discouraged or refused by a girl, he may in a final attempt to make her love him, or in revenge, posela her." This affects her as does the Zulu ihabiya; it is done by giving the girl the iyeza in snuff or sweets; or stirring it in a pot and calling the girl's name; or

putting/

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1. Soga, "Ama-Xosa," op.cit., p.182.
2. Hunter, MSS., "Medicine and Magic".

putting it on the comb of the cock, and the cock on her hut - when it cries she will cry. Sulphur is the usual cure. "Ukuposela when it causes severe illness or death, is bordering perilously near ukukakata." This would probably apply where a man posela's his rival.

On the other hand, if a husband, suspecting his wife of infidelity, drinks certain amayeza and sleeps with her so that she passes the ibekelo and ihlata diseases (syphilis and gonorrhea) on to her lover, it is condoned as justifiable revenge.

To sum up, in love magic men heighten their chances of success with the girls by using the extraordinary power of certain medicines, making them act on the girls themselves, or their rivals. All these practices are magical.

(v) Marriage.

Before I analyse marriage ceremonies themselves, I want to examine two peculiarly Thonga rites. Malinowski has demonstrated the importance of the principle of legitimacy in social organisation.[1] Among the Thonga, where pre-nuptial unchastity is allowed (the gangisa) this principle is protected by the ritual sanction as well as by social rules. "When a girl becomes pregnant, having had relations with her lover inside her parents' village, it is very serious; it is taboo. The boy will have to find a goat, to kill it during the night in the girl's kraal, and to rise very early; then both the boy and girl, quite naked, must go round the village and sprinkle the fence from inside with a special decoction. None must come out of the huts to look at them. This will prevent the inhabitants/

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1. vide, "Sex and Repression in Savage Society" (1927) pp. 212 seq., "Parenthood - the Basis of Social Structure," essay in "The New Generation" (1930).

inhabitants from contracting the disease called mukhhlwane (cough, lung complaint) which would otherwise attack them." The social sanction is that the boy must pay an extra £5 as lobola.[1] Here the forces of the supernatural attack all connected with the guilty girl (i.e. the working of the ritual sanction) and are only to be kept out by magical rites in which the guilty parties erect a sort of magical fence round the village.

Among the Thonga marriage with certain relatives is conditionally permitted if the rite of dlaya shilongo is performed.[2] The women a man may marry under these conditions are the daughter of his mf (paternal?) grandfather's younger brother, and the daughter of his mf grandfather by a wife other than his mf grandmother; both these women are rarana. According to Mankhelu a man can marry, if the dlaya shilongo (which means the killing of the blood relationship) is performed, the daughter of his maternal grandfather's brother, i.e. the first cousin once removed on the mother's side. She is a mamana.

In the Northern clans a young man who has the courage to marry thus is regarded as a wizard. The parties must be prayed for publicly and anointed with the psanyi from the bowels of a sacrificed goat. The young man takes the sacrificial animal to his uncle when he goes to ask his uncle's permission for the marriage. All the relatives assemble at the girl's village. The wedding pair are inside the hut, the goat is killed, the offering prepared, the psanyi put aside. Then the bridegroom and the bride are called outside and made to sit on the same mat; the man's leg is passed over the girl's leg (to "kill the shame")

ku dlaya/

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1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, p.97, footnote (1).
2. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.256 seq.

ku dlaya kingana); they are both anointed with the green liquid of the psanyi; the skin of the goat is then taken, a hole is cut in its middle and it is put on the heads of the two cousins. Through the opening the liver of the animal is passed to them, quite raw. They must tear it with their teeth; it is taboo to cut it with a knife. They tear it apart with their teeth and eat it. The liver apparently, according to Junod, stands for their extermination in undertaking such a marriage, but it seems more likely to me that it symbolises the relationship which is broken that a new one can ensue, for "the aim of the dlaya shilongo is lawfully to kill one kind of relationship and to replace it by another, because the two are not compatible." In any event the liver is an mhamba, an offering to the gods. As the cousins eat it, the priest prays: "You, our gods, so and so, look. We have done it in the daylight. It has not been done by stealth. Bless them, give them children." The solid psanyi is now heaped on the bride's head with the wish that she be fertile. If this sacrifice is not performed the marriage will be barren.

In the Ronga clans each family provides a goat; these are killed in front of the hut of the girl's mother without the assistance of the uterine nephews. (This is, perhaps, because the matter is one of peculiarly familial interest). Junod gives as the grandfather's prayer to the gods of the girl's father: "So be it! They have decided to marry each other; you, gods of the boy and girl, unite them together that they do not hate each other; let them not remind each other that they are brother and sister; let their union not be spoilt by such remembrances, nor by other people saying to them: 'You have been guilty of witchcraft! You have married your relative!'" This

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is a public notification, for all the neighbours assemble at the sacrifice. The wedding pair do not partake of the sacrifice because the goats have been sacrificed for them. (I suggest it is because, by their somewhat incestuous act, they are put, till the rite is over, outside the clan, and may not participate in the sacrifice. On other occasions the person sacrificed for is the one who must eat of the sacrifice.)

An analogous rite, dlaya shikoñwana, is performed when a man marries his great mukoñwana, the wife of his wife's brother. The wedding pair are covered with a goat's skin, called "the cat", because it scratches them, scratching away the bukoñwana.

These rites are not necessary if a man inherits his rarana or mamana; then he can just marry her. "The blood relationship is then strengthened."

The dlaya shilongo and shikoñwana rites protect a marriage that would otherwise call down the wrath of the ancestors (the supernatural powers) by invoking the spirits to aid the spouses, and by supporting the latter in their hazardous undertaking by a full gathering of the people. The emotional reaction to the marriage ("he is a wizard") and the rites involved must enhance the value of the normal marriage; this rite is really a means of evading customary social rules. At the same time the daring couple is aided. They are gradually brought together: their legs are crossed, they sit under the goat skin, they break their relationship. But there is a further point of great significance. As will be seen, the normal marriage is a complicated affair in which the clans of the groom and the bride, as well as the wedding pair themselves, must be brought together. This side of the wedding ceremony is entirely absent in the dlaya

shilongo/

shilongo, for only one clan is concerned. Here is strong confirmation of the already well-established theory (it goes back to the Bible) that a marriage is an affair of two groups, not of two individuals.

The Thonga do not perform the rite when the man inherits the woman, but if a Zulu marries his brother's widow "to raise up seed for him" under the ukungena custom[1] he must fortify himself by applying the flame of a sneezewood torch to various parts of his body, as a precaution against various diseases he might contract from the woman.[2] This is probably a cleansing with fire of the idea of incest.

"Marriage among the Bantu", says Mrs. Hoernlé, "is a gradual process by means of which three changes are accomplished. First, the man and the woman are transferred from the group of the unmarried to the married, the whole transfer involving an important change in their status in the society. Secondly, the woman is, in most tribes, in some degree loosened from her own group and incorporated, to some extent, in the group of her husband. And, thirdly, actions and reactions take place between the group of the woman and the group of the man, in order to produce a relationship of friendship and stability between them, it being understood that in these transactions the ancestors are as much concerned as the living members."[3] In the Bantu marriage ceremony there are inherent two rites of passage: the couple are removed from the unmarried group to the married, and the girl is transferred, in some measure, from her kinship group to her husband's group/

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1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit. p.422.

2. Ibid., "um Tate, p.616.

3." "The Importance of the Sib in the Marriage Ceremonies of the South-Eastern Bantu," 1925, S.A.J.S. (Vol.22), p.481 a/p.483.
Vide quoque A.A.Brown, op cit, pp.235 seq.

group. The rapprochement of the two groups is also, especially as regards the ancestors, a sort of rite de passage, for they ~~depart~~ from a state of wary suspicion of each other to relationship. Analysed in terms of my main thesis, marriage ceremonies will be found to exhibit several processes. There are various magical rites, designed to bless the union with fruitfulness, etc.; there are also religious acts, involving the intervention of the ancestors. Indirectly the ceremonies secure the transference of power by what I have characterised as religious processes. The first question is, from what sources comes the power to be transferred? It has been suggested in previous sections that a change in an individual's social personality (which is obviously involved in marriage) is always potentially ambivalent for the group,[1] the change may be successful, and the individual's enhanced value may work for the good of the group, or, on the other hand, it may have deleterious effects. To avoid personification of society one may say that the relatives and friends of the couple who are marrying are worried as to whether the new man and wife will have a successful union or not, and as to whether their marriage will be of general benefit. The marriage ceremonies take note of that anxiety and emphasise the possibility of the marriage being successful. Secondly, the bride and bridegroom must be conscious within themselves of a radical reorientation of their sentiments. Where previously their familial lives had been confined to relationships dating back to infancy, relationships with father, mother, siblings, [illegible] they have now to reorder their sentiments to centre in wife or husband, in relatives-in-law, in their future children. There must/

1. vide, A. R. Brown, Ibid., at p.237.

must be a measure of dysphoria mixed with the euphoria of their enhanced status, and religion has to transform that dysphoria into certainty of the future, and correctly set the new order of sentiments. To illustrate this point by an extreme theory which I cannot unreservedly support, the bridegroom must shift, to a certain extent, his sentiments from his mother to his surrogate mother, as certain psycho-analysts term the bride. These are the ultimate effects of marriage ceremonies, though the various rites which are practised directly serve other purposes which will emerge as I describe the ceremonies.

In view of Mrs. Hoernlé's thorough analysis of marriage ceremonies among the South-Eastern Bantu the most that I can do is recapitulate her arguments. But there are one or two points on which I wish to throw extra emphasis. I shall start, as usual, with the Thonga, and as Junod's[1] account is very straightforward only the relevant portions need be set out here.

I am not here concerned with the social customs that mark the betrothing of the boy and girl. But after the betrothal, visits are paid first by the fiance to the girl's village, then by her to his. They are each accompanied by friends, and can only be induced to accept the hospitality of their future relatives by presents and persuasion. On the occasion of the girl's visit to the boy's village they clean the fireplaces, cut wood, fetch water, etc. Junod says[2], and I think correctly, that this hesitancy of both parties "arises from the fact that the two social groups look upon each other with distrust, not yet being fully acquainted, and consequently observing a mutual reserve.

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1. Junod, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.103 seq.
2. Ibid., Vol. I, pp.124-5.

He adds, however, that he has another explanation, viz., that this is one of the "critical phases of human development, when the heart is troubled by a half-conscious fear of a new and unknown future."[1] It is clear, therefore, that the bride and bridegroom would make tentative advances into that future, and gradually accustom themselves to their new state, approaching it with trepidation which is overcome by the kindness and hospitality of their new relatives. Once the girl has got over her first fears she works in her new home "to impress on the man's people the advantage of having a new and willing worker in their midst, as well as the good will of her group."[1] Mrs. Hoernlé also ascribes the reluctance described above to "a ritual expression of the strangeness between the two groups and of the gradual rapprochement between them."[2]

The Thonga enforce certain taboos during the betrothal period, of which Junod says that they "are not the proper taboos of a marginal period, as if the betrothal were considered as one of these periods. They are family taboos, belonging to the category of those dictated by the mutual distrust of two allied families."[3] From a reading of the taboos themselves it is difficult to see what exactly Junod means. The visitors must not finish the mealies on the cob, and must rearrange the leaves so that the cob looks as if it has not been touched, nor must they finish the beer in their pots. Do these represent that the new alliance is not going to strip the families bare? If this is correct, Junod's explanation is intelligible, but it does/

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1. Hoernlé, op.cit., p.486.
2. Ibid., p.485.
3. Junod, op.cit., pp.106-7.

does not cover taboos against the eating of black barbel, which might bring darkness and unhappiness, though this taboo is also directed against the bride's slipping through her suitor's hands. I take it that Junod means that there is a certain state of suspense, uncertainty as to the future of the new spouses and the relationship of their groups (usually sibs), and this uncertainty is expressed in the taboos.[1]

After some time the lobola feast is held at the bride's village, and her family prepares a vast quantity of beer for it. On the appointed day the groom and his party arrive with the lobola hoes, and bringing a goat which is to play an important part in the ceremonies. The young men break into the village despite opposition on the part of the bride's relatives, who must show, what they indeed feel, viz., that they are reluctant to let her go. The lobola is carefully counted, by as many witnesses as possible, for it is evidence of the marriage, and "the most general social object of marriage rites", says Westermarck, "is to give publicity to the union."[2] Then they all become friendly over beer, while a goat, (is it the one brought by the groom? Junod does not say so, but he does not mention this goat elsewhere.) is sacrificed at the door of the bride's mother's hut. Meanwhile the bride who has been hidden away in a neighbouring village, is hunted out and dragged to the scene of the feast. When she appears the groom's family enjoin her to leave her vices behind, now that she has become one of them, and her relatives in turn defend her and upbraid the bridegroom. This ceremony, I take it, is a venting of the suspicion and mistrust which previously existed between the two sibs, which are reconciled in the next act, when the

bride/

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1. Vide Hoernlé, op.cit., pp.481 seq.
2. Westermarck, E. "The History of Human Marriage."

bride and groom sit on a fine mat near where the goat was sacrificed, and her father invokes his ancestors with the sacramental tau, calling them by name: "Today my child is leaving me. She enters the wedded life, Look at her, accompany her where she will live. May she also found a village, may she have many children, may she be happy, good and just. May she be on good terms with those with whom she will be." They all eat of the sacrifice, which in itself is an expression of the new unity of the groups.[1] This prayer (accompanied, as Mrs. Hoernlé points out, by the sacrifice of one family's animal to the ancestors of the other sib[2]) prays that her ancestors may bless the bride in her new life, and accompany her there to watch over her as heretofore. A strip of the goat's skin and the right astragalus are fastened about the bride to bring her good luck.

If the lobola negotiations are complete, the bride departs for her new home, where she is followed by the women of her village who help her to erect a pile of wood between two ochre-covered poles. The husband's relations each takes one of these logs, probably as a representation of the new value of the girl to them. The wood-cutters return home, and the bride goes with them, pursued by her husband. She has to fetch her trousseau from her mother, who gives the husband a last lesson: "If we have given you our daughter, do not believe that we have had enough of her! She is very precious to us and we take her back!"[3]

The marriage customs of other Ronga clans[4] add little to the above description. In Mondwane and Maputju

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1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.110-2.
2. Hoernlé, op.cit., p.486.
3. Junod, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.112-3.
4. Ibid., Vol.I pp.114 seq.

Maputju the bride has to be coaxed into the groom's village when she finally goes there and makes a dash for liberty before settling down.

The religious and magical elements of marriage ceremonies are merely a part of a whole complex of customs, many of which are concerned with the handing over of the bride-wealth cattle. In fact lobola is the connecting link through all the ceremonies. Mrs. Hoernlé points this out very clearly: "When the natives thought of lobola, they thought of the whole complex of ceremonies wrapped up with these cattle. They thought of the gathering of the sibs and the gradual pledging of a head of cattle by this one and that. They thought of the distribution of the cattle among the woman's sib in repayment for their contribution of cattle for the girl's mother, or as stock to be drawn on for sacrificial purposes. They thought of the appeal of the bridegroom's father to his ancestors, begging them to look kindly on the new addition to the family, and so on through the whole complex of rites."[1] It would be redundant for me to describe this whole complex among the Zulu and Xosa in view of Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the essential elements. Briefly, the order of religio-magical rites among the Zulu is as follows.[2]

Among/

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1. op. cit., pp.490-1.

2. vide: opera cita: Krige, pp.261-283; Griffiths,MSS; Hoernlé, 481-491; R. C. Samuelson, pp.361-5; Shooter, pp.71 seq; Wanger; Bryant, Dictionary, passim.
Shooter, "The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country" (1857) pp.71 seq.
Plant, P. "The Zulu in Three Tenses" (1905) pp.34-6.
Leslie, D. "Among the Zulus and Amatongas" (1875).
Ludlow, W. R. "Zululand and Cetewayo" (1882).
Isaacs, N. "Travels in Eastern Africa," (1836) Vol.II pp.65 passim.
Braatvedt, "Zulu Marriage Customs and Ceremonies," 1927 S.A.J.S. (Vol.24) pp.553 seq.

Among the Zulu there is also a betrothal visit when the girl must be coaxed by presents to take food, etc. She may remain in her fiancé's kraal for a month, while the lobola arrangements are being concluded.[1] Different accounts describe various animals as being slaughtered during the bale visit and afterwards, but as none of these seem to be sacrifices it is unnecessary for me to set them out in detail. By these slaughterings, gifts, and visits to her future husband, the girl gradually introduces herself into the life of the new sib.[2] Bryant also says it is customary in some tribes for a dance to be held in the kraal of a betrothed girl when the prospective bridegroom arrives with the lobola cattle. In this the girl, who has placed a sleeping mat upon the ground in the cattle kraal, leads a brother or sister of the young man to sit on it. This is probably an introduction of the future husband to the other sib.[3] Later the girl brings to her future home obwokubika ihlobo, i.e. beer announcing the summer. On this occasion, besides the beer, a basketful of new mealie-cobs (ihlomo lombila) as well as other crops (imfe, pumpkin, etc.) "is taken along to the bridegroom's home in accordance with the native view that whatever is planted by the bride belongs to the kraal into which she is to marry." Later, the girl's mother, accompanied by married women, takes beer to the other kraal, and a goat is slaughtered for her by the bridegroom's father. More gifts of beer are also often taken to the bridegroom's village.[4]

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1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Mu," p.371, "Baleka," p.762, "Vimbezela," p.680.
2. Ibid., "um Ngenisandlini," p.428, "Braatvedt, op.cit., Wanger, op.cit., No.653.
3. Bryant, Dict., op.cit, "kala," p.301.
4. Wanger, op.cit., No.653.

The lobola cattle are driven to the bride's kraal, where there is a sham attempt to prevent their being driven in,[1] and the two parties feast together, a great cementing bond.[2] They now prepare beer and themselves for the wedding, practising dances and songs, even, perhaps, under a professional instructor.[3] When the bride is about to leave home her father sacrifices, in the sib alone, for her; the girl is commended to the care of the ancestors and is cleansed with the stomach contents of the animal, while her face, arms and legs are rubbed with the bile. Often the bladder is blown up and fixed in her hair, and she eats a little of the blood. She may be washed with powerful medicines; is dressed for the wedding and told to behave well and uphold the reputation of her sib, while her relatives give her presents. They all sing the ihubo, the sacred song of the sib, commemorating the old ancestors and the deeds of glory in the past. "Standing in the cattle kraal, where women seldom go, the whole sib sings this song in this hour of 'the departure of a child of the house! The girl who is departing, we see, is a treasured possession of the sib, and she is not sold like property into another sib."[4] According to Griffiths, the bride at this ceremony and till the wedding, carries, as part of her dress, a knife in her right hand to show that she must not be trifled with and that if anything is wanted of her she must be entreated, while in her left hand she carries a small shield to show that her people will fight for her if necessary. She cries when she leaves the/

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1. Plant, op.cit., p.36.
2. Hoernlé, op.cit., p.486.
3. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Funda", p.187.
4. Hoernlé, op.cit., pp.486-7.

the cattle kraal, but the author does not say whether this is ritually demanded or not.[1]

The bridal party, which does not include the bride's parents, sets out for the bridegroom's home, taking with it presents for her new relatives. She also takes various animals with her, one to be slaughtered at the bridegroom's home, and one (inkomo yobulunga) which is the animal of her ancestors, i.e. "the representative of the spirits of the woman's ancestors who will guard her in her new home. It is a sacred possession which may not even be confiscated by the chief. It would be a great calamity if it were to die and it should never be killed unless disaster overtakes the family, when it may be used as a sacrifice to the woman's ... tors as a last appeal."[2] On the bridal party's (umtimba) arrival at the kraal, to which they have almost to force an entrance, throwing lumps of meat to those within,[3] both sibs dance and disparage each other, dancing and singing through the night. Just before daybreak the umtimba, surrounding the bride, go down to the river where they wash and dress in all their finery. They eat of a goat presented them by the other party. After some preliminary approaches the umtimba enters the kraal, having first sung the inubo.[4] All dressed up they enter and dance; the bride's paternal uncle, according to Braatvedt, praising his sib's ancestors and asking that the bride may be a mother and live happily.[5] According to Bryant, Griffiths, Plant and Samuelson, it is/

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1. Griffiths, MSS., cita.
2. Hoernlé, op.cit., pp.487 seq.
3. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "umPoso", p.510.
4. Ludlow, loc.cit; Colenso, op.cit., "gqumshela".
5. Braatvedt, loc.cit.

is the bride's father who prays thus; according to Bryant, he publicly presents his daughter to the spirits of the bridegroom's house and asks that they grant her the grace of offspring: "give to us, o! thou of the Zungu clan! Here is my child! I beg for a new-born babe; I beg that as two they may lie, and rise up as three!"[1] The umtimba led by the bride dances, and is succeeded by the groom's party (eketo). The bride asks her mother-in-law to treat her well, and then attempts to run away. She must be seized by the arm.[2] Plant and Callaway[3] say that she asks her father-in-law to take good care of her, while according to H. L. Samuelson and Ludlow it is to her husband that she kneels. The custom probably varies with the locality. One of the husband's uncles now praises the amadlozi of their kraal, saying, "There she is; there are the cattle of the bridegroom" - for the spirits must be informed as to what has happened to the cattle taken from the kraal.[4] According to R. C. Samuelson the bridegroom is addressed by the girl's father, who thanks him for the lobola, and asks him to treat her well if she behaves.[5] Shooter states that the bride's father first constrains the husband to treat her well.[6] Apparently the time has arrived when the bride is about to join her husband's sib, for now the eketo party sings its ihubo; then they all move to the kraal where the feasting begins.[7] That evening,

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1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Leti", p.355.
2. Braatvedt, loc.cit.
3. "Nursery Tales", op.cit., p.252.
4. Braatvedt, loc.cit.
5. op.cit., p.363.
6. op.cit., pp.76-7.
7. Braatvedt, loc.cit.

from Leslie's description, the bride runs about the kraal, attempting to run home, while the girls prevent her from doing so.[1]

After this, according to Griffiths, in the Nongoma district the bride is secluded for two days in a hut, before the umqolisa beast is killed.[2] This animal must be killed with one stab, cut up without the stomach's being pierced, and divided among various people according to definite regulations.[3] Mrs. Krige, in her analysis,[4] does not mention the two days' seclusion before this killing, but cites Plant as saying that the bride remains in her hut during the slaughtering of the animal. According to Isaacs "the bride and her friends with great formality approached the bleeding animal which they touched and retired."[5] As soon as the animal is cut open the bride and her companions bar themselves in her hut, into which the men of the eketo force an entrance to scatter gall "on or before" the bride. She comes out and washes in the river; then all her companions, except the girl's friends, return home.[6] R. C. Samuelson says that the sprinkling of the gall is done with prayers for luck and many children.[7] The umqolisa beast is, I take it, Shooter's "Ox of the Girl", which he says is the fixing point of the ceremony", the real matrimonial tie, as previously to this the bride might still be removed.[8]

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1. loc. cit.
2. MSS. cita.
3. Ibid; Breatvedt, loc.cit.
4. MSS. cita.
5. op.cit., Vol.II, p.65.
6. Breatvedt, loc.cit.
7. op.cit., cited Krige, MSS. cita., p.278.
8. Shooter, op.cit., p.77.

But it is two days after the wedding, only, that the marriage is consummated; before the first act of intimacy (ukuMekeziswa) the bridegroom gives the bride the uMeke goat, which is eaten by the umtimba girls.[1] According to Braatvedt this goat is presented a day later "to show she can now eat the food of the kraal except meat and milk."[2] It is these two days which Mrs. Krige apparently takes as the days of the seclusion of the bride, a seclusion which is ended by a fight in which one of the groom's party must strike the bride on the ankle.[3] (Incidentally, Bryant places the seclusion as from the fifth day after the wedding till a week later).[4]

The next rite takes place when the bride presents beads to her husband's male relatives and washes them in the cattle kraal. Now she breaks an assegaai to show she is no longer a virgin and attempts to run away for the last time. She must be caught by the man who struck her ankle before the ukumekeziswa. She washes in the river and returns to the kraal, walking behind the huts as a sign of respect (hlonipha) to the occupants and the spirits. Early the next day (the fourth) she and her girl friends sweep the umzi and gather firewood for all to use; then her friends return home.[5]

The young bride now begins to settle in. Before she can uncover her face in the presence of her relatives-in-law each must give her a present; between the/

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1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.383.
2. Braatvedt, loc.cit.
3. Id., Colenso, op.cit. "Makoti".
4. Dict., op.cit., "goya", p.194.
5. Braatvedt, loc.cit.

the huts she always walks covered, khonipha'ing the spirits lest sickness occur.. After a week[1] she begins to work.[2] Before she can eat milk or meat of the kraal various ceremonies must be observed, including sacrifices.[3] According to Leslie, she goes to her father, taking the broken assegaai and returns with a goat which is slaughtered. The assegaai which represented her virginity is returned just before she partakes of the milk of her new home;[4] as Mrs. Krige says, by returning it she finally breaks from her old home and enters on her new life.[5] According to Griffiths, a goat known as indlakudla is killed before she eats amasi.[6] R. C. Samuelson calles it the umqwema or inkomo yoklezo (spoon beast). Its slaughtered and a portion of its dung is brought to her - she sends it away. The same thing is done with a piece of meat.[7] Thus gradually she agrees to eat of all the food of the umzi. For a year she works for her mother-in-law, and has no fire in her own hut which she only uses to share with her husband at night. She works for all the umzi.[8]

"All this time," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "the very strict avoidance customs between herself and her husband's father and his elder brothers serve to mark the strain which is put upon the sib by the incursion of a stranger into its midst. Only very gradually, after/

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1. c.f. Bryant's period of seclusion, supra, "goya".
2. Breatvedt, loc.cit.
3. Ibid; R. C. Samuelson, op.cit., p.370.
4. Leslie, loclcit.
5. MSS. cita, p.232.
6. MSS. cita.
7. op.cit., p.370.
8. Hoernlé, op.cit., p.489.

after the birth of children and in middle age, will this restraint be relaxed, when the woman who once came as a stranger has become a real daughter of the house."[1] As Junod says of the Thonga, marriage "is a contract made between two groups, which enter into a special relation towards each other. This relation is fraught with danger, because the interests of both groups are involved; a bride and gridegroom are inspired with a mutual feeling of fear, knowing that an eventual misunderstanding between them will have its reactions among the two groups. The two families regard each other with mistrust." In time the rites that symbolise that mistrust and doubts as to the future are lessened in intensity as the marriage proves successful.[2]

There is no need for me to describe elaborately the marriage ceremonies of the Transkeian tribes, as these follow, in most respects, the Zulus. Moreover, complete descriptions are available for the Bomvana[3] and Xosa[4], with which Mrs Hunter's unpublished information on the Pondo agrees. Bosmore[5] and Macdonald[6] give general (or at least unidentifiable) descriptions for the Transkei which are also consistent with Cook and Soga's work, as are the definitions given in Kropf's Dictionary. I propose therefore to make a few quotations which will illustrate my thesis, nor do I think that this procedure will bias the argument by presenting/

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1. Ibid., p.289.
2. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.252-3.
3. Cook, op.cit., pp.72-88.
4. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., pp.226-243.
5. Maclean, op.cit., pp.43-54.
6. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XIX, pp.270-3.

presenting facts out of their cultural context, as the Kafir customs may be examined against the background of Zulu marriage ceremonial. One Transkeian custom, however, which is not found among the Zulu, is the looking over, by the men and women of the bridegroom's kraal, of the bride and her girl companions, who are stripped to the waist or entirely naked.

Otherwise there are certain significant customs among the Kafirs. We may note here that three animals are brought by the uduli party to the bridegroom's kraal. Firstly there is the impoto ox which the bride's party kills, by special permission, in the cattle kraal; all agree that this is not a sacrifice - "just meat", Miss Hunter was informed - but it is distributed among both parties,[1] so evidently it is the first introduction of the bride's sib to the spiritual home of their new relatives, i.e. to the cattle kraal. The second beast, ingakwe, is a cow; it is the bride's personal property, and is to provide her with milk.[2] The third, the eyobulanga or ubulunga, is, says Soga, "regarded as sacred, and is in a very special sense indicative of ownership by the bride. It cannot be claimed by the husband for any purpose whatever without the consent of his wife, and this is rarely given. Even the chief of the tribe cannot confiscate the ubulunga animal on any pretext. From the tail of this beast sufficient hairs are plucked to make a necklace for the young wife. It acts as a charm, warding off from its wearer calamity, illefortune and ill-health.

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1. Opera cita, Cook, p.74; Soga. pp.231-2; Hunter, MSS.
2. e.g. Soga, ibid., p.232.

It protects not only herself but her children also."[1] These three beasts illustrate the passing of the bride from her old sib to her husband's; the killing of the impotulo in the sacred kraal by strangers signifies that she is being transferred or at least her procreative powers are; but she is not yet a member of her husband's sib, and so has the inqakwe cow to give her milk; she never passes over completely, and the ubulunga "gods" are never her gods to the end of time."[2]

The ukutshata ceremony is the crux of the affair, and it is held among the Pondo two days after the killing of the impotulo beast. According to Kropf, the word is used of the bride's walking with the wedding party to the cattle-fold and throwing an assegaai into it, which is part of the marriage ceremony; by this step she proclaims that she is now mistress of the place."[3] In Dugmore's description, this procession is led by a man who removes all sticks and stones from the path. "On reaching the kraal gate, the bride throws the assegaai within it, and leaves it there. The procession then moves towards where the men are assembled, the women of the place preceding the bride, and imitating in dumb show her future duties, such as carrying wood and water and cultivating the ground. On reaching the assembly of the men, the procession halts, and the bride is lectured on her future conduct by any one of them who chooses."[4] Miss Hunter does not mention the throwing of the assegaai in her description of the Pondo ceremony, but she describes the sweeping of the path/

1. e.g. Soga, ibid. p.232. N.B. Hoernlé, op.cit. p.489.
2. Hoernlé, op.cit., p.483.
3. Kropf, op.cit., "uku Tshata", p.402.
4. Macleau, op.cit., pp.50-51.

path,[1] another. Hoernle's Pondo informant evidently did describe the hurling of the assegaai.[2] According to Soga, the Xosa bride places the assegaai in the ground between herself and her mother-in-law "as a peace offering and a declaration of a bond of union between them;"[3] among the Bomvana, when the bride is seen and accepted "she walks up to the cattle-kraal gate and standing just at the gate thrusts a spear into the ground just inside the gate on the left side. This is to show that she will produce a brave man."[4] Otherwise Soga and Cook agree that the path is swept and the bride and bridegroom exhorted as to how to behave;[5] Soga adds that the bride is given a new name by her male relatives-in-law and her mother-in-law. At some period of the ceremony (when is not clear) the bride is secluded.[6] Kropf (agreeing with Bryant on the Zulu) places it as being after the marriage, "during which time she performs such offices as cooking, drawing water, bringing firewood, sweeping, kindling the fire for her parents-in-law."[7] According to Miss Hunter, the Pondo bride is not strictly secluded, but she sits behind a mat after the umtshato;[8] Cook says the Bomvana strictly seclude the bride until she "has been seen",[9] and from Soga's description/

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1. Hunter, MSS. cita.
2. Hoernlé, op.cit.,pp.488-9.
3. "Ama-Xosa", op.cot., p.239.
4. Cook, op.cit., p.81.
5. vide quoque, Kropf, op.cit., "uku Halalisa", p.140.
6. loc.cit.
7. op.cit., "uku Kota", p.157.
8. MSS. cita.
9. op.cit., p.231.

description the Xosa seclusion occurs at the same time.[1] Macdonald agrees with this.[2]

The interpretation of these rites is, on the face of it, fairly simple. The sweeping of the path by the bride's sib-mates symbolises the desire that the bride's life in her new home should be easy; Mrs. Hoernlé suggests that the planting of an assegaai in the kraal is "the woman's claim to a share in the life of the kraal;"[3] then, and the sequence is significant, she is instructed in her household tasks and told how a married woman should behave. The period of seclusion is the usual way of accustoming the people to a new order of things. The newcomer is in the kraal, but hidden, and while they adjust themselves to her arrival she is not there to distract them.

The ceremonies are marked by dances, feasting, the giving of presents, mimic fights, etc., as among the Zulu, and conclude with sacrifices (or at least killings) and rites to enable the bride to eat of the milk of her husband's sib. I describe, for example, the Xosa ceremony: Before the uduli party returns home the bridegroom kills a goat for the bride. She eats of it, and is thus introduced to the "food of the family," by being initiated as a member of her husband's family. Amasi is then taken from the milk sack, and poured into a dish, from which the young bride takes a mouthful and spits it on some dung from the cattle kraal. "This is done to indicate a bond between the bride/

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1. op.cit., p.231.
2. op.cit., Vol.XIX p.272.
3. op.cit., pp.488-9.

bride and her new home."[1] (And here I may mention an analogous Bomvana custom, which used to take place every morning till the seeing of the bride. A little dung from the cattle-kraal was stolen by the leader of the ududi, and rubbed by the bride and her two girl attendants on their cheeks. "This rite", says Cook, "seems to be in the nature of a conciliation, of making friends with the cattle of the ancestors of the kraal."[2])

After her marriage the bride observes the rules of ukuhlonipha, treating her new relatives with great respect, and avoiding the cattle-kraal. Gradually, only, are the restrictions more or less relaxed.

The marriage of a chief throws little extra light on the interpretation of marriage ceremonies, though it is clear that the greater the power of the groom the larger will be the attendance at his wedding, while poor people may have to omit much of the ceremonial.[3] From Junod's description of the marriage of the chief,[4] it appears that the lobola for his great wife is contributed by his people. He does not accompany his betrothal party on its visit, nor is the visit returned; and his wife is given her own hut immediately after the marriage. The chief, it would seem, is above custom; he is so great that his wife is taken, without all the gradual rapprochement of his royal sib and the sib of his wife, into the midst of his group. But after all, as will be seen, the chief is the soil and the tribe, and so there is no necessity for/

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1. Soga, op.cit., p.234.
2. Cook, op.cit., pp.80-1.
3. Ibid., p.82.
4. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.376 seq.

for this ritual.

There are, however, other occasions on which the marriage ceremonial is varied. Among the Thonga the only one mentioned by Junod is where a young man who is too poor to provide lobola, persuades a girl to elope with him.[1] Then there is no ceremony, a proof that, as Mrs. Doerale says, the lobola is the core of the transaction.[2] Among the Zulu, girls seduced before marriage, widows and divorced women were only married privately in the presence of their immediate relatives.[3] Do not all these examples tend to support the thesis that the marriage ceremonies are to allow of for the re-ordering of sentiments? The seduced girl has already abandoned her parents for sexual intimacy, the crucial affair of marriage; the widow and the divorcee have passed through the re-orientation before. Griffiths notes that an extra feast is held for first-born daughters, before the setting out of the umtemba. The father of the girl invites the groom's people to a feast; before they arrive a beast is killed and eaten by the girl's family. Another beast is killed when the others arrive. There is dancing and singing. The purpose of this ceremony, according to Griffiths, is "to show that the two parties are friends"; possibly it is an extra ceremonial, I suggest, when the eldest daughter, in whom the oldest sentiments of the parents are centred, departs. Their acuter dysphoria may be compensated for by the extra feast.

A curious marriage rite is practised among the Ronga/

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1. op.cit., Vol.I, pp.119-20.
2. op.cit., p.491.
3. R. C. Samuelson, op.cit.
4. MSS. cita.

Ronga if a man brings a wife from afar. Both bring a little earth from her home and she eats a little of it in her porridge every day to accustom herself to her new abode. "This earth provides the transition between the two individuals."[1]

In general, then, the marriage ceremonies of the South-Eastern Bantu show the presence of the three rites de passage. The bride and bridegroom wear special brass ornaments; she may change her name; they are told how to behave - in short, they are transferred from the group of the unmarried to the married. Secondly, the bride is moved in a measure from her old sib to her new sib as pointed out in the analysis of the impotulo, inqakwe and ubulunga beasts. Her sib, with great reluctance, says goodbye to her, and sacrifices for her, begging her ancestors to accompany her to her new home. She introduces herself to her husband's sib and its ancestors by betrothal visits and by gifts, she is allowed in their spiritual home the cattle-kraal, where she stakes her claim to live there. Her father-in-law sacrifices to his ancestors and begs them to accept the newcomer, and he and her father pray to their respective ancestors to bless the union. Finally, the two sibs move from suspicion to trust and kinship, i. through various visits marked by mutual reluctance and sham fights, and are only overcome by gifts; they dance separately at first, then together, and, as Radcliffe Brown says, a "dance is to enable a number of persons to join in the same actions and perform them as one body..... an activity in which, by virtue of the effects of rhythm and melody, all the members of a community/

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1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, p.49 footnote (1)

community are able harmoniously to cooperate and act in unity."[1] Therefore, as Radcliffe Brown goes on to prove for the Andamanese, in these dances first the unity of each sib is separately expressed, then their new community is represented in, and created by, a common dance. This new relationship is finally cemented by their eating and drinking together.

Secondly, the very elaborateness of the marriage ceremonial and the time taken to complete it, allow the foundations of new behaviour patterns to be laid; all the people involved have time to re-order their sentiments. The bride, by giving presents to her relatives-in-law, induces them to look kindly on her from the start. She is publicly presented to them and their ancestors with requests for a good reception. As for the bride and bridegroom, they are gradually brought together, and their marital intimacy is only achieved when the groom presents his wife with a gift.

Thirdly, all the people assemble at what is undoubtedly a crisis in the lives of those concerned, promising, in a sense, their support and giving their aid in a time of anxiety as to the future.[2] The union is given full publicity, and the status of the children (who are legitimated by the Lobola[3]) is publicly determined.

Fourthly, there are religious sacrifices involving the blessing of both sets of ancestors on a fruitful and happy union, and magical acts (such as the/

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1. op.cit., pp.247 seq.
2. vide Malinowski, "Marriage", Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th Edition).
3. Hoernlé, op.cit., pp.483-4.

the sweeping of the path[1]) to ensure this.

Finally there is an element of purification in those ceremonies (washing with the intestinal secretions of the animals killed, washing in the river, etc.). This purification is, I think, chiefly directed against the defiling effects of sexual intercourse, on which the couple are now entering, in that it will be a regular part of their lives. Junod points out that among the Thonga whereas the sexual acts of boys and girls are of no importance, the intimacy of husband and wife "in as far as it is a regular manifestation of the collective life of the family ..... (has a) terrible repercussion on the life of the community, dangerous to 'weak' members of the community itself, and to the success of the people in their various pursuits."[2] According to Miss Hunter, Pondo men and women after sexual contact are in a state of umlaza (ceremonial impurity).[3] Among the Zulu it is apparently the eating of the uMeke goat, by the um Timba girls, which removes the impunity, as they do not eat of it until they know that intercourse has actually taken place; the Thonga husband must buy his right with a gift, which probably cleanses both.[4]

The power of the supernatural that is used in/

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1. My example is perhaps an unhappy one. There may be no idea here of using power through the rite to this end; it may merely be the symbolical expression of a wish.

2. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II pp.387 seq. c.f. Frazer, op. cit., pp.135 seq. Chapter on "The Influence of the Sexes on Vegetation"; all the customs relate to married people.

3. MSS. cita.

4. c.f. the custom known in Roman-Dutch Law as morgengawe, the groom giving the bride a gift on the morning after marriage "als een beloning van haar maagdom."

in the marriage ceremonies is derived from the emotional dispositions of all the participants in the drama. What these dispositions are has been set out in the text. There is the suspicion, the strained approach of the two sibs to each other; the re-orientation of the sentiments about the other sib, the bridegroom and the bride; the anxiety and doubt, as to the eventual working out of the marriage, in the minds of the two groups and the couple itself; the emotions arising out of the lobola exchange; the hopes and fears roused by the increasing status of the couple, and whether it will be to the good of the community. All these emotional reactions are potentially ambivalent. The marriage rites give them a social bias. The emotions of the sib that is to lose or gain a member are concentrated socially in itself, in a reaffirmation of its solidarity, by the sib dance and the singing of the ihubo; and secondly in the new community between the two sibs, through dance and communal meals. The blessings of the ancestors and the society are heaped on bridegroom and bride, so that their emotional ambivalence is, for the time being at any rate, emotionally solved; and in their eyes, and the eyes of the onlookers, the social importance of the ancestors (and, of course, the priests) and the groups that assist the couple bulks large. And the groom and bride, as well as all their relatives, are made to realise firstly the social importance of the institution of marriage itself, and secondly the social value of the individuals who, by marrying, perpetuate the group. Where cattle are used for lobola their value is emphasised. In these ceremonies, therefore, emotional power (which in the minds of the Natives must be conceived of as supernatural power, a sense of the "numinous") is indirectly

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translated so as to concentrate in, i.e. to strengthen the sentiments about, objects of social value - the social groups, the ancestors, the social hierarchy, marriage, the individuals concerned, and cattle.

(vi) Disease.[1]

Miss Hunter commences her notes on medicine and magic among the Pondo with the following paragraph: "The Amapondo believe in a neutral power X which may be tapped for social or anti-social ends; there are borderline cases, when anti-social use is condoned as justifiable revenge. There is no name for this power and it is not distinguishable from Nature as a whole: there is no word for supernatural, and no distinction between a medicine with therapeutic properties and a charm. The word iyeza includes both. Everyone who knows an iyeza can and does tap X directly, only amagqira (doctors) and amaxwele (herbalists) - being specialists in amayeza - have greater powers of tapping it." The amagqwira (sorcerers), Miss Hunter goes on to explain, tap this power for anti-social ends.[2] This quotation shows how difficult it is to draw any distinction between the natural and the supernatural, and it seems to me that here again, since the difference is not intellectual, it must be emotional. A man who takes an iyeza must surely do so with a different attitude from that with which he mends a spear. Not that that attitude would necessarily be an approach to something supernatural, or our doctors would be magicians. But

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1. I shall not deal with possession in this section; it will be considered in the chapter on magic.

2. MSS. cita.

I think that where the medicine taken is not to remove the disease so much as to attack the spiritual or defiling agency causing it, we may assume that the patient looks on his treatment as a struggle between extraordinary powers. "The Kafir doctor," writes Father Bryant, "is not only called upon to combat diseases already actually in the system, but he has also to combat the machinations and black arts of the venefici[1] of his race by charms and counter-magic. As we elsewhere observe, medicine and magic among primitive peoples always proceed together. They are one science, one art; and to the priaitive mind both are equally feasible, equally natural."[2] But there is doubtless some difference apparent to even the primitive mind of the Zulu between the housewife's use of the in-Tela-bombo climber for chest complaints;[3] the rubbing by an inyanga of powder into cutaneous incisions, and the waving away of some of this powder with the mouth of a frog, which, acting as a sort of scapegoat, is thrown back into a stream;[4] and a sacrifice to an ancestral spirit which has sent an illness.[5] It seems to me absurd to think that the natives regard all these treatments as being of the same order, equally natural they may be, but they are not even similar, let alone the same. And therefore I think one may safely assume, in view of the lack of psychological evidence either way, that certain diseases are regarded as the manifestation of superior (to beg the question I might use the word 'supernatural') powers, and that these diseases

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1. The Standard Dictionary defines venefice as "the act of poisoning or of injuring by sorcery."
2. Bryant, "Zulu Medicine", op.cit. p.9.
3. Bryant, "Dictionary", op.cit., p.668.
4. Jackson, C. G. "The Medicine Man in Natal and Zululand." 1918, S.A.J.S., p.199
5. e.g. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.167.

have to be treated in a special way. With this brief introduction I shall examine various methods of treatment among the South-Eastern Bantu tribes.[1]

Among the Thonga "there are three great causes of diseases: the spirits of the gods, the wizards and the maknumo, defilement from death or from impure persons. A fourth less common cause is Heaven. The bones will reveal by the way in which they fall which one is to combated."[2] I dare add that the Thonga must recognise "natural" ills, such as result from blows; it seems clear, too, that fever is regarded as a natural disease.[3]

The bones may reveal that a disease comes from the ancestors, and not from one of the other causes; they also indicate what ancestor is causing the trouble and what offering he requires, together with details as to where and by whom it must be made. The offering - it may only be a hen or a bracelet - is rendered up with the sacramental tsu and the ancestor is called upon to remove the disease.[4] If the illness is serious and the patient recovers a thanksoffering of millet, the oldest Thonga cereal, is made.[5]

Junod gives a list of Thonga cures, but does not/

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1. I propose to analyse here only the general principles underlying the approach to, and treatment of, disease, without going at any length into the therapeutic herbs, the process of surgery, the charms, etc., used, as a later chapter will be specially devoted to an account of "Magic, Medicine, and Religion."

2. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, p.475.

3. Ibid., p.462.

4. Ibid., pp.395 seq.

5. ibid., p.400

not distinguish which diseases are caused by defilement, wizards, ancestors or heaven.[1] All that I can gather is that a vapour-bath is used to remove ritual defilement,[2] and apparently if the sickness was sent by a noyi (wizard) he must be "smelt out"[3] and made himself to "recall his deadly spells and restore the man to health."[4] To appease an ancestor who has sent a disease sacrifice is made, as shown above. Convulsions of children come from Heaven, and some of the birth medicines are a preventative against them.[5]

Much light is thrown on Thonga beliefs in general by the social reaction to an epidemic of smallpox.[6] First of all, there is a genuine (in the light of our knowledge) scientific attempt to combat the disease on the basis of past experience, by inoculation with the virus of people already attacked. The virus is fetched from a neighbouring clan, already afflicted, by an ntukulu (sister's son) of the clan head. This ntukulu is designated by the bones. The serous fluid is taken from old people or young children who do not have sexual intercourse. The ntukulu and his companions inoculate themselves and carry the virus home in their own bodies. Then the whole clan is inoculated. From that day the whole community enters on a marginal period, during which no one may work, have sexual intercourse or eat salt. Attempts are made to promote the form of smallpox with large white sores (it is less

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1. Ibid. pp.461 seq.
2. Ibid., pp.468-9.
3. Ibid. p.526.
4. Ibid., Vol.I, P.134
5. Ibid., Vol.I, p.48.
6. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.463 seq.

dangerous than the one with small black sores) by eating only the white meat of fish, wearing necklaces of mealies and avoiding the small, dark Kafir-corn. These are magical acts, attempts to influence the course of the disease on the principle of like causing like. But if in spite of these precautions the malignant form develops, an offering or prayer must be made to the smallpox itself: "Questioner, pass on your way." For the smallpox is personified and regarded "as a real and terrible visitor coming at given intervals to examine the country and search for sinners," especially wizards. Anyone who shows signs of not recovering must confess his or her acts of bewitchment. This final attempt to cure of the disease is religious: the confession is to an outside power which then removes the malign punishment. At the end of the epidemic the clan emerges from the marginal period with special reintegrative and purificatory rites: all the huts are smeared, the patients wash off their filth on the road (preferably at a cross-road) and here the necklaces of mealies, their garments, the ochre with which they were anointed, and the ashes from the fires are thrown.

Hondlola, purification, always rounds off the care of a serious disease. The doctor sacrifices to his ancestors and prays, perhaps asking that the cure be permanent. The psanyi of the sacrificed goat, mixed with drugs, is rubbed by the patient over his body, and, as in one of the above magic rites, the particles (Embhorola) are collected; these are placed in a tree, an ants' nest, or molehill, according to the bones' commands, by the doctor, with an invocation that the disease remain there. Protective amulets which contain nail parings and hair of the patient are made; he wears these and parts of the sacrificial offering, as well as special charms to protect him, while still convalescent/

convalescent, against the perspiration of people who have sexual relations. The hondlola day is a day of feting and rejoicing, and marks the stage when the patient can again begin sexual intercourse. "The special rites which mark the end of an illness throw much light on the Thonga conception of disease," concludes Junod.[1] "A serious illness consititueesa marginal period either for the individual concerned, or, in the case of an epidemic, for the community, and the hondlola rite is the method by which the patient is reintegrated into society; it clearly has the character of a passage rite. The rubbing with psanyi, the removal of the defilement of disease, the throwing away of the 'timbhorola', the cutting of nails and hair, all these are rites of separation from the period of disease, whilst the feast of the hondlola day, and the resuming of sexual relations are rites of reintegration. In the disease of possession ..... it is the reintegration into the society of spirit-possessed persons, and amounts to an initiation." It is for this reason that I leave the treatment of possession to the section on the izinyanga. But the hondlola rite, Junod points out, has a further implication. It also aims, by disposing of the body dirt of the patient, etc., finally to void the disease.

There is one other custom of Thonga leechcraft that I wish to mention. Yearly the medicine man renews his drugs and sacrifices a goat to his ancestors, praying to them to strengthen his medicines and bring him plenty of patients. The ceremony is performed every year at the/

1. Ibid., Vol.II, at p.477.

the time of the first fruits, part of which is used in the medicines.[1] Here the power of the ancestors is invoked for, and the power of the new crops is added to, the leech's medicines.

Bryant in his article on "Zulu Medicine and Medicine-Men" seems to indicate that many of the cures of the Zulu leech do have effective therapeutic qualities, but according to Professor Watt only about 5% of them have this objective power.[2] I am not concerned with this problem, however; what I have to consider is what the Zulu themselves believe is the property of these herbs and other substances.

The Zulu, like the Thonga, consult a diviner to find out the cause of a disease. He may say it is an ancestral spirit that is causing the trouble, or a sorcerer, or apparently it may be a "disease", for he may send them to a special leech, and name the medicine to be used.[3] It seems, too, that the diviner divines the seat and nature of the diseases.[4] "Doctors who treat diseases are different from those who divine; for a man is a doctor of disease if he is able to treat disease;[5] and diviners point out the doctor of medicine who is successful."[6]

Firstly/

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1. Ibid. Vol.II, p.454.

2. vide, Watt, J. M., and Breyer-Brandwyk, M., "The Medicinal and Poisonous Plants of South Africa." (1932).

3. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.311 seq., 295 seq.

4. I call them leeches, after Rivers, op.cit.

5. Ibid., p.337.

6. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.281-2; vide also Jackson, op.cit., p.195; Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "elapa", p.128.

Firstly, there are diseases caused by the amadlozi or amatongo, the ancestors. The best descriptions of these are in Callaway's "Religious Systems of the Amazulu". "The Itongo for the most part when it reveals itself enters a village through some individual living there, and appears on some part of his body, and so he is ill." A diviner points out the cause of the disease, and the head of the umzi must kill a beast in propitiation. He goes into the cattle-kraal rubs incense on the animal, summons the spirits and prays. He asks the spirits if it is right that they should demand food by sending illness; he summons all the spirits to the feast, making no distinction lest one be offended. The bullock must bellow when it is killed. A small piece of the caul is burnt with incense in a potsherd in the indlu enkulu. The gall is poured over the villagers, and in particular the sick man, and the stomach contents are scattered over the village.[1] In one story retailed to Callaway a man was troubled in dreams and health by the spirit of his elder brother; he "was obstinate, and would not agree to kill a bullock", claiming he had already in all his offerings called on his brother's idlozi. But this brother was apparently, when alive, very pugnacious, "a man of a word and a blow", and he carried his bad character with him into the afterworld. Finally the patient killed an ox and a barren cow, and prayed to the spirit that it be good, bring good luck and stop bothering the family. The animals were stabbed by one of the patient's brothers (the patient was himself head of the umzi) and eaten in the isibaya. Then they

1. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.171 seq.

the patient recovered.[1]

From a second tale it seems that when a man is ill and dreams of an idlozi a doctor is summoned who attempts to cure him of the dream by laying the spirit: "Look," commands the doctor, "when you dream of him, take this medicine and chew it; then take a stone or a piece of firewood, and spit on it the spittle which is in your mouth when you dream of him, mixed with this medicine; spit it either on a piece of firewood or on a stone; and throw it behind your back without looking. If you look, the dreams will recur." Should this treatment be unsuccessful the doctor uses several medicines to mislead the itongo, shutting it up in an antheap. Apparently an itongo has a particularly vexatious habit of harassing his widow if she has remarried; he will make her continually miscarry.[2] A later account of how such a woman is treated agrees in most particulars with the "laying" as described above.[3]

Another description relates how a doctor with a "familiar spirit" was interviewed because a boy had convulsions. The diviner asked leading questions and finally arrived at the trouble. She said the amatongo were causing it because they wanted the village moved, and she ordered this to be done and a he-goat to be sacrificed to the boy's grandmother. The boy recovered when this was done.[4]

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1. Ibid., pp.142 seq.
2. Ibid., pp.160 seq.
3. Ibid,m pp.316-8.
4. Ibid., pp.361-374.

The amatongo are generally capricious and unreasonable. But sometimes they are amenable; if someone is ill and there is no time to sacrifice or consult a diviner, they may be placated by vows to sacrifice a bullock when the patient recovers; or, if the people have no bullock, by promises to obtain one and offer it up.[1]

Sometimes the doctor would try to bar the way of the amatongo occasioning disease by magical practices. Thus when a man suffers from isidlalo (pneumonia), a disease caused by the amatongo, the doctor buries certain medicines with blood of the sick man in an ant-hill; he closes the hole with a stone and goes away. He must not look back and "the disease is barred out, and will never return again." Or he may place in the mouth of a frog, blood from scarifications on the sick man; it is released, and with it the disease.[2] These are magical acts, the power of the spirits being rendered invulnerable, or negated, by casting it out into a frog or ant's hill. The ban on looking back, frequently found, is to prevent the disease returning to the practitioner and thence to his patient, on the principle of participations. Pleurisy or pneumonia, it is worth noting, is the only disease mentioned by Bryant in his Dictionary as being specifically caused by the amatongo, but I presume that the ancestors could send almost any disease they wished to.

The ancestors might directly intervene to cure/

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1. Ibid, pp. 235-6.
2. Ibid., pp.314 seq.
3. op.cit., uluHlabo, p.233; Bokoda, p.43.

cure a suffering descendant. Thus a spontaneous emission of blood from the nose is supposed to be caused by the amadlozi to improve the person's health by relieving him of an injurious surplus of blood.[1] And Callaway has an account of how the imamba (spirit in a mamba) of a chief appeared and healed a sore on a boy's thigh. Medicines had been of no avail and the sore was increasing in size, when the snake appeared, placed its mouth on the sore and went out of the house. The sore healed.[2]

I propose now to examine diseases caused by abatakati. Jackson has analysed the relationship of diviner, leech and wizard, and it appears that the leech may attempt to anticipate as well as frustrate the machinations of the wizard who is pointed out by the diviner as the cause of the disease. The wizard works in various ways. He uses, says R. C. Samuelson,[3] parts of the human body, excrement, body-dirt, baboon parasites and baboon parts, herbs and parts of animals, stones struck by lightning, etc. Bryant in his Dictionary cites, according to my reckoning, some fifty different kinds of takata (bewitching) medicine.

The pain or ill which takata medicines cause in one's limbs is known as amabulawo, and diseases of this/

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1. Ibid., "uMongulo", p.391.

2. "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.204-5.

3. pp.294-5. This author sees no social difference between imingoma, izanusi or izinyanga zokubhula (magicians) and abatakati,imikhovu and izinswelaboya (wizards and their familiars) all of whom he calls, with as little political as anthropological discrimination, Bolshevists, Nihilists, Socialists and Labourite Communists.

this type are generally painful swellings of the joints from rheumatism, chronic gout, etc.[1] The abatakati also cause malaria (imBo, p.41), wasting away (imBune, p.87) dropsy (isi Kukuku, p.326), pleurisy (u Mangwe, p.376), excessive menses (u Mopo, p.391), proneness to thieving and alcoholism (i Nolo, p.717), insanity (Hlunga, p.28), and sudden death (u Ntla-kanye, p.451).

Some of these medicines are classed generically as imi Bulelo (p.55) and these are placed in a kraal, along paths or elsewhere by abatakati in order to cause fatal diseases in those coming into contact with them. (vide Bekela, p.28). A powerful umbulelo is made of the placenta of a woman and a mare mixed with human fat, a poisonous bush (umdlebe) and certain sea-creatures. A very powerful umBulelo is the bark of this umDhlebe tree (p.100) and when a doctor cuts it he must first smear his hands with the bile of a goat and then, approaching the tree from the windward side, he must throw his axe so as to chip out small pieces of the trunk. Calloway quotes a graphic description of the evil power of this tree; it causes men to swell up and die with their bones racked with pain, and spreads the disease of imbo (malarial dysentery, enteric). So much is this tree feared that the people hlonipha (do not use) its name.[2] Intsizi (p.654) medicines, consisting of black powders of the flesh, skin, feet, etc., of various animals, burnt with certain herbs, are used to cause amabulawo. Any Zakata medicine which is administered by being "put into"/

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1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "i Bulawo", p.54-5. In this section on the Zulu all references in brackets are to Bryant's Dictionary.

2. "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.423-6.

into" or "placed down for" a person is known as an umtelelo (p.620). Medicines to kill people off are amaBozisa (p.51). Or the umtakati may follow a victim to stool and use his or her excrement to cause prolapsus ani, a miscarriage, or other sexual or urinary disease (um Ncono, p.408; um Didi, p.109; Callaway, Religious Systems", p.351). The wizard also works on people's soiled raiment, which contains their body-dirt, (isi Dwedwe, p.125) or he may affect them by placing a crow's quill, containing medicine, in their footprints (u Mankunku, p.773). Other methods of takata are:- to ncindela (p.407) is to takata a person by pointing muti (medicine) at him with one's forefinger for which purpose injumbane (p.282) is used. To stay the action the umtakati must point at his victim again, but with the knuckle of the forefinger, the hand being closed fist-wise. The ngayiyana (p.419) bark is squirted from the mouth of the umtakati in the direction of the victim whom it is said to make insane. Poison may be mixed (Qotela, p.544) with a person's snuff. Another method is to make an infusion of the roots of the u-Qume (p.548) bush, hippobromus alatus, mixed with a little earth from the footprints of the person who is to be killed. The umtakati takes the infusion as an emetic, and vomits it into the hole of a snake, calling out the name of his victim who will soon die. (The name participates in the victim's personality). Or a small piece of a certain white substance (im Bati, p.763) imported from Tongaland is burnt on a cinder and blown in the direction of the person to be harmed. It will reach him, however far away he be, and cause an outbreak of black spots on his legs. In Natal an umtakati may

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smear the bark of the um_Dahleni (p.772) tree, mixed with his urine, round his belly, and this will cause all who come into contact with him to suffer from stricture. Or a man may inflict swelling of the legs on another travelling behind him by smearing medicine on his own feet. (umDabu, p.765).

Among various imiti used, besides herbs, by the abaNakati, there are, in addition to those given by Samuelson, the following recorded in Bryant's Dictionary. Crocodile's liver (isibindi, p.39) is very powerful, the fat of a Kafir (i Dhlaligwavuma, p.98), of a white man (i Pumalimi, p.516), and of the eland (isi Dumuka, p.122); the hairs of animals, as e.g. of the lion, are introduced into the chest to cause consumption (uDosi, p.117); a black-backed toad which is mixed with human placenta (i Dwi, p.125); the uNomatumbozane toad (p.439); a certain hedgehog (in Tloli, p.636); sea molluscs (Felakona, p.142); while the eyes of a leopard, land-crab and sea-crab will cause the victim's eyes to protrude and fall out (in-Kala, p.288); the dried menses of a baboon will cause excessive menses in a woman (uMopo, p.391); and finally the earth from the grave of a relative will cause swelling of the belly or uterine disease (ili Qangane, p.528) and apparently earth from any grave will cause lung sickness (isi Hlaba, p.232).

These are the varied machinations that the medicine man has to combat when the diviner indicates that a wizard has caused the disease. In many instances, it is curious to note, the poison is also the antidote. For example an imBozisa medicine is nullified by medicines with the same generic name (p. 50), and the u Maboqwana (p.372) plant umbulelo is both cause and cure. Izintelezi (p.620) are a genus of medicines/

medicines used to counteract evil such as the poisons of an umtakati; they are generally sprinkled. (vide quoque, Callaway, "Religious Systems", pp.424 seq., p.435, footnote, footnote 9). The uMabophe (p.372) plant, Acridocarpus Natalitus, is one of these, and the doctor may increase, or express, the power of the herb by shouting, "Catch him, mabophe." Bryant gives many other examples of izintelezi plants. uSahlulamanye (p.561) is a panacaea against takata poison; otter skin (um Tinè, p.629) is also a general prophylactic. imFingo (p.146) is a generic term for imiti used against takata. An anticipatory prophylactic is alligator's dung (isiLambulala, p.347) which will cause any person who takes internally takata poison to vomit it up; isi Qu (p.544) is used by the doctor to check the course of a disease while he prepares the actual remedies.

Other medicines used against the abatakati are: the dry excrements of a lion burnt and mixed with those of an alligator are an excellent emetic for one who has been poisoned by an umtakati (in Bube# p.50); in-Dawoluti, the black kind of Belamcanda punctata (p.93); um Kwangu (p.337) which is used against imi Bulelo; an umzi headman sprinkles inTwalabombo (p.668) to nullify the "black art" of abatakati.

A third cause of disease is the ritual sanction. isi Manga (p.376) is an eruption on the body which is popularly attributed to incest. Abscesses, for some reason, break out on the bodies of people who mock the ibis, inkankane. (in Gqangqamatumba, p.197). The ritual sanction, however, falls on, in addition to moral offenders, people who have failed to observe the rules prescribed by customary ritual. Thus iliQungo P.550) is the madness that overtakes a man who has killed an enemy and thereafter failed to go through

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a process of self-fortification. But generally it is the ancestors who punish breaches of custom or ritual, or moral offneces, by sending disease, i.e. a religious sanction. One presumes that the treatment for ritual diseases - Bryant gives none - is some process of purification.

Disease may fourthly be caused by the magical sanction. Thus a swelling of the stomach or a certain uterine disorder are supposed to be due to a rash oath, generally made in the heat of a dispute, not to eat the food of the other disputant. The latter retorts with a curse, "ungadla okwami, wobudla iqangane." ("You can eat at my place, you would have eaten iqangane") The afflicted person must make amends to the injured party and there is a process of mutual hand-washing to lift the disease. The same curse may be uttered against a thief. (ili Qanganeq p.528). Here magical power is transmitted by a spell. A large number of urinary diseases (of the kidneys, bladder and generative organs) are the results of the working of the magical sanction. To be afflicted with i Zembe (p.725), u Jovela or gobandlovu (p.186) "is somewhat of a disgrace, for it is held to be the result of illicit intercourse with the wife of another man who has previously 'treated her' in such a way that, although she be in no wise inconvenienced herself, she shall nevertheless be capable of conveying the disease to her paramour."[1] The husband uses various ingredients, including turkey-fat. (i Zembe, p.725; umSizi, p.593). This is not takata, because its use is apparently condoned by public/

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1. Bryant, "Zulu Medicine", op.cit., pp.47 seq.

public opinion: it is the paramour who is disgraced. The cure is a violent purging. (Bryant, "Zulu Medicine", p.47.) iliQondo (Dictionary, p.541; Zulu Medicine, pp.48-9) is a similar disease injected by the lover or ~~a~~ father of a girl who is suspected of infidelity ~~with~~ by lover or father her ~~paramour~~.[1] She is made to drink a mixture of iBhucu herb (Bulbine natalensis) and various animal substances and passes it, vicariously through intercourse, to her paramour. Or the lover or father may treat the 'lair' in the bush which the couple are supposed to frequent. iBhucu is also used to treat the disease.

There is one disease caused by medicines which is neither the working of takata or the magical sanction. It attaches as a penalty to a woman who, even inadvertently, steps over a fire-place where a doctor has been roasting certain herbs. She will suffer, after giving birth, from inflammation of the womb, puerperal fever, or other uterine disease. This is not, either, a natural disease, and might be classified, as lawyers say, as contracted sui generis, though it may be a ritual sanction on a pregnant woman's going near such a place. We are not, however, told that she should not do so.

An 'unskilled' man who has medicines of a may be made ill by the medicines of a more powerful doctor. "That is", remarks Callaway, "an inexperienced man bears about him powerful medicines, and therefore the medicines of another become aware that there is an opponent at hand, and pretend with the medicines till they are overcome, and he who carries them/

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them is stricken with illness. By bearing medicines he becomes a centre of influence and attraction, and is, as it were, attacked by another. One who bears no such medicine does not suffer; not being a centre of influence, he is not a centre of attraction, and so, being neutral, escapes."[1] This is, in effect, a magical sanction by which izinyanga prevent impostors and unskilled men from entering their ranks. One of Callaway's informants described a struggle of two doctors with an umdlebe tree which "is a powerful opponent; a man cannot pluck it before he has fought with it." One of the doctors, by name Upetani, attacked it and was conquered; the other, Usopetu, cured him, saying, "Yes! Yes! You are about to be satisfied that I am a doctor; you are my boy." And Upetani said, "Usopetu, you are a doctor. You have conquered me this day."[2] The competition of doctors is known as ukwamelana (Dictionary, p.212). These beliefs seem to indicate that there is a certain power in the inyanga as well as in his imiti.

I have not been able to find any record on the isiZulu which mentions diseases as coming from heaven. There are, however, ceremonies to expel disease without the use of medicines. One of these is the umshopi custom, practised, according to Bryant (Dictionary, p.580) when an epidemic of sickness occurs. Apparently, from his later information,[3] the umshopi is carried out every December, when fever is rife. The girls of the neighbourhood meet at nightfall.

They/

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1. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.420 seq; p.420 footnote 84.
2. Ibid., loc.cit.
3. Unpublished MSS., circa 1933.

They are nude save for grass belts. They march in a long file to the different kraals, and as they go they sing, "e yebuya! Gwababa, hu! wa-nyonyoba. Yek' u Manyonyoba njengesela lenTlumu," and strike stones together. Bryant, unfortunately, does not translate the song, but its meaning, as far as I can gather it, is: "Go back! Carrion crow, hu! You entered the kraal as a thief at night! Leave off O thief at night, who is like one who steals this vagina." The mothers lay their children, up to the age of four, in the courtyard, and the girls, marching up the kraal, skip over them, pass round the top of the isibaya, out into the night and on to the next kraal, till the circuit is completed. That night they sleep naked, either in the open by the stream or in some old woman's hut. Early next morning they fashion for themselves, out of umXopo grass, dresses made up of girdles which overlap each other, from head and face, to the neck, to breasts and waist, with others on the arms and legs, so that the whole body is hidden "beneath a costume of bright and glossy green."[1] They dance awhile, and sing lewd songs; then they make another round of the kraal and tie bunches of umXopo grass (which later they recover) on the legs of the little girls. Some sing: "Ngomshopi wawoDade, ngomshopi wawoDade, si-ya le," andothers chorus with, "Eya! e ye-e! he-ye! si-ya-le!" (The first two words appear to me to be related to wizards - umshopi=umtakati - and elder female relatives - udade= elder female.) They may only rest at the huts of the old women, and men and young married women must avoid their/

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1. Bryant, "Olden Times", op.cit., photograph facing 410.

their presence. They fast till evening, when old women bring food for them, to the river. They burn or throw away their um.Xopo dresses. In the morning they bathe in the river to wash away the umshopi, take a mouthful of water and squirt it in all directions to exorcise the fever demon with, "Puma matakati," (go out umtakati). Still nude they go back towards the kraal from which they started. Small children meet them with their ubendle girdles (their ordinary dress) and the girls don these and partake of a meal which must not include meat or beer. (Colenso in his dictionary describes, under the heading umTshopi, the girls as herding the cattle but this belongs, as will be seen, more properly to the Nomkubulwana ceremony, pukula.)

If the fever is not exorcised by the umshopi the mothers take their young babies, and, singing a song of defiance, go off to a flat stretch of sand skirting the local river. In this sand they bury the children up to the neck. They strip, and run about shouting, "Maye! ngom Ntanami! Maye! ngom-Ntanami!" (Alas! with my child!) Shocked at the sight and unnerved by the clamour of howling babies and shrieking women, the affrighted demon is supposed to flee. The women free their babies and proceed home.[1]

I shall conclude my description of Zulu beliefs and practices about disease by setting out briefly the various medicines and treatments to which the Zulu leech resorts. The genera of medicines are:-

(I) Black and White Medicines.[2]

Black medicines (imiti emnyama) are all such as/

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1. Bryant, MSS., cita; Dictionary, "Lahla", p.244.

2. Ibid., "umuTi", pp.625-6; Jackson, op.cit., p.198; Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.142, footnote.

as are administered in order to charm away evil, or remove a cause of disfavour. Roots are bruised, mixed with water and churned: the patient drinks the froth and washes his body with it. On the first occasion of its being taken, this is done in some place where aloes are abundant and the contents of the stomach (imiti emnyama are emetics) are vomited on to a fire of aloes. The "badness" must be consumed. On subsequent occasions it is ejected on pathways so that others may walk over it and take away the filth that is the cause of the offence. When taking black medicine the patient must observe certain abstinences or taboos (ukuzila), as, e.g., not leaving the kraal, not eating certain foods, not seeing certain persons, not practising some customary usage. He is released from these, and from the effects of the imiti emnyama, by the process of ukupotula (p.611) which consists in taking white medicines (imiti emhlope) after washing or anointing one's body with medicated water or grease.[1] According to Callaway, while the imiti emhlope are being churned the amatongo are praised and asked for success.[2] Lugg distinguishes imiti emnyama and emhlope: "The former medicines are believed to be endowed with supernatural powers, whilst the latter, when used in connection with these feasts,[3] are employed to restore the King to a normal state after being treated with the black medicines in order that he may be re-admitted to society without harm to it."[4] That is, the black medicines/

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1. vide, Jackson, op.cit., p.198.
2. "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.143, footnote.
3. Agricultural Ceremonies.
4. Lugg, H. C. "Agricultural Ceremonies in Natal and Zululand", Bantu Studies, Vol.III (1927-9) at p.361.

medicines stir up supernatural power in the King, the white tone down this power, so that he may again move in society. In general, then, imiti emnyama stir up supernatural power, and by doing so act against evil (e.g. disease) while imiti emhlope rid one of the effects of the emnyama.

(2) Amakambi (p.290). These are medicinal herbs, the leaves or roots of which are used by Native mothers as common household remedies.

(3) Izimbiza (p.40). These are generically decoctions prepared by the leech for scrofula, chest complaints and blood purifications.

(4) Iziconco (p.79) are infusions made by pouring cold or lukewarm water upon medicinal leaves, pounded roots, etc.

(5) Amakubalo (p.324) are wood medicines, i.e., bark or roots, used for self-fortification after a death; they must be taken before any food can be touched. (vide Jackson, p.202).

(6) Izintelezi (p.620) are medicinal charms whose object is to render takata, lightning or other evil powerless. They are sprinkled on the huts and people, and on soldiers. (vide Jackson, p.198; Calla-way, "Religious Systems", p.437).

(7). Imifingo (p.146) also render the charms of an umtakati innocuous. (vide Jackson, p.198).

(8) Imsizi (p.593) is any medicine burnt to a black powder, but it is applied more particularly to the muti used to cause the izembe disease.

(9) imikando (p.292) are various medicinal charms - usually stones, quartz, etc., but sometimes roots - used for gaining ascendancy over another or rendering his medicines powerless.

I have here given only the generic names of medicines/

medicines. Bryant gives a full list of Zulu medicines in his paper on "Zulu Medicine and Medicine-Men". (pp.77-103). The text of that paper, as stated above, seems to indicate that many of these medicines do possess genuine therapeutic qualities, an opinion which Jackson apparently supports, though Watt only agrees in very small measure. How then are these medicines administered, and what other treatments are used? Here medical practice and magic are inextricably woven: according to Jackson it is first necessary to give imiti emnyama, then emhlope, and render the umtakati powerless by sprinkling izintelezi and giving the patient imfingo. Now the leech attacks the disease itself. An emetic is almost always given, followed perhaps by a clyster, and counter-irritants and bleeding may be used.[1] The treatment varies with the inyanga, for each is a law unto himself, but there are certain general methods of cure.[2]

The leech works on the principle "as many symptoms, so many diseases," and they treat these reparately. Bryant summarises their treatments as the use of emetics and enemas; bloodletting or cupping; poulticing; and vapour baths. Medicines are also chewed and snuffed.[3] They clean out wounds (caca, p.65); lance abscesses (camuka, p.67); inhale medicines (hozela, p.264), and perform various surgical operations (Zulu Medicine, pp.68 seq.), and treat snake-bite. (Ibid., p.71). The occasion and manner of these cures I need not quote here; they are clearly set out, in their therapeutical functioning, in Bryant's paper. I merely give a few instances

1. Jackson, op cit, p.198.
2. Ibid., p.197; McCord, J.B. "The Zulu Witch Doctor and Medicine Man". 1918, S.A.J.S., p.308.
3. Bryant, "Zulu Medicine", op cit, pp.13-14,19,36.

where such treatments are clearly magical.

A native suffering from toothache sits on a rock under which an ukotetsheni (p.320) rock-lizard lives; he draws a little blood from his gums and spits it out on the ground. Soon the lizard comes out, sucks up the blood, and the pain ceases. It is evidently passed on, through the blood, to the lizard. I have mentioned above examples of diseases being passes on to ants or frogs. For instance, a child with mumps should go to a white ants' hole, very early in the morning, and call into it, "Zagiga, Zagiga, ngiyeke". (Mumps, mumps, leave me).[1] Venereal disease may be cured by placing a live frog against the afflicted parts and then throwing it into a stream.[2] In these magical rites the power of the disease is shifted by contact to the frog or ants.

Many medicines are employed on Frazer's principle of homoeopathic or imitative magic - "simillia similibus curantur".[3] Thus for spasms and twitching of the flesh twitching animals or insects are used, and medicine of the imFingezi beetle, worms and sea-animals and plants which curl up when touched, are rubbed into incisions in the skin as well as taken internally. If blood runs from the mouth or nose it is necessary to take the bark of trees which have juice like blood (e.g. umdlebe, ugazi) and parts of an animal which has much blood or which bleeds readily.[4]

Other medicines are used because, as parts of certain animals or things, they are believed to participate in the nature of the whole and to transfer its qualities to the patient. Thus to cure

nervousness/

1. Jackson, op cit, p.200; Bryant, Pect., "Zagiga," p.719
2. Lugg, Mss.; Krige, Mss. cits, p.353.
3. Frazer, op cit, p.12
4. McLord, op cit, pp.310, 309.

nervousness and fear one should take the heart, eyes and fat of a lion, fat and flesh of the elephant and other powerful animals, with certain barks and cow's and sheep's blood. The best part of the animal is just below the chest, where one feels the palpitation of the heart - evidently conceived as the seat of the animal's power. Apparently - McCord's ~~Kelsey's~~ informant is rather confused - this medicine could be used to stay diseases, on the argument that since a lion is strong its fat, etc., will prevent the disease from growing on the body, while a python is used to keep the disease ~~keeps the disease~~ in one place, because a python holds everything together.[1]

Thirdly, medicines used for their special powers are parts of sacrificed animals. One of Callaway's descriptions merely states that an ox is killed and the tendons are used as medicine in the cure, but since "the gall is poured on him, that the Amatongo may come and see him and lick him, that he may get well", I assume that the ox is sacrificed - though, it is true, the account says that it is killed by the doctor, not the head of the family.[2] Another account, however, clearly describes the sacrifice of a goat, and the pouring of the gall over the patient. We are told: "Our cousin went to pluck the Itongo-medicine; he squeezed the juice into a cup, and gave it to the boy to drink ..... The goat was eaten."[3] Here are involved, I think, two elements: the patient is closely associated with the sacrifice and the parts of the sacrificial victim carry healing power in themselves.

There/

1. Ibid. loc.cit.
2. "Religious Systems", op.cit., p. 313.
3. Ibid., p. 361.

There are two further points I wish to note before leaving the Zulu approach to disease. Firstly, when the doctor digs for medicines he worships his amatongo, asking them to bless his medicines.[1] And secondly, "the chief," says Callaway, "collects to himself all medicines of known power; each doctor has his own special medicine or medicines, and treats some special form of disease, and the knowledge of such medicines is transmitted as a portion of the inheritance to the eldest son. When a chief hears that any doctor has proved successful in treating some case where others have failed, he calls him and demands the medicine, which is given up to him. Thus the chief becomes the great medicine-man of his tribe, and the ultimate reference is to him. If he fail, the case is given up as incurable. It is said that when a chief has obtained some medicine of real or supposed great power from a doctor, he manages to poison the doctor, lest he should carry the secret to another or it be used against himself."[2] Implicit in this citation are three points of importance: the chief's monopolising medicines, and the tendencies of the trade to be hereditary and very specialised.

In view of the elaborate detail in which I have set out the Zulu beliefs and practices, I do not think I need to analyse the Transkeian beliefs so fully. But at the outset of the description of their approach to disease, it is to be noted that/

1. Ibid., p. 219.
2. Ibid., p. 419, footnote 82.

that among the Gaika, at least, "in all cases of serious illness a doctor must be employed. Should death ensue, and a doctor not have been called, the person whose duty it was to have done so, is liable to a fine, paid to the Chief."[1]

Macdonald says of the Transkeian Kafirs that with the exception of natural decay from old age or infirmity, and certain congenital diseases, all sickness is ascribed to witchcraft or the ancestors.[2] Warner states that all sickness is regarded by the Tembu as being due to the amagqwira, and therefore their doctors have neglected the use of genuine medicines; when herbs are used it is always done in conjunction with charms and sacrifices.[3] "Death and sickness in human beings are never ascribed by the Xosas," says Soga, "to natural causes, but always to human instrumentality; to some person who is the source of evil influences, who acts malevolently."[4] But other passages in Soga's book show that the Xosa recognise certain natural diseases (p.178), and illnesses as emanating from the ancestors (p.146) and evil spirits (Chap. IX). Cook's exceedingly poor description of Bomvana, [illegible] indicates the ancestors (p.115) and natural causes (pp. 130 seq.) as the only causes of disease.[5] "All serious illness," writes Miss Hunter on the Pondo,[6] "is thought to be sent either by hungry amatongo, who wish a sacrifice, or by an enemy, an igqwira. The only natural cause of death recognised/

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1. Maclean, op.cit., p.126.
2. op.cit., Vol. XIX, p.273.
3. Maclean, op.cit., p.88
4. Soga, "AmaXosa", op.cit., p. 179.
5. ~~Mac. cita~~ Cook, op cit.
6. MS. cita

recognised is old age; when a very old person dies they merely say 'Wagoduka,' (he has gone home) and do not feel it necessary to divine the cause of death. A cold or slight chill is not necessarily thought to be sent, but says one informant, 'The cold might go to your chest and you would get very ill and might die. Then they know that someone had sent it'. Opinion on epidemics is divided; some say that they do not know where they come from, others are positive that they are sent by amagqwira. Similarly most accidents, such as a fall from a horse, a broken leg, snake bite, etc., are attributed to amagqwira, only occasionally it is said, 'Ngozi nje', (just an accident). Which reason is adduced seems to depend on the temper of the patient. 'You think whether you have quarrelled with anyone lately or have an enemy who would wish to harm you'. If the injured person goes to divine the igqira will almost always accuse an igqwira." The Pondo igqwira uses various familiars to bring disease to people, but apparently certain evil spirits carry disease of their own accord. In addition to these causes of disease, the Transkeian tribes also seem to recognise the working of the ritual and magical sanctions.

Miss Hunter mentions the only instance I have found of disease coming from Heaven. "Deformity or insanity, from birth, is said to be from Tixo - 'ku daliwe ngo Tixo' (it was created by Tixo) but if it only becomes evident at a later stage, it is from the amatongo or from an enemy." The Transkeian tribes appear, then, even more than/

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