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

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guarded against by the rule that the chief must luma first. (Among the Zulu, as will be shown in the next section, no one can harvest until the chief's fields have been reaped.) When the tribesmen have been living meagrely for a long time, there is a danger that one man's crops may ripen before another's. Danger, I say, because headman A may be revelling in plenty, while headman B stands hungrily watching his still ripening crops. Who could blame B for descending upon his more fortunate neighbour? Bad blood might easily, under the circumstances, be brewed, for A might not like to carry B till the latter's corn is ripe. As it is, however, they all have to wait for the chief. The onus of bearing the initial jubilation falls on him. All passions are vented at his ceremony, as has been shown, and it is worth noting here the ceremonial purification of the country. He feasts his people - the inyoni kayiphumuli are driven up from the amakhanda, beer is prepared at his umzi, their initial orgies are at his expense. Moreover, sufficient time has been allowed to elapse so that, save in very exceptional circumstances, all the crops will be ripe by the time it comes to individual feasts. Junod, indeed, suggests this when he says of the green mealies of which there is no luma: "Although no taboo prevents any owner of a field from eating the first mealies whenever it suits him, Mhoza asserts that people who have obtained green mealies before the other inhabitants of the village, do not precede them in the enjoyment of this much appreciated food: 'it would cause jealously amongst them!' This reason is perhaps at the bottom of the luma taboo. Moreover, they fear lest they might have to share th[illegible] with all their friends!" Every tribesman and [illegible] can visit the neighbouring imizi, nor need he or she be patronised by their father's charity and self-satisfaction with their ancestors, nor need the hosts feel that the visitor is sponging on them. The

danger/.....

1. Junod, op. cit., Vol.II., p.10.

danger of a clandestine eating of the first fruits is to those in authority, not to the trangressors of the taboo. This rule of precedence, of course, greatly enhances the prestige of the chief and his ancestors.

The further religious function of the ceremony is that it is a ceremonial thanking of the ancestors for the plenty of harvest. There is no need for me to set out the various rites in which this is done; they are prayed and sacrificed to, the new crops are placed for them to sample. This washing of the umkosi is a religious process in which power is transferred to the ancestors from two sources, in the first place from the tribesmen and secondly from the new crops. This first process of transference has already been examined, and the second is apparent enough. The ancestors must eat first, for they alone can approach with safety the food they themselves have caused to grow. Obviously the strength of their position is increased. And it is also, as on earth, in hierarchic order that the ancestors are thanked. The leading role of the great spirits presages the position of the chief and sub-chiefs, the local sacrifices to headmen and patriarchs their future importance in the world after their death. Their position in life is therefore enhanced.

The next function of the ceremony is a magical one, the protection of the people against the power of the new crops. Here the medicines act as an insulating medium between the crops and the tribesmen. Junod states, as quoted, that to luma in "its ritual sense is to remove the injurious character of a given food by a certain ceremony..... To eat certain kinds of food is dangerous for one's health, and the first mouthful taken must be seasoned with the royal drug." But there is a suggestion in the rites that the people are unclean, and also that the medicines stimulate the general fertility of the tribe. For at the Thonga luma of the mabele the corn is eaten as a shimhimbi/.....

shimhimbi, whose purpose, Junod explains, in birth ceremonies is to expel the unclean blood which follows the birth and to stimulate the production of the mother's milk. Nowhere else are we given a clue to the use of shimhimbi, and if we are to interpret it by analogy its use in the luma would probably be to remove the evils in the people as well as the new food, and to stimulate the fertility of the crops and the tribe. Save for the killing of the miluru (which will be considered in the section on war ceremonies) there seems to be no medication of the bukanye in the bukanye luma.

The Zulu and their kindred tribes must believe the power of the new crops to be tremendous, for they have to be approached very gradually through the umkosi omncane and omkulu. But there are indications that the crops were strengthened, as well as being guarded against, and this may be a strengthening against any evil power that exists ~~among~~ on any of the people. The crops were strengthened, I think, by some of the medicines with which they were cooked, and possibly when the chief dressed in samples of the crops they drew power from him. The use of the igade may be to protect them against the evil power of any who had passed that way, but I think that more probably it was to transfer to them the power of all the tribesmen. Lugg says that the Baso ukunyatela was to strengthen the crops and the chief. The crops are then not yet all ripe and apparently they are strengthened by mixing them with stolen crops of foreign origin which have been medicated. These crops, according to Mrs. Krige,[1] are obtained from nearer the coast and are therefore riper. They will communicate their ripeness to the home crops. The sprinkling of medicated corn over the people may be to protect it from any evil in them.

The people are protected against the crops. They themselves are medicated a little, but mainly they are

protected/.....

1. Information given to Mrs. Hoernlé.

protected in that the crops were first tasted by the spirits and then by the chiefs and headmen. The chief and elders were the people who had to be strengthened to meet the new crops. At the omncane the chief was doctored in preparation for the omkulu. He was given imiti emnyama, then washed with imiti emhlope, and generally lived his normal life for a month, though in some tribes, as the Baso, he was being continually treated. When the omkulu arrived he took medicines so powerful that a commoner would die if he tasted them, and then he broke the way for his subjects by tasting the new crops. The tribesmen were never medicated with imiti emnyama at the chief's umkosi, but in eating the new crops they became filled with their power so that they, as well as the chief, had to be ritually cleansed.

But the chief was treated to other ends, in addition to being fortified against the power of the crops. The umkosi, as has been said, was the great gathering of the tribe, and therefore on this occasion the chief, the head and symbol of the tribe, was strengthened. The ceremony took place in the isibaya, the temple of the people. At the umkosi omncane, says Lugg, "the King was doctored to prevent his being overshadowed by rival chiefs". The medicines included parts of fierce and keen animals, parts of a sacrificed bull, etc. The igade may have transferred power to him, or protected him against evildoers, as well as the crops. He was washed with bitter herbs. The chief would mingle and chinse the medicines at the rising sun "as confusion to the nation's enemies, and blessings and health to his people", and to produce "the magical result that he would be rendered beloved by his people, duly respected by surrounded monarchs, etc. This process ukumisa inkosi (to firm the chief) was, of course, more complicated in the omkulu. The Ngoni and Baso chiefs ate human flesh, the former of a chaste boy and girl, the latter/.....

latter of several races. But the pre-eminent ingredient was the uselwa, a species of wild water-melon, very bitter and of an objectionable odour. It represented the chief's strength, for it was called uselwa lwenkosi and was only used at this his great celebration. But the uselwa was also a medicine against the crops. Lugg suggests, after one of his informants, that it was used because " 'impressed.' "It gave the impression of having been cultivated and yet was known to be wild. It is the nearest approach to the cultivated article, and is considered to add strength to the latter," but, as he himself says, "too great a significance should not be attached to this line of reasoning".[1] Its bitterness and odour may account for its use. But it is interesting to note, since the purpose of the eshwama uMamreni plant is "to act as a stomach tonic or corrective, and to prepare it for the sudden change to the new 'green foods'",[2] that Bryant says that the leaves or roots of the wild uselwa are used in treating stomach-ache.[3] If the immediate ill-effects of the new fruits were stomach-ache one can understand how the uselwa came to be used as a protective against the power of the crops. Any interpretation of why the other medicines are used must also be largely a matter of guesswork; the sea- and river-water may be used to add the power of the rain and the flowing waters, of the tide and the storms, to the chief, or to direct some power to the rain. Things stolen from neighbouring monarchs' persons and places were also used, obviously to obtain some of their power. Why the ingredients had to be procured with secrecy lest they lose their potency it is difficult to say. (A variant of this rule, among the Swazi, is that anyone meeting the party carrying/....

1. B.S. op.cit., p.464, footnote 4.
2. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "eshwema", p.135.
3. "Zulu Medicines", op.cit., p.26.

carrying medicines from the sea must pay a small fine or give up some of his personal property.[1]) Perhaps it was merely to increase the power of the medicines in the eyes of the people.

Lugg infers that the doctoring of the chief was a gradual process which culminated in a final ceremony. As usual the treatment is in the calf-fold. It serves, ~~says~~ Bryant and Lugg, to make him very fierce and terrifying. His face and limbs are daubed with medicines. The umutonya rite shows clearly that the umkosi is partly directed to strengthening the chief and tribe at the expense of rival chiefs - it is a magical rite where the use of power is in the rite, not, as is usual among the South-Eastern Bantu, in the imitation. The ukuqunga process is a protection against evil and a stirring up of occult powers from within, because the chief is in this state and not, as Bryant suggests, to keep him angry, he has to abstain (ukuzila) from food, and is secluded in a special hut with a girl. Perhaps a child of his union with her occupies an inferior position because it is begat while the chief is full of unusual power. When the King emerges from his seclusion he is clad in the green dress of corn, grass, reeds, etc. He is now sufficiently powerful to make his first approach to the new fruits, and they draw power from him. In a sense, too, he represents the corn and fruits, and in doing so draws to himself their power, a magical act. It will be remembered that in Lugg's description the chief is dressed in animal skins, probably that he may take unto himself their qualities. Thus Lugg says variously: "The baboon is a cunning animal, and clever in eluding its pursuers, and probably for this reason and because of the hideous and fierce expression which such a 'get up' gives its skin is used/....

1. Cook, E.S., op.cit., p.206.

used for robing the chief",[1] and the chief dresses in the skins of a jackal, igqulatsha, "an animal noted for cunning and elusive habits".[2] The dancing of the chief before his warriors, who join in, intoning, "They hate him", is a demonstration of his prowess, as is patently shown in Lieng-me's description of the Ngoni festival, where Gungunhana stabbed warriors whose dancing did not please him. The men danced round him, singing his praises, shouting, "See, he is a young man; he surpasses his ancestors".[3]

The treatment of the chief was then interrupted by the killing of the bull, but that night, according to Bryant, it continued. The Ngoni chief danced with the genitals of this bull tied to his arm, one assumes, to convey to himself and the tribe the bull's fertility and strength. The iukata, the symbol of tribal unity, was also doctored and re-bound. Finally, the next morning, the chief would uncinda and cinsha new medicines, and then the ceremonial dashing of the gourd (uselwa) took place, a magical rite (the power being used in rite and medicines) involving the destruction of the chief's enemies. The ukucinsha, according to Samuelson, was greeted by the army with roars and salutes, and the two ceremonies served to bless the nation and exorcise evil spirits and pestilences. The King then doffed his ritual dress (which was burnt, and he was cleansed with imiti emhlope. In Samuelson's account the chief was treated with the ashes of the black bull, though how these served to cleans I cannot say. The Zulu often wash in the river for ritual purification, as after a seminal or menstrual flow. There was also washing with intelezi.

The Punzi sacrifice of a sheep is explained

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1. B.S. op.cit., p.372, footnote 16; V.q. p.373.
2. Ibid., p.373.
3. Op.cit., p.204.

by Lugg as possibly being offered in order that the chief will be considerate and merciful, and free from fear. This would be the use of a sheep for a magical rite, as well as for a sacrifice, the chief getting the sheep's qualities by kneeling on the skin.

It is apparent that the doctoring of the chief also emphasised the cohesion of the tribe. This end was achieved by the great, communal dances. The umkosi was the great annual gathering of the people, the only occasion on which each tribesman saw all his fellows together. At the same time, too, the great ancestral spirits were present; the umkosi was their great re-union with the living. Here the umkosi is a religious festival, involving the translation of power from the individual tribesmen, and its concentration in the largest social group, the tribe.

The army was also strengthened, in the only annual war-ceremony that exists among the South-Eastern Bantu. This was naturally done at the umkosi; the whole tribe had assembled and the country was being strengthened against its enemies. The luma of the Thonga army, however, is, from Junod's description, not so much a magical treatment of the warriors, as to emphasise their status. Men who have killed enemies in battle luma first, and thank the ancestors for preserving them through the dangers of war. Apparently it is believed that the malignant spirits of the slain men still menace the killers, for the treatment is to allay them, the allevistive power being transmitted in the black powder, the great medicine of the land. The warriors did pray to the spirits to guard them in future, but the main object of the rite was to prevent them attacking their compatriots. They were harangued by the elders. Junod does not say how the medicine guarded against the danger.

Lugg says that the Zulu army was strengthened in order that the chief might have brave and fearless soldiers/.....

soldiers, capable of supporting him against all enemies, and he gives this as one of the purposes of the umkosi. The strengthening of the army directly is not clearly shown in the rites; it is the treatment of the chief which serves this end. At both imikosi the bull killed by the men was eaten by the izidibi. I am inclined to agree with Lugg[1] that this was to endow them, as the warriors of the future, with strength and courage. The Zulu warriors also ate of a medicated ox, according to some accounts, but the big killing of the bull would be merely an exhibition of the regiments courage and strength, an end in itself. Thus the pummelling of the bull among the Swazi "is said to be symbolical of the valour of the young warriors." The dancing of the chief before, and accompanied by, the whole army, while the tribal song was sung, must enforce on every warrior the might of the chief and the army, a religious dance in which the emotions of self-display and pride in each man's psyche would be gratified by reinforcing his self-regarding sentiment about himself and through being concentrated in his regiment and army. In short, the military side of the celebrations was an emphasis on the chief's power as commander-in-chief of the army; he it was who was doctored to be mighty against enemies, who carried the sacred war-spear, etc. Apparently the army was filled with the occult power of the chief, for the only clear description (H.C.Samuelson's) of his, and its, ritual cleansing is that the army washed in water and ashes which had flowed past the chief.

I do not need further to elaborate the umkosi as a rite de passage, the shuffling off of the old year and the strengthening of the chief and tribe for the new year. I conclude by saying that the ceremonies held at

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1. B.S., op.,cit., P.363.

the local imizi fulfil, on a smaller scale, most of the ends served by the chiefs festival. The family and its ancestors, the authority of the patriarch, the order of seniority, all have the sentiments about them enhanced.

The above analysis of the Zulu umkosi (chiefly) applies in some particulars to the first fruits ceremony of the other tribes, but with less force. The Transkeian celebrations have hardly any military side to them, and have been, as national festivals, dying out for some time. The Swazi incwala is rapidly becoming a military, nationalistic festival, in which the hoecultural elements are overlaid by others. Among the Thonga ceremony no longer attaches to some first fruits, but the luma of others is full and elaborate.

The umkosi is, in the main, a religious ceremony in which potentially destructive supernatural power, derived from the crops and the emotional attitudes of the tribesmen, is canalised, socially conditioned and concentrated in various objects of social value. It has, in addition, many magical rites where supernatural power is directly used, through rite and medicine, to various social ends.

(g) Harvest Rites:

Sir James Frazer[1] has analysed the beliefs and ritual with which man have surrounded hoecultural and agriculture, and he has shown how widespread the custom is of retaining the power or spirit of the corn, from harvest to the next season's planting, in a special sheaf (the last or first cut) or some other object. Some of the Bantu tribes, he would urge, do this in the tribal store of sacred seed. In other words, the peasant, viewing the alterations of vegetation with summer and winter, believe

that/.....

1. op.,cit., pp.400 seq.

that the power of growth must be retained in a sheaf, and this sheaf is treated with full ceremony. During the cold, bare winter the power of the crops must reside somewhere:

"For never-resting time leads Summer on
To hideous winter and confounds him there;
Sap check'd with frost, and lusty leaves ~~quite gone,~~ quite gone,
Beauty o'ersnow'd, and bareness everywhere:
Then, were not Summer's distillation left,
A liquid prisoner pent in walls of glass,
Beauty's effect with beauty were bereft,
Nor it, nor no remembrance what it was."

The peasant, with somewhat more practical ends in view than Shakespeare had, thought that it was by him that summer's distillation must be pent in walls of glass, the "corn-mother" of Frazer, and he therefore stored it away. Now beliefs of this nature are very rare (or at least are unrecorded) among the South-Eastern Bantu. Of the Thonga, Junod replies to Frazer's questions on agriculture, "There are no superstitions about the last corn cut, and no special ceremony practised on the harvest-field."[1] Macdonald says specifically that the Kafirs have no ceremony connected with harvesting,[2] nor have Soga, Cook, Kidd, ~~aut alia~~ any mention of such ceremonies. In fact, only among the Zulu, in our area, is there a harvest ceremony recorded, and that by only one writer, Isaacs, though Callaway records that if the amatongo promises corn and give it, at the end of the year, i.e., the end of the harvest, they are thanked.[3] Junod, I may add here, does say the chief's big drum "leads a special

dance/.....

1. op.,cit., Vol. II., P.31.
2. op.,cit., vii. XLI; p.282.
3. "Religious Systems", op.,cit., p.179.

dance (nkino), which takes place during the winter, when the harvest is ended, and the country happy and prosperous.[1] I cannot say whether or not this dance is part of a religious festival, but from Miss Earthy's references[2] it appears to be.

As harvest approached, the Zulus used to "congregate to sing new songs of rejoicing for the near approach of gleaning time and to exult at the likely abundance",[3] and Isaacs' Natal native servants eagerly looked out for the appearance of the harvest bird which they hailed with joyful acclamations. They began to eat and garner the corn.[4] When it was cut, "the stalks were collected in heaps and burnt and the ashes then strewed on the land".[5] This is a curious variant of the customs collected by Frazer, but it is based on the same general principles. The ears are taken for consumption, the stalks are burnt and their ashes, which contain the power of growth, immediately scattered on the land, where the power lies latent till the next sowing.[6] Among the inland tribes the stalks are used for cattle-feed. These Sotho-Chwana keep the power in a sacred store of seed. The Baso have, in a sense, both customs: for at the umkosi, as we have seen, medicated seed is sown over land broken up near the chief's umzi, and some seed is mixed with a sacrificed bull's blood and kept to plant the chief's main field.

At the Zulu harvest no one was exempt from working in the King's field, and the King appears at the head of his warriors when the corn is gathered,[7] moreover,

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1. op.,cit., Vol. I., p.430.
2. B.S., op.,cit.,
3. Isaacs, op.,cit., Vol.II., p.149.
4. Ibid., Vol.II., p.152.
5. Ibid., Vol.II., p.15.
6. Obviously a magical rite.
7. Isaacs, op.,cit., Vol.II., p.291.

his crops had to be garnered before anyone else could touch his own field.[1] The functions of these rules are the same as those of the similar umkosi rules.

The lack of a harvest ceremony among most of these tribes may be due to poor observation, though this is unlikely; or it may have died out; or be merged into the first fruits ceremony.

(ii) Cattle Magic:

I do not propose to discuss, in this chapter, the social and ritual importance of cattle among the South-Eastern Bantu. An analysis of that importance will be attempted in a later chapter on the general features of religion. Here I shall merely describe the way in which the tribesmen resort to magic in their pastoral activities. I would note at once that pastoral activities are never made the occasion of great gatherings, as with horticulture, and there are, to the best of my knowledge, no religious ceremonies connected with cattle. Cattle are, it is true, used in sacrifice, but there is no sacrifice on their behalf. (Perhaps, since they belong to the ancestors, the latter do not send them diseases.). Very little has been recorded of cattle-magic, but there are indications that there was quite a lot of it. *A priori*, it would have three ends: (1) the strengthening and fertilising of the herds, (2) the protection of cattle from disease, and (3) the protection of cattle from wizards, thieves and wild animals.

Elements of the umkosi have been shown as being directed to strengthen the cattle. Among the Funze, a bull (is it the bull of the tribe representing the herds?) is beaten with stalks of maize and sweet sorghum to impart strength to it; this is perhaps a magical act, in which the power of the new crops is imparted to the bull. In this

tribe/.....

1. Ibid., p.319.

tribe , too, "the wash used by the chief is allowed to sink into the floor of the calf enclosure in order to give strength to the calves;" this wash is of imiti emnlope, yielding the chief of the dangerous powers stirred up by the imiti emnyama it may convey that power to the calves. The Baso chief continually vomits into the calf fold. His vomit is trodden in by the calves to strengthen them, his stirred up power being transmitted to the herd by the act, a magical process. (I have remarked above that the sowing of medicated seed by the chief's brother over a slaughtered bull is probably an offering to the ancestors.) Among the Zulu the green rush dress of the chief is burnt and trodden into the isibaya floor to strengthen the cattle, the chief's and the crops' powers being transferred to the cattle.

As regards the strengthening of the cattle at other times among the Kafirs "a girl on reachingthe marriageable period is washed with water in which uBuka has been macerated. She binds it also in the doors of the calves and cattle enclosures, and sprinkles the calves and gives them an infusion of it, that they may become strong, be always fat and never cast their young."[1] Assuming that by "reaching the marriage period" Kropf means the "first menses," I would say that this is a magical act in which the new fertile power of the girl is transferred to the cattle and calves, through the uBuka plant, whose function I cannot determine. The Kafirs also beat bulls with a thorny shrub (isi-Betankunzi, carissa arduina), because, says Kropf, they "entertain the notion, that when the bull is beaten with this shrub, he becomes more excited and seeks his mate."[2] It is extremely doubtful if there is any notion here of power being transferred from the isiBetankunzi to the bull; probably it is the excitation of the skin that excites/.....

1. Kropf, op.,cit., "uBuka," pp.44-5.
2. Ibid., "isiBetankunzi", p.31.
3. ~~Bryant, Dict., p.~~
4. ~~Kropf, p.~~

excites the bull, for, among the Zulu, the umHlwazi-mamba forest climber is described as being used "for striking a bull so that the itching imitation may cause it to mount."[1] Miss Hanter says some Pondo burn a tortoise among the cattle in the kraal to secure fertility of the cattle, but it seems that this is not considered to be very effective.[2]

In the second type of cattle magic, viz., against disease, there is an old difficulty of determining whether the remedies used are natural or supernatural. Thus where the Zulu burn the iliQwaningi plant (Cappans corymbifera), mixed with other medicines such as uMabope (acridocarpus natalitus), in the cattle-fold to 'smoke' the cattle before they go into the harvested fields to eat off the stubble, lest the cows calve prematurely,[3] the Zulu may conceive of it as a natural precaution, but I am inclined to think it is a magical precaution, against supernatural power, possibly evil, in the crops, especially as uMabope is an intelezi,[4] a medicine used against evil influences such as abatakati.

It is impossible to decide what ideas underlie the use of the following cattle-medicines. The Zulu generic name for cattle-tonic is umKumiso,[5] and Bryant[6] gives the following as cattle medicines:

Native Name:	Description	To Treat:
(umKwangu (p.387)	Forest tree with pungent bark.	Lung sickness.
(umHlontlo (pp.256-769)	euphorbia grandidens.	"
(iliQwaningi (p.553)	cappans corymbifera.	Vermifuge for calves
(uluQwangu (p.554)	creeping veld plant.	" " "
(Ishinga (p.576)	groundsel-like weed.	" " "
isiJa (p.275)	water remaining in hemp-horn after smoking.	used on cow that doesn't readily discharge the placenta.
umDakane (p.90)	apodytes dimidista	purgative for young cattle.

Bryant/.....

1. Bryant, Dict., op.,cit., p.263,
2. MSS., cits.
3. Bryant, Dict., "iliQwaningi", p.553.
4. Ibid., "uMabope", p.372.
5. Ibid., p.330.
6. Ibid., passim.

Bryant does not say how these medicines are administered; I presume it is by the usual method of smoking.[1] The isiJa, however, is administered in a different way, for it is poured over the cow's buttocks. This, on the surface, promises to be a magical rite, but it would be mere guess-work to suggest the ideas that underlie the practice. As regards the other medicines, I may point out that Schapera, writing on the Kxatla, speaks of cattle magic and medicines, but does not say if the medicines are believed to have supernatural power.[2] Kropf[3] gives the names of various medicines apparently used for cattle, as umHlanyane (p.154), ubuhlungu besigcawu (p.155), umNungamabele (p.279), iPuzi (p.326), and umBela-bele (p.28). The Pondo, says Miss Hunter, call in an ixwele to treat cattle which drop their calves, or have red-water fever or hairball. Others imizi dig their own amayeza.[4]

Among the Zulu, if a cow has lost its calf it is induced to suckle another calf. This is done by using certain herbs, in a process known as enzisela.[5] One of these herbs is the ubuvimba (withania somnifera). The root of the ubuvimba, mixed with crab's flesh or hippo fat, is smeared on the back of a strange calf which is then led to the cow. "The saltiness, or some such quality of the misture, induces her to lick the calf and allow it to suck. Further, the pounded leaves of the plant are rolled into a ball and slipped into the vagina of the cow, followed up by a vigorous blow by the mouth into the cavity, in order to drive the pellet well home, and the words mvume, bangu umntwana wako! (accept him, here is your child)."[6] The Kafirs, in similar circumstances, give a decoction of the umbelebele plant to the cow, or else pour an extract of ubuVimba on

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1. Ibid.,, "tunqisa". P.664. Krige, MSS.,cita.,p.103.
2. Schapera, I.,"BaKxatla Cattle Magic and Medicines", 1930. S.A.J.S., p.567-581. (& MSS. cita.
3. op.,cit., passim.
4. Bryant, Dict., op.,cit., p.134.
5. Ibid.,"ubuVimba",p.680. v.q."uMaquntsula", p.377,
6.

the calf's back. When the cow "smells this extract she allows the calf to suck."[1] The medicine smeared on the calf may be used on the same principles as isifetankunzi, but the second part of the Zulu custom seems to be a magical rite of deception, connecting the calf with the cow's womb, accompanied by a short spell, though the words, of course, may be on exhortation in bovine manner.

The Zulu, as stated, usually smoke the cattle, but there is a suggestion that medicine might be poured down the beast's throat,[2] though this may have been introduced since the natives have observed whites doing it. Shooter gives a fuller description of the tunqisa, 'smoking' process. The doctor burns medicines on a fire to fumigate the cattle and sprinkles them with a decoction. He then melts some of the fat of cattle which have died of the disease and takes some in his mouth. He squirts it on a firebrand held before one and of the animals. The beast, of course, rushes away, as the process goes on the herd becomes very excited. When the operation has been completed the gateway is opened and the frightened animals rush out, followed by the whole umzi, the men beating shields, the women rattling calabashes, and all shouting at the top of their voices to drive away the "evil-doer." The terrified cattle, bellowing, gallop while the chase is continued for a mile or so.[3] Shooter's description seems to indicate an exorcising of the evil of the disease. The fat of the dead animal is burnt, the cattle are driven by the flames, and chased, probably carrying the disease, into the veld where they are supposed to leave it.

Unkomidhlilale, the father of one of Callaway's informants, was a great cattle-doctor, as well as a treater

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1. Kropf, op.,cit., "ubuVimba" p.432.
2. Bryant. Dict., op.,cit., "xaka", p899.
3. op.,cit., p.38.

of men. He used to physic water and give only that water to the cattle to drink, and drench some of the animals with it. This water was kept in a large pot in the kraal. When the cattle were taken to the river medicines were poured into it and the cattle were made to drink lower down. Umkomidhlilale would run through the cattle in the isibaya at night, brandishing a flaring torch.[1]

I cannot say why, among the Thonga, sick oxen are entrusted to the care of little boys or girls under the age of puberty.[2] Perhaps it is believed here, as in so much of their ritual, that these children are 'pure', and their long association (the girls "must sometimes stay with them as long as two months without returning home") cleanses the cattle.

Certain cattle diseases come from the breach of taboos connected with the cattle. Among the Thonga, for instance, the menstrual blood of women is charged with danger to the cattle. "Should a drop of it fall in the cattle kraal, this would endanger the whole herd."[3] Junod does not say how the trouble would be remedied, but one assumes that it would involve the cleansing of the cattle and the umzi.

As we have seen above, on a Zulu's death the cattle, as well as the people, have to be doctored with medicines to strengthen them against possible ill-effects.[4]

I have myself found no record of magical protection being sought against wild beasts or thieves, but Mrs. Hoernlé tells me that in the Transkei, according to one of her informants, medicine is put on the isibaya fence which 'holds' the cattle-thief. Some such precaution is probably/.....

1. Callaway; "Religious Systems", op.,cit., pp.162-3.
2. Junod, op.,cit., Vol.II., p.47.
3. Ibid., Vol.II., pp.47-8.
4. Vide Bryant, Dict., op.,cit., "umLawe", p.351.

probably adopted in other tribes, for among the Natal tribes, according to Colenso, there seems to be a regular season (about September) "when stolen cattle are carried off."[1] It does seem as if, among these people, "in spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to the thoughts of stock theft" for lobola.

If oxen are lost the diviner may be approached to tell where it is,[2] or a mantis is held in the hand and asked, "Mantis, where are the cattle?" The searchers look where its head points steadily, but success is not guaranteed. A bird, isipungamangati (the crested eagle) may indicate their whereabouts by looking in a certain direction.[3] Here the insect and the bird, apparently possessed of superior knowledge, point the way for man.

I close this section with a magical custom indirectly connected with the cattle. If a Zulu boy has had the misfortune to allow the cattle to trespass in a neighbour's fields, he nibbles is-Amayisane, a long-stalked weed growing in all fields, as he goes home, in order to make his father forget.[4] Thus he escapes punishment by what is clearly a magical act.

(Other Domestic Animals: These are treated with various medicines, as, according to Bryant's and Kropf's dictionaries for Zulu and Kafirs, respectively:

Horses. (Zulu) Bangandlala, Dlonzo, in Tsanga
(Kafirs) Bangandlala, Dwara, inKumzane, iPazi, tyolo, umfa.

Goats. (Zulu) imBoni, um Qumone.
(Kafirs) ubuhlungu benamba

Sheep. (Zulu) iNcama.

Dogs. (Zulu) iTlunguyembe
(Kafirs) iTshongwe, umfuma.)

(iii) Hunting/.....

1. Cited Ibid., "ili Qubankomo" p.545.
2. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.,cit.,p.314.
3. Ibid; pp.338-9. V.q.Bryant, Dict.,op.,cit., "isi-Pungamangati", p.517; Tyler, op.,cit.,p.111.
4. Bryant, Dict., op.,cit., "amaleksa", p.6.

(iii) Hunting:

Junod has written the only complete account of hunting magic among the South-Eastern Bantu, and the Thonga beliefs as described by him differ widely from those of the other tribes. I shall therefore first collate and analyse the information on hunting magic among the Zulus, the Xosa and their kindred tribes, and then attempt, in a separate description, to arrive at the fundamental ideas of the Thonga huntsmen.

There are two types of hunting, viz., individual and communal, and the beliefs connected with each of these will have to analysed. I shall, however, first set out what I take to be magical acts connected with both forms of hunting.

The huntsman's dogs were treated in a variety of ways to make them keen and true hunters. Kropf gives two ways in which this is done. The head of the uBilowe, a kind of brownish shrike which frequents marshy places and destroys serpents, is given to pups to make them expert hunters.[1] Clearly, the power of such a snake-killing shrike must reside in its head, and this is passed on to the dogs. These people have a specific name for the processes, ukuHlopisa, "to make hunting dogs eat medicine and charms, e.g., the wings of the swiftest birds, usually those of the sparrow-hawk, to make them swift, biting and fighting,"[2] and ukuHlupeza, "to cause a dog to be ferocious by giving it the hair of a lion or other ferocious animals, roasted in the fire, and mixing pounded bones of leopards with its food."[3] The Zulu dogs, says Grout, were fed on the beaks and claws of birds to make them fierce,[4] a process described by Bryant as ukuhlunga, to give a dog communal hunting faculties by medicines."[5] The process by which the qualities of animals and birds are

transferred/.....

1. Kropf, op.cit., p.33.
2. Ibid., p.154.
3. Ibid., p.156.
4. op.cit., p.136.
5. Dict., op.cit., p.260.

transferred to the dogs is clearly magical.

The huntsman also prepares himself for the chase. The Kafir ties a piece of skin round his waist to get luck in the hunt[1] or binds the small black fruit of the wild chestnut round his wrist,[2] and generally performs incantations and enchantments for success.[3] One of these enchantments is to burn the iDwabs creeper before going into the forest to hunt; when the hunter kills a bird he strews the ashes round it, trusting it will charm more game.[4] Bryant does not say if the "Yeshe" prayer is offered up on the occasion of an individual hunt or not; apparently, from his wording, it is more commonly used on big occasions.[5]

There is much more information on the big hunts. These were often parts of ceremonies. Thus there was the big hunt at the umkosi wegade of the Zulu, and the Kafirs had big ceremonial hunts (ama Palazo) on the death of a chief, or sometimes at the orders of a rainmaker. The Ngani monarch, Gungunhana, used to order an unarmed attack on a lion when a new regiment was being enrolled and doctored.[6] All these hunts were incidents to other ceremonies in which they provided a violent emotional catharsis, in the one case at the first fruits, secondly on the death of a chief, thirdly in despair of rain, and fourthly on the occasion of youths becoming warriors. The question that arises now - and it is extremely difficult to answer - is whether or not the ordinary communal battues were religious. These hunts, when held at the behest of the chief, clearly gave him a new prestige, arising out of the heightened social excitement.[7]

Other/.....

1. Kropf, op.,cit., "ukuNzabela", p.293.
2. Ibid., "umBabe", p.15.
3. Ibid., "ukuLaula", p.293.
4. Ibid., "Dwaba", p.87.
5. Dict., op.,cit., "Yeshe",p.713; vide infra.
6. Liengme, op.,cit., p.907.
7. Vide Richards, op., cit.,pp.107.,seq.

Other hunts, of course, increased the prestige of clan-heads, etc., and in all these communal hunts the individual was made vividly to realise his own power. Indirectly, though the natives did not look upon these hunts as ceremonies, they acted as religious ceremonies. I assume that one would call them social rites.

When the men had assembled for the great hunt a variety of preparations were made to ensure success. Kidd describes[1] one of these hunts and "the doctor was present, looking very important: on him more than on anyone depended the fortunes of the day". Careful preparations were made for the hunt, the country was mapped and every man alloted his task. But they had to be made doubly fierce and good luck ensured. The companies danced violently before the King in the cattle kraal, a dance which stirred up all their pride, for they praised themselves while the King stared and admired; "he flattered the people inordinately, and then the huntsmen all greeted the King and brandished their assegaais, stabbing scores of imaginary buck, and boasting of the marvellous feats they were about to perform during the hunt". At some time in the ceremony certain men crawled about dressed as animals. They rushed to a tree, stripped off the bark, (the bark of this tree is bitter) and chewed it, spitting out the substance in all directions with explosive sounds. "This bark is supposed to strengthen the wind of the runners. and to ward off evil practices enemies may be using to bewitch them". Before the hunt, according to Bryant, all the parties ate umshwala, which is very thick isiBaqanga (thick, lumpy porridge of crushed mealies), apparently in common. This may or may not have been a ritual meal.[2]

Ally.....

1. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., pp.315-320
2. Dict., op.cit., pp.583 & 34.

All this ceremony was, of course, magical. The chewing of the bark, the stabbing of buck, evidence the transference of power from the tree to the men, and the men to the buck. Similarly, I should say that what Bryant calls a prayer to the hunting-god (nyamazane) is really a spell. It runs: "Yeshe! nyamazane! siyihlabe; siyibambe; sikulela ugudukazi olungasenu-'mazinyo". (Hail, game! May we stab and catch the game we are to hunt. We beg for an old-woman of a beast that no longer has any teeth).[1] On the face of it this is, I think, an expression of power to be gained over the game, but it may be offered to the ancestors, for, says Kidd, "when they were quite satisfied that the spitting of the bark had been thoroughly done, they formed into a large circle. The doctor knelt on the ground, and mumbled out a prayer to the ancestral spirits, especially to those who were hunting, when on earth." The whole question of this invocation is obscure. Why should it be the doctor, and not the chief, who prays? What ancestors does the doctor invoke, his own or the chief's? Later, if the hunt has been unsuccessful, the doctor prays again, to whom it is not stated. Then after the alleged prayer the chief stepped forward, pointed his assegaai or gun at the ground, and simultaneously the whole five hundred men stabbed the ground with their assegaais", making a very loud hurricane of noise and fury, for they added to the sound of the quivering assegaais a tremendous shouting of "Whir-r-r-r-r-r-r-r-h, whir-r-r-r-h". This is a magical rite, so that the King leads in magic, the doctor in prayer, from Kidd's description. I therefore think that Bryant's Yeshe is a spell, and that is what Kidd refers to. The ancestors were however, probably also approached in these hunting rites.

Among/.....

1. Ibid., Yeshe, p.713.

Among these tribes little is recorded of beliefs about treatment after the killing of the animal. The Kafirs, as noted above, scatter the iswabo ashes round a dead buck to charm other game; in order to ensure good luck, the Zulu men, after eating the buck put three hearth-stones which supported the cooking-pot, saying, "May the good luck of another day be still better."[1] Angas[2] has an illustration of a boy lying upon the dead game, and notes that this was to preserve it from witchcraft.[3] These are all magical acts; there is no record of the ancestors being thanked, though the chief is flattered on his prowess.[4]

The Zulu have apparently no belief that the dead game is dangerous, a conception of great importance to the Thonga. Only the killer of an otter needs to be purified; before he returns to his kraal he must sprinkle his body all over with ashes, lest dire consequences ensue. What these are Bryant does not say, but the reason for the otter's being thus singled out lies, apparently, in its association with a more or less legendary animal and the use of its skin as a powerful umuti. The otter had to be taken to the chief and the hunter was rewarded with a bullock.[4] The ideas surrounding the otter will be examined in the next chapter.

The more southerly tribes, however, do propitiate the elephant. When Kafir hunters are about to shower spears on an elephant, they call out, "Don't kill us, great captain; don't strike or tread upon us, mighty chief." Before the Xosa attack an elephant they shout to the/.....

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1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit.,
2. Angas, G.F., "The Kafirs Illustrated", Plate XIV.
3. Kidd, loc.cit., p.320. "umtini", pp.629-630;
4. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., Colenso, op.cit., "umtini".

the animal and beg him to pardon them for the slaughter they are about the perpetrate, professing great submission to his person and explaining clearly the need they have of his tusks to enable them to procure beads and supply their wants.[1] This propitiation is to protect themselves against a living beast; there seems to be little that is magical in the practices, though they may have the idea that the words used render the animal more amenable to meet its fate. But certain rites have also to be observed after the killing. The Kafirs bury the trunk with much respect and solemn ceremony;[2] the Xosa do this, but bury in addition a few of the articles obtained for the ivory, hoping to avert all mishap.[3] There may be some idea here of propitiating the elephant's spirit, or else the burying may be sufficient to 'lay' the ghost, acts that are magical in their essence.

The Thonga have many magical rites in connection with hunting.[4] The fence surrounding a game pit is smeared from a powder made from human placenta, which need not necessarily be that of the hunter's wife. (From the description, however, it seems that another woman's afterbirth can only be used if the hunter's wife has had a child and lost the afterbirth.) The placenta is baked on the evening of the day of delivery by the mother, hidden the next day, dried the following evening and hung from the roof between two pieces of broken pot. The hunter powders it, and mixes it with other medicines; the result, called ndzendźzena, is smeared on the fence of the trap, and on gun and assegaai. This medicine (why it has these powers I cannot say) circumvents the game's wariness and carries instant death. Nowadays they smear the iron-traps which they buy in European stores with the buripa, a kind of brownish moss growing on the roots of the shivumbunkanye

tree/.....

1. Frazer, op.,cit., p.822.
2. Krpff, op.,cit., "umBoko", p.27, Lichtenstein, op.,cit., Vol. I., p.313.
3. Frazer, loc.,cit.,
4. Subsequent references in brackets are to Junod, op.,cit., Vol.II.

tree; this "makes the game forget."(pg.580). When a duiker is caught in a game pit it must be 'blown over' (nuhutela) with ndjao, juncus root; this will bless the pit which will catch much game. The first duiker caught by a hunter must go to his parents, lest he lose his skill.(p.66).

The Thonga professional hunters, maphisa, (pp.59 seq) form a kind of superior caste, and "they claimed a special power over big game owing to the mysterious rites which they practised; thus they partook more or less of the nature of magicians." One claimed that he could pick an elephant out of the herd, force it to come and fall down at the foot of a tree up which he had climbed and from which he killed it. These maphisa used to go on great hunting expeditions, for months at a time. Before leaving they underwent special purification. The medicine-man cooled drugs in a pot, washed the phisa with the froth and poured the contents of the pot over the entrance of the hunter's hut. The phisa entered his hut, the water running over his shoulder while the doctor said: "Go and be happy! Though the rain fall on you, though the dew make you wet, when you sleep, you will be everywhere as in a hut; everywhere it will be like home. You will have taken your hut with you, you will enter it in a wet state!" This is a magical act, the power being carried in the medicines, the entry to the dripping hut, and the spell. Its purpose is probably to make the hunter at home in the wilds and to guard him from danger. They were also inoculated in the wrist with special drugs, the most important being the tintebe, which is used to purify the slayers of enemies in battle. Another medicine is the meat from between the heart and lungs of big animals. In some cases they have to prepare themselves by daily ablutions and a period of continence. Finally, a fowl may be sacrificed, and its flesh eaten only by 'pure' children, who are 'quiet'.[1]

On/.....

1. The hunters may make an offering of beer to the spirits. (II.p.394)

On these trips the hunters have to observe many taboos, of which the chief is sexual. So stringent is this taboo that they will take with them, as cooks, little boys below the age of puberty. The law of continence is also binding on the hunters' wives at home. The reason for this taboo is partly because the hunters, after their purification, are in a kind of marginal period, and partly because there is in the sexual act "something wild, fierce, passionate," which will, on magical principles, communicate itself to the wild animals which will ferociously attack the hunters. Another taboo is that they must not eat any salt, because it will "precede them" and prevent their killing game. As a further protection, the hunters carry charms, especially ndjao, the root of a certain juncus whose use will be later considered.

The wives at home have other rules to observe besides that of continence. They should only smear their hut floors in the early morning or late evening, when their husbands are not busy hunting; they give their children attractive dishes, that their men may be well treated in distant villages. If a death occurs at home it will affect the hunter, and his fellow-villagers must take their vapour-baths early in the morning or late in the evening. The aim of all these practices, magical in the extreme, is, says Junod[1] to protect the hunter and make him almost one with the animals, whom he may approach with easy familiarity.

On the return of the expedition a hen is sacrificed by the headman in thanks to the ancestors for their preservation. If a man died on the trip the survivors fire a volley on arriving at the village, and can only enter after being purified.

At/.....

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1. Vide, Junod, op.,cit., Vol.I., P.189.

At the umzi meat should not be given by the hunters to women after parturition or during menstruation, or to other persons in a state of defilement. To do so would be to "spoil their gun." After the death of a relative a hunter must purify his gun.

These maphisa are very jealous of each other, and they attempt to destroy their rivals' power by treating and burying a piece of meat from game killed by the latter. A hunter must therefore protect himself against this in distributing his meat. (p.63).

All these practices are magical save for the sacrifice of the hen. It is impossible to say why this tribe should have developed a class of specialist hunters, or so many hunting rites. Perhaps, having few cattle, they do more hunting for meat, or (this is an extremely tentative suggestion) it is because the Thonga are not as great warriors as the Zulu and Xosa that they have fallen back for aid more and more on magic.

Junod passes next (pp.66 seq.) to the observances which centre in each kind of game; I propose to examine one or two of these. First, I shall take hippopotamus hunting, because these animals must be approached with particular care as they are used by baloyi. They must always be called "old pots" and not by their name, lest they be infuriated. The hippopotamus hunters are a very special class, batimba, who have been inoculated with a drug which gives them power over hippopotami and makes them dangerous to their fellows. Before a hunt the batimba must commit incest with his daughter, a courageous act, which symbolises his bravery in attacking the animals, and which possibly Freud would say, by ridding him temporarily of his secret incestuous desires really does increase his fortitude.

Once/.....

Once a hippopotamus has been harpooned his wife must sit still to prevent it escaping or hunting her husband.

A rite, the lurulula, is performed over the carcase. The animal is laid on its back with its forelegs apart. The hunter chews his ndjao root, with the butimba medicine, blows pieces of it into his hands, closes his eyes, and creeps on his belly between the forelegs of the kill. He passes up one side of the carcase, anointing it with medicines, squeezes the hindlegs, and creeps down the other side. When he reaches the head he mutters: "Let him die! Let him rot!" The he prays to his ancestors for more victims. The headman of the batimba village performs the same actions. This is, save for the prayer, an alleying of the nuru of the animal.

Before the flesh of the hippopotamus can be eaten, there is a luma ceremony, to remove the injurious character of the food.[1] The killer of the animal takes a piece of the disphragm in his mouth, plunges into the river, and eats the meat under water. The rest of the village, his sons first, then luma with the so-called seat of the hippopotamus' strength, the flesh of the neck with which it pushes through the mud. They mix this with the mbangalwa medicine (the special batimba drug) and eat a little of it. Strangers luma, after the chief's portion has been set aside, by rubbing meat on the sole of the foot. The luma is to remove the danger of colic from the unaccustomed food. The ceremony is purely magical, the adulteration of the power of the flesh. The rite of luma is also performed for the koedoe (p.66) and for elephants (p.71).

The lurululu rite is to save the hunter from an attack of insanity, and it is also necessary to carry it out on the killing of an eland (p.63), the koedoe and ndakazi sutelope (p.65), the duiker (p.65) and vide supra), the elephant (p.74), and the rhinoceros (p.75). There is no such rite connected with lions, to the best of Junod's knowledge.....

1. Vide Junod, op.cit., Vol. I., p.394.

knowledge, but "to avoid being mauled by lions the hunters put into their mouths a little of every kind of food mixed with their powerful drugs and spit it out to the four winds in order to appease the ancestor-gods of the country." (p.75). How this is effected it is difficult to see, unless the foods are in the nature of an offering to the spirits. The buffalo has no muru because it "is an ox". The crocodile apparently must be "blown over", huhutela. (p.76).

I shall quote two typical luralula rites. The eland (p.63 seq.) is highly coveted, but is dangerous to kill. "It possesses the muru. When you kill it, it is taboo to walk round its body. Go straight to its head, and there, in the hair of the forehead, you will find a louse; take it. Then dig in the earth where the head has fallen: you will find a root tehre; cut it off and bring it home with the louse. Then you are safe!" said Vaguet. Others added: "Remove its eye before cutting it open, if you wish to escape the danger of muru." At home the magician prepares a charm of the louse and the tehre root, which charm frees the hunter from the muru. The second example I shall cite is the lurululu of the koedoe (pp.65-6.) One hunter states that the old males had between their horns a green snake which warns them when danger threatens. This snake is their shikwembu (literally, ancester; Junod suggests, tentatively, protective genius). A female must be killed before a male, and the latter only wounded at first, and then killed two days later. The muru of a koedoe, like that of the eland and ndakazi antelope, enters a root which must be powdered, mixed with fat and smeared beneath the eyes and behind the ears and knees of the hunter to "strengthen the bones" and 'lay' the muru.

A killed enemy also has a muru, and I shall therefore examine this whole conception in the section on war. What are the functions of other South-Eastern Bantu hunting rites? These rites are in the main magical for the power

used/.....

used is usually in a medicine, an action, or a spell. Only occasionally are the ancestors, e.g., in the Thonga lion and hippopotamus rites, invoked, as a source of power outside of the rite itself. The rites aim in the first place at ensuring good luck and success in the chase; their second purpose is to render the animal as impotent as possible and protect the hunter from their living fury; and thirdly they protect against dangerous forces which may be generated in the kill. I would suggest, finally, that among a people in whose diet meat is rare, the presence of the rites emphasises the value of the food, and therefore the Thonga often luma it. The hunters are all skilled in the ways of the animals, adepts at tracking, etc., but these rites are relied on as an additional guarantee of success and safety.

(iv) Fishing:

The only South-Eastern Bantu people who eat fish as a regular article of their diet are the Thonga.[1] They fish in four different ways, and with each of these there are connected rites and ceremonies. Most of them aim at ensuring success, and only in the tjeba fishing are precautions against danger taken, the threat being that of crocodiles.

When a man fishes with a hook (pp.84-5)he says, after casting his lines "Thu![2] You! my hook! they eat to their heart's content, people who dwell yonder, where they pound their mealies kneeling down,[3] there where the khwekhwe and the mhulu,[4] etc." Afterwards the fisher throws a pinch of tobacco where his hook fell, to help his hook to see, to

awaken/.....

1. References in brackets are to Junod, op.cit., Vol.II.
2. Onomatopoeic sound of hook falling into water (Junod).
3. Seeing the sky reflected in the water, the fisherman thinks of the ends of the earth where heaven rests on the ground, and where women kneel when pounding their mealies, lest their pestles hit the sky. (Junod).
4. Different kinds of fish.

awaken it and "give it eyes to catch." Here is a magical act where the power is carried in the spell. this aims at increasing the ability of the hook (like the tobacco) and not at controlling the fish. The tobacco may be used because of its virulent effect on fish.

A second form of fishing is with the mhangu trap (p.85), a triangular enclosure of sticks stuck in the sand of the seashore. This enclosure has an opening facing seawards and the tide carries fish, lobsters, shrimps, etc., in; these are trapped by the closing of the opening. During the building of the mhangu the fisherman must keep silent, and he may only speak when, after finishing the mhangu, he has returned to the hut and washed his hands. Should the fisherman transgress this rule, the fish will rush about wildly in the trap; he will be unable to catch them. Here is a precaution against an act of man affecting the world of nature, by communicating itself to the fish. All the people have the right to come and partake of the first catch, which must be luma, and all consumed on the spot. This would remove the danger in the new food while emphasising its value, a religious ceremony.

The shibaba (p.85-6) is a trap of woven reeds, within reach of the tide, on the banks of a river, and it traps fish in much the same way as the mhangu. Here there are many observances clustered round the construction of the trap: the owner must cut the first reed, no sexual relation is allowed during the five or six weeks of the fishing, and women must never approach the spot. On the day of inauguration there is also a luma, which should serve the same functions as the luma of the mhangu. It is impossible to say why the owner must cut the first reed or why women should not approach the trap, unless it be because of their menstrual impurity/.....

impurity. The taboo on sexual relations is probably for the same reason as the taboo during the maphisa trips, lest the fish become 'hot' and excited. These are all examples of 'negative' magic, precautions taken lest man's actions influence the actions of his prey.

There are, in connection with the tjeba(p.86-9) fishing, certain religious ceremonies. A descendant of the inhabitants of the country, not a member of the reigning family, must "make an offering" before the throng at this national fishing. He enters the lake and spits (there is no sacramental tsu) and says: "Let fish abound! Let them not hide in the mud! Let there be enough of them to satisfy everyone!" Here, since these lakes are in the nature of ntimu, the descendant of the spirits of the place asks them for plenty of fish and to prevent the fish burying themselves in the mud so that they cannot be caught. In the Maluleke district a fish is caught alive, and offered to the ancestor spirits; then it is thrown back into the water (where they may be). This is done by an Nyai (the Nyai were the original inhabitants) but then the Thonga chief proclaims: "Let the fish abound and kill them all, but do not bewitch each other!" Here the words seem to be more of a spell than a prayer.

The Hlengwe tjeba fishing shows a positive side of the taboo on sexual relations. When they tjeba they take a little boy and a little girl, and lay them down together under a lion's skin, as if they were husband and wife, during the time of the fishing operations. The children keep quiet, so that the fish will be quiet and not swim away. Here their positive abstinence from sex keeps the fish quiet, a magical rite with the power in the act - or rather inaction.

If there are crocodiles in the ponds the ceremony is more elaborate, because of the danger involved. When the

ones/.....

bones are thrown and declare who must make the offering in order to secure adequate protection from the ancestor-gods. The officiator enters the lake first, and plunging his shiranga into the water, says: "If you are here, crocodile, go away! You hyena, do not bite." I see little offering to the ancestors here, and it seems to be more of a magical spell.

(v) TRAVELLING.

Travellers perform rites with several ends. They wish to succeed in their object, to be friendlily received, and to be secured against danger.

The most notable practice of the Zulu or Kafir traveller is that described by Kropf and Bryant under the word "isivivana". The former describes the isivivane as "a heap of stones thrown together by travellers at certain steep and dangerous passes on a difficult, tiring journey, a small stone being added by every passer-by, who says, Tixo, ndinceda, God, help me; or sipe amandla, give us strength, whereby the traveller asks for help to accomplish his enterprise or errand. Whether his object is good or evil, whether he is going to steal his neighbour's cattle, or to pay a visit to his friends, or to pay his addresses to a young woman, he will use the same form".[1] Bryant gives a hint as to the way in which these heaps originate: "A superstitious Native wishing to bring down upon himself good success for his journey, may, at any point thereon, pull up a few blades of grass, lay it down alongside the road, and then place upon it, to hold it fast, a small stone upon which he has previously spat for luck'. Subsequent passers-by, knowing this to have been done by some previous/....

1. Kropf, op.cit., p.433. V.q. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XX p.186.

previous traveller along that path in order to ensure good-fortune ahead, will naturally feel impelled to do likewise, by an inmate superstitious dread of becoming unlucky if they neglect to do so; until at length a great heap of small stones arises on the spot ".[1] Kidd says that this custom is supposed to be of Bushman or Hottentot origin, for the Hottentots believed that their mythical hero Heitsi-Eibib, died and rose again many times. At every spot where he died[2] a cairn was raised, and stones, sticks, etc. are thrown on the cairns, or honey, game and other things left there as offerings in worship of this arch-ancestor. The custom could easily have been taken over from the Hottentots in the Transkei, and then have spread to Zululand,[3] And, according to Junod, the Thonga on the Swaziland border have also adopted it.[4] This is probably correct as regards the historical origin of the custom. In its adoption by the Bantu it was changed in that Heitsi-Eibib dropped out and if any prayer was made it was probably to the ancestors. The fact that the prayer was often omitted seems to show that many Natives regarded the mere placing of a stone as sufficient to ensure good luck, i.e. it is a magical act. This is clearly the belief in Bechuanaland.[5] Bryant's information, if it is a correct interpretation of Native ideas, varies this conclusion somewhat. According to him, the very superstitious Zulu would observe the custom to gain a positive benefit; others would do so for fear lest the omission of the act would/.....

1. Dict., op.cit., "isiVivane", p.682.
2. Mrs. Howrule says that these heaps are raised by a Hottentot wherever he was lucky.
3. Kidd, "Essential Kafir", op.cit., pp. 263 seq.
4. Op.cit, Vol.II, p.393, footnote 1.
5. Kidd, "Essential Kafir", op.cit, p.264.

previous traveller along that path in order to ensure good-fortune ahead, will naturally feel impelled to do likewise, by an innate superstitious dread of becoming unlucky if they neglect to do so; until at length a great heap of small stones arises on the spot ".[1] Kidd says that this custom is supposed to be of Bushman or Hottentot origin, for the Hottentots believed that their mythical hero Heitsi-Eibib, died and rose again many times. At every spot where he died[2] a cairn was raised, and stones, sticks, etc. are thrown on the cairns, or honey, game and other things left there as offeri[illegible] in worship of this arch-ancestor.[3] The custom could easily have been taken over from the Hottentots in the Transkei, and then have spread to Zululand.[3] And, according to Junod, the Thonga on the Swaziland border have also adopted it.[4] This is probably correct as regards the historical origin of the custom. In its adoption by the Bantu it was changed in that Heitsi-Eibib dropped out and if any prayer was made it was probably to the ancestors. The fact that the prayer was often omitted seems to show that many Natives regarded the mere placing of a stone as sufficient to ensure good luck, i.e. it is a magical act. This is clearly the belief in Bechuanaland.[5] Bryant's information, if it is a correct interpretation of Native ideas, varies this conclusion somewhat. According to him, the very superstitious Zulu would observe the custom to gain a positive benefit; others would do so for fear lest the omission of the act would/.....

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4. Op.cit, Vol.II, p.393, footnote 1.
5. Kidd, "Essential Kafir", op.cit, p.264.

should bring them ill-luck.

Kropf states that a traveller chews a large kind of Bushman's tea (printzia pyrifoloa) to gain strength so that he does not get tired.[1] The Zulu, before going on a journey, smears on his body umSuzwane (hippi asperifolia) to prevent crocodiles and dogs from biting him[2]. Here it is probably believed that because of its objectionable smell the umsuzwane has the power of protecting.

There must be many omens of significance for the Zulu and Kafir traveller, though I have only found one recorded of the Zulu. To see an inTendele (red-winged partridge) on one's journey foretells good luck, but to see an uCakide (weasel) would indicate bad luck.[3] It is impossible to say what is the relationship of the intendele and uCakide to men's lives, but probably there is some supernatural connection. For it seems as if the Zulu traveller looked on his journey as an interdependent whole. Under the same word, intlahla, Bryant writes that "when a traveller chances upon a good drink of beer in any kraal, and after leaving there comes across another or perhaps two other beer-drinks, such unusual good-fortune he would attribute may-be to something in connection with his visit to the first kraal." The pity is that Bryant gives no example of what sort of thing would have these pleasant consequences, nor of what sort of powers are believed to be at work. As regards the ucakide, I may point out that uCakide is a mischievous creature of Zulu folk-tales. He is known as Ucakijana Bogocololo (little weasel the weasel) and is described by Malcolm as "the hero of Zulu childhood"; he is very mischievous[4].

Junod/.....

1. op.cit., "Igqwaka", p.128.
2. Bryant, Dict., op.cit p.603.
3. Ibid., "inTlahla," p.633.
4. Some of these tales have been collected by two Zulu teachers, Mbata, A.R.S., & Mdhlalhla,G.C.S., under the title "Ucakijana Bogcololo". (1927) I cite from Malcolm's Introduction, p.8.

Junod gives a fuller description of Thonga traveller's practices. The traveller must observe several taboos. He must not carry salt lest he fail in his object, the salt, I suggest, making his surroundings "bitter"; he must avoid sharpening assegaais on the road, lest he arouse his enemies and "awaken thorns" on the path; and he must not cut milala leaves (used for basket-making) as this would cause trouble in the village to which he is going. If he sees people digging a grave, he must help for a while, otherwise he would take the misfortune on himself, and he must undergo purification if someone dies at a village while he is there.[1]

A traveller carries charms which include the flesh of the mampfana bird (a kind of crane),[2] and these charms are prepared by the medicine man who brings them to the entrance of the traveller's hut where he treats his "patient". He prepares a decoction takes a little of it in his mouth, and spits it at the traveller with the sacramental tau, praying to his own ancestors: "Gently! Smoothly! I say so. Death does not come to him for whom prayer is made; death only comes to him who trusts in his own strength. Let misfortune depart, let it go to Shiburi, and Nkhabelene.[3] Let him travel safely; let him trample on his enemies; let thorns sleep, let lions sleep; let him drink water wherever he goes, and let that water make him happy, by the strength of this leaf".[4] The sting of this prayer is in its tail. The doctor approaches his own ancestors not so much that they may protect the traveller, as that they may strengthen his medicines and give them power. For him it is a prayer, for the traveller a spell. The protective power resides in/.....

1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, p.389
2. Ibid., Vol.I, p.340.
3. The ends of the land.
4. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, pp 393.

in the drugs and is transferred from them to the "patient" who is washed with them.

But the inyanga's ancestors are also invoked to co-operate with the traveller's in protecting him. The traveller himself appeals to his own ancestors, spitting out water alone, saying: "Pff! My ancestor-gods! May I find no difficulty on my road, etc."[1] This prayer is an attempt to get the power of the ancestors, which resides outside the prayer or suppliant, on his side; in the inyanga's prayer I am sure there is less of supplication than of affirmation, for he dominates the situation, save that he must draw power from his ancestors (power outside himself or his medicines) and get the spirits to strengthen his medicines. He himself will concentrate in his ancestors the power of those medicines.

The mampana bird, should it fly across the road, would warn the traveller of the danger of death, a warning that is also given by the duiker and polecat. If the traveller is thus warned, he will go to his grandfather (i.e., I presume, the head of his lineage) who will approach the spirits with a mouthful of beer, praying to the ancestors to safeguard his grandson's journey.[2]

The three prayers described show important differences. In the first, the magician invokes his ancestors to bless his medicines and co-operate with the "patient's" ancestor, and in the second the traveller invokes his own dead to assist him. But if, despite these precautions, death and danger lurk on the road the grandfather must make special prayer to these ancestors for the traveller: it seems as if the exceptional approach to the spirits by a young man does not carry much weight.

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1. Ibid., Vol.II, p.394.
2. Ibid., Vol.I, p.340

(vi) MOVING A VILLAGE.

The moving of a Zulu village shows particularly clearly that the Zulu society consists of the dead as well as of the living. The spirits of the ancestors must move with their descendants and approve of their new home.

If an itongo snake is not seen there, a branch of umpafa[1] is cut, and taken with a bullock to the old village site. There it is sacrificed. "The people give thanks, and call on the Itongo, and sing those songs which he used to sing while living; this is a sign of weeping for him, to excite pity, so that he may say, 'Truly, my children are lonely because they do not see me.' And the branch is dragged when they set out, and they go with it to the new village. Perhaps the snake follows; perhaps it refuses, giving reasons why it does not wish to go to that place, speaking to the eldest son in a dream; or it may be to an old man of the village; or to the old queen".[2]

Wangemann's account agrees with Callaway's almost word for word. If the itongo does not show itself at the new village, the people go to look for him. They break off a branch of the wild mulberry tree, and carry it to the old home. There they offer sacrifice, and sing the itongo's favourite song, that he may say to himself: "Of a truth my children feel themselves forsaken, because I do not go with them!" Then they drag the mulberry branch along the ground to the new home, hoping that the itongo may follow its track, or else explain in a dream why he does not come.[3]

In the section on disease I have quoted an account in Callaway where certain ancestors sent disease to make their descendants found their own village.[4] Another

informant/.....

1. A small-sized tree in the bush country, having hard edible berries (zyzyphus mäcronata). Bryant, Dict., op. cit., p.479.
2. Callaway; "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.212.
3. "Die Berliner Mission im Zululande", pp.17-18
4. "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.367 seq.

informant describes how an itongo sent illness to a new village to which it had not come, and a bridge was built for it to cross the river. When it arrived it was praised. Later the umzi was scattered in war, and then the pelple went back to the old site. They sang the song of the great festivals, sacrificed and danced. They returned home and feasted, and while they were doing this the itongo snake arrived.[1]

In the Zulu ceremony apparently all that it is necessary to achieve is to persuade the itongo to come to the new village; its presence is a guarantee of protection in itself, though there may be magical rites which have not been described. The Thonga, however, not only choose the new site with great care, but protect it in various ways. Junod describes the procedure of both the Nothern and the Ronga clans, and analyses the rites clearly and succintly.[2] The village is moved through fear of witchcraft; on the death of the headman, if lightning strikes the hubo or if the gardens are exhausted. Junod's interpretation of these social rites is very sound, so that I shall merely quote it without describing the rites in full, and then add some comments of my own.[3]

There are, he says, three series of rites, social, protective and passage rites. (i) The social rites (as in the Luma) show the hierarchy of society; for the headman must first have relations with his wife on the spot, he must take the village to himself. (That is why when he dies the village is moved). Above all, he must have no relations with any wife but the principal wife, who presides in various ways in the ceremonies: her position is heavily emphasised. (ii) The protective rites are concentrated on the fence surrounding the village, "it is a spiritual protection, a barrier of/.....

1. Ibid., pp.206 seq.
2. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.318 seq.
3. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.326-8.

of charms, of magic influences, to prevent the entrance of wizards and of all the hostile powers of the bush". (iii)The passage rites involve the separation from the old village and the aggregation to the new; the headman leaves his old umzi through a special opening made in the fence at the back and must not return to it. During the marginal period of a month sexual intercourse is taboo to all the inhabitants, there must be no washing or cooking in the new village, the laws of morality are suspended, licentious songs and dances are the order of the day. At the end there is a purification by sexual intercourse, and a sacrifice calling on the ancestors to bless the village. The "beer is prepared, neighbours are invited and they all drink together".

The first question to be determined is whether this ceremony is religious or magical in its essence. In the main I think the ceremony is religious. The bones are consulted to see near which tree the headman's hut must be placed, and the first thing the Ronga do is to make their altar there. Between this tree and the umumzane is a mystic relation. "He must never cut it down". This tree has some connection with the ancestors, and therefore its choice is a religious act. The general ceremony is religious: the moving may be part of another ceremony.[1] The main parts of the ceremony are the social rites and rite de passage, and these involve the aggregation of external powers to the headman, his chief wife and the village itself, all things of social value. The protection of the village with charms is an incidental magical process, as there is a magical taboo on washing lest rain fall during the building of the huts.

There seems to be little ceremony attendant on the building of a single hut within the village, though various/.....

1. as, e.g., a death ceremony or cleansing from lightning.

various parts of the hut, as will be later detailed, are sacred. Sticks are, however, thrust into the top of a Zulu hut to ward off lightning,[1] and at three spots in the site of the hut medicines are buried as a protection against wizards and lightning.[2] The Thonga put sticks in the crown of the hut to prevent birds perching there, especially screech-owls and other nocturnal birds, which might alight on the hut and terrify the occupants by their lugubrious cries.[3] Apparently, however, these birds did not bring evil with them.

(vii) INDUSTRIES.

The supernatural is barely invoked in any of the manufacturing processes of the South-Eastern Bantu. Curiously no record is made of any magical or religious practices in connection with iron-working, though Father Bryant, I believe, has information on Zulu smiths' ritual practices. This was not available for me. The only records on the element of the supernatural in industries are Junod's on the Thonga.

Basket-making, being a sheer test of skill, has no ceremonial connected with it, but the element of luck is much more important in pottery.[4] "The process of firing being often unsuccessful, taboos are plentiful in the manufacture". Only one woman may dig the clay and she passes it to the others; a woman may get the reputation of being a successful digger if the firing is successful, and she will be asked to dig again. The clay is buried at the foot of a tree and the ground over it is taboo. "A little child, an innocent creature," should be called to light the wood. If the pots turn out well the potteress will always call the same child. Should all these precautions prove useless, the/....

1. Colenso, op.cit., "inNjanje."
2. Lugg, MSS. cits.
3. Junod, op.cit., Vol. II, pp.109-10.
4. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.115 seq.

the woman consults the bones, and according as they ordain she will make an offering to the ancestral-gods of her father or mother, or, if she is possessed, to the possessing spirit. Apparently a woman who profits by her industry should, in the ordinary course of events, offer to the spirits a piece of clothing, a coin, aut aliud.

There seems, too, to be some idea that the different potteresses "strengthened each other," and a woman who was left as the last practiser of the art gave it up because she found that, on account of her isolation, all the pots cracked. Moreover, if a pot was heard cracking in the furnace, a little dust from the hut floor (apparently it had to be a special hut, the original home of the potter) was thrown into the other pots to prevent their being spoiled.

A sanction, an eruption on the arms or body, attached to the use of a pot which had not been purified and tested, and to give a person food from such a pot was looked on as an act of hatred. The potter must wash the pot thoroughly, cook some grains of maize in it and then throw them away.

What do these practices indicate? In the first place, it is to be noted that magic and sacrifice are resorted to only in the firing process, the one where mere skill is of little avail. Malinowski's [1] analysis of magic covers this admirably, as does his and Evans-Pritchard's[2] demonstration that success tends to carry the reputation of special powers - the same woman to dig again, the same child to fire the wood. The belief that the different potters "strengthen each other", the thanking or invoking of the ancestors, and the use of dust from the home of the potteress,

seem/....

1. "Magic Science & Religion", op.cit., p.24.
2. "The Morphology and Function of Magic", American Anthropologist, October, 1929.

seem to indicate that the ability to make good pots comes from the ancestors. Why the new pot should be purified it is difficult to say. On the surface, it looks as if there is some idea that the successful making of the pot has filled it with a power that threatens to bring disease, and the act of cooking and throwing away the maize cleanses the pot for future cooking. It is easy to understand that in view of the importance of food in the people's life their cooking utensils should require some initial purification lest they 'spoil' the food.

The Thonga have certain taboos in connection with the cutting of trees. It is considered dangerous to cut the trunk of any large tree. Before cutting an nkanye tree to make a mortar some of the bark must be smeared with certain drugs which should also be burnt at the foot of the tree.[1] The reason for this magical precaution possibly lies in the sacredness of the nkanye.

No precaution need be taken in the making of canoes as such, for the mfuhu and muhlu trees are just cut down. But if a mahogany or nkwenga tree is used, the master of the forest must first offer a sacrifice to the spirits of his ancestors who have been buried there. The danger of omitting this sacrifice is that the chosen tree will not be found again.[2] This sacrifice is, therefore, apparently a propitiation of the ancestors of the wood, performed by the master of the wood and not by the maker of the canoe, for using their tree, and not to safe-guard the making of the canoe.

C. WAR.

We have seen that the Zulu army was annually doctored at the umkosi and also before any campaign.

Gungunhana/....

1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, p.19.
2. Ibid., pp.19 & 137.

Gungunhana, however, used to plan a raid into the Chopi country immediately a new regiment was formed to test its valour. Before the expedition the troops assembled at Mandlakazi, the capital, where they were besprinkled with medicine and blessed by the doctor.[1] It should also be noted that when the Zulu boys ceased to be izidibi (carriers for the army) and were incorporated into a regiment, they milked the cows of the ikhanda into their mouths, the object being, says Bryant, to make them 'grow well', from the nutritious effects of plentiful feeding on milk.[2] I would suggest, in addition, that by drinking the chief's milk they bound themselves to him.[3]

The doctoring of the Transkeian izimpi(sing. impi, army) is carried out by a special priest, the ifola[4], whose services are only requisitioned in times of war, says Soga of the Xosa; he is not concerned with sorcery or disease and his office is usually, though not always, hereditary. "During times of peace he lives on the laurels of a past reputation, respected and honoured by all; for he is the most potent force in the hour of tribal danger."[5] Kidd also describes a war-doctor, the national priest, but I think he is speaking of the Zulu, though it may be of the Kafirs.[6] R. C. Samuelson merely speaks of the Zulu army as being treated by the King's doctors,[7] but Callaway[8], Bryant[9] and Stuart[10] speak of army- or war-doctors. It is

the/....

1. Lilengwe, op.cit., p.305.
2. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Ukuza", p.557.
3. Vide Hoernlé, S.A.J.S., op.cit., pp.481-2.
4. Kropf, op.cit., p.396.
5. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", pp.66 & 173, and "South-Eastern Bantu", p.30. V.q. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XIX, p.284.
6. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.305.
7. Op. cit., p.399.
8. "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.437.
9. Dict., op. cit., "Ishikaga", p.575.
10. Op. cit., pp.78-83.

the Ngoni chief, according to Liengme, who himself superintends the administration of the medicines.[1] Junod speaks of "the chief doctor of the army," "the magician who knows all about the recipe", among the Thonga.[2] It appears therefore that all the South-Eastern Bantu have special war-doctors, for Liengme, as quoted, mentions the new regiments as being blessed by the doctor. In this most dangerous of enterprises, fighting, a man with special power or knowledge is required to render the warriors invulnerable and discomfit the enemy. But he is closely associated with the chief, and therefore we find that the Zulu say, if they are victorious, "The doctor of the chief is a doctor indeed",[3] and Bryant describes the process shikaqa as a doctor overcoming by the power of his charms, as the inyanga of an army or chief before war.[4]

Preparations for war involve two distinct conceptions. The Zulu believe that the amatongo dictate the fortunes of the day, and can decree death to the whole army.[5] Kidd goes so far as to say that "many natives seem to think that there is far more real warfare among the ancestral spirits than among the actual warriors",[6] and there seems to be some idea that they fight the rival amatongo in the air just above the heads of the armies.[7] They therefore sacrifice to the ancestors: cattle are apportioned to each regiment and offered by officers of high rank to the ancestors (their own ancestors?), while the great national

chants/....

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1. Op.cit., p.206.
2. Op.cit., Vol.I, p.467.
3. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.345.
4. Dict., op.cit., "shikaqa", p.575.
5. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.131-4.
6. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.207.
7. Holden, op.cit., p.

chants are sung. The spirits of dead chiefs are invoked at their graves.[1] Bryant describes this last ceremony in more detail. "All the regiments doctored and going to fight went to the Qanqoto ridge, overlooking the Mpembeni stream, where down in their graves the spirits of Senzangakona and Jama were lusa-ing, i.e., enjoying life still. Upon reaching one of the graves the army formed into a great circle round it, the chief and the warelords offered prayer and praise (ukubonga) to the spirit to secure its benevolent aid, the national anthem (iHubo) was solemnly chanted, the stately dance (ukubeta) was performed and after a final thunderous salute (ukukuleka) of Bayede to the there reigning spirit the army proceeded to another of the graves, and finally to emaHlebeneni from whence they marched to war."[1] The Zulu also offered sacrifices to their own ancestors at home.[2] Lugume does not mention any approach to the ancestors in the Ngoni ceremony (mbengululu) of Gungunhana,[3] but the Ngoni of Central Africa used to offer sacrifices at the lonely graves of their great chiefs.[4]

Authorities on the Transkeian tribes make no mention of the ancestors being invoked before war, but it is almost certain that this is done, for Kropf says the process of rendering the warriors invulnerable involved offerings[5] and Macdonald describes the praising of ancestral deeds,[6] Similarly, Junod, does not describe sacrifices by the Thonga, the sacramental tsu is used.[7]

The second process in these ceremonies is the magical treatment of the army. This is intermingled with/.....

1. MSS., cita.
2. Stuart, op.cit., p.87.
3. Op.cit., p.305 seq.
4. Willoughby, op.cit., p.264. cita, Fraser, "Autobiography of an African", pp.82 & 65.
5. "ukukahla," p.169.
6. Op.cit., Vol.XIX, p.284.
7. Op.cit., Vol.I., p.465.

with war-dances which are more religious than magical in their functioning. The Xosa itola roasts medicines in a fire, and then these are powdered and mixed with other preparations and the gall of slaughtered cattle. The itola, assisted by acolytes, places a portion in the mouth of each warrior, and the warriors leave the ranks and dance, facing the sun. On the forehead of each man a black mark is painted. Next morning the army washes with medicine in the river, and the doctors place a charm about each man's neck to render him invulnerable.[1] In his later book Soga only adds that the warriors are sprayed with medicines[2]; the medicines used, he mentions elsewhere, are probably the umabope shrub, or umti wamadoda (plumbago capensis) which will "tie up" the enemy.[3] The use of incantations and enchantments before going to war is known as ukulaula,[4] and its purposes are:

(i) To render the army invulnerable.((ukukafula)[5]. Thus the prophet umLanjeni gave the Kafirs umti wamadoda to make them bullet-proof;[6]

(ii) to make the enemy miss with their weapons. It was for this reason that umLanjeni gave the man pelargonicum pulverulentum, which he claimed would ward off the bullets if it was pointed at the English;[7] izintelezi were generally used for this purpose.[8] According to Macdonald, a warrior twists rats' hair into his own hair, thus getting the ability (by the law of participations) to avoid the enemy's spears as a rat avoids any object thrown at it;[9]

(iii) another/....

1. Soga, "South-Eastern Bantu", op.cit., pp.30-1.
2. Soga, "amaXosa", op.cit., p.67.
3. Ibid., pp.173-4.
4. Kropf, op.cit., p.208.
5. Ibid., p.169; Soga, "AmaXosa", op.cit., p.174; Maclean, p.84.
6. Kropf, op.cit., "umTi wamadoda", p.390.
7. Ibid., "iKubalo", p.188.
8. Ibid., p.386.
9. Op.cit., Vol.XX, p.182.

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(iii) another/....

1. Soga, "South-Eastern Bantu", op.cit., pp.90-1.
2. Soga, "amaXosa", op.cit., p.67.
3. Ibid., pp.172-4.
4. Kropf, op.cit., p.303.
5. Ibid., p.169; Soga, "AmaXosa", op.cit., p.174; Maclean, p.84.
6. Kropf, op.cit., "umTi wamadoda", p.390.
7. Ibid., "iKubalo", p.188.
8. Ibid., p.386.
9. Op.cit., Vol.XX, p.132.

(iii) another charm, intsihlo, causes one not to be seen or recognised;[1]

(iv) the process ukuhlupeza, which has been cited in hunting rites, consists in making a man courageous and strong by giving him serpents' poison to drink, to tying a piece of lion or marten skin or a leopards' claw round his neck.[2]

(v) Finally, white ironwood, is powdered and sprinkled to drive away the enemy.[3]

At the beginning of a campaign only herbs were used, but after a battle portions of slain enemies (as the heart, liver, testicles, etc.) were used, for the army is frequently doctored. The skull of a noted enemy makes a valuable bowl for holding war-medicine;[4] evidently the dead warrior adds his prowess to the power of the drugs.

The doctoring of a Zulu army is far more elaborate, for it involves two processes, the treatment of the chief and of the army. "A chief among the Amazulu practises magic on another chief before fighting with him. Something belonging to that chief is taken, and the other washes himself with intelezi in order that he may overcome the other when they begin to fight." The way in which the chief does so is to 'churn' something of his enemy's (when Tshaka attacked Pakatwayo scrapings from the latter's head-rest and clay from the floor on which he slept were brought[5]) in his special vessel which is placed in a circlet of medicines.[6] Messengers, who had been doctored against detection, were sent to steal these things, and they also sprinkled the enemy's umzi with medicines to weaken him.[7]

If/.....

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1. Kropf, op.cit., p.409.
2. Ibid., p.156. (This process probably applies to war)
3. Ibid., "umDlebe", p.79.
4. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XIX, pp.284-5.
5. Bryant, "Olden Times", op.cit., p.196.
6. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.345-7.
7. Krige, MSS., cits p.221, quotes Callaway for this, but does not give the page. I have been unable to check the referance.

If the chief's vessel froths over when churned he will be victorious; if it does not froth the campaign will be postponed. Two calabashes may be used, and the one that froths first represents the side that will win.[1] It appears that, as Lévy-Bruhl says, the frothing carries the victory.[2] Meanwhile the chief is treated. The doctor who prepared Tshaka against Pakatwayo incised the chief's body and rubbed in medicine, and when Pande prepared to encounter Dingaan the doctor cut off the foreleg of a heifer and used it in the medicines. Usually some article of the enemy was introduced into this medicine.[3] According to Kidd the chief himself pounds intelezi by a river, and let the juices trickle down his arms and over his body; he takes some of the juices in his mouth and spits them in the direction of his enemy.[4] R. C. Samuelson says that the chief stood in the coils of the inkata yo Bukhosi while he was sprinkled with medical charms.[5]

The army has also to be strengthened. A regiment is selected to kill a bull. Cadets gather green branches of the umtolo, a mimosa, to be burnt as a charm with the roasting flesh. The actual medication of the army is far from definite, but according to Stuart[6] there are six[7] essential processes:

(i) Cleansing internally with emetics.

In Stuart's description the warriors were given emetics and vomited, regiment after regiment, into a deep hole. (The one selected to kill the bull was treated first). This process was "to bring together the hearts of the people", probably as their vomit was together. The hole

was/....

1. Kidd, "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.207.
2. "Primitive Mentality", op.cit., pp.200-1.
3. Shooter, op.cit., p.342.
4. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.308.
5. Op.cit., 209.
6. Op.cit., p.83.
7. This takes no account of the showing of the isandwili bulb to each warrior a practice which Bryant (MSS. cita) Mentions but cannot explain.

was carefully filled in to prevent possible enemies obtaining any part of the substances used.[1] Bryant puts this process last, not first,[2] but Shooter puts it on the second day.[3]

(ii) Cleansing Externally by Washing in a Stream.

According to a description in the law reports the men washed in a stream with medicines, and drank of the water. They vomited into the stream further down.[4]

(iii) The ncinda and chinsa of medicine.[5]

(iv) Uttering imprecations against the enemy while chinsa-ing.

(v) Being smoked with drugs while standing in a circle round doctors. Kidd writes that "the doctor concocts ointments which render the body invulnerable or invisible. He makes a small fire, and throws roots and medicines into it, and the warriors have to step through the smoke, in order that they may render themselves invisible to the enemy. The assegaais also have to be held in this smoke, in order that they may be invisible to the enemy, and so prevent his dodging them."[6] Shooter states that the doctor blows sparks from a blazing medicine stick at the warriors and they may not wash till the next morning.[7] In Bryant's manuscript the process is differently described. The Doctor "walked round the circle of warriors with the renowned war torch (isihlanti sempi), made of grass and fiercely blazing. From time to time he squirted on to it a mouthful of prepared fats of certain fierce and powerful beasts and thrusts the torch

on/ .....

1. Stuart, op.cit., pp.78 seq.
2. MSS, cita.
3. Op. cit., p.343.
4. Natal High Court, 1907, p.83
5. Ibid.
6. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.205.
7. op.cit., p.343.

on to the breast of each warrior".[1] In the case before the Natal High Court the doctor is described as flourishing a smoking firebrand in front of and behind the warriors.[2]

(vi) Being sprinkled front and rear with other medicines by the doctor. This is done with a gnu's tail.[3] R.C.Samuelson adds that during the sprinkling the doctors shouted, "Nango-ke umabophe", which means, "There now is the Mabophe,", i.e., the binding, meaning that it would bind, keep together, and solidify the enemy and their courage. Shooter places this at the taking of the emetics.

Stuart omits in his summary certain other ways in which war medicine is administered. According to Kidd the warriors have to eat portions of wild animals (e.g., lion's heart, tiger's blood) so as to assimilate their qualities.[4] The meat of the bull, which was killed with bare hands, was roasted in strips which were smeared with pungent bitter herbs. (Holden thinks human flesh may have been added.[5]) The army was formed into an umkumbi, a half-moon several rows deep, and the doctor flung the strips into the air; the men, holding their weapons in their left hands scrambled to catch a piece, bit off a lump and tossed it in the air again. (If it touched the ground its virtue was lost.) The juice of the meat could be swallowed, but the flesh should be spat out. The entrails of the bull were buried in the chief's cattle-enclosure and closely guarded. Only boys under the age of puberty could eat the remains, and they had to sleep where the bull was killed and were not allowed to pass water. Bones, hide and other remains were burnt and the cinders thrown by the doctors into a pool.[6] Shooter compares the tossing of the strips

of/....

1. MSS., cita. 3. Opera cita; Bryant, MSS.; R.C. Samuelson, p.400; Callaway, "Religious Systems", p.439; Shooter, p.344; Kidd, "Essential Kafir", p.306.
2. Loc.cit.,
4. Ibid., p.306.
5. Op.cit., p.94
6. Op.cit., pp.78 seq; v.g. opera cita, Bryant, MSS.; Stuart, op.cit., p.400
R.C. Samuelson, p.400

of meat to the rite in the umkosi[1] and indeed it is apparent that the army is doctored on both occasions in the same way. Kidd says the strips are cut from a shoulder born off a living ox, and that the meat must be swallowed under a penalty of death; meat is also rubbed into incisions in the flesh of the men.[2] Bryant says the medicines used were to generate courage and tenacity (ukumisa isibindi, make firm the liver,[3] the seat of ruthless courage).[4] Another rite is shortly described by R. C. Samuelson, viz., the cutting out of a sinew or sinews from behind the knee of the hindleg of a living beast, and the use of it to doctor the soldiers, "in order to give them strength in their knees to stand firmly and strongly against their enemies."[5]

Immediately before an engagement the men were again sprinkled, passed in twos through a fire of green leaves and fats that caused a great smoke, and took liquid medicine in their mouths. Later they were led to the top of a hill where they chinsa'd the liquid, with terrible imprecations, towards the enemy.[6] Isaacs says that the doctors carried bundles of medicine and that the men were sprinkled before the fight.[7] In the Zulu War a white man was killed that parts of his body might be used in the medicines[8], so it is probable that an enemy's body was a powerful war muti.

For war-charms a man would wear hedgehog skin round his forehead,[9] or carry an iris that dulls the enemies' powers.[10] The men chew umabope/epdt and at the enemy/.....

1. Op.cit., p.248
2. "Essential Kafirs", op.cit., p.306.
3. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "isiBindi", p.39
4. Bryant, ESS., cita.
5. Op.cit., p.308
6. Op.cit., pp.199-202.
7. Stuart, Op.cit., p.344.
8. cited Shooter, op.cit., p.378.
9. Stuart, op.cit., p.
10. R. C. Samuelson, op.cit., p.
11. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.

enemy so that he will make mistakes.[1]

In the Ngoni ceremony one of the forelegs of each of twelve bulls is dislocated and amputated for use in the war medicine, the administering of which is presided over by the chief himself. The warriors drink the medicated water of a dam, and inhale smoke from a special fire through a reed. Human victims are killed, and the warriors attempt a lion bare-handed; only after several of them are killed dare they dispatch it with weapons.[2] Junod writes that the Ngoni warriors actually caught a leopard with their hands and brought it to Gungunhana.[3][4]

All these ceremonies are associated with war-dances and -songs. I shall describe these in the circle of Thonga rites.[4] The warriors assemble at the capital and, led by heralds, intone a song saying they are called to arms by the chief. Then they rush to the chief's village and fall in the mukhumbi (horseshoe), which is established on the plan of a village, the elders in the centre, the young warriors on the wings. "The idea of age and of hierarchy dominates both these social manifestations." The war-songs are chanted, Iguba deriding the enemy, hurling defiance, referring to their own homes and the necessity for protecting them, swearing to protect the chief.[5] The warriors display their prowess in dances (giya): "the fighting instincts are excited to the highest pitch" so that they beg the chief to let them go to war at once. But "the chief holds the lives of the enemies in his hands; without his permission they cannot go forward.....They even go so far as to taunt him with being an old woman, a coward, because he will not let them go at once."

But/.....

1. Tyler, op.cit., p.110.
2. Lienghe, op.cit., pp.306-7.
3. Op.cit., Vol.I, p.464, footnote (1)
4. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.467 seq.
5. The other is the coronation of the chief.

But the war medicine must first be administered. The chief doctor of the army sprinkles the warriors, that bullets may be deflected and the men be invulnerable; he may be assisted by two young girls. The warriors jump over a branch of ntjhopfa (the shrub of oblivion) which has been laid in the road and take a mouthful of the medicine, which they spit out again with the sacramental tsu. The Nkuna war medicine, which contains the "great medicine of the country", the psanyi of sheep and white river-sand, is sprinkled by an old queen, too old for sexual relations, who rushes naked into the mukhumbi. Seven rites are observed in Maputju. (a) The chief retires for a month and prepares the medicine with the magician. (b) Strips of flesh from a bull, thrown down by unarmed men, are cut, cooked with the medicine of hatred, and parts of human flesh, and (c) tossed to the warriors who must catch them in their mouths. (d) On the following day the army proceeds to a certain lake where an emetic is given to the warriors who vomit "yesterday's meat: fear will be thrown up and valour will remain." They rush to the chief ... is on a hill nearby and beg him to allow them to fight, but (e) he returns to the capital and walks round the reformed mukhumbi; he carries a flaming torch of tree branches soaked in fat from sheep's tails. If a warrior's headdress catches fire he is suspected of being a noyi or traitor. "this trial", says Junod, "is probably a means of frightening suspected traitors or of expelling wizards." (f) All shields are now presented and the chief strikes them with the bent point of an assegnai, to make them impiercable. (g) Finally the chief sprinkles the army with medicine.

After the medication the army and tribe are in a sort of transition period. Throughout these tribes sexual/.....

sexual relations are taboo to the warriors after a certain stage of doctoring.[1] The Zulu warriors were not supposed to touch the marrow of any animal or eat fish or any bird lest they should lose their courage and their cattle. To touch or bury a corpse, have that of a chief, would take away their courage from them and leave them like an old woman.[2] Nor should they make much noise, discharge a firearm, or besmear with blood an assegai. "If they abide faithfully by these conditions, the bullets of the whites[3] will slide off their skins, and they will gain the victory".[4]

The people at home are still more in a marginal period. The Thonga non-combatants must keep quiet: there must be no noise in the village. The women should not close their hut-doors lest their husbands lack the strength to run away. Fires must be lit in the huts in the evening, in order that the warriors may "have light" where they are. Work in the fields is carried out only in the early mornings; mourning for a dead warrior is taboo as, of course, are sexual relations.[5] Among the Zulu women there must be quiet and no quarrelling; the women wear no ornaments but smear their faces and wear a charm of solanum berries: "the black marks on the face and the wearing of the berries represent the formal suppression of ordinary personal feeling on the deliberate assumption of a callous disposition." The tops of their skirts reversed; they clean the vacant huts and make a fire in each to encourage the men's return and prevent their remaining away forever. Each man's sleeping-mat is shaken, an ear of millet is put into it, and it is stood upright. As long as it casts a long.....

1. Opera cita, Holden, P. ; Vijn, p.35; Callaway, "Religious Systems", p.437; Macdonald, Vol.XIX, p.284; Junod, Vol.I, p.433.
2. Isaacs, op cit, Vol I p. 303 The Zulu War of Catchwayo.
3. This was the
4. Vijn, op cit, p.35.
5. Junod, op cit, Vol.I, p.470.

long shadow he is alive.[1] According to Arbousset as long as it casts a shadow on the wall he will be safe,[2] and this writer adds that other of the man's articles are hung up as well.[3] Callaway agrees that it must cast a long shadow, for, as quoted in the section on death ceremonies, it is the long shadow that becomes the itongo.[4] Stuart also describes the women as rolling bitter apple (solanum) berries slowly along the side of the hut where the warrior slept and out of the door, carrying all possibility of harm with them.[5] The women also go about the village beating and rattling chains in order to scare away death from their husbands, presumably, says Bryant, with the noisy clatter.[6] Stuart mentions that there are customs (he does not describe them) observed by each man's mother-in-law.[7]

While the army is on the march, the Zulu eat at the villages they pass, but always break the cooking vessels they use.[8] Otherwise there are only military observances and rules till the doctoring immediately before the attack. But it is on the march that the men watch anxiously for omens of good or bad luck. A Kafir army, during the rebellion of 1879, was utterly demoralised by a peculiarly shaped cloud,[9] and the flight of two ospreys near a Gaika army was considered a bad omen by the old men.[10] Should the ingqanga (war-eagle) drop excrement on a Xosa warrior he must return lest he bring misfortune to the army.[11] According to Kidd, "should an army on the war-path notice an/....

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1. Stuart, op.cit., pp.87-8.
2. The Kaffirs have a similar custom. Macdonald, Vol.XX, pp.131-2.
3. Arbousset, T, with Dumas,F. "Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope" (1846) p.
4. "Religious Systems",op.cit., p.126. 5. Op.cit., pp.88. "Religious Systems",op.cit., "Gongas", p.200
6. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., 8. Shooter, op.cit., p.347.
7. Op.cit., p.88. Vol.XX, p.123.
9. Macdonald, op.cit., p.285.
10. Idid, Vol.XIX, p.285.
11. Soga, "AmaXosa", op.cit., p.200

action of an animal which they consider unusual they will refuse to fight."[1]

Before passing on the treatment of slain enemy and of their killers, I shall briefly describe the doctoring of the wounded in so far as this seems to involve the use of supernatural power, and at the outset merely refer to the use of herbs (ubuHlungwana, uGodide) which are used on fresh wounds.[2] When Isaacs was wounded while fighting for Tshaka, a young heifer was killed and some of the entrails were boiled with gall, excrement and roots. He had to take three sips of the medicine, sprinkle the rest over his body and spit on a stick which he pointed thrice at the enemy and then threw at them. After this the doctor gave him an emetic that he might vomit the mixture he had swallowed. When he at first refused to take the medicine the doctor said that unless he did so he could not take milk lest the cows should die and if he approached Tshaka the latter would fall ill.[3] Kidd says that warriors who are wounded have to undergo a course of cleansing, and they may not see the chief or drink any milk until they are doctored. The rest of his description (possibly culled from Shooter) is the same as the one given by Isaacs, save that he adds that the wounded man says "Eezie" as he points the stick at the enemy.[4] There seems to be some idea here that a wound inflicted by the enemy carries ritual uncleanness (perhaps due to the enemy's medicines), dangerous to the cattle and the chief, and this danger must be purged from the system and re-directed to the foe. This ritual impurity and danger threatened, as shown in the section on death ceremonies, the whole village of a man slain in war, and the fallen soldier is not buried in the/.....

1. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.273.
2. Bryant, "Zulu Medicine", p.70.
3. Shooter, op.cit., pp.244-5.
4. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., pp.309-10.

the umzi. The Kafir doctor fires medicine in his hands and blows smoke over the assembled relatives and friends. "This smoke drives away the assegaais from them, and no further calamity happens."[1]

The relatives of a Thonga warrior who is slain are purified by sprinkling, for the spirit will be a spirit of the assegaai.[2]

The enemy, if killed or captured, is a centre of dangerous power. A victorious Zulu chief must be fortified before he dare approach a captured enemy chief, lest, though the latter is wound, his medicines and magic overcome the victor and make it impossible for him to face his defeated foe. The victor leaps over his foe, thus gaining an occult ascendancy, and stabs and restabs him. If the defeated chief was conspicuous for bravery certain portions of his body (the skin from the centre of the forehead which imparts the power of looking steadfastly at an enemy, the nose, the right ear and hand, the heel, prepuce and glans penis) are eaten as medicine by the victor, and spat out in the direction of his enemies. The head of the slain chief is made into a vessel to hold the victor's medicines. The chief gains courage mainly by looking at an enemy's head.[3] I have already cited the Kafir custom of using portions of the enemy in war medicines late in the campaign. The Thonga disembowel a dead foe and sell various parts of his body to Pedi magicians for medicines to ensure a good harvest, and for hunting and iron-working. They themselves use parts for war medicine: "when you have eaten the flesh of your enemies, you have absorbed all their strength and they are unable to do you any further harm." The Nkuna used to dissect the tendons/....

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1. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XX, p.137.
2. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, p.166; Vol.II, p.374.
3. Opera cita: Callaway, "Nursery Tales", pp.161-3; Kidd, "Essential Kafir", p.209; v.q. Bryant, Dict., "Qonela", p.542; "Tonya", p.643.

tendons of the back of a slain enemy, smear these with the medulla, and hang them on the warriors' shields to strike the foe with terror.[1]

Certain Transkeian tribes deem it necessary to rip up the abdomen of a fallen foe. "If this is not done they may suffer. When decomposition sets in and the body becomes distended with gas, the magicians belonging to the tribe of the slain are able to work witchery and bring defeat by means of this gas confined in the bodies of the dead."[2] According to Soga these forces, known as iqungu, work of themselves: they are "pent up in the dead body and are capable of injuring the living..... their potency is so great that the slayer fears them as much as hears the living foe.....The manner in which the qungu affects one who has failed to liberate it is that his body swells up and he becomes an obese monstrosity, incapable of movement and a burden to himself under which condition he must ultimately die."[3] This is probably the reason why the Thonga disembowel the foe, for the Zulu soldiers, according to Stuart, stab the bowels of slain enemies lest the unreleased spirit turns the slayer into a lunatic,[4] though Ludlow says it is done lest when the dead man's bowels swell the slayer's do as well.[5] The latter is probably more correct, for it seems to me that this practice is dictated by the belief that the [illegible] is a magical, dynamic force acting from the slain against the slayer.

But the "spirit" of the dead foe also threatens danger and the slayer must be protected against it. I have not found this custom recorded among the Kafirs, and indeed Macdonald writes that there are no ceremonies "prescribed to the man who has slain an enemy."[6] The Zulu killer is in,

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1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.476-7
2. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XIX, p.285.
3. Soga, "AmaXosa", op.cit., p.76.
4. Stuart, op.cit., p.88.
5. Op.cit., p.
6. Op.cit., Vol.XIX, p.285.

and carries, great danger. Apparently he must not drink milk or approach the King.[1] Warriors who have killed enemies eat and live entirely apart from the main body for many days during which they observe various formalities before being allowed to associate with their fellows.[2] Bryant describes this process as ukuQunga.[3] Where an army has been campaigning the King arranges the cleansing. The warrior and his assegaai are called iNxeleba (from now on the assegaai must be carried not horizontally, but pointing upwards[4]); the slayer has to take off his loincloth and don that of his victim. He washes in the river, and doctors himself with herbs, fastening a sprig of iPingontloya (wild asparagus[5]) in his hair. Before returning home he must have intercourse with a strange woman, not of his tribe, or in case of necessity with a boy. Otherwise he must continue to live in the veld. On entering the umzi he ncinda's fighting charms (izembe elimnyama) and then ncinda's with milk mixed with cleansing charms (izembe elimhlope). He is now purified and may re-enter society, but he must never eat amasi from the milk of a cow whose calf has not shown its horns. He has to be specially medicated before eating of the first fruits. Insanity is the penalty on those who do not observe these customs, or else they contract kidney disease, culminating in insanity.[6] The woman with whom the killer has intercourse does not contract the disease herself, but she will pass it on to her present or future husband.[7]

The killer wears various charms, such as a piece of the umHluhluwe, a thick, woody forest creeper, armed with formidable thorns,[8] or a twig of the Cape willow.[9] Apparently warriors carried small pieces of medicine for emergency use after killing a foe.[10]

The/.....

1. Kidd, "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.309.
2. Stuart, op.cit., pp.83 seq.
3. Dict., op.cit., pp.549-50.
4. Ibid, "iNxeleba", p.469.
5. Ibid., "iZembe", p.503.
6. Ibid., "iQunga", p.560
7. Ibid., "iZembe", p.725.
8. Ibid., p.259.
9. Ibid., "umNyezane", p.469.
10. Ibid., "isiQu", p.545.

The Thonga[1] warrior who has killed an enemy is exposed to the mumu, "the spirit of the slain which tries to take its revenge on the slayer. It haunts him and may try to drive him into insanity; his eyes swell, protrude and become inflamed. He will go out of his mind, be attacked by giddiness, and the thirst for blood may lead him to fall upon members of his own family[2] and to stab them with his assegaai". Slayers are therefore taboo and must remain several days at the capital, wearing old clothes and eating from special spoons, plates, and broken pots because they are 'hot'. Their food must be cold, they must not drink or have relations with women. Medicine used to be rubbed by the Ronga into incisions from one eyebrow to the other to give them a forbidding appearance. A magician 'smokes' the man, and they rub their limbs, especially the joints, with medicine to remove their 'blackness'. In this process medicinal herbs are roasted, together with drugs and the psanyi of a goat. They inhale the smoke. Cow's milk is poured into a pot, and they pass some, on their fingers, across their lips, with tsu, and say, "Go down, sink". The medicinal embers from now on are carried by these warriors in bags about their necks, and they use it at the bukanye luma and on the battlefield for warriors who have, for the first time, slain an enemy. The killer's weapons and old clothes are hung on a tree to rot, and every morning and evening the warriors have to tie a piece of momungwane root to an assegaai, chew a piece, spit it out at the rising or setting sun, saying, "Go down, sink".

I propose to analyse these war rites generally by reference to Junod's interpretation.[3] The most noticeable feature, says Junod, is that they are national rites. "In

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1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.477-81.
2. Vide the story of Makhani, p.481, footnote (1)
3. Op.cit., Vol.I, pp.482-3.

"war time, the very existence of the clan is threatened, because the chief, the central and vital cell of this organism is threatened."[1] The warriors surround him, extol him, take oaths to protect him, as the Zulu breaks rods before him, a great act of fealty.[2] The Zulu chief is doctored, on him depends the success of the expedition; so much that "the army goes out courageously, saying, 'there is no enemy with which we shall have to fight. Our chief has already bound so-and-so. We shall stab mere water-melons, which are unable to resist."[3] Putting this into the terms I have used, I should say this part of the ceremony is religious. The dancing before the chief, the sacrifices, the use of the sacred regalia (the Zulu chief sits in the inkata during the rites and while the army is on the march), transfer to him and his ancestors, to the tribe, the army and the officers (all things of social value) some of the fierce emotions that well up in the warriors. The patriotic sentiments are reinforced, so much that they may denounce the chief because he will not let them fight at once. Yet they wait on his command. Moreover, every warrior makes an offering to his own ancestors, and they are invested with new power. At the same time the warriors draw to themselves the power of the chief and the ancestors; they are strengthened in their courage, for the chief has bound the enemy and his ancestors will be fighting for his army.

The second feature of the rites is magical acts to bind the enemy and protect and make strong each warrior, who is going out to face grave danger. This needs no elaboration - the army is strengthened, made firm and fierce, and the enemy are rendered vulnerable. The medicines of the enemy's body are worked on by the law of participations; parts of fierce animals and herbs with power of their own are used.

Thirdly/.....

1. Ibid., loc.cit. 2. Callaway, "Religious Systems" op.cit. (p.340)
3. Ibid, p. 347

Thirdly, says Junod, these rites owe their origin to the idea of passage - hence the taboos, the exceptional naked appearance of the queen, the leave-taking of the chief, the jumping through a fire and over a branch. This idea, he continues, applies with special force to the slayers, who must be re-integrated into society. I fear that I cannot agree here with Junod. Admittedly there is some idea of passage, as there is in all ceremonies. The warriors are doctored and placed in a state of 'blackness', of potency, and therefore they must observe precautions till they are released from that state. But this is a feature that is common to all ceremonies, and I do not think that one can say that these rites "seem to owe their origin to the idea of passage", in the sense that puberty, marriage and death ceremonies are rites de passage from one stage of life to another. The slayer, however, is initiated into a new status, and thereafter must observe special rules of life, for he is subject to new dangers.

What are these dangers of iquago and the muru? Junod[1] sums up the muru as a peculiar power possessed by man and by several wild animals in virtue of which they avenge themselves on the person who has killed them. This power resides in their body and appears to pass out of it through their nostrils with their last breath. The fact of having killed a person or an animal possessing the muru places the slayer in a state of dangerous contamination. It would sometimes appear as if the muru had entered into him and remained sleeping in him, ready to awaken in certain circumstances" (e.g. at the bukanye beer drinking). The muru must therefore be overcome. This conclusion of Junod's is more or less in accord with the facts, and agrees in many ways with Sir James Frazer's analysis of world-wide ideas about

the/.....

1. Op.cit., Vol.II, p.77.

the propitiation of wild animals.[1] But what is the difference between the muru of the Thonga and the iqungu of the Transkeian and Zulu tribes? The Xosa peoples apparently only rip up a dead enemy, and this releases his dead forces; they propitiate the elephant but the slayers are not treated. When a lion is killed by Xosa it is not the killer but the first man wounded by it who must be purified.[2] In this area I think Junod's interpretation covers the facts. But among the Zulu (and I have suggested that this also applies to the Thonga) the iqungo, which threatens insanity or kidney disease leading to insanity, is released by the disembowelling of the slain enemy, yet the slayer must be additionally protected. He is not only in need of protection; he is a source of danger and must be cleansed. As part of the process of purification he passes the iqungo through a woman to a man of a strange tribe. Till he has done this he may not enter the umzi. The same element of purification is noticeable in the Thonga rites; and since a man who for the first time kills an enemy must be given medicine on the battlefield and all slayers are treated as a class at the bukanye, it appears that those purified form a special class in which the muru lurks. Junod says they have "a thirst for blood" which may lead them to fall upon their kinsmen, and they continually take precautions against this. It seems to me that in addition to the idea that some part of the slain foe or animal may attack his killer, there is a suggestion in the rites that dangerous power also resides in the latter, though the natives may not formulate this belief. His power must be dangerous, for he has killed a fierce animal or foeman. That power (especially in the case of warriors) may cause him to run amok. The rites of treatment are, therefore, to use this power for social ends.

Trs/.....

1. Op.cit., pp.518 seq.
2. Lichtenstein, op.cit., Vol.I, p.318.

Thus the lurulula of the duiker (not, it is true, a dangerous animal), says Junod, "will help both the hunter and the dog to become greater adepts in hunting, the dog learning to follow the trail and the hunter identifying himself so much with bush life and bush animals that these will not be afraid of him and he will be able to approach them."[1] This rite uses the power of the nuru to increase the hunter's ability, a social value, i.e., there is a hint of religious ritual as well as magical (the laying of the nuru) about it. The purification of the warriors prevents their power working anti-socially, and invests the slayer with a new sense of glory which is emphasised at the luma and umkosi rites. In the Transkei the slayer is only protected by a magical precaution, directly.

What, Junod asks, is the relation of the nuru to the shikwembu in men and in animals? In brief, as regards men, every human being turns into a shikwembu for his descendants, and a hostile spirit for his enemies. Animals have no shikwembu, only the nuru. The shikwembu, says Junod, is a personal spirit to which prayers are addressed and offerings presented; the nuru is not personal, it is a power, an influence, a force of nature (like iqungu). "Moreover any deceased person becomes a shikwembu, whilst the term nuru is used only in the case of a slain enemy, or in relation to strangers who died in a foreign country and were not properly buried." But, Junod goes on to point out, any shikwembu of a hostile tribe can take possession of a man in a disease that in its initial stages is much like the disease of the nuru.[2] He does not remember, however, that the murderer is unclean for a week and that at the luma bukanye he must take milk medicine with warriors who have killed their foes;" but he does not drink it boastfully, extolling his deed."[3] He, therefore, is plainly much/.....

1. Op.cit., Vol.II, p.67. 2. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.77-8
3. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.479-80.

much more a source of danger, though a despised source, to the community, than the spirit of the man he killed is a source of danger to him.[1] But shikwembu of other men of the tribe can be dangerous, if they are gods of the assegai, of bitterness or of the bush. And indeed there are gods of quarrels, who afflict and do not remove the curse when offerings have been made, so that the others are asked to scold him. (The Zulu chief's spirit is approached to reprimand such a malicious ancestor among the Zulu.)[2] But these spirits are not continually guarded against as is the muru. These beliefs seem to me to validate the hypothesis that the spirit of potential evil resides in the killer as well as the killed, and the war medicine of Maputju is called 'the medicine of hatred', for it "dispels all natural feeling and makes a man capable of killing his fellow-men".[3] Society must annually be guarded against the evil spirit of the murderer, and he in the luma is despised, not glorified as are the slayers of the enemy.

In short, war rites serve, in a time of national crisis, to emphasise the sentiments about stabilising influences in society (ancestors, chief, and authority); to protect the warriors and render the foe vulnerable; and to use the spirit of killing for social ends.

D. LAW AND MORALITY.

The supernatural among the South-Eastern Bantu acts as a sanction on morality. Family life is necessarily stabilised by the power of the ancestors, and this for two reasons. The patriarch of the family, on his death, becomes a powerful spirit, capable of bringing good or/....

1. Ibid., Vol.I, p.442.
2. Vide section on death ceremonies.
3. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, p.466.

or ill to his descendants, and therefore his prestige in life is enhanced by his future supernatural strength. Thus among the Pondo the father, mother or any other relative who on dying becomes an itongo can curse (ukushwabulela) a relative so that he makes nothing of life. This curse cannot be lifted. Miss Hunter tells a graphic story of how a man, Zamula, cursed by his dying father, was reduced from riches to poverty.[1] And secondly it is the patriarch, and he alone, who can approach the dead with sacrifice and prayer, and so, as priest, his position is strengthened. Thus the Thonga have a special "offering of reconciliation." A younger brother may swear, after a quarrel, never to enter his brother's village, and have no contact with the latter for years. "But if a serious disease should break out in the village of the younger, and the bones order him to make an offering, he is at once in a difficulty. He has not the right to present it himself, for, according to the great law of priesthood, in ancestrolatry, it is his elder brother who must do it for him." He must confess that he has sinned and at a gathering of the older members of the family they sip of the same decoction, the younger first, confess that the quarrel is over, and then feast together. The Northern clans offer many sorts of cereals on the altar.[2] A malume and ntukulu who have parted on bad terms also perform this ceremony.[3] And generally the fact that the ancestors can inflict disease, death, etc., on their descendants if these latter depart from old customs and morality acts as a powerful preventive sanction.[4]

As regards breaches of the law, the supernatural is used to prevent, to discover and to punish. I have already, in various sections, detailed instances in which/.....

1. Hunter, MSS, cit.
2. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.398 seq.
3. Ibid., Vol.I, p.210.
4. Vide section on death ceremonies.

which powers out of the ordinary are used to protect crops and cattle and men against theft and sorcery; and here only add that the Zulu have a generic name (iliVimbela) for any charm or medicine used to prevent an inveterate thief from stealing.[1] I shall now describe various ways in which magical means are used to detect criminals.

The criminals who are hunted out in this way are usually wizards. Among the Thonga if it is suspected that a wizard is at work, the diviner makes sure by throwing the bones. Then he sets out to discover the criminal. Junod gives four ways in which this is done, viz:- (i) the pulling of a doctored twig out of an enchanted horn. The noyi cannot do this; (ii) the case of an enchanted flute, which carries punishment as well as detection. A relative of the killed man plays on the flute and the wizard dies; (iii) smelling out by questioning, and (iv) smelling out by a doctor in an ecstasy, as described in the introduction to this thesis. Guilt is not brought home to the accused till he has, at the order of the chief, undergone the mandjo ordeal. From the mandjo plant an intoxicating beverage is made. It also contains the fat or powdered bone of a long-dead leper. If the accused becomes intoxicated he is a noyi. According to an old Native, "the intoxication of the baleyi comes from the presence of these elements of human flesh contained in the solution. The noyi, who swallows them in drinking the philtre, thus does during the day what he is accustomed to do during the night."[2] These are all magical processes, in which the power of a substance, or individual (the ecstasy), is used to detect the criminal.

Processes of detection in the other South-Eastern Bantu tribes are based on the same principles. The most characteristic method among the Zulu and Kafir consists/...

1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.680.
2. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.525 seq.

consists in the diviner asking questions to which the people answer, "Siyavuma" (we agree), till, by their intonation, he gets on the right track and names the person they suspect.[1] The Zulu doctor also uses a torch of the sneezewood tree's bark-fibre mixed with python fat to discover the evildoer in an umzi. He thrusts it, while it is still alight, upon the bare body of each inmate; he who has been guilty of takata will be burnt, the others will feel nothing.[2] The doctor prepares himself for the smelling-out by secluding and working up power within himself.[3] As among the Thonga, the guilt of the accused must be brought home. In Tshaka's time the accused was made to swallow mowe; if he vomited it up he was innocent, if he died he was guilty. He might be made to lick a red-hot iron, and should his tongue be burnt he would be convicted. Suspected people would have to pick a pebble out of a boiling medicated water and the guilty person would be scalded. This method was chiefly used for the detection of thieves.[4] Among the Kafirs suspected amagqwira were sprinkled with water and black ants or red-hot stones placed on them to extort confession,[5] or the wizard is tied with a thong at the testicles or on the finger.[6] There is a suggestion of a bark used in vomiting ordeal.[7]

Supernatural sanctions (the religious, magical and ritual) attached to various crimes. These have been indicated in the text. Thus the Zulu and Pondo inflict a kidney disease through their wives on adulterers: it is condoned as justifiable revenge. Frequently precautions against thieves inflict disease on them. The ritual sanction

attaches/....

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1. Opera cita: H.L.Samuelson, pp.155-6; Shooter, pp.173 seq; Ludlow, p.105; Bryant, Dict.; "Vuma", p.586; Kidd, "Essential Kafir", pp.184 seq; Soga, "AmaXosa", pp.169-72. Kropf, ukuBula (p.45); umHlahlo(p.145); ukuNuka (p.278. umfete",p.616.
2. Bryant, Dict.,op.cit., pp.184-5. 3. H.L.Samuelson, p.
4. Kidd, "Essential Kafir",op.cit., p.10; "mbela", p.220.
5. Kropf, op.cit., "isAmpompolo" p.41.
6. Ibid., "ukuBopa", p.39.
7. Ibid., "umBomvane", p.

attaches frequently to anyone who has broken the laws of ritual, as of the ukuqunga pruification. Among the Zulu a certain painful disease, uGobendlovu, may result from unlawful connection with a woman,[1] and an eruption on the body punishes incest.[2] Swelling of the belly follows on a rash oath.[3] A curious belief is that abscesses break out on the bodies of persons who mock the iNkankawe (ibis) and uNgceda (fantail-warbler) birds.[4] In the Transkei an umkweta (circumcised boy) whose wound heals slowly is suspected of incest.[5] There is also iNyudyu," fear or trembling which seizes a man, or curse or calamity caused by him, who has acted an unmanly part towards a woman such as entering the hut of one in childbed, or sitting on the mat of one menstruating, or molesting a female by taking advantage of the weakness of her sex, especially if she belongs to people who may be at war with his own".[6] As we have seen, among the Thonga, pre-nuptial intercourse, if followed by pregnancy, is attended by a lung-complaint which attackes the whole umzi of the girl.

The above are a few examples of the ritual sanction on moral (not ritual) breaches, which I have collected. There must be many more. But among the South-Eastern Bantu the religious sanction is, as stated in the opening paragraph of this section, of most importance: the ancestors punish evildoers. I would add here, in addition, that Heaven (the lightning) intervenes among the Thonga to punish a thief, but its intervention, as we have seen, is induced by magical means.

To sum up these three sanctions we have, among the Zulu-Xosa, the use of magic, of the power of certain/....

1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.186. Unfortunately "unlawful" is not defined.
2. Ibid., "isiManga", p.376.
3. Ibid., "iliQangana", p.528.
4. Ibid., "inQanqasamatumba", p.197.
5. Kropf, op.cit., "ukuBula", p.46.
6. Ibid., p.90

certain substances or a curse, directed against the criminal, i.e., the magical sanction. Then there is the ritual sanction, a supernatural punishment, usually disease, following directly on the breach of a ceremonial or moral law. Finally there is the religious sanction, involving the intervention of outside powers.

Before leaving this section I shall make brief mention of various ways in which supernatural power (besides the ingenuity of wizards) is used to avoid justice. In the Transkei a thief makes himself undetectable by the use of charms and offerings.[1] Among the Xosa, he goes at dead of night into the cattle-kraal and waves mabope twigs towards the huts and in a circle so as to cover all points of the compass. No danger can now come to him. He chews some of the charm and spits it in the direction of the hut, muttering as he does so, "I have tied them with the tie-er." He now secures his loot in safety.[2] Here the charm, the umabope twigs, carries power, the act covers all direction and particularly the huts, and there is a spell.

A Pondo may wash with ubulawu to win a case; he also chews amayeza and spits them about the ikundla (court). Thus a certain individual whose son had raped a girl got amayeza from a man who, though not an igqira or ixwele, knew them, before going to speak in the case. He won the case, but, said Miss Hunter's informant, "more by tamsanqa (luck) than by amayeza."[3] The Zulu a medicine ingulamlomo to draw all opinions to their side in a law-suit,[4] and another, isiNdiyandiya, to befuddle the court.[5]

These ways of evading the law are all magical (the use of power inherent in a substance) and border close on, if they are not, anti-social or black magic.

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1. Kropf, op.cit., "ukuKafula", p.169.
2. Soga, "AmaXosa", op.cit., p.174.
3. Hunter, MSS., cita.
4. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.207.
5. Ibid., p.412.

E. THE CHIEF.

(i) His Sacred Character.

Stayt says of the Venda chief that "he is the head of his tribe, the father of his people, and the sacred living representative of their far-off ancestors. He is the hub of their universe, all the life of the community, religious, social and economic, revolving round him. His subjects treat him with reverence, awe and humble adoration. He is responsible for the prosperity of his country; he must see that it is provided with rain and must determine the time for the sowing and reaping of crops; he gives his consent before the inauguration of any event."[1] This applies with equal force to the South-Eastern Bantu chief. We have seen that he is the arch-priest, the great magician, judge and general of the tribe. In the great national ceremonies (the umkosi, rain and war-ceremonies) much of the ritual centres in him, for if he is strengthened the tribe will be strong.

Soga writes that "the insignia of royalty among Xosa chiefs is not so much in the nature of outward symbols, as in the hearts of their people. The sacredness attributed to their persons, the respect and honour in which they are held, and loyal obedience to their commands.....; the mystical idea that in the chief resides the life and well-being of the tribe, and as such the repository of wisdom, endowed with the power to guide the collective members of the tribal body, and nourish the body politic; all this surrounds him with a halo more enduring than any outward symbol."[2] The Zulu People without a chief are said to be drones.[3] The Zulu chief/....

1. Op.cit., pp.201-2.
2. "AmaXosa", op.cit., p.30.
3. Kropf, op.cit., "amaQungwane", p.345.

chief occupied a similar position. He was head of the tribe and represented its unity. Though he had more grandiloquent praise-names he was usually called "father", for such he was to his people; his name was sacred, sworn by and 'hlonipa'd by all classes.[1] His word is as good as law.[2] Junod writes of the sacred character of the Thonga chief: "Royalty, in the mind of the Native, is a venerable and sacred institution; respect for the chief, and obedience to his commands are universal; his prestige is maintained, not by a great display of riches and of power, but by the mystical idea that, as the body lives by nourishment taken through its head, so the life of the nation is sustained through its chief." He is hedged with taboos; he is the father of his people, the leader of the army, the lawgiver, the source of prosperity. His name is, to a small extent, 'hlonipa'd, and it is a binding oath to swear by it.[3]

The chief has certain sacred regalia. The only sacred thing described of the Kafirs is the ubuHlalu, a necklace of red beads worn by the chief.[4] We have seen, however, in the section on horticulture that the Zulu and Natal chiefs guard various sacred things (ancestral assegais, inkata, knobstick, prepuce cover, etc.) for the people. I need not describe these again, save for the inkata, which is referred to by Lugg,[5] R.C.[6] and H.L. Samuelson.[7] Briefly, it is a sacred coil symbolising the unity of the tribe. R.C. Samuelson describes it as a coil of fibrous runners over which is put python or boa-constrictor skin, and it is sprinkled by the chief's izinyanga with various undescribed concoctions. When it has been made all the men of the tribe are/.....

1. Opera cita, Gardiner, p. ; R.C. Samuelson, p.288.
2. Vijn, op.cit., p.44.
2. Op.cit., Vol.I, pp.382 seq.
3. Opera cita, Kropf, p.146; Soga, "AmaXosa", p.31.
4. Opera cita, op.cit., p.269.
5. B.S., op.cit., p.401.
6. Op.cit., pp.188-9.
7. Op.cit., pp.188-9.

are given powders to swallow, are sprinkled, bathe in the river and are sprinkled again. But Samuelson forgets the essential parts of the inkata which are, according to Lugg, straws from the entrances of several huts, soil from foot-prints, and the vomited stomach contents of the royal family, and in one tribe grass on which the army has slept. The inkata is handed down from generation to generation, and is used on the accession of the chief, at the council, and in war time, and the chief sits on it when he is being treated for disease. Should the inkata be destroyed, the chief and his family would suffer illness and misfortune until a new one is made or consecrated, for the spirits will be angered. There are really two izinkata, one of past chiefs, and one of the living chief, which is added to the large coil, says Bryant,[1] on his death. All these sacred articles are kept in the great hut, the house of the chief's mother. The chief also has a sacred vessel and his powerful medicines, to which we have referred in the text,[2] and no one can drink out of his cup.[3]

The sacred regalia of the Mpuna Thonga includes a large copper bracelet, said to be able to move of its own accord. It is filled with power. There is also an elephant's tusk which enemies who had been vanquished brought as a token of submission. In Nondwane, the chief had a stick which warned the clan when danger threatened. Sacred above all was the mbamba, in the Tembe clans made of the nails and hair of deceased chiefs, of the dried skin of their faces in the Shirindja clan.[4] When a Tembe chief dies the more or less imperishable portions of his body, such as the nails and hair of his head and beard, are carefully cut, and kneaded together with the dung of the oxen killed at his death to make a kind of pellet which is bound with thongs of hide. On the death of a chief this pellet is added/....

1. MSS. cita.
2. Vide Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.345.
3. Ibid., p.427. 4. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.385 seq.

added to the string of others, i.e., to the mhamba. The principles of construction in the other clans are similar. The mhamba is used in invoking the great gods.[1] The Thonga have also certain royal medicines, usually used at lima and in war-time to protect the country. Each year the Maswaya clan renews this royal medicine (nyokwekulu). Its exact composition is known only to one man, the "royal magician and priest", whose office is hereditary from brother to brother. The making of the medicine is attended with great ceremony. It contains parts of animals and men, and when it is made the chief and sub-chiefs have to inhale the smoke from the burning druge. The preparations are followed by great celebrations at the capital and the magician prays to his gods to bless the nyokwekulu. Each sub-chief keeps some in a special calabash. Some is used to guard the country; it is smeared on pegs driven into the ground on the borders and at cross-ways. And some was used for the magical horn which is a great means of divination. In the hut where this horn is kept (that of the chief's first wife) a sacred fire burns perpetually, and this wife may not have sexual relations with her husband. Chiefs also have various personal, potent charms[2]

The mere possession of this sacred regalia is religious, for the supernatural power of the articles is transferred to the chief, outside of any act. The mhamba and inkata show that so sacred is the chief that, after death, parts of his body make the most powerful medium for approaching the supernatural powers. He is surrounded by magical power and the by/strength of his ancestors, so that no one may drink out of his cup, and other chiefs fear to approach him.[3] As a consequence his home may become a sanctuary for pursued men. Thus, says Kropf, "the person and dwelling of the chief is deemed sacred, anyone taking refuge under his garment, or

behind/....

1. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.406-8.
2. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.287 seq.
3. Vide ibid., Vol.I, pp.333-6.

behind his back, or in his dwelling, became safe.".[1] The house of a chief's great wife is also a sanctuary.[2] Miss Hunter says of the Pondo that the indlu enkulu of the chief and the grave of a deceased chief are sanctuaries which not even the chief could violate. The culprit had to pay the chief a fine, because "something unclean had gone into b' hut", and then he was free to flee the country.[3]

(ii) Magic and the Chief.

The great taboo of the chief was on the use of his name. The whole tribe dare not pronounce his name or any word containing the stem of his name.[4] Naturally the language is radically altered. The reason for this practice is probably the common belief that pronouncing the name of a thing gives one power over that thing; to pronounce the name of the chief would be an attempt to gain magical ascendancy over him.

Anyone coughing or sneezing while the Zulu King ate was liable to be punished with death,[5] whether because it was an insult or threatened danger to the King I cannot say. There seems to be a taboo on bringing a kangala stick into the chief's presence because they are supposed to bring bad luck to him.[6] A chief gets worried if when he churns his vessel it is not propitious and then the doctors will treat him to restore his courage.[7] But as the Zulu King took a daily bath[8] and one of Callaway's informants says that "it is women only who wash with water only, when a man goes to wash he

(uses)/....

1. Kropf, op.cit., "uKwAmbata", p.6.
2. Ibid., "iNdlu", p.80.
3. Hunter, MSS., cita.
4. Opera cita, Junod, Vol.I, p.384; Kidd, "Essential Kafir", p.24
5. Isaacs, op.cit., p.292.
6. Bryant, Dick., op.cit., "Religious System", op.cit., p.344.
7. Callaway, "Religious System", op.cit., p.72, 311, 349.
8. Isaacs, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.74, 311, 349.

(uses) several kinds of intelezi",[1] I assume that he was medicated daily. I believe Mrs. Krige has information that the chief daily ncinda'd medicine.

The Transkeian chief in some tribes is attended by a kind of quasi-guardian spirit, says Macdonald. "He always has on ox which is a special favourite, and which must never be killed. By constant training and kindness it gets into the habit of leaving the other cattle whenever the chief is washing himself with medicine outside the cattle-fold. It stands close beside him and licks up all the froth, generally of aromatic nature, spilt from the medicine basin. The spirit which guards him resides in this ox".[2] In what way the spirit guards him it is impossible to say, but it may be that there is no idea of spirit and that the ox, by licking the chief's wash, prevents it falling into the hands of the enemy who can takata with it. There is a suggestion here that the chief was frequently medicated, and indeed the Pondo chief is said formerly to have "used powerful amayeza to make himself held in awe by his subjects. He washed with umabulawu, using a special pot. The nature of the plants used was always a deep secret; they were used in privacy, and kept in a special hut which no one with umlaza might enter."[3]

Doubtless there are many other taboos and magical practices affecting the chief's daily life, but these are all I know of. I have in the relevant sections described the chief's birth, marriage and death.

(iii) Coronation of the Chief.

The investiture of a Transkeian chief is very simple. According to Soga, the necklace of red beads is placed on his neck, in the presence of the tribe, by men specially...

1. "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.434.
2. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XX, p.124.
3. Hunter, MSS, cits.

specially chosen to perform the task.[1] Kropf details these men as either a principal chief or a person nominated by the amaPshawe (princes) amaPakati (councillors).[2] This is apparently the whole ceremony but the young chief is also presented with cattle[3] and instructed in his duties.[4] One assumes that the chief accedes merely by virtue of the backing of his ancestors.

It was told to Callaway that when a man becomes chief "he calls to him celebrated diviners to place him in the chieftainship that he may really be a chief; and not be one by descent merely, but by adding a chieftainly character by calling doctors who possess medicine and charms; and these doctors place him in the chieftainship". The major part of the ceremony consists in the preparation of the chief's vessel and the assertion of the chief's superiority over other chiefs,[5] i.e., it is magical. Bun Bryant's unpublished information[6] gives a full description of the installation of a Zulu chief. After the washing of the spears (the ihlambo) for the dead chief the great doctors of the tribe were summoned to make firm the chief (ukuminza inkosi). The regiments, chanting the iHubo, the great tribal song, marched to the great place. They formed up in the cattle-kraal where the doctor opened the proceedings by kindling a new fire with the tribal firesticks, inaugurating a new day in the life of the tribe. He next mixed fortifying charms, ubulawu[7] and manufactured the new chief's inkata with grass stolen from the doorways of neighbouring chiefs, rags of royal 'body wear', and bits of rubbish collected from all the paths leading to the royal umzi. Some of these were burnt and smeared on the chief, fortifying him against all noxious influences from without. The chief

ncinda'd/....

1. "AmaXosa", op.cit., p.81
2. Kropf, op.cit., "uBukulelu", p.146.
3. Ibid., "ukuQola", pp.338
4. Ibid., "ukuYala", P.456.
5. "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.340 seq. (6) MSS., cits. "Religious Systems", vide Callaway, imfi emnyama, op.cit., p.142, footnote 10
7. i.e.

ncinda'd other charms; bark of the isingama tree to confer on him the imposingness (isiTunzi), of the ulenage to make him stand bravely and firmly by the tribe, of the umpondonde to make him outstanding among his peers; and an emetic of uGobandlova to make him powerful enough to break the backs of elephants. The greatest charm was the fat of the mamba and other fierce beasts, which was smeared on the face and the body of the chief. The servants of the dead chief were killed and the new chief enthroned himself on their bodies. Then they were buried near their departed master. (According to Callaway, as we have seen, they were buried with the dead chief.[1] It is possible that two lots of servants were killed). Then the chief, accompanied by the army and the herd of black izinkomo zemizimu, washed himself over the graves of his ancestors, where also oxen were sacrificed and the iHubo was sung. They returned to the great place, and the chief, holding the ancestral assegai, seated himself on the inkata, and was pointed out to the tribe as the new ruler. He was saluted "Bayede," and a great feast was held. In this ceremony the main features are the magical treatment of the chief to give him power, and ascendancy over his enemies; the opening of a new era for the tribe which has been in a state of transition since the death of the old chief; and the sacrifice of the oxen to the ancestors, probably to invoke their blessing on their successor. "The whole manhood of the tribe" is present, for this ceremony is the affirmation of the tribe's solidarity; the people have waited for their new chief and they greet him with acclamation. Immediately his power is enhanced by the medicines and by the concentration in him of power of the ancestors of the tribesmen. The sentiments about chieftainship in the abstract must be strengthened, and affirmed about the new chief.

Junod[2] concludes on the coronation of a Thonga chief that "it is worthy of notice that no sacrifice

is offered on this day, neither is any religious ceremony whatsoever performed. The coronation appears to be a purely military affair, a sort of oath of loyalty taken by the people to their chief and by the chief to his people". The coronation of the new Nkuna chief follows directly on the mourning for his predecessor. The ceremony is attended by the warriors and representatives of foreign clans. The mourning rites are concluded, and a herald orders silence in the mukhumbi. The chief enters the circle, his new name is pronounced and anyone who wishes to protest against his succession must do so at once. In this ceremony, a national military one, the new chief steps into the place of his predecessor. The Ronga offer an anticipatory sacrifice, asking the ancestors to make the ceremony pass off quietly, without quarrelling. The actual investiture is attended by the army and friendly, neighbouring clans. It consists in the main of the greeting of the chief, who is dressed in full military attire, by the assembled men. They sing the great hubs, the principal patriotic song of the tribe, and dance before the chief, who is raised on the shoulders of a "specially appointed functionary, the bearer of the chiefs." The chief gives in his turn incites and praised by the warriors. This ceremony functions in the same way as the Zulu installation.

E. Conclusion

I think I may safely conclude that the text of this thesis has borne out the argument advanced in the introductory chapter on the "Dichotomy of Nature into the Natural and the Supernatural." It has been shown that the natives have ideas of extraordinary forces, as shown, for example, in the words ukuqunga and ukutonya. They recognise these forces or powers as exceptional, and approach them with a different attitude from that with which they perform their ordinary round of life. There is a clear distinction between sacrificial and ordinary meals.

These supernatural powers pervade their whole life. They are conscious of them as omnipresent, though ~~the~~ their sources may not be clearly distinguished. The South-Eastern Bantu distribute the power of the supernatural among ancestors, gods, medicines, people, etc., and they use it in two ways, which I have differentiated as religious and magical according as the power is used indirectly to strengthen the sentiments about objects of social value or directly to some social end. I need not here re-iterate more fully this distinction which I have fully elaborated in the previous sections of this chapter.

There seems to be a tendency, as Malinowski has argued, to resort to the magical use of supernatural power to control the elements of chance and danger, as is especially manifest in the magical precautions taken by the Thonga potters. But I feel that one cannot say, as Malinowski would, that the natives recognise that ordinary skill will take them so far, and then they must resort to magic. In fact in war magic the tendency is to say magic will do everything, and the warriors have only to clean up its results. This is, more or less, Lévy-Bruhl's whole conception/...

conception of magic. But among the South-Eastern Bantu magic and applied science are inextricably welded, and, as in the sowing with isiDwa root, performed by the same person at the same time.

Religious ritual is more distinct from ordinary activities than is magic, and it is set in an entirely different atmosphere from the normal tribal routine. There seems to be a sense, at religious ceremonies, of awe that is lacking in magical acts.

A better understanding, in my opinion, of the relation of the natural and the supernatural, the profane and the sacred, is suggested by Lévy-Bruhl, viz., that everything has a two-sided nature, one ordinary, one mystical. Thus the crops are food which can be cooked and eaten, but only after their mystical dangers have been treated and removed in the luma (umkosi). And in many cases - though this is far from being an unvarying rule - ordinary and extraordinary (supernatural) approaches are made at the same time. For instance, magic among the South-Eastern Bantu is generally an attempt to use the supernatural power concentrated in various substances for some specific end, and this end may not be set apart from the aim of ordinary work. In other words, magic is an activity of a different order from "applied science", but it is performed at the same time and to the same general end, not to specific, separate, end, and the control only of luck and chance. But nevertheless magic is recognised as of a different order from other work. Religious ritual is similarly related to ordinary life. It may be performed at the same time as secular customs are practised (e.g., there are both religious and social elements in marriage ceremonies) but it works differently, with different powers.

Briefly/.....

Briefly, then, the South-Eastern Bantu recognise supernatural powers and turn them to social account by two distinct groups of social processes, religious and magical. These often overlap in magico-religious rites. I propose to analyse these processes fully on the lines set out in the appendix to this thesis.

APPENDIX.

I intend to complete the thesis on the following plan:-

VI. Religion.

A. The Philosophical Basis of South-Eastern Bantu Religion.

B. Creation.

C. Ritual in its sociological background.

the chief
the priest
prayer
the Sacred ~~beer~~.
Sacrifice and Gift.
dance and song.
seclusion
consecrated spots, utensils, etc.
taboo.
myth, etc.
dreams.
beer.
water.
fire.
cattle.
divining.
omens.
~~beer~~.

D. The Soul.

presence in the living.
survival after death.
incarnation.
possession.
the amatongo and their power.

E. The Cosmogony

Unkulunkulu.
Izulu, tixo, tilo, usondo, inkosi.
Nomkubulwana, inkosazana.
Spirits and sprites, other beings.

F. Religion as a Moral Force.

G. Growth of Religion - individual and social influence.

VII. Magic.

A. Its philosophical basis - protective, punitive, productive magic.
The principles on which it works.

B. As a supplement to Religion.

C. Ritual in its sociological background.

spell.
rite.
medicine - kinds.
heat.
magician - kinds, power or knowledge, authority, honesty, familiars, the chief, possession, training.
myth.
sacred spots, utensils.
taboo.
omens.

D. Black and white magic. - magician, wizard, sorcerer.

Magic as a moral force.

E. Divining.

F. Development of magic - individual and social influence.

VIII. Taboo.

A. Kinds - religious, magical, social,

B. Its nature and function.

IX. Magic and Religion in Relation to Medicine.

A. Magician, priest and leech - psychological affinities, technical affinities.

B. Bantu Physiology.

C. Magic and Religion as causes of disease.

D. Magic and Religion as cures of disease.

X. Magic and Religion in Relation to Government.

A. Chief, priest and magician.

B. Army.

C. Influence of magicians in politics.

XI. Magic and Religion in Relation to Law.

A. A survey of the sanctions.

B. Magic and Religion as detectors.

C. Magic and Religion in punishment.

D. Taboo and Law.

XII. Magic and Religion in Relation to Education.

A. Initiation.

B. Magic, Religion and the building of behaviour patterns.

C. Magic and Religion as reactionary influences, preventing the growth of knowledge.

D. Magic and Religion as radical influences, stimulating the growth of knowledge.

XIII. Magic, Religion and Art.

A. Myth, Folk-tale, legend, etc.

B. Music - song and dance and instrumental.

C. Pictorial and plastic.

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