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Medicine Magic And Religion Of The Lovedu

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Since many borderline practices are judged by their result and become witchcraft when they cause death, it might be argued that this criterion must be distinctive. It is however, not enough: causing death to a husband by abortion is, as we have seen, not considered to be witchcraft, nor is the murderous khigevegwa a witch, even though he secretly kills people at night and sells part of their body to doctors. Furthermore, many accusations of witchcraft have arisen where there has been no death but only sickness or loss by lightning. The only difference between the killing by a khigevegwa and that by a witch lies in the method employed. The killer uses ordinary weapons; the witch kills by means of medicine or some peculiar powers not known to ordinary people. The distinguishing feature of all cases of witchcraft is the use or supposed use of medicine or witch-power. Intent is another feature by which one judges an action. Where a woman causes the death of a husband through abortion, her conduct is anti-social and the act is done in secret, but it differs from witchcraft proper in the absence of intent to kill. Fear of the consequences of adultery is the main force deterring her from correct behaviour; and it is argued that, if she really wishes to kill, she need not employ so round about a method.

The conclusion we may draw is that, for an action to be witchcraft, it must be disapproved of as anti-social, there must be an intent to kill or harm and it must be thought that either medicine or the mysterious forces of night witchcraft have been used. Secrecy is not peculiar to witchcraft; it is not a

distinguishing feature because it is characteristic also of most magic: one does not wish witches to know the steps one takes to counteract them.

HOW WITCHES ARE DEALT WITH.

Only a very small proportion of cases of witchcraft lead to an open accusation and legal procedure; for going to a mugome involves a long, expensive journey, and khono proceedings do not stop the witch who may indeed redouble his efforts. In many cases of illness diagnosed as due to witchcraft there is nothing definite said about the person responsible; the disease is cured, the cure itself usually involving magic to 'send back' the illness to the owner. The verdict of the dice is necessarily vague. Usually only the totem and sex are given, and the client himself with his knowledge of his own friends and enemies decides which of them is meant. The dice may indicate a totem to which none of the client's friends or enemies belong; but even if he thinks he can place the witch, one illness would hardly end in an accusation. Even death need not necessarily lead to an accusation; the grave may be treated to 'send back' death to the witch, but there are many cases in which there is neither accusation nor treatment of the grave. Whereas the Azande deal legally only with witchcraft resulting in death, among the Lovedu any form of witchcraft may find its way to the court: We have seen cases before the court of witchcraft involving theft, burning of storage huts by lightning, death of cattle, illness and a variety of other ills attributed to witchcraft.

To cause a witch to desist, the victim or usually someone

on his behalf, after consulting a doctor privately for instructions, may resort to hu shala, that is, shout out an indefinite warning from his courtyard, if possible within earshot of the suspected witch. There is no fixed formula, but usually the gist of the warning is as follows: 'People of this village, I want you to know that you must leave my 'person' alone; you must not kill him. If you kill him I shall get a doctor to kill all your relatives. If my 'person' has done any harm to you, I will pay for him; If he has done no harm, you have no right to make him ill. Tomorrow I want my 'person' to walk. If he dies, you will see! In one case a girl suffered from epilepsy and her father, standing in the courtyard shouted, 'The person who bewitched my daughter, I know him. I shall kill him with an axe. I speak not to the villages of Pheduli, Mungadani and Ratshegu, I mean this village of ours! In another case when a snake appeared at the vyali initiation and a diviner had indicated two men as the culprits, an old woman, the herald at the capital, in the presence of the women in the courtyard, called out, 'The person who has sent these snakes will feel pain. The goma of the queen is not to be 'tried' (hu lega). Sometimes a man asks the district head to call a meeting of the whole area at which the head then ebala's mentioning the totem of the suspected person. Very often there is a threat that if the sick person is not cured, the injured person will go to a mugome. The procedure is said to shame (nyowelwa) the witch, or he may take fright and withdraw the witchcraft he has sent.

SOmetimes when you have a witch in the village, so that strengthening of the fence would be of no avail, you fera him, i.e., cause him to forget to act and be 'cool', just as you fera the spirits to keep them satisfied. More usually, however, you just move away and establish your own village somewhere else. Thus when Nasodi's daughter lost her baby and the doctors all agreed that the husband's people were responsible (some said the husband's mother, others mentioned another relative), they quietly moved away, having been warned not to talk about the removal lest the witch get to know.

Accusation of a specific person may lead to khera proceedings which involve, as described elsewhere, the appointment of the 'ears' who receives a goat or 10/- from each party as well as provisions, a wager of a head of cattle or a sum of money and payment, the vanquished eventally to reimburse the victor, of £1. 10. O. or more, as the fee of the mugema. Occasionally in practice, if accused does not demand to have his innocence proved, the accuser does not go to court and the matter is left. All victims of witchcraft do not act in the same manner. One man proceeds to a specific accusation the very first time he is harmed, another only if the same witch has been responsible for many evils; If the witch is a great rival or personal enemy, the victim more readily resorts to action; but a commoner, unless he is prepared to leave the district will be careful to avoid accusing his district head or a relative of the queen. A victim never makes an accusation without previous private consultation of a number of doctors and often even a mugema as well, and the accusation is

conveyed to the witch, either directly by the victim or indirectly by his intermediary, and usually in metaphorical language. In case of illness, the witch may be invited to 'come and phasa for our patient' or in case of death to 'come and shave us', duties which only special relatives can perform; or more directly, he may be asked 'to come with us to consult the bones'. The accused will then ask demand to go to a mugome to clear his name; if he does nothing but merely remains inactive, his accuser may proceed further and take the case to the khoro. There was an interesting case (July 1939) in which a witch was made to 'phasa' to cure a child. Majie was suspected of causing the illness of her husband's brother's child, so, since they all lived in the royal village, the queen sent the parties to a smeller-out with official 'ears', without bringing the case before the court. The smeller-out pointed out Majie as the culprit, and said she must 'phasa' to cure it. Majie denied her guilt at first, but when she was called to 'phasa' for the child, she came. She took a letadvane bulb, boiled it and applied it (hu hata) to various places all over the body of the child. Then she phasa'd with water, but no one heard what she said as they discreetly left her alone to effect the cure lest they should hinder her in her work. The child recovered, but the queen has chased away Majie.

A person pointed out by the dice as responsible for illness is often asked to cure the victim. Sometimes he is shut up in a hut with the patient, and there have even been instances in which the accused has been locked in a hut with a corpse which he was expected to bring back to life. Rakhugu came one day to

the royal village to ask for a special pass to go to a smeller-out; his wife, he told us, had been accused of witchcraft. The following day he returned to report to the queen's court that his wife had been taken by force in his absence by the sons of Magwale, relatives of the sick person. He was advised to inform her relatives, because, as the court phrased it, 'You cannot know the witchcraft of your wife'. In the meantime, the accused had, according to evidence she gave later before the court, been made to sleep in the hut of the patient. She was kept in the hut for ten days, in this way, in order that she should heal the patient and since the person was too ill to go out to relieve herself, conditions became very bad. The court agreed to let them go to a "smeller-out". On the way they passed a mugoma whom they knew and he volunteered, 'This woman is not a witch. The witch has been left at home. This woman is dom (Elephant totem) but she does not bewitch. The Elephant woman that bewitches is still at large!' But the sons of Magwale replied, 'You're telling lies. We've consulted many doctors, and the dice always point to this woman.' They went a long way till they arrived at the smeller-out in Shangana Tonga territory. He smelt out, not the accused, whom he declared innocent, but her fellow-wife, who was also of the Elephant totem. When this was reported to the queen's court, the accusers were told to pay their wager (two head of cattle) to the woman they had wrongfully accused before bringing the second woman to court. A woman can not be required to go with people to consult the bones (a direct accusation of witchcraft) without the knowledge of her own relatives. When Mantwa's

fellow-wife was having a difficult childbirth, her husband's people told her to accompany them to a mugome, who pointed to her as the culprit. Mantwa went straight to her own brothers who came to Mutzere's village, asked what right Mutzere had to take their 'person' without their knowledge and demanded to go again to a smeller-out for a final verdict. Mutzere's family knew they were in the wrong and as the woman had already given birth to her child, were not anxious to go to a smeller-out. So they said, "We did not accuse Mantwa, the smeller-out did. You can do as you like but we are not going to a smeller-out with you". A great noise arose, with both parties quarrelling at the top of their voices, till late into the night. Next morning Mantwa's brothers brought the case to the queen's court. The matter was a difficult one to decide. If they allowed the brothers of Mantwa to take her husband's people to a mugome they would 'break up' (hu ruda) the village of Mutzere, for whatever the virdict, they would never again agree. If, on the other hand, they refuse to allow the case to be taken for divination, they knew Mantwa's 'heart would be sad'. But with true Bantu wisdom the court, ignoring (as so often happens) the legal issues, decided upon the course that would maintain existing social relationships. "Let the matter end" they said, "it is nonsense (zwitshelo). Mantwa and her brothers, feeling they had right on their side, were furious, but the decision of the court had its desired effect. The matter blew over, - Mantwa is still living in her husband's village-and there have been no further quarrels.

Smelling out of witches by a mugome is a relatively new pro-

cedure. Not long ago the appropriate procedure was the ordeal (mureu) and though the mureu has given way in Vulovedu to smelling-out, it can still be seen further east among the Phalavorwa. The test took various forms, but the best known was to give both parties or their chosen representatives, something to drink (usually an extract of zavazava (Datura stramonium) and place them in the sun. The first to be affected was the guilty party. It is always stated that convicted witches were killed in the days before European intervention. But in view of the large number of accusations today, it would seem that either this is an exageration or that open accusations must greatly have increased. Witches were killed by being tied and strangled then thrown by the executioners into a pool (lest they withhold rain). There is a pool which today still bears the name Khikhodumeja valoi (where witches are dropped into the water). The goods and children of the witch were taken by the queen. These children were brought up at the royal village and in the case of boys, were given cattle for procuring wives by the queen. There is at the present moment one such woman at the royal village. Her daughter is married to one of the chief councillors, the son of the queen's uterine brother. Though in theory such children are supposed to inherit the evil power of their parent, in practice this is not feared.

The attitude of people towards convicted witches depends largely upon the nature of the crime but also upon the number of relatives of the injured party living in the neighbourhood. If he has harmed a number of people in the area, or if the injured party has many relatives to side with him, the witch may be forced by public opinion to leave the area. Malaji who had caused the

difficult birth and the death of the child of his lover, became very unpopular when the witchcraft had finally been attributed to him; from being one of the cheerful young bloods in the district he quietened to reserve and restraint, and shortly afterwards he left to work in [illegible] town. But he was not ostracized by anyone except the relatives of the injured woman and, when he returns, if we may judge from other cases, the whole matter will have blown over. On the whole the attitude of the general public to a convicted witch is one of unconcern as long as his efforts have not been directed against them personally. People are accustomed to living in an atmosphere in which any one of their friends or relatives may turn out to be a witch. The atmosphere is illustrated in a proverb, the sense of which is that you may be the unsuspecting victim of the witchcraft of your closest friend, or more literally, Belagwane, the enemy, does not care; (so intimate with him are you that you eat with him (yet) he is the foe that eats you.

(Belagwane mulala a khi vone; U la nayo, gi mulala wa hu la wena) And people chased away as witches from one area or tribe never have any difficulty in being accepted into another.

Considerations such as the return of cattle are often strong enough to deter a man from chasing away a wife who has bewitched someone in the village (he would never chase away a wife merely for bewitching outsiders). When once we asked a man why he kept a wife who had been found guilty of bewitching her fellow-wife, he replied 'She is my witch' (gi mulai wa ga). Being fond of her he merely built her a separate village. Some people, who have never been publicly accused of witchcraft, are nevertheless

known to be bad witches. In such cases people may fear them and try to keep on good terms with them in order to avoid evil consequences.

One of the most fruitful studies in regard to witchcraft is the investigation of the relationship of the people who bewitch one another. Two main categories must be distinguished, viz., cases in which relatives bewitch one another, and cases in which the evil is sent by non-relatives. The Lovedu maintain, and the opinion is borne out both by one's general impressions and by the facts, that witches injure mainly those with whom they are in close contact, that is relatives and neighbours, and that it is difficult to bewitch a stranger. And it is remarkable that of fifty cases of witchcraft observed by us as they came before the khoro and given in the table below, 70% involve close relatives. Not all relatives are apt to bewitch one, but both men and woman are equally liable to harm either men or women. A mother never, it is believed, bewitches her own children, and there is even a saying to the effect, that a mugomi who points out one's mother is not able to divine, (mugome u^a tia vummahu a u khonè hu laula); and although brother and cattle-linked sister sometimes hate one another, openly as well as secretly, they cannot harm one another, it is said, because they would use 'the medicine bag of the (same) mother Similarly neither a son nor a daughter can bewitch the mother.

The most prolific single source of witchcraft is the conflict of co-wives (24% of all cases). Their relationship in the polygynous family is a difficult one; the houses are independent not subservient to one another, yet they are in close contact, and the

insistence upon compromises occasions many mental conflicts. Spouses also bewitch one another, but wives kill or injure their husbands more frequently than husbands kill their wives; it is said that a husband who has only one wife will never bewitch her, except perhaps among Christians who can have only one wife. The conflict with spouses is an aspect of a wider institutional conflict, that between relatives-in-law. If they have irksome obligations towards one another, the society insists that their relationship shall be characterized by mutual respect and helpfulness and that their difficulties, especially mumywalo difficulties, are to be resolved as far as possible by the methods and procedure of the khɔrɔ. These factors explain why, despite the many sources of tension between them, the cases are not, as might be expected, overwhelmingly predominant: only 20% of the total given in our table are cases of wives or their relatives bewitching husbands or their relatives and only 16% husbands or their relatives bewitching wives or their relatives.

What is even more arresting is the fact that easily aggrieved relatives who, as it is phrased, are very sensitive and readily nurse grievances, never or rarely bewitch: such are cattle-linked brothers or sisters, father's sisters, fathers, father's brothers and grandparents. It is even clear from what we have already said that they are conceived to have repressed complaints, but they cannot project as witchcraft their displeasures or misfortunes or failures upon those who must, but do not, respect and humour them. They can and do cause illness but it is not by way of witchcraft, and the resolution of the conflict is by pardon and hu phasa, through the gods not through vulɔi. In

other words, witchcraft is a reflection not of tension as such, whether open or repressed, but of tensions within the framework of cultural mechanisms for avoiding their being projected as witchcraft. They must be studied in the whole configuration of institutions and social values: the permissable or approved remedies, the interposition of the hierarchy of age and rank between competing individuals, the compromises and reconciliations that are insisted upon, and the extent to which mental drives are conditioned to the cultural pattern or a[illegible]ed outlets or are blocked by culturally stressed values.

The incidence of witchcraft between strangers is much more intelligible to us, because it arises in situations of conflict that are not very different from our own. But the per-centage of these cases (30%) even when we include the 10% of cases between distant kin who are neighbours rather than relatives, shows how largely the social structure is built upon the kin.

The following table represents a very broad analysis of 50 cases of witchcraft that we observed as they came before the khɔrɔ and that may be simplified for statistical presentation.

Category of Conflict	Witch(es)	Victim(s)	No of Cases	Remarks as to Nature of conflict.	%age of cases
1.Relatives.					
(a) House or co-wife against house or co-wife.	co-wife	co-wife	1	Jealousy about lovers; neglect by husband.	
	co-wife	co-wife & child of co-wife.	2	Jealousy about children & husband's attention.	
	co-wife	child of co-wife	2	Disagreements about munywalo.	

Category of Conflict	Witch(es)	Victim(s)	No of cases	Remarks as to nature of conflict.	%age of cases
(a) Cont.	CO-WIFE and her Mother	Co-wife's child	2	Favouritism of husband and other mixed motives.	
	Inherited wife.	Co-wife & her children.	2	Use of cattle of one house by another and questions of prestige	
	Widow.	fellow-widow's child.	1	Property arrangements	
	Wife of Brother.	Wife of another brother	1	Complex jealousies	
	Son of Co-wife.	Chief son and his wife.	1	Status and position.	24
(b) Wife against husband.	Wife.	husband	2	Friction, favouritism of other wives, position	
	Wife & or wife's Mother.	husband's adulterine child or lover.	4	Sexual jealousy and neglect of wife.	
	Wife	husband's sister's child.	1	Disagreement about marriage of children and munywalo	
	Wife	husband's br., his wife or his child	2	Position, jealousy	
	Wife's mother	husband's child	1	Disagreements.	20
(c) Husband against wife	husband	wife	1	Premarital seduction and munywalo trouble	
	husband	wife's adulterine child	2	Husband impotent: sexual jealousy.	

(c) Cont.	Husband	Wife's sister	1	Husband Jilted.	
	Husband	Brother's son's wife and her mother	1	Revenge for misfortune (illness)	
	Husband	Wife's brother's daughter's husband	1	Wife's brother refused his daughter as wife to witch's son.	
	Husband's mother	Wife	1	Unfaithfulness of wife.	
	Husband's mother	Wife's sister	1	Wife's sister jilted witch	16
(d) Parent and own child.	Son	Father	1	Son wished to oust father from position as district head.	
	Father	Son	1	Son cohabited with young wife of father.	
	Father	Son's wife.	1	Son co-habited with inherited wife of father.	6
(e) Uterine br. & Ss.	Elder sister	Younger sister.	1	Younger sister jilted elder sister's husband.	
	Sister	Brother's child.	1	Brother resents power of sister and munywalo trouble	4
Total Relatives.					70

2.

II Strangers.

(a) Sexual Conflicts.	Girls	Lover	1	Lover jilted girl.	
	Boy	Lover	1	Lover engaged to her cross-cousin.	
	Adulterer.	Married woman's child.	2	Loss of fine and right to woman or child.	
	Commoner (orphan)	Girl of noble birth	1	Refusal of marriage by parents who had adopted orphan.	10
(b) Various conflicts.	man and his mother.	Whole village	1	Status, loss of prestige and amenities	
	Woman	Distant male relative	1	Refusal to implement economic arrangement re partner ploughing.	
	Widow	Distant male relative.	1	Indirect economic rivalries.	
	Man	Male neighbour.	1	Stranger held cattle that came from witch as munywalo.	
	Man	Male neighbour	1	Envy of sewing machine acquired in town by neighbour.	
	Man	Driver of car.	1	Jealousy re privileges secured because he could drive car.	
	Male Friends	Man	1	Mans popularity with girls, owing to dancing abilities, resented.	
	Woman	Rival	1	Rivals for councillors attention, sexual or otherwise	

(b) Cont.	'Mother' of khoba	khoba initiate	1	Initiate who is to marry cross-cousin wanted by witch as d.-in-law.	
	Shangana Tonga	Lovedu man	1	Competition for job in town	20
Total Strangers					30

It will take us too far afield to discuss the nature of the conflicts in detail in the various cases. But a few observations are perhaps necessary. Firstly, the cause of the conflict is not necessarily the one assigned by the parties, though the objective situation is often seen by others. Sometimes very trivial causes are given but they have to be interpreted in their total setting. Secondly, as regards non-relatives, it is said that nobles are sometimes 'seen in the dice' but they are never publicly accused by mere commoners; it will be noticed that, on the other hand, there is one case of a noble accusing a commoner. Rich people who are not nobles enjoy no special immunity; unpleasant people, especially those who are quarrelsome, ambitious, or competitive, are often accused. Conflicts arise owing to close contacts but may continue after the parties are separated and witchcraft may be sent any distance, even as far as Johannesburg. Thirdly, the table does not give a number of types of cases; they are merely the cases that came before the court, many of them being dismissed as nonsense. Finally, although the motives are complicated in most of the cases, it is possible to say that jilted love or refusal of sexual advances is an important factor in about 32% of the cases recorded.

But we must not think of Freudian repressions, for sexual affairs are given recognition in the institution of wudabu. We must consider lover's conflicts in the cultural setting. The sexual urge is not repressed, but the lover whose advances are rejected, though he has opportunities elsewhere, feels aggrieved. The girl, whose choise of a marital partner is limited, seeks extra-marital adventure, but it must be clandestine and occasions difficulties, and the situation between lover, husband and wife is an uneasy one, in which ill feeling readily arises. The man, who has a child by a lover, has no institutional claim on that child, and he may be given away by the woman and have to pay a heavy fine, with the result that he is angered. There are also dangers in sexual intercourse and, if a man or woman suffers as a result, he may take revenge. In other words, a conflict situation must be ascribed, not to repressions, but to the inherent incidents of the whole cultural system. Similar considerations apply whenever we analyse any of the other situations of conflict. It is far beyond our purpose to undertake an analysis of the psychological aspects of these conflicts, but we would say that witchcraft is to be explained mainly, not by psychopathology, but by a relativistic psychology, orientating itself from the values and institutional configuration of the culture.

When a man is ill he will immediately, if he has an enemy or has had a quarrel, think of the possibility of witchcraft. This impulse is encouraged by the technique of the dice which, while indicating the totem or sex of the witch, leaves the client to decide to whom among his friends, enemies or relatives, these must apply. A person with a grievance or an unpopular person is more

likely than others to be thought responsible for harm. When some cattle of the queen, usually used by Mudumi for ploughing, were traded to a European, he complained most bitterly. A week later, when lightning struck a storage enclosure in the royal village, Mudumi was immediately suspect. Some of the cattle belonging to Setemane's inherited wife had been taken by the police together with those of her husband in settlement of a debt. She grumbled continuously about her loss. A year and a half later, on the death of a child of her fellow-wife, she was suspected at once and, after consultation of the bones, her husband chased her away. Discontented claimants to the position of district head are thought to be liable to bewitch the representatives of the queen who come to point out the true heir. Hence these representatives always come well prepared with medicine for withstanding witchcraft, and sometimes even have a doctor in their company. A person with an unpleasant face very often earns the reputation of being a witch even though nothing has been definitely attributed to him. A very old person, too, is apt to be thought a witch; his long life is attributed to his bartering the lives of younger relatives for his own. Just as people with grievances are suspected of witchcraft, so successful ones are thought to be specially liable to being bewitched - those who reap better crops than others, successful hunters, those favoured by their European masters. On the other hand, their success is also liable to be attributed to witchcraft on their part.

It has been said that witchcraft is a reflection of the intense hatreds of which the Bantu mind is capable. True, the European is appalled at the seriousness of the crimes attributed

to witches for the most trivial reasons. The mother's brother's wife kills the child of her husband's sister that is living with them because he eats too much - 'he finishes our corn'; because a woman no longer loves him, a man not only causes intense suffering to her during a prolonged birth, but also kills the child; jealous of a large crop reaped by his neighbour, a man sends lightning to destroy his whole harvest. These things do not, however, present themselves in this way to the mind of the Lovedu. A Lovedu argues, not from real cause to effect in such matters, but from effect to cause, which makes it all appear in a somewhat different light. A child dies and he looks around him for a possible cause. He thinks of possible motives and enemies, but can find none. He consults the dice which point to a woman of such-and-such a totem. The only one to answer this description is the mother's brother's wife. She happens to be known as ungenerous, perhaps she was one day heard to comment on having an extra mouth to feed. The misfortune is thus projected upon her: but it is not a psychopathic, it is an approved cultural escape technique or compensation. In cases of illness or death, people tend to seek the cause in the direction of traditional jealousies. A wife of the queen dies in childbirth. The cause cannot be a jilted lover because she and the father of the child were on the best of terms. But he is a married man, and women are known through jealousy to cause difficult childbirth to the lovers of husbands. The death must have been caused by his wife (even though she lives miles away). Nothing is done in the matter; moreover there is no general agreement in the verdicts of

different doctors. Six months later a young girl in the village dies suddenly of blood poisoning; her mother is known to have had quarrels with the deceased wife of the queen. It is therefore generally rumoured that the grave must have been treated to 'send back' death and the death of the child indicates that her mother was the witch responsible. Nothing more is said of the lover's wife.

Witchcraft provides an explanation of the worst evils, such as sickness and death, that befall man; it is the principle of evil, the Bantu Satan. Illness caused naturally or by ancestors is generally curable; it is only witchcraft that really kills. It was at first a source of great amazement to us that a man could find it possible to live on socially good terms with someone who had killed his father, attending the same beer-parties and able to converse in friendly fashion. But unless the case had been publically dealt with and the witch smelt out, the evidence is considered incomplete in spite of one's own convictions. Moreover it does not follow that the witch has any evil designs upon one, though he has killed someone else. Personal adjustments with the witch are more easily achieved than we might imagine; they are even imperative, partly because witchcraft is so universal a cause of death that in this respect the witch is almost part of the inevitable order of things, partly because, unless a confirmed witch, he is not regarded with horror by the whole society, and partly because he may be an influential and respected man.

Witchcraft serves also to explain the differential incidence of misfortune or death which we generally leave unexplained; but it is not often invoked in this respect. An old dried-up tree

stands in a field. People often rest beneath it at hoeing time. One day while two children are sitting in its shade, it falls down and kills one of them. The Lovedu realize that dead trees are liable to fall down. But it has long been standing there. Why has it fallen just on that day and moreover at that particular time when the children were there? Further, what made it kill one, leaving the other unhurt? This combination of circumstances must, they feel, be due to some malignant controlling force directed against the child. Or, when people recover from a disease such as small-pox in one district, but succumb to it in another, the differential affect in the latter is ascribed to the work of a witch. The occasion for evoking witchcraft as an explanation in certain circumstances is an aspect of witchcraft, but it is not an explanation of its nature and psychological basis and only part of the explanation of its function.

Witchcraft is employed to account for unusual or anti-social behaviour. Hysteria might be attributed either to witchcraft or possession. A girl ran away from her own puberty ceremony, an unheard of and reprehensible action. Her relatives said she must have been bewitched into doing it; so, instead of being punished, she was given treatment to remove the baleful influence. Attributing certain types of anti-social action or the breaking of some customs to witchcraft makes it possible for society to breast successfully many blows; an issue is avoided and the transgressor made to feel himself incapable of such actions but for the witchcraft. We must also remember that

abnormalities need not necessarily evoke comment. A person may may be born an imbecile, but it may be considered quite normal. This is so because there is a place in the society for the weak-minded, sometimes even as jesters of the court. Personal defects or limitations do not, to the same extent as among us, disable a man from performance markedly below the standards required in spheres in which he can be useful; and thus there need not arise an intolerable situation from which escape is sought by psycho-pathological devices or the projection of one's misfortune as witch-craft upon others.

Finally, to attribute death to witchcraft and set about taking steps to send it back to its owner probably provides greater emotional satisfaction to the bereaved than the feeling of impotence in the face of an uncontrollable, natural force. The same kind of emotional need is answered when a man with a grievance feels that he can, in the last resort, employ medicine to gain his ends, and people not infrequently indirectly hint to their enemies the possi-bility of their doing so.

CHAPTER 9

MAGIC IN LOVEDU SOCIETY.

The great weapon against witchcraft and sorcery, those elements of evil and misfortune in social life, is magic. A complete account of magic in Lovedu society would cover almost every aspect of life; this would require a volume to itself and can not be attempted here. It might be of value, however, to indicate its incidence in the society by summing up under various headings the more important magical practices of the Lovedu. Much has already been dealt with in the preceding pages: the nature of witchcraft, magic directed to socially undesirable ends, has been discussed and numerous magical practices have been described. We shall therefore be content to indicate only in broad outline the incidence of Lovedu magic.

Probably the commonest and most widely practised magic is that directed towards securing and maintaining health. The various techniques associated with it have already been described There is 'throwing-out' of disease by the use of scapegoats or frogs; there are precautions and purifications, such as mutual inoculation of the newly-wed, steamings and mixings after an abortion or miscarriage, connected with the dangers believed to be associated with sex intercourse; and countless methods of counteracting witchcraft. There are also magical practices for ensuring the health of cattle and curing their diseases; but on the whole cattle magic is rare, except for the charmed fence of their enclosure, taboos regarding entry of women and purification

afte_ a death in the family.

Magic is associated with all transition rites, its chief purpose here being to ward off dangers believed to be inherent in the change that has occurred. No baby is allowed out of the hut in which it has been born without first being 'helped' (hu thusa) to face the dangers of the outside world by being held in the smoke of burning barks and roots and scarified all over the body to strengthen it for the ordeal. Later it is introduced not only to the moon but also to the veld and the fields in a rite called hu gwisa muyana (causing the child to come out).

In order that she may not khuma (become ill) from the change in her life a girl is, on being isolated at her first menstruation, given medicine, an ingredient of which is some of her own menstrual blood. Thereafter, on entering a strange village for the first time she must take the precaution of spitting on her breasts. The dancing and singing and teaching of 'laws' which form so essential a part of the puberty ceremony are educational rather than magical in purpose. In the circumcision lodge boys are similarly given special medicine at the time when the great change from facing west to facing east towards the light of their new manhood, takes place. Strengthening by beating the initiates with medicated sticks is a pattern common to gomana, vyali and vuhwera. This, at the opening of the vyali is accompanied by an elaborate ritual in which a beast or sheep is killed and the stomach contents smeared all over the neophytes who are then scarified. The costumes worn are also of magical significance; that of the girls is believed to bestow fertility, while not a single piece of the beautiful dancing costumes of vahwera is

allowed to fall to the ground without being picked up and set aside to be burnt with the lodge at the end.

Death is a further transition full of danger but in this case it is the closest relatives that are liable to khuma. They all have to be shaved and 'smoked', the widower or widow of the deceased has to be isolated and specially purified, and the defilement is finally 'thrown out' some weeks later at the khi-tshila (removal of dirt) ceremony when the relatives are shaved or rubbed with medicine and the 'dirt' placed in a bulb to be buried in a wet place. Even the cattle have to be treated with medicated water or sand lest they,too, khuma from the change.

A large class of magic is directed towards protection, especially against the evil machinations of witches. No new village, no cattle kraal, no enclosure for an initiation ceremony is ever made without special precautions to keep out witches. The technique employed, even the kind of medicine used, is fairly stereotyped: a magic circle may be drawn round the fence or medicated pegs may be buried there, special attention being paid to the village gate; and a common ingredient of the medicine used is sea-or river-sand or sea water, which are believed to have the property of causing the village to disappear before the eyes of the witch by turning into water.

The khadi or eldest sister of the village head is the person to draw the magic circle. In one instance where the Khadi lived far off, the village had already been completed and its inmates were in occupation before she arrived to perform the rite. She could not enter before a black powder, mixed with butter fat had been smeared on the soles of her feet lest 'she open a way for witches'. Then, after partaking of refreshment after her long

journey, she was made to drag round the inner side of a miniature fence two large branches of mukhalo (Zizyphus mucronata) which her brother had smeared with strips of black powder and fat. The branches were left on either side of the village entrance. In 'doctoring' a village a river stone is usually buried with charms (diphaba) at the gate; the gate-posts, which must be of khirale or mudutu (Celtis Kraussiana), are smeared with medicines and a medicated stick laid on the ground across the gateway. Very often a medicated stick with a piece of titigwane (Hypoxis villosa) stuck on the end is set up outside the entrance. Some doctors require a goat to be used in such rites; and whereas one sprinkles river sand round the fence, another will use medicated pegs.

Every year the diphaba or dithugula of the village have to be renewed (hu dzusa mutse). Rapaka, a doctor we know, does this naked at dead of night, sprinkling river sand mixed with medicine round the fence. Some of the medicine used for protecting the village is always given to the owner for future use. It may be recommended by the dice for the cure of certain sicknesses and it often forms an ingredient of the medicine used for sprinkling over a person who has been struck by lightning. If, however, the village itself is struck, the protective pegs have to be 'cooled' with medicine mixed with the stomach contents and blood of a sheep or goat (hu phuphushela mutse). Hut-building is associated with no protective rites except occasional precautions taken against lightning.

Lovedu villages are not moved on the death of the owner, as is the custom among some other tribes. But when a district

headman dies, the entrance to his village has, on the day his successor is installed, to be closed and a new one magically opened (hu thivela khoro). And here the rites are the same as in the establishment of a new village. The doctor with medicine on his soles is the first to enter the new gate; medicine is smeared in circular strips round the gateposts; a stick is laid in the gateway. The rest of the ceremonial connected with hu thivela khoro consists of the formal handing over of the drum-stick of office to the successor by a representative of the queen the ritual killing of a head of cattle, the leg of which has later to be sent (hu suma)to the queen, the gathering of the whole district to drink beer in the village, drumming and singing in which after sunset the ancestral spirits (zwidajane) may join. But before the beer-drink ends, the women of the village have to take out all their hearth-stones and ashes, placing them in a heap just outside the new entrance. Each woman sits near her own hearth-stones while the doctor, beginning with the chief wife, gives to each a black powder to mix with butter-fat and smear on her head and legs and also on her three hearthstones. No one may use the old hearthstones again. While this rite takes place the doctor will allow no one else near lest someone bewitch the village.

This throwing out of the old hearthstones which ensures new fire being made for the new head (not, in this case, by means of firesticks) is similar to the ceremonial putting out of all the fires in the land on the accession of a new queen. In the latter however, each hearth is 'beaten' with 'cooling' medicine (mufugo) just as when all-pervasive impediments to rain are ceremonially

removed. Two distinctive ideas are explicit in these rites: fire as a ruler's prerogative and fire in its aspect of giving out deleterious heat which must be counteracted by cooling with mufogo (hu foga, to blow upon bu a cool breeze, to sprinkle with cooling medicines). Fire also is linked up with crises or great changes and is used to extinguish an evil or purify a state of defilement. In the sacred fire kindled by friction in the boys' circumcision lodge is found its central shrine at the place where the chief initiate sits. In the sanctum of the Bird of the vvali is an undying fire also ritually kindled, and at the end of these initiations fire destroys all the distinctive things associated with them. The lodge, enclosures, costumes, everything is burnt and the initiates irrevocably severed from their past. Even when the country is 'not right' and the hearths have to be purified with mufogo a transition is implied for it is said the fires are put out 'to usher in a new year'.

A whole series of magical rites is associated with rain and rain-making, as we have seen. Not only is the queen or rain-doctor able to produce rain by means of magic but all manner of precautions are necessary to prevent the rain-charms from becoming defiled (hu khuma or figehela). They have to be given the first-fruits and first termites; they are liable to lose their power if people who have been burnt to death, twins, babies who have died before cutting their first teeth or people dying of a coughing illness are not buried in wet soil or with cooling medicines. Sometimes the whole country has to be magically purified for the rain to fall.

With fertility are associated the rites of the vvali-vuhwera with their promiscuous sex intercourse, rain-producing songs

and great digama. But these rites are extra-ordinary, occurring infrequently after long intervals of time and one therefore expects to find ordinary rites for increasing annually the fertility of seed or crops. Agricultural magic is, however, among the Lovedu, conspicuous by its absence; only witches try to increase the yield of their fields and this is always at the expense of others by means of musuhelo medicine or by direct theft. There is only one rare rite for increasing the fertility of the fields, which we have never seen, but which is said to take place if for many years there have been poor harvests over the whole country. It is then believed that foreign witches have stolen the fertility of the soil and transferred it to their own country. To regain this productivity the queen sends doctors to collect some of the earth and mealie stalks from the fields of many neighbouring tribes. These are ground and mixed with medicines in order that the lost fertility may be drawn back again.

Though it is not legitimate to use magic for increasing the fertility of the fields, it is permissable to combat pests such as birds which eat the kaffir corn, worms that attack the mealies and baboons that steal the produce of the fields by the magical rite of hu uba. As this is essentially a means of chasing the pests to other fields or areas, it has to be done with the knowledge of the district head who usually performs it for the whole area. Rites of hu uba differ in detail but in essentials they are all similar to one we saw at Ramutiti's. First the whole field was smoked by means of medicine, consisting of the flesh and beak of a hawk mixed with chips of root and bark, which was

burn in the centre. Of the charred remains of the medicine which were ground to a powder, some mixed with fat was smeared on small stones placed in a heap in the centre of the field for later use. The rest was given to small boys and girls under puberty for tying medicated knots in the corn. After tying a knot in a blade of corn in the centre of the field, they proceeded to the boundaries. They would tie a knot in the corn with eyes shut, then turning round would make a similar medicated knot this time with open eyes, in the grass or leaves of the adjoining veld. This makes the birds see only the bush, not the corn. Next the children with pipes of mukhure (Ricinus communis) walked along the boundaries blowing to imitate the chirp of birds. On the eastern edge of the field they called out, 'Let the birds go to Phalaborwa!' a country to the east of Vhulovedu; on the northern border they called, 'Let the birds go to Vendaland,!' and so on till the birds had been sent in all directions.

After hu uba the children must refrain from speaking and sleep in one hut. Early the following morning a man will come and say,'Where have you sent the birds?! They may now reply. Then they wash in the river and the taboo against speaking is lifted. An old woman goes to the field where the medicated stone were placed. On seeing birds, she throws a stone telling them to go elsewhere till she has covered all directions of the compass Sometimes, instead of stones, a medicated stick is brandished at the birds. It is taboo for the sexually mature to enter a field on the day following hu uba, lest they undo the magic (hu ubulla).

A most essential form of magic in Lovedu society is that of divination: it is necessary for the diagnosis of disease and its cause, for discovering the wishes of the ancestors in all religi-

ous rites, for deciding the guilt of a person accused of witch-craft; it is resorted to in legal cases of adultery or seduction when evidence is lacking. No village can be built or cattle kraal made without consultation of the dice as to the suitability of the chosen site. Indeed divination is found at every turn and is relied upon in the daily life of every family for security and good health.

Success or good luck in various undertakings is another objective of magical rites. A doctor who wishes to attract patients, a trader who needs more clients, burns luck medicine (leshwaba) to attract them to him. A young man whom the girls do not like is smeared with the stomach contents of a goat and taken to sit below a cascade of water in order that he be rendered attractive; a boy who wants a certain girl to love him will blow a medicated whistle in the direction in which she lives or use other love charms. No warrior would ever go to battle without first having been rendered strong and successful, invulnerable to the spears of the enemy.

The rites for doctoring an army for success used to take a full day. To give the soldiers courage and strength they were made to drink medicine containing the spine of a human being; or a black bull, the flesh of which was eaten with medicines had to be killed with the fists without the use of assegais. For success and in order that the bolts of the enemy might miss their mark there were various alternative rites: sometimes the warriors were made to kneel round a fire to be smoked in luck medicine, after which each had to shut his eyes while this medicine was

smeared on the forehead or pressed against it with a hammer, with the words, 'The enemy do not see'; sometimes to render the warriors invisible girls under puberty sprinkled them with medicated sand or water drawn by themselves; or the doctor would take the warriors at dead of night to wash and be smeared with medicine containing the fat of human beings, with the words, 'This man can't be seen' (munna a a vonwe). The weapons of the warriors had also to be treated to make them hit their mark and sometimes medicated guns were shot in the direction of the enemy for the same purpose.

A man who killed an enemy in battle had not only to pierce the stomach lest his own stomach swelled with that of the dead man, but also to take back with him the right arm to be used in his purification. He was thought to be full of leridi (bad shadow) and could neither eat nor mix with other people before having been purified. For this purpose a beast was killed and its meat eaten with medicine containing the arm of the enemy by all those who had killed a man.

Magical rites to secure success formed part also of hunting. To prevent the quarry from escaping the spears of the huntsmen, the men danced round a small boy showing their weapons and shouting out what they intended doing; by remaining still during the performance, the recumbent boy caused the animals to 'sleep'. To make 'a fence through which the animals could not break', the doctor, palms medicated with a mixture containing dung of various animals, would stretch out his arms in an encircling movement

(hu khuba dipheefɔlɔ). During a dangerous lion hunt the women gathered in one spot and could do no cooking till the return of their menfolk, a precaution similar in function to the numerous taboos directed towards the success of the enterprise observed by women while the men are at war. No newly-married man or man who had slept with his wife the previous night ever went out to battle or to hunt; nor would he return unhurt if his child cried on seeing him set out.

Besides success in their undertakings men desire also revenge on their enemies. To satisfy this need there are various classes of magic, such as khidɔba against thieves, hu tsikɛla to send back death and madaba to frighten a run-away wife into returning home, all of which have already been described.

From this brief review it is clear that magic ramifies almost every aspect of Lovedu life. It is noteworthy, however, in spite of this massive array , that apart from magic directed towards maintaining health and curing disease, magic does not play a great rôle in the daily activities of the people. There is no magic in cooking and hut-building and little or none in the arts and crafts, in agriculture and cattle-herding, which take up most of the daily routine. Indeed the observer who watches the daily life and activities of the Lovedu and does not concern himself with delving deep into the magical system is impressed, not by the amount of magic he comes upon but by the practical nature of their activities, the intimate knowledge which people have of their environment and of techniques required for meeting the everyday problems of food-supply and handicrafts.

Careful examination of the magical rites found among the Lovedu shows that by far the greater proportion are directed, not towards success, good fortune or eliminating the element of chance in undertakings, but towards preventing or overcoming dangers (which we would call imaginary) arising out of their conceptions of general laws governing life, such as 'mixing' (hu khuma), shadow (muridi), heat (hu fesa) and the dangers of sex intercourse Much of the magical ceremonial in initiations is to prevent hu khuma as are also purifications after death, precautions connected with the rain charms. Rites after war are directed to combatting 'shadow' (lgridi), as are also a large number of medical practices. Precautionary measures such as sprinkling graves, righting 'wrong' burials, keeping the ancestors 'cool' are all taken to counteract deleterious 'heat' and ensure the welfare of village and country. These, divination and rites to counteract the evil deeds of witches far outweigh all other forms or objectives of magic among the Lovedu.

There is a considerable body of terminology connected with magical processes: hu fesa is the smearing of medicine on objects used magically; hu fesela is the rubbing of medicines on the head or body for removal of 'dirt' or of defilement as in the khitshila ceremony after a death, purification in the vyali initiation or in the removal of the skin of the deceased chief for use in the rain pots. Hu khuba is to bend things to your will or remove their power as in hunting animals or in 'cooling' the ancestors; hu fera is similar in function. Leshwaba is all medicine burnt for luck or success whether in trading, war or in medical practice; moralelo makes dogs keen in hunting or

soldiers keen in war; and there are many other processes and classes of medicine. None of these are, however, confined to what we would call magical practices; many are found also in religion or are medical in their function. We have used the term magic here in the European sense as something distinct from science or technology on the one hand and religion on the other. How far such distinctions exist for the Lovedu we shall consider in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 10

INTERRELATION BETWEEN MEDICINE, MAGIC AND RELIGION.

One principle that has emerged from this study of Lovedu medicine, magic and religion is their interdependence, the permeation of religious rites by elements that we should call magical and the impossibility in many cases of deciding whether a rite is magical or religious. The whole religious system is dependent upon divination, a purely magical process: over 90% of all religious ritual takes place at the command of the dice and no one would perform a religious ceremony of any importance without first consulting the bones to discover what is required to satisfy the gods and settle such details as who is to officiate. Even the queen herself was dissuaded by her councillors from performing a rain sacrifice without the aid of her rain-doctor on the grounds that she might 'deviate from the course prescribed by the bones' (le ga fapana le ditaola).

The objects and symbols used in religious ritual are not confined to religion, nor are religious rites foreign to magic. Even the terminology is the same throughout the magico-religious world. Ancestral beads, spears and hoes which play an important part in libations, dedicated animals, shrines of all classes are referred to as thugula; but a thugula is also any charm, bone or animal claw given by a doctor to be worn for protection against illness and harm or any medicated peg or branch in the village

fence to keep out witches. Similarly the rain charms of the queen are dithugula as are the medicated guns shot in the direction of the enemy in preparations for war. Furthermore, just as ancestral beads are subjected to the rite of hu phesa with beer or water before being given to the patient to wear for recovery from illness, so doctors also very often phasa on a charm before giving it to the patient. And it was interesting to see how in one instance in which a doctor was advised to burn luck medicine (leshwaba) to attract patients, the dice recommended that this purely magical act should be performed by the khadi (priestess) of the family, just as though it were a religious rite.

In Lovedu terminology prayer is not distinguished from spell. To pray to the ancestors is hu rerelela or hu reta, but so is the spell, uttered to make medicines effective or to kill an enemy hu rerelela, though in the former case spirits are appealed to, often by name, while in the latter the medicine is told what to do or a wish expressed about the desired result. Urging the dice to tell the truth or praising them by their recognised praises may also be referred to as hu rerelela. The spell is, however, of small importance in Lovedu magic. Power is thought to lie in the medicine used, not in the words that are uttered. Moreover, there is nothing fixed about a spell; spells are always extempore like prayers and doctors never give instructions about the exact wording of a spell.

The rites which form part of religious technique are not confined to religion. Hu phasa, squirting out water or pouring

beer with a prayer to the ancestors, is a common religious rite. But it is used also when 'sending back' evil to a witch who has caused an illness and is the recognised method by which a witch can recall or render impotent his witchcraft. Even the sacrifice of a sheep for rain does not differ very greatly from the killing of a sheep or goat to set right a wrong burial that is thought to be causing drought. And the first-fruits of green foods and termites are used, not as an offering to the ancestral spirits but to be put in the rain-pots.

It is not always possible to distinguish between religious shrines and buried charms for the protection of the village. Both are there to protect the village and very often the partially buried river stone placed in the gateway with charms of forgetfulness is the exact replica of the village shrine which may likewise be a river stone with the identical charms used at the gate. In this case one is guided by their position in the village, but there are cases in which it is impossible to determine whether one is dealing with a religious shrine or a magical structure. Such a structure is the khuluponi, called the thugula of the vyali initiation, the mound on which initiates stand to shout out their replies to the Bird. It is situated towards one end of the vyali enclosure and is made by the doctor in charge When the khuluponi at the vyali of the royal village was made, the doctor, after digging a hole with his digging iron, poured in powdered medicine from his medicine bags, then placed in it the medicated end of a long pole of the mususu tree (Terminalia sericea) and a medicated river stone. After once more pouring

in powders he covered in the hole and let the women make a mound around the pole like that of many shrines to serve as a small platform. Judging by its position inside the enclosure one might be inclined to think of the khulunoni as a shrine, but the mususu tree is not to our knowledge found in shrines and there is never any libation or prayer made at the khulunoni. But even the pouring of a libation upon it is not the distinguishing mark of a shrine, for libations are sometimes also made on charms. Many people on receiving khirula beer (beer sent by relatives-in-law or friends) in the village pour a little on the river stone at the gate in order that more may come. One man while pouring said, 'Here is the courtyard; it is open. Let beer always come.' (Khoro ge yana ye; ea thamile. Vyalwa vo no da ga majaji). Except that the ancestors are not addressed, the rite here does not differ from a libation on a shrine. It might be thought that in the last resort the distinction between a religious shrine and a magical structure must lie in the fact that though beer may be poured on both, the ancestors would not be prayed to at a magical structure. Yet this distinction does not hold, as is illustrated by the following ceremonial in which a prayer to the ancestors accompanied a hu phasa rite on the protective charms in the gateway of the vyali enclosure.

At Relela the vyali enclosure was magically protected on the same day as a sheep was killed for use in 'strengthening' the girls for the 'crossing'. Chasing away everyone for fear of witchcraft, the doctor, Mopai, accompanied by his wife who is khadi to that village, dug a hole in the newly-made entrance to

the vvali enclosure. Then first his wife and later he himself phasa'd with water, uttering a prayer as they did so. No one heard what they said but Mopai afterwards told us that they had called on the gods on his wife's side (those of Relela, who was holding the initiation) asking their blessings upon the vvali (hore vatho va wele ga vovya). Into the hole were placed small pieces of meat cut from all parts of the sheep just as in the case of a meat offering, some of the tail fat used for inoculating the girls and some medicine from the doctor's medicine bags. This was a rite for the protection of the entrance and river sand containing the same medicine and tail fat as had been poured into the hole was scattered all round the fence. But it was at the same time also a prayer and offering, though offerings are not generally buried but roasted and eaten by young children. There is in reality no real distinguishing mark between a shrine and a magical structure nor is it of any importance to the Lovedu that there should be. Only the European is troubled by such questions as whether the khulunoni is of religious or magical significance; to the Lovedu it is sufficient that it is the thugula of the vvali; there is no need of further distinctions. Magical rites merge into religious rites just as religious sacrifice, offerings of beer and the 'bringing home' of complaining spirits are permeated with magical rites.

In the same way the magical merges also into medical science. To the Lovedu there is no essential difference between drinking a herb as an emetic and the use in curing convulsions of medicated cockroaches along 'paths' shaved across the head; or between

drinking water boiled with bark of the quinine berry (murɔdó or Cephalanthus Natalensis) to cure fever and using the red sap of murɔdo (Pterocarpus Angolensis) as a cure for disorders due to 'blood'. Yet we label the one scientific because we believe we have scientific proof that the effects of the quinine berry are in fact what they are believed to be, but the other magical because based on ideas of sympathetic magic or, in the case of bark cockroaches, of 'throwing out' disease. English-speaking Lovedu in fact experience great difficulty in grasping exactly what we mean by magic. On the one hand they feel that we dub as magical many of their most successful medical practices while on the other classing many religious practices with their worst forms of witchcraft, calling both magical. And when asked to state whether an object like the khulunoni is religious or magical they fail to see on what basis they are to make the distinction.

It will be of interest in the light of all this to examine some of the more well-known distinctions that have been made by anthropologists between science, magic and religion. Frazer, who has made so great a contribution to the subject, distinguishes magic from religion on the grounds that magic wherever it occurs assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency. The magician believes that the 'proper performance of the proper ceremony accompanied by the appropriate spell will inevitably have the desired result, provided his magic is not foiled by some other sorceror.' Magic therefore compels, where

'religion supplicates some higher power which is believed to control natural forces.' Lovedu rites hardly bear out this distinction. The religious rite of hu phasa to placate the ancestors is conceived of as bound to end in success. If hu phasa is performed to cure an illness, failure of the rite will never be interpreted as due to unwillingness of the ancestors to accede to the desires of their descendants; it will always be thought some other cause must be operating as well and an attempt will be made to discover what it is. Furthermore, certain magical substances such as mufara, lesoko, vulovaja are believed to have the power of compelling the spirits to be satisfied just as they compel witches to be 'cool' and harmless. That is why they are always found in shrines and used in the phasa rite. Similarly the river stone found in shrines 'cools' the spirits and makes them contented just as the river stone charm in the village gateway disarms the witch. One may fara ancestors in the same way as one fara's a witch or an ordinary person. Hu fara is a precaution to prevent trouble: if you fear that the guests at your beer-party may become excited and quarrelsome, you can fara the beer (by putting in it some mufara) to prevent this; if a witch living in your village is causing harm you may fara him to render him powerless to do evil. In the same way ancestors are constrained to be satisfied by use of mufara in libations. To distinguish therefore between magic and religion on the basis of the compulsory nature of magic and the supplicatory nature of religious rites does not seem to be legitimate.

Frazer's conception of magic as a pseudo-science is criticised by Malinowski who says that magic 'far from being primi-

tive science is the outgrowth of a clear recognition that science has its limits and that a human mind and human skill are at times impotent'. According to him magic develops where knowledge and science 'are unable completely to control chance, to eliminate accidents, to foresee the unexpected turn of natural events.' Magic is used 'as something which over and above man's equipment and his force helps him to master accident and ensnare luck.' This point he illustrates by his Trobriand material. Here in lagoon fishing in which good results can be obtained by an easy and absolutely reliable method of poisoning without any danger at all, there is no magic, whereas for open-sea fishing which is full of danger and uncertainty, there is extensive magical ritual to secure safety and good results. Similarly in war, in love and in sailing, 'the most hazardous enterprise known to primitive man', magic is highly developed. It is true, as Malinowski says, that much magic is directed towards controlling the element of chance and securing good luck and success. But that this is the function of all magic or that the incidence of magic is highest in hazardous enterprises, where the element of uncertainty is greatest is not in accordance with the facts in Lovedu society. Here there is, for example, no magic directed to warding off hail or preventing locusts from destroying the crops, two of the most destructive and uncertain forces in agriculture, though in war and hunting in which luck also plays a great role, there is quite an extensive system of magic. By far the greater proportion of Lovedu magic is directed not towards mastering accident or controlling elements and forces beyond man's own

knowledge and experience but towards counteracting the bad influences of such imaginary, magical conceptions as hu khuma, muridi and 'heat'. Magical methods of curing even the simplest diseases exist side by side with cures that are of real therapeutic value. They may be used alternatively or at the same time and it can thus not be said in such cases that magic steps in to fill in an unbridgeable gap, a hiatus in man's knowledge or powers of practical control. From Malinowski's phraseology it would almost seem as if primitive man consciously resorts to magic when his ordinary technical knowledge fails him: 'he rebels against inaction because although he realises his impotence he is yet driven to action by intense desire and strong emotions.' If, as has already been indicated, primitive man often finds it difficult to distinguish between a magical rite and a scientific cure, this can hardly be a reflection of the true position. It certainly does not accord with the hotch-potch of magical and truly therapeutical treatments to be found in the treatment of one and the same disease among the Lovedu.

In support of his argument against magic as primitive science Malinowski says that primitive man will never neglect the hard practical work of gardening in the hope that magic alone will produce a crop; and the principle of sympathy which dominates magic 'is not the basis of pragmatic science even under the most primitive conditions.' But is it always easy to distinguish between sympathy and true science? Anyone who has suffered from inflammation or festering of a deeply-embedded thorn of the 'scot-dering' tree and has applied a poultice of the fungus growing on

the same tree will have experienced the relief that it brings. It draws out the thorn and the remedy might therefore be called scientific. But the European peasants in South Africa who use this poultice ascribe its powers to the principle that 'nature always (and very often on one and the same natural object) produces something with power to counteract any evil it may be responsible for' - surely a conception bordering on the magical. Again, the Lovedu like the Europeans cure smallpox or lessen its virulence by inoculating matter from the postules of affected persons. But it is not easy for them to see why this cure should be called scientific when use of the body of a snake to cure snakebite, based on the same sort of principle is dubbed magical. The truth is that often years of scientific research are necessary before one has the knowledge essential for distinguishing magic from science, or rather the distinction emerges only against a background of thought steeped in the assumptions of a scientific approach. But even in our own society people still believe in magical cures, not because baffled by gaps in our technical skill or because we have no scientific cures to replace them but simply because they have faith in those cures and believe that they really have the effects ascribed to them.

Hubert and Mauss opposed the idea of magic as primitive science by formulating the principle that acts of magic are always set apart, regarded as different, conceived and carried out under distinct conditions. They tried to show that the supernatural character of magic is expressed in such things as the abnormal character of the magician and the temporary taboos

surrounding the execution of magic. This principle has quite generally accepted. Ruth Benedict expresses the same idea when she says science and magic are techniques directed to the manipulation of two incompatible worlds: science to the manipulation of natural phenomena operating according to cause and effect, magic towards another world, that of the supernatural, operated according to another set or sequences. This distinction is no doubt correct from our European point of view but it is doubtful whether the native thinks in this manner. To him magical cause and effect is no different from real cause and effect. To anyone accepting the general conceptions of 'heat', 'shadow' and others which run through Lovedu society, illness results from intercourse with a menstruating woman, a septic sore from the bite of a leshega (whose teeth have appeared in the wrong order), stomach trouble from hu khuma as surely as a falling tree hurts the person it falls upon or a wound follows an assegai thrust. All operate according to the laws of 'cause and effect'. The Lovedu do recognise a 'different' world but it does not wholly correspond to our supernatural. To the Lovedu the world which is 'par excellence' different from everyday things is the world of witchcraft. The witch works according to principles which no ordinary man can understand. The bone-diviner has, however, no supernatural character. He acquires his knowledge and skill through learning and initiation and anyone else can do the same. He observes no taboos in after life and stands in no special relation to the spirits.

While the distinctions between science, magic and religion

formulated by those anthropologists who have contributed to the subject have been invaluable for clarifying our ideas and have led to a deeper understanding of the nature of primitive religion and magic, all are the result of an approach from the point of view of the European. We have in our own culture certain distinctions, the conception of magic as distinct from religion and science being one of them, and these have often been projected upon primitive society. Magic has even been said to be by nature wholly opposed to religion, probably because European religion and science have only just emerged from a long and bitter struggle with magic in the Middle Ages. Similarly, it is from the point of view of the European whose science has made possible a clear distinction between natural and supernatural that magic can be said to deal with a world 'different' from that of science.

We have in this study of medicine, magic and religion not been concerned to discover the answer to such problems as what is magic or how it differs from science or religion. It has been our aim to approach the subject from the point of view of the native himself, ridding ourselves as far as possible of any preconceived ideas, or European cultural bias; to see how the Lovedu man looks upon these things, the distinctions or generalisations he makes, what his ideas are. And we discovered that, forming the background of Lovedu thought are certain general conceptions, the premises with which they work, quite foreign to us but essential for any understanding of Lovedu medicine or religion. We found that the magico-religious is one and whatever importance we might attach to distinguishing magic from

religion, such distinctions are irrelevant from the Lovedu point of view. Even rain-making, far from being merely a magical rite or series of rites in time of drought to give man confidence and security when his technical knowledge fails him, emerges as the focus of a whole system of values, practices and beliefs, the centre of continuous observances linked to many other aspects of social and religious life. Unless one makes a special attempt to look at these institutions through native eyes, from the native point of view, there is grave danger of missing much that is not only valuable, but essential for understanding their true nature. This approach will, we feel, provide data with which more satisfactory attempts at formulating theories of magic and religion may be made, attempts which will, however, be fruitful only when sufficient comparative material of this nature has been collected not only from one, but from many societies.

APPENDIX 1

SOME LOVEDU DISEASES

Bolo. Palpitations of the heart, to relieve which medicines are smoked in a pipe.

Dono. Diarrhoea.

Dɛrɛ (also known as lebɔthola la vasadi). Coughing illness contracted from intercourse with a woman who has had an abortion. Cures differ greatly according to different doctors but often portion of the abortion is used. Sometimes a root is inserted in the rectum and twirled to 'take out the blood'.

Dinɔhana. Intestinal parasite e.g., worms in children. To cure it roots are cooked and eaten in porridge.

Ditshɔye. Conjunctivitis or inflamed membrane of the eye. Cured by scraping the membrane till blood flows and inserting powder and water.

Ditshwenɔ (or khipade). Convulsions or teething trouble in babies, symptons of which are said to be paller, white eyes and nervous twitching of the fingers, sometimes accompanied also by diarrhoea. This illness is thought to be almost inevitable in every child's life. It is cured by 'throwing out'.

Dɔrɔbɔ. Gonorrhoea called 'town' because it is contracted largely when away at work.

Dzɛvɛ. Earache. Treated by pouring oil obtained from plants or medicinal water into the ear.

Hu phedɛha. To sprain the ankle or wrist. Treatment is scarification and sometimes splints are used.

Khivugo. Jiggers. When the 'worm' ripens and a black spot is

visible it is squeezed out or cupped with a cupping-horn.

Khivede. Liver trouble the symptoms of which are said to be stabbing pains in the side.

Khivibo. Any swelling - cured by cupping.

Khivudo. Sore joints or cramp, sometimes cured by wearing arm- or leg-rings belonging to one's cross-cousin.

Khidoba. Sore finger from vengeance magic.

Khievana. Epileptic fits. People subject to these must be careful to 'bite'(luma) with medicine the first-fruits. If they fall in a fire and get burnt during a fit, the disease is thought to be doubly difficult to cure. The 'fire' first has to be taken out of the body, very often by the use of ostrich egg-shell.

Khidovole kha khikhuva. Influenza characterised by headache and cold shivers, often preliminary, they say, to chicken pox or other illness.

Khigomole. Tropical ulcer. Very prevalent.

Khihahane. Measles.

Khikhuva. Any coughing or chest trouble. When mild it is cured by chewing the bark of murula (Sclerocarrya caffra) or the leaves of mutataila(Arthrixia phylicoides) or drinking water boiled with roots of the phela tree.

Khikhuva khi khihulu. Whooping cough.

Khikhuva kha mpigela. Cold in the nose.

Khileso. A term including indigestion, weak lungs, tape-worm and supposed to be 'sent' by a witch by the introduction of some

foreign substance usually a piece of meat into the stomach by means of food eaten. Cured by emetics.

Khillala. An illness of babies leading to vomiting at the age of one or two months. It often develops into 'thɔhɔ' – sickness thought to be caused by violent beating of the fontanelle.

Khinyana. Stye on the eye, said to be caused by looking at the
Khisimana. private parts of a member of the opposite sex – hence the two terms used according to the sex of the affected person.

Khiugulla or khiugulɛla. Heartburn or acidity.

Khiphɛgo. Madness.

Khithavi Stabbing pain in shoulder or ribs.

Khitshipidi. Pimples containing matter, commonly found on the limbs or ears of children. The disease can be internal too, especially when one coughs slime and blood. The term is vague and is applied also to swellings.

Khitofo. Certain kind of sore under the foot.

Khakha. Big stomach (a swelling of the stomach to several times its normal size). Cured by means of the khakha melon.

Khintswe. Itchy carbuncle or boil.

Levovo. Disease caused by a thick hair said to be found in the private parts of some people.

Ladadi. Malaria.

Lefa. A large goitre-like swelling found on the neck or back of many people. It is cut open and cupped but is never cured.

Lefiha or madi a le..wafu. Consumption.

Lehavea. Hysteria in girls – a new introduction as yet not common and caused by witchcraft of a lover.

Lejakwa. Giddiness in the head. Cured by smoking burning chips or by tying a rabbit tail round the neck.

Lejita. Hot feeling in the stomach accompanied by slime in the stools.

Lelengwana. Swelling of the glottis to touch the tongue, making breathing difficult. Sometimes it becomes so long, it is said, that it is possible to hook it with an awl and cut off the end.

Lerwatsiga. Migraine.

Lesiga. Varicose vein or strained sinew. A cure is to place muga honey mixed with ground roots on the end of a stick of grass shoot this on to the affected part and allow to fall on the ground.

Letala. Sickness causing death of a patient if the lover of his or her spouse passes or enters the hut.

Madi. 'Blood'. A wide term covering many diseases including paine in shoulder, back or chest.

Mafa. Swelling of whole body caused by having intercourse with the deceased brother's wife before being purified.

Mafatal Pain in centre of chest or shortness of breath after walking.

Makhuvene. Raw chest common to children.

Makhuma. Stomach trouble consisting of pains, a 'full' feeling winds or vomiting. Caused by 'defilement'(hu khuma).

Mala. All kinds of stomach pains, chiefly of a biting kind.

Constipation (mala a a shume ha votse) is cured in various ways;-

(1) Drinking cold infusion of half the bulb of Khivalavadimo

(2) Drinking two drops of the milk of mukade euphorbium in water

(3)Drinking infusion of a small piece of ground seed of thabametse (Aloe sp.)

(4) Constipation in new-born children is sometimes cured by smoking them in burning hair of Khigobo, a brown rabbit which is believed to relieve itself once a year only.

Malaga. White matter in the eyes, a disease from which most children suffer.

Marodwa. Chicken pox.

Mashoromo. Fever blisters.

Mato. A general term for all eye complaints.

Mauwe. Mumps.

Mokala. Stiff neck.

Meno. Toothache. There is a medicine which is inserted to make the tooth rot and give no further trouble. In six months to a year little or nothing is left of the tooth.

Mutshokole. Leprosy.

Mullo vadimo. Certain types of blister and sometimes also ring-worm are thought to be due to a witch 'burning' the affected part at night.

Munyavedi. A kind of eczema. Said to be the result of walking in the dew when the sun is upon it. This is cured magically by one's cross-cousin who has to urinate in a potsherd in which a string of ostrich egg-shell beads has been placed and carry it to a pathway. With this urine he washes the whole body of the patient and places the beads bandolier style across his chest where it is worn all day.

Mutabu wo mukhuvidu. Bilharzia or bladder trouble characterised by blood in the urine.

Mutabu wo museta. Probably gonorrhoea and other bladder or kidney trouble. Symptoms are 'white' urine, desire to pass water all the time and a 'hot' feeling in the stomach. This is recognised as a sexual disease and it is said if a woman suffers from it she will be unable to have a child till cured.

Mutɔdɔ. Backache.

Nɔbe. Bleeding nose or 'blood' thought to have collected internally.

Nɔhakhiudu. Headache accompanied by twitching or 'pulling' of muscles between eye and ear.

Nɔha ye khulu. Stomach trouble accompanied by much vomiting.

Nɔha ye khuviɛu. Dysentery.

Nɔha ye tsɛtɛ. Stage in dysentery when white slime is found in the stools.

Ntala. Stomach trouble resulting from eating meat of an animal killed without pointing in four directions or by persons with muridi.

Nyakwale or Padɔ. Bad menstrual pains and womb trouble preventing conception, thought to be due to the 'snake' of a woman spitting out blood or covering up its mouth and refusing to accept the semen. Treated by scarifying knuckles and drinking medicin

Phiye. Kidney trouble.

Taleswa. Glandular swellings or sores on joints, especially the thigh.

Tahala. Kind of boil which bursts open leaving a hole, whereupon another appears just next to it. Treated by steaming.

Thegwa. Hiccups.

Terengwa. Shaking palsy.

Thoho. Headache.

Twusola. Syphillis. Big lumps appearing under the arms or on private parts or pimples turning into open sores called also by this term.

Twane. Ringworm.

Twaba or Khigɔgɔnyane. Smallpox.

Vutugu. Snakebite. Cured in a variety of ways:-

(a) Infusion of roots of vutugu is drunk.

(b) Head and tail of the snake ground and added to (a).

(c) Pass water in the hand immediately on being bitten and drink the urine.

(d) Cut the tail of the snake and eat it.

(e) Suck out the poison with a cupping horn.

Zwiso. Vague term covering a variety of complaints characterised by pimply, itchy swellings. Very often it is scabies. Zwiso tsedi is small lumps or pimples which itch and if scratched open do not readily heal. Zwiso muhulone is sore throat.

APPENDIX 2.

SOME PLANTS USED IN LOVEDU MEDICINE AND MAGIC.

(This list does not include over a hundred additional plants of medicinal use collected by J.D.Krige)

Fafaladadi or Muubadadi.(Capparis corymbifera).

(1) Used to uba (chase away) lightning: the bark of the root is burnt so that the smoke may drive away the storm.

(2) Also used in a mixture with a red oxide to send lightning.

(3) The bark of the root pounded and used as a remedy against 'blood'(madi)

(4) The root is used to make ditsemo (chips) which, mixed with muluma nama (Cassia sp.) is smoked in a pipe for madi (pains all over the chest, especially)

Khadi or Leppna-vafu (Adenia gummifera) Hu popa - to wind around Stem used to tie up dead body for burial. When village is burnt down, a piece of Khadi is burnt with other stems to prevent its being burnt down again. The roots mixed with roots or leaves of murtu muhakha (Syzygium cordatum) are bruised, warm water poured over them and some of the extract drunk; the roots are then pressed (hu hata)on all joints of the body of a person being initiated into the cult of possession and repeated each year. Used also in rain ceremonial.

Khekha (Cucumis sp.) The fruit was used by Bildad for his baby as follows:- The baby was suffering from 'big stomach'(constipation caused by premature intercourse and pregnancy of the mother). Into the fruit was stuck muga thorns(Acacia sp.) to steam it over water in a pot. The juice was then drunk.

Khilovari or Mukhova (Dombeya rotundifolia). (1) Inner bark strands chewed for heartburn. (2) Sticks of khilovarê and used by 'shepherds' in the circumcision school, marked like the penis circumcised. (3) Roots of khilovari, mulalantsana (Hyphaene sp. and mukhalo (Zizyphus micronata) are used for sterility: they are put in light beer and used for three weeks by the husband.

Khibajabajami (Khakhi bush). Leaves pounded and put in water which is applied to wounds or sores of donkeys as a repellant to maggots.

Khirabye (Canthium mundtiana). Stems used as the protective pegs of villages or cattle kraals; also for the pegs holding the grass with which mealie pits are sometimes lined.

Khirale . (1) Root pounded and mixed with asbestos, water is added and the mixture drunk to cure epilepsy. (2)Stem used to fortify village fences against witches; hence it is taboo to use it as firewood as it will reveal the dithugula. (3) If a herdboy cuts a branch and tells another to ask him when they enter the village what he was thinking of when he cut it, it is said that he will always forget for khirale causes forgetfulness.

Khirugulu (Kaempferia) . (1) The bulb is chewed to relieve stomach ache and cramp, both in adults and in babies (2) It counteracts evil associated with impurity. (3)The stem is chewed by doctors befor divining.

Khivibyane . Stem and leaves are boiled in water, then hata'd (pressed) on any swelling caused by khitshipidi.

Khivuyu (Adansonia digitata). Bark used for smoking a baby when it is taken out of the hut for the first time. It may also be stirred into the porridge made for the child and it is left in the water used for bathing the baby . Use of this plant is

more common in the valley country than among the Lovedu who live on the hills who use Musetshe (Cussonia spicata), as khi-vuyu makes babies too fat

Kodyane (Euphorbia sp.) A few drops added to water are taken as a drastic purgative especially for dinohana (intestinal worms) If taken in a large dose it may cause death and is regarded as a virulent poison. (2) The latex is applied to open wounds of cattle to keep away and kill maggots.

Ledaba (Commelina sp) Said to cause measles in pigs.

Ledadyane (Haemanthus sp) (1) To remove the pain (not to cure) in sprains, dislocations and open wounds, the bulb suitably cut open is warmed by the fire and applied to the affected part. (2) For convulsions in babies the bulb is cut into two. One part is fried and ground to a powder which is mixed with hair and nails of baby and these are burnt so that the smoke passed all over the child. Some of the powder is then smeared along two 'paths' shaved in the form of a cross along the top of the head and bark cockroaches made to walk along these. ~~(3) Leaves crushed and left in cold water used for fevers. (4) Cold infusion also used to stop vomiting.~~ (4) Used in treatment for removal of impurity after a death.

Lehurule or Lefalaja-maru le lehulu (Asparagus plumosis). (1) Roots boiled and used for removing Khileso. (2) Roots are crushed, water added and the whole drunk for removing tape-worm. (3) Stem used to draw rain: when rain clouds appear, the stem is drawn across the ground and the thorns 'hook' things on the road thus sweeping the clouds along to where one is.

Lefalaja-maru le letuku (Asparagus vigaratus). (1) Cold infusion made of leaves is drunk to stop vomiting. (2)Doctors usethe

stem, medicated, to dispel clouds.

Lehome (Ammochans sp.) (1)Planted on shrines. (2) Bulb boiled in water used as an emetic.

Leito la dau (Wormskioldia longipedunculata). The crushed leaves to which cold water is added are used for earache caused by khitshipidi, the mixture being poured into the ear. Often the ear is plugged with cotton wool from legudi (Agave americana) after the medicine has been poured in.

Lenadwa (Pterolobrium exosum). Root is pounded and powder inserted into incisions made round joints such the elbow which are affected by rheumatism.

Lenonya (Sesamum indicum). Used for zwiso (Pimples on the body) of children: the seed is fried and ground into a powder which is smeared over the child's body.

Letate (Mariscus sp.). Roots of letate and muɛlɛlwa (Hibiscus sp are pounded and an infusion drunk to procure abortion. A portion of a letate stem is inserted into the vagina.

Makhɛpha. The bark is boiled and drunk for colds. (2) Leaves crushed and placed near a sleeping child suffering from tshwene when it is hot and restless so that it may inhale the smell.

Mpyamahafi (Pentarrhinum insipidum). When a baby has constipation, stem and leaves are crushed and the sap given it to drink. This has a mild laxative action and relieves winds by causing the child to bɔda (bring up winds).

Muvidisa vyalwa (Trichodesma zeylanicum). (1)Leaves put into beer to assist fermentation in cold weather. (2) Bark of root chewed or pounded and applied to open wounds to alleviate pain.

~~Nadagwani (Helinus ovatus).~~

Kudagwani (Helinus ovatus). For barrenness, crush root and leave in cold water; then drink the infusion. The rest of the root is fixed above the doorway.

Muduva (Combretum suluense, also Combretum holosericeum). Fruits from female tree are ground to a powder and applied to sore eyes of cattle. (2) Infusion of the root of the male tree used for madi ('blood'), especially pains along sides of the body. (3) For ders, roots of mutagola sodi (Euclea natalensis) and muduva are boiled together and the water drunk. Thereafter the roots are daily put in light beer to be drunk. Some hair from top of head is shaved and, after scarification a cupping horn is applied. Finally chips from the two roots mixed with patient's blood are smoked in a pipe once or twice a day.

Mudutu (Celtis Kraussiana). A stick from this tree is placed across the entrance or along the fence of villages as a protection; hence its wood may not be brought into the village, since it opens the way for witches.

Mukhalo (Zizyphus mucronata). Roots of mukhalo together with those of mukhova (Dombeya rotundifolia) and mulalantsana (Hyphaene sp.?) left in light beer which is drunk to cure sterility in men. (2) A poultice of the leaf (which is usually chewed and spat on to the place affected) used for boils, carbuncles and septic swellings. (3) Used to draw round the village in making the fence witchproof.

Mukoda (Candelabra euphorbia). Af few drops of the latex in water used as a violent purgative. (2) A few drops applied to draw out deeply embedded thorns.

Mukhorobo (Bauhinia fassoglensis). Roots or stem used for spleen affections: they are scraped, placed in fat which is heated and

applied as a poultice. If other medicines are used they are often pressed to the affected part by means of the pod of this tree.

Mukhure (Ricinus sp.). (1) Leaves beated in water are pressed (hu hata) on bruises or swellings. (2) Oil from the seeds is used as ear medicine. (3) A string of mukhure bark is tied above an injury and below it as well as round the neck to drive away the pain. This may be done e.g.,to a sore from injection against smallpox.

Mulalantsana (Hyphaene sp.?) Root boiled with the root of muphorogo and njugo beans which are then eaten as a remedy against mutabu (bilharzia). Roots used as a remedy for sterility as described above under khilovare.

Muphada (Lonchocarpus capassa), For colds and coughs an infusion of the roots is drunk. (2) Used also for washing the doctor's dice every month.

Muphapha (Erythrina latissima). The bark is used with several others to cure madness for which a black sheep is also killed. (2)For general debility and also persistent headaches the barks of muphapha, muthazwa (Pouzolzia hypoleuca) and makhepha are used in the bapour bath treatment.

Mobyani or muvobyani (Lannea oculis) . To cure white matter in the eyes they are washed with water in which the crushed leaves of this plant have been left. In the case of infants, the gluey sap is placed on the tongue of the mother or grandmother who licks away the white matter.

Muregje (Acacia sp.) The fruit is burnt to ash which is smeared on the head to cure ringworm or scabies on the head. The bark is chewed to prevent makhuma.

Marodo (Pterocarpus angolensis) The red sap is used for !blood! (2) Young branches are sometimes placed round a tobacco garden to prevent contamination by a pregnant woman passing - which will spoil the taste of the tobacco.

Muredo, the quinine berry (Cephalanthus Natalensis). For malaria and blackwater fever its bark together with the bark of musita dou is boiled in water of which about half a pint is drunk.

Muredolodi (Pappea capensis) Root of this and of maedi boiled in water has to be drunk every morning and evening to cure urethritis thought to result from intercourse with a menstruating woman.

Muruda (Strychnos spinosa). An infusion of the root is given to babies suffering from diarrhoea.

Murullwa (Solanum aculeastrum). Roots cut up and smoked in a pipe for coughs resulting from a cold. (2) As a laxative for babies: mother chews a piece of the root and spits it into the baby's mouth; or root may be boiled in water and given to the child to drink. (3) For sore eyes, fruit of murullwa is cut up and pounded, wetted, placed in a rag and squeezed into the eye.

Mushalakhwali (Antidesma venosum). For nyakhwali disease in women i.e., when the 'snake' of a woman is not right (barrenness difficult menstruation), take root and claws of the khwali bird (francolin), bind them together with string of mutswiriri (Bauhinia Galpini) bark and place them in light beer. This must be drunk for three successive days; or the bundle is boiled in water and-dru which is drunk.

Mussse (Peltophorum africanum). Its leaves are used to !sprinkle medicine and for constipation or indigestion its leaves are boiled and the water drunk.

Musatsho (Cussonia spicata). Roots are pounded and left in the water used for bathing babies. This makes the child strong and fat because the roots are thick and soft.

Musinama (Indigofera tristoides?). For dysentery the bark of the root is stamped together with mufoho (eleusine) and stirred into soft porridge which is eaten.

Musita-dou (Cassia sp?) Used with murodo for fever (see above).

Mususu (Terminalia sericea). To prevent diarrhoea after eating termites, the leaves of mususu are chewed. Note: when mususu starts blossoming termites begin to come out and are caught.

Musungwani (Lippia asperifolia). Roots used for broken limbs by being burnt to ashes, mixed with scrapings of a dog's bone and inserted into scarifications around the affected part. (2) An infusion of its bruised leaves used for bathing eyes injured by a blow.

Mutumi (Adenia microcephala). Pieces of bark, after being boiled or heated, are bitten between the teeth to relieve toothache.

Vulada (Mucuna coriacea). The leaves burnt to ashes are applied to open wounds.

Vutulu (Bolasanthus speciosus?). The fruit is pounded with mucbe bark, left to dry and applied as a poison to arrows.

APPENDIX 5

SACRED BEADS OF THE LOVEDU.

Mudala. Bluish-green, semi-translucent canes of pipes (identical with Venda vhulungu ha madi - 'beads of the water'.

Mudzika. Royal blue (imitation lapis lazuli), semi-translucent to opaque canes or pipes (identical with Venda mafye variety of vhulungu ha madi).

Keseda la gwana Small, white opaque canes (identical with Venda tshifheba

Mudi wa mudomma. Small black opaque canes (Venda sodzi). Also dark brown opaque canes.

Thaha ya mahosi. Small, yellow opaque canes (Venda mushoshi).

Lethodi. Small bright green opaque canes (similar to Venda lutumba).

Mukhuvidu wa Lezweta. Small Indian red canes on translucent green cores (Venda mukuvhibvu)

Thagahwe. Light, translucent blue canes (unidentified).

Lehadwa la Vukhalaga. Large, facetted and translucent royal blue hexagonal beads on saxe-blue, cylindrical cores (Venda mavhadwa or matomba). Called by the same name are large opaque oblates in slate, powder-blue and dark blue. These are rare but found in old ruins.

Mavadwa a matao . Large blue annular beads.

Makhare of Mavyana. Large, white semi-translucent to opaque beads of varying shapes and sizes. Some are cylindrical, some pentagonal.

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