

curves (Lewis-Williams, 1990). Such catenary curves and zigzags appear in San rock art, and the bees, whose buzzing is explicitly associated by the San to the sounds heard while in trance, are also depicted (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989).

Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1989) state that in the first stage of altered consciousness, entoptic phenomena or entoptics are seen, no matter what the cultural background of the experiencer is. These entoptics are colourful and luminous geometric shapes such as dots, zigzags, grids, vortexes, and U-shapes. These entoptics cannot be consciously controlled, and seem to have a life of their own. These geometric shapes are found in San rock art, although it is not clear what meaning they gave to these entoptics. The second stage is characterised by the elaboration of the entoptics into more familiar objects or construals.

The San shamans, for instance, drew honeycombs that occur in the wild in the form of U-shapes, or a zigzag line becomes transformed into a snake. In the third stage, marked changes occur in terms of the imagery. Some laboratory subjects report seeing tunnels and vortexes. Iconic hallucinations or iconics of people, animals and other objects also take place. There is an increase of vividness to the forms, as well as a blending of different hallucinatory forms, for example human and animal forms. One laboratory subject reported that when thinking of a fox, he became a fox.

Thus in this deep stage of trance a powerful process of identification arises, and in San rock art this is evidenced in the depiction of human beings with animal features. (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989, pp. 60-66). "The transformation of sign to symbol is also apparent in the visual realm where constancies of space and time are replaced by geometric-ornamental-rhythmic structures, the hallucinatory form constants [...] whether electrically, naturally, or drug-induced" (Fisher, 1971, p. 902). Thus the rose windows of Gothic cathedrals, the *mandalas* of the Tantric religion, as well as the rock art of the San (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989), can be understood as ritualised hallucinatory form constants as found in trance states.

The rhythms of music, poetry and song correspond to the geometric-ornamental rhythms of the visual realm (Fisher, 1971).

All senses hallucinate, but the interpretation of these hallucinations is culturally determined. An Inuit (Eskimo) does not 'see' a rhinoceros, but rather a polar bear. The San rock art is not merely the result of neuropsychological speculations (Bednarik, 1990; Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1990). Neuropsychology, however, does explain some of the crosses, lines, circles, zigzags and nested U-shapes that are depicted. That the rock art is the result of shamanic visions has been established independently in the field of ethnography. For example, a San rock art figure is depicted having its hand at its nose. During dancing, the !Kung shamans sometimes experienced nasal haemorrhage, before and after they entered into an ASC, in which they assumed the form and potency of supernaturally potent animals, such as a rhinoceros. The rhinoceros, because of its tendency to sweat profusely was believed to be a rain-animal, and an important source of identification in the rain-making ritual. "Figures with a hand raised to the nose frequently appear in depictions of medicine dances" (Ouzman, 1996, p. 46).

The shamans in this study who described visionary effects after a trance state had been induced, did not mention anything similar to catenary lines or zigzags. This does not mean, however, that this is not experienced, for the interviews with the shamans were not specifically aimed at establishing these neurologically determined images. It is possible that, with continuous training in trance states, these shamans may enter the last stage of the neuropsychological stage of trance, namely 'seeing' objects or animals, such as in the "land of spirit animals" (6, 7), or 'seeing' objects in visions (4).

The South African shamanic training of cultivating inner voices and visions can be understood as occurring two major stages, which are often evident in other shamanic traditions (Noll, 1987). The novice is trained in this vision cultivation by firstly

increasing the vividness of imagery, and then secondly training the novice to control or master such imagery. To enhance the visual or auditory imagery, the novice blocks out noise and isolates herself/himself from external stimuli, or else s/he may use psychedelic drugs or rituals (Bourguignon, 1985) in order to turn inward. Prior to the trance, during these extensive preparatory rituals, the shaman begins to access her/his concentration powers, with "a shift from one cognitive map to another" (Honko, 1985, p. 453). The shamans in this study use *mulis*, *snuff* and the act of *phalaza* to induce the amathongo trance state. Importantly, the prayer in a meditative state becomes the mental focus or act of concentration that formulates and gives power to the shamanic intent. The novices are informed that dreams in full colour or those that occur in series are significant (6). The first stage of training makes the novice focus on such dreams, and thereby reinforcing and enhancing them.

The second stage of training begins when the control of such dreams occurs, using psychoactive substances and the prayers that focus the intent of interacting with the ancestors. Therefore, the second phase of the training begins when the vividness of imagery has been achieved. "The shaman's visionary training is one of transforming 'crude visions' into 'clear visions'" (Noll, 1985, p. 446), by systematically reinforcing colour, form, sound, and meaning of images seen and heard voices within the novice. In the second phase, the control of the inner visual and auditory imagery leads to a mastery of the spirits. Such clear visions can lead to a 'magical flight' (Eliade, 1964), as is evident in the experiences of the shamans in the "land of spirit animals" (6, 7), in the 'underwater experiences' (4, 10), and the OBEs by the shamans of this study (1, 3, 6, 7, 8).

This is supported by the literature in that Poynton (1972) suggests that there "is much preliminary evidence that OBE is known to Zulus" (Poynton, 1972, p. 35). Also, "dream travelling and conversation with spirits are by far the most common experiences" (Laubscher, 1963, p. 150) amongst South African shamans. It is said

of the South African shaman that s/he "becomes a house of dreams" (Callaway [1870] quoted in Lee, 1969, p. 137).

The above was collaborated by the shamans interviewed in this study, most of whom had received training in enhancing their lucidity during dreams. The regular dream interpretation first thing in the morning (9) coupled with a growing acceptance of the dream messages, be they about the collection of herbs or slaughtering of white chicken (2, 8, 9) brings about, through repetition, a greater capacity to enter such an amathongo trance state. Of relevance is that the novice is expected to interact thoroughly and lucidly with the ancestors in this lucid dream state by asking questions, clarifying instructions, and demanding more clarity if necessary (2, 5). The various induction techniques (*mutis*, *smuff*, *phalaza*), but also the successes of finding the herbs in the field just as the ancestor had described, sets up in the novice not only a sense of a convincing experience, but also allows the experience of benefiting from the knowledge effect of such a trance state.

An important aspect of this form of training, and one that is often not overtly discussed, but is present in the various inductive techniques and training programmes of shamans in general and of South African shamans in particular, is that the training presupposes a certain attitude or belief that is essential for the production of psi-effects. Roney-Dougal (1991), as a parapsychologist, states that it is of vital importance in the development of psi to "believe totally, i.e. to know that the reality you are working towards really is. It is not an intellectual exercise - it is living reality. And once you start living that reality, your whole life becomes filled up with coincidences that are impossible, chance happenings that just aren't chance, hunches that invariably turn out" (Roney-Dougal, 1991, p. 38).

As shaman Virginia (8) noted, in order to access shamanic power, what is important "is belief, everything comes to you when you believe, but when you don't believe, nothing will happen." Shaman Virginia (8) highlighted an essential point in the

training of inner visions and inner voices, i.e., if there is no belief in such matters, if the novice does not believe lucid dreams states are possible, how can they be cultivated. The power and effect of a belief lies in the strength of the intent and it is this intent that is trained and is supported by rituals, various induction techniques, belief systems, as well as the sharing of experiences, be it by other novices or by the shamanic teacher. If others can achieve a specific trance state, it follows that by modelling their inner and outer acts and practices, a similar trance state can eventually be induced and experienced.

It was therefore a crucial question when one of the shamans (3) asked the researcher whether he had any difficulty with the belief in the ancestors. The researcher's reply was that he did not, yet he could not help thinking about his experience when he had asked white South African shamans about their particular psychic experiences with their ancestors. Of all those that were asked none were sure whether they had had contact with their ancestors, while a few had had visions of other beings who were not ancestors. This is similar to the experiences of a white North American who became a *sangoma* in Swaziland (Hall, 1994). What is central, however, is that the white South African shamans were nevertheless able to access all the major trance states, thereby achieving significant power-knowledge effects, for example, finding hidden objects, the ability to divine, as well as achieve states of pre-cognition and OBEs. For these shamans then it would appear that belief in the possibility of transpersonal experiences was crucial, even though this belief was not linked to the contact with the ancestors.

This suggests that in South African shamanism even if ancestral figures are not contacted, the trance states in themselves remain effective and productive. It suggests that what is central is not so much the content of a belief but rather its ability to induce powerful ASCs, as it is these ASCs that determine the service the shaman can render to the community through healing. However, it is important to always bear in mind that the service the shaman can render to the community is

itself shaped by the context of the community's belief, and that the shaman's knowledge and the power of the community to legitimate this knowledge are always inextricably linked.

It is because of this power-knowledge nexus that it is possible for the interaction with other beings or ancestors not to be just a dream or fantasy, but provable in the consensual reality. Similarly, the yardstick which novices use to confirm their beliefs, for example, finding the shamanic teacher seen in their dreams during their *ukuthwasa* (2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10) is confirmed as a yardstick of a reality which is shared and agreed upon. Another important power-knowledge relation in this regard, are the incidences of pre-cognition. That pre-cognition is possible, is rooted in a notion of a consensual reality, but individual affirmation for any particular shaman's pre-cognition occurs when they turn out to be true.

These pre-cognitions may emerge during lucid dream states in the amathongo trance state, during visions that appear in the umbilini trance state, whilst being embodied by an ancestor in the amadlozi trance state, or when the 'bones' fall into significant patterns in the amakhosi trance state. When these pre-cognitions are affirmed the shaman has again experienced the power-knowledge effects of her/his shamanic trance states. This is supported by the shamanic literature in that amongst the Australian Aborigines the training of mental imagery leads to the "strong eye" (Elkin 1977, p. 49), which enables the shaman to see the spirits. Equally, the Renaissance ritual magic sought "to master of spirits" (Butler, 1949, p. 3), a mastery that was obtained using visualisation techniques during specific rituals, as the Faustian figure portrays.

While visualisation is common in the shamanic states of consciousness, other sensory experiences also become involved, such as hearing, smell, touch and taste (Harner, 1980). Many of the shamans in this study reported having been taught a song by their ancestors (1, 2, 4, 5, 8), while others reported hearing or seeing the

ancestors in their dreams (2, 5, 8, 10), or during the divinatory process (Bührmann & Gqomfa, 1981). The ability to hear the inner sound in the form of song or the inner voice of the ancestor is a central aspect of South African shamanism. Auditory imagery in the form of spontaneous songs or the hearing of inner voices of the ancestors (Krippner, 1985; Winkelman, 1985) are important in shamanism. Halifax (1979) notes that among the Klamath Indians, one word depicts both spirit and song, and further states that the "songs and chants of the shaman are in and of themselves manifestations of power achieved in the course of a painful ordeal that puts the one who has quested in contact with the supernatural" (Halifax, 1979, p. 31). This is certainly true for the South African shamans.

Within the tradition of Southern African shamanism, Hall (1994) was tested in telepathy in that he had to point to a specific divination 'bone' that his teacher was visualising in her mind. The novice South African shaman is tested customarily by keeping her/him in a hut while others hide a goat at a considerable distance and in a very unlikely place. The novice needs to enter a trance state, listen to the inner voice, describes the area and finds the goat herself/himself. Boshier (1973), who was initiated as an *isangoma*, states that while in the West it might be called clairvoyance or psychic ability, within the tradition of ancestor worship, such psychic information is seen as coming from the voice of the ancestors. The training of telepathy, remote viewing, or inner vision and sound amongst South African shamans is most evident in the psychic finding of hidden objects, which the novice achieves during training and is finally tested during the graduation ceremony.

6. The South African Shamanic Trance States and Psi Effects

In this section the four major South African trance states will be analysed in terms of their psi effects. In this study, the shamans have presented with paranormal skills whilst in a shamanic trance state. It has been noted that the *isangoma* are "able to perform feats which we would describe as being accomplished through ESP, as well as diagnose illness and suggest a remedy" (Edge, 1986, p. 364). The word 'intuition'

is not adequate when describing the psychic abilities required in pre-cognitive dreams, telepathy, and clairvoyance found amongst the South African shamans (Laubscher, 1963). The different trance states, however, present different categories of paranormal abilities. The literature on shamanism suggests that great shamans are masters of the spirits and in their possession trances not only have produced phenomena revealing extraordinary strength, agility and resistance to fatigue and exhaustion, but they have also demonstrated with immunity to fire, the generation of light and heat, as well as the location and control of game, weather control, killing and influencing over a distance, predicting future events, and other such feats (Kelly & Locke, 1982, p.4). One example would be that an African shaman, who, while gazing at a 'magic mirror', was able to tell a researcher how far up the river a boat was, and that a *ts'iti* man on the boat had just shot a large bird. All the statements turned out to be true (De Martino, 1988, pp. 7-8).

In the amadlozi trance states, the South African shamans present with certain psi effects. The first psi effect worth mentioning is that in the amadlozi trance state, while embodied by the ancestor, the shaman is able to present information about a person's health without having prior knowledge (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10). Furthermore, some are able to 'see' the cause of illness within a person's body (Thorpe, 1991). Credo Mutwa (6) reported how he was able to see the lights around a patient, these lights becoming diagnostic of where in the body the person's illness was located.

A further psi effect is found in the shaman's ability to withstand fatigue and pain whilst dancing for long hours. Despite the long hours of dancing, the shaman often experiences these amadlozi trance states as healing in terms of her/his own body. Shaman Caroline (5) spoke about how during the amadlozi trance state when a shaman dances on glass, no pain is felt until the shaman exits the trance state. Similarly, !Kung shamans are known to be able to handle burning coals during trance states (Katz, 1982).

Another central psi effect in the amadlozi trance state is the ability to find hidden objects. Finding hidden objects is part of this training of psychic abilities which includes listening to the voices of the ancestors. Whilst in this trance state and after having danced, the apprentice has to kneel in front of a person who has hidden an object. The researcher was told by his teacher that he, as an apprentice, must psychically find this person in the crowd. The apprentice first greets and then states that the person has hidden something. If the person disagrees, the novice gets up and dances until a clarity of mind is achieved and s/he finds the person. When the right person is found, the novice first must state what the object is and then where it is to be found.

One researcher in South Africa (Laubscher, 1973) tested a South African shaman concerning this psi effect by burying a purse while no one was watching, then driving 60 miles from Cape Town to where Solomon Dabe, the shaman, was staying. During the trance dance, the shaman was able to describe in great detail the spot where Laubscher had hidden the purse. The same *isangoma* or shaman was able to help the police find two stolen cows.

Similar to the researcher's training, both Arden (1996) and Hall (1994) within the Southern African context describe their experiences of finding objects that were hidden by others. Hall (1994) notes that during "afternoon dancing sessions, the people of the homestead hid things, and we kufutwasa students tested our ability to see by ritualistically drawing out these things (kukhokha). This was practice for the time we would be drawing out the hidden ailments of patients by studying the bones. [...] Ritual required that I drop the discovered object before the drums and thank the *lidlotis*" (Hall, 1994, p. 62-63).

Arden (1996) in her experience of this process gives a description of this: "For a few moments I sit with my eyes closed, then sense that the answer lies to my left. I slowly move my left arm out, hand turned down. It is on this side, I say. You are

correct. Where on this side?" (Arden, 1996, p. 91). In the researcher's experience, when the object and location is correctly named, the shaman is challenged with great excitement of the observing crowd to run and retrieve the object. This test of psychic ability is brought to a close when the found object is placed in front of the drums or the teacher, and the ancestors are thanked, for it is believed that it is the ancestors that have found the objects.

One function of this exercise is to prepare the novice for their final graduation, in which they will have to undergo a great test. During the graduation the novice has to find three objects, sometimes more, which have been hidden away. It is not merely a test of the shaman's powers in front of the community, but rather a test of the powers of the ancestors in choosing this shaman as their vehicle. It is a test that is greatly feared by apprentices (Hall, 1994; Arden, 1996), as the researcher can verify from his own experience. Often the objects hidden during the graduation are standardised, in that the objects are the slaughtered goat's gallbladder, beads, and strips of goat's skin, as was the case in both Caroline's (5) and Julia's (2) graduation. Sometimes, however, the shamans hide other objects in order to test the apprentice.

Of importance is that the test of finding hidden objects is a preparatory step in order to establish the illness of a person whilst in this trance state. The researcher's shamanic teacher told the researcher, on the completion of the test, that from now on the researcher would be 'finding' the 'hidden' affliction of a person. The same psychic training and power used for finding the hidden objects is applied to be able to diagnose a person's affliction.

During the amakhosi trance state somewhat different psi effects are presented in that the shaman is also able, through divination rather than through the embodiment of the ancestors, to access information. The South African shamans of this study use divination to access certain psi effects (2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10). In terms of divination, Winkelman (1983) notes that "in general it appears that most divination procedures

integrate principles or practices which have been experimentally established as facilitating the manifestation of information via psi" (Winkelman, 1983, p. 17). This knowledge via psi is not only limited to the past and present, but is able to unfold the possibilities of the future. The shaman can use the amakhosi trance state to divine the illness of the silent patient, the reasons for her/his emotional difficulties, where her/his stolen money can be found, and whether the court case will turn in the client's favour or not. The shaman might warn about dangers during travels, predict weather patterns, or even suggest that someone at work is jealous of the client's success and is using *muti* to bewitch or poison the client.

The specific psi effects are acts of clairvoyance and clairaudience in the South African shaman's access to inner visions and voices. Other heightened sensory capacities such as keen smell, are as used in the 'smelling out' of witches. Very little is understood of the system of olfactory sensing, for the shaman is in a relatively normal state of consciousness, but it does suggest that in order to 'smell out' witches or to 'smell' lost objects, a heightened ability of ESP is involved. It is possibly important that the olfactory sense is one of the earliest developed abilities, and there is a tendency to remember smells long after other sensory memories are forgotten (Peek, 1991). In terms of the corporeality of the shaman, bodily feelings are also important. The South African shamans expressed this ability by feeling the sympathetic pain of the patient's illnesses in their own body (2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10).

Boshier (1973) during his work with *izangoma* in Soweto, states that while he agrees that the shaman is trained to use his senses better than most, "there is also something more - something we call paranormal sight that every witchdoctor, be it *sangoma* or bonethrower, must have and use. [...] This is how the *sangoma* knew your car had been stolen yesterday, even though she had never seen you before in your life. Or, in a tribal area, how your lost goats can be found. We may call it clairvoyance or psychic ability, but to all the people who believe in ancestor worship, it is the information from the ancestor spirits" (Boshier, 1973, p. 17). Equally, Laubscher

(1937) tested Solomon Dabe, an *isangoma*, and found evidence of telepathy. Divination "is really a device or technique for facilitating the process of telepathy and clairvoyance. On the whole, telepathy, clairvoyance and precognition seem to be the most commonly developed psychic faculties among African psychics. Their frequent use could have grown out of the needs of self-preservation, communication and the power to select the best herbal remedies" (Laubscher, 1973, p. 13). This is also evident in other African shamanic traditions (Blier, 1991; Devish, 1991; Meyer, 1991).

The shaman as diviner then becomes the subject of enunciation, which is constituted by an intertwining of the norms within the parapsychological, the social, the cosmological and bodily domains. The trance state with its exceptional sensory capacities becomes the agent and the place in which such intertwining occurs. In her/his corporality, the shaman is the agent, locus and author of innovative production of meaning. "Divination is clearly another such truth-constructing process" (S'law, 1991, p. 140). The shaman transcends the limits of her/his senses, mediates between the mundane and supra-mundane worlds, and like a culture hero, the diviner-shaman situates her/himself outside the culture and creates it. "For the diviner, the consultation is an achievement of spiritual transcendence" (Devish, 1991, p.130).

The amathongo trance state presents an entry into totally different paranormal skills. In this trance state, the shaman uses lucid dream states to interact actively with her/his ancestors (2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10), gaining knowledge on where certain herbs can be found in the fields, what parts of the herbs to use and how to extract the medicinal property, be it making powder from the root, or a tea from the leaves. The ancestors further inform the shaman about the medicinal uses of such herbs, and can suggest certain actions, like wearing certain beads or to go to certain places to meet people. As already stated, it seems that in South Africa, the knowledge about medicinal herbs is not merely conveyed from one shamanic teacher to a novice, who

in turn hands on the knowledge through the centuries, but rather knowledge of herbs is often accessed through contact with the ancestors during a lucid dream state.

The lucid dream state seems also to be used in the form of OBEs, in that the shamans are able to travel to other places and report back the next day what they saw (1, 6, 7, 8). During training, it is the 'underwater experience' that plays a prominent role as a shamanic journey, in accessing knowledge about medicinal herbs and divination (4, 10). The amathongo trance state, in the form of dreams, becomes the lucid recognition during dreaming. Such dreaming presents the shaman with certain pre-cognitive information about the future or about the illnesses of future patients (3, 4, 5, 9, 10). The *isanusi* uses the journey into the "land of spirit animals" to gain information about upcoming events, as well as being able to diagnose a person's illness (6, 7).

During the umbilini trance state, the shaman applies the paranormal skills of the *umbilini*. Heat rises up the spine and into the head, allowing for a powerful contact with the ancestors or an entry into a shamanic journey or OBE (6, 7, 8). Equally, the !Kung are able to travel great distances outside of their body (Thorpe, 1991), which is suggestive of OBE. Both Credo Mutwa (6) and shaman Nobela (7) spoke of having travelled distances, as well as having seen on the ground level significant future events. It could be said that they travelled along the time axis. As already stated, this psi effect of OBEs is found in the shamanic traditions throughout the world, and Edge (1986) notes that OBEs occur in 95% of all cultures.

This psi effect of OBEs is supported in the South African literature, in that, as already noted, Poynton (1972), in his parapsychological research suggests that there is "much preliminary evidence that OBE is known to Zulus" (Poynton, 1972, p. 2). Laubscher (1973) states that OBEs are used by South African shamans to gather information. "I was told that some *isanusi* could more easily than others loosen their spiritual bodies, and go to Johannesburg from Cofimvabo - while the body sleeps

in his blanket in his kraal. In Johannesburg he will visit his son in the mine under the ground, always unseen, and then return home. That night the son will dream that his father was in the mine and he will know his father had travelled in his dream body" (Laubscher, 1973, p. 14). Boshier (1973) gives a further example of an OBE when, in that during his initiation in 1965, an *isangoma* "went into a trance and sat motionless for forty minutes. She later told me that her spirit had gone up to the top of the mountain to get some wild tea, and she described the area visited in some detail. Is this an out-of-the-body-experience? To her it was simply the ancestral spirits operating with and through her" (Boshier, 1973, p. 16).

In conclusion then, the implications of the findings of this study are that they confirm those of more general anthropological research which has shown that shamanism involves magical practices which induce ASCs that are conducive to the manifestation of psi phenomena. These effects depend on the specifically trained practices of visualisation, positive expectation and belief (Winkelman, 1982a, p. 38). Amongst traditional societies, the psi-like capacities of shamanism are routinely expected as consequences of self-mastery in the accessing of the spiritual realm, "and indeed are said to be regularly invoked by indigenous observers themselves as tests of such mastery" (Kelly & Locke, 1982, p. 2). This is especially true for South African shamans during the graduation ceremony.

The South African shamans in this study have not merely provided evidence for the psi effects of the four major trance states, but it has also been shown that these psi effects in themselves produce knowledge and are linked to power relations. These power-knowledge effects pertain to the concrete production of medicines, the healing of patients, the conquering of time, and the production of a shamanic subject that is able to produce and/or access the landscapes of alternate realities. The four major shamanic trance states produce specific psi effects, for example during the amathongo trance states, lucid dreams and OBEs occur, whilst pre-cognition occurs in both the amadlozi and the amakhosi trance states. Some psi effects are therefore

specific to a trance state, whilst other psi effects are found in more than one trance state. In order to achieve the psi effects of certain trance states, the shamanic subject and the shamanic body are shaped and moulded according to certain pre-existent power-knowledge dimensions which are in turn maintained or recreated through the particular shamanic subject and shamanic body they shape.

CONCLUSION

The study concludes that the marginalisation of Africa in the discourse on shamanism is untenable. South African shamans share shamanic attributes with other traditions, namely the ability to induce and apply shamanic trance states in order to heal or to acquire knowledge. The main findings of this study are that the South African shaman makes use of a whole array of inductive techniques in order to achieve shamanic trance states. They range from dancing to quietude, from vision quests to the act of *phalaza*. In line with many other shamanic traditions, South African shamans apply the major forms of trance induction found all over the world. Besides the setting of inner, transitional, and outer spaces, drumming, dancing and singing are the major forms of trance induction. The substances utilised to induce trance states are used in a mainly supportive manner and do not represent a major form of trance induction.

The investigation into the specific shamanic trance states in South Africa leads to the formulation of a model of South African trance states. Four major shamanic trance states were established, namely the amadlozi, the amakhosi, the amathongo, and the umbilini trance states, each trance state having its own specific context and set of induction techniques. The amadlozi trance state is induced during dancing and drumming. During this trance state the shaman with a yielding or passive form of self-mastery becomes the embodiment of the ancestor. The community provides the containment and gains from the messages of the ancestors. The amakhosi trance state is characterised by a more active form of self-mastery in which the quietude of mind and the act of concealing on the fall of the divination 'bones' brings about a state of mind in which the ancestors speak as an inner voice. During the amakhosi trance state, omens are interpreted in a net of synchronicity, and the sympathetic pain in the shaman's body is a reflection of the patient's ordeal.

In the amathongo trance state the South African shaman accesses an alternate reality through prayer and *muti*. In this trance state s/he interacts with the ancestors directly and in a controlled manner within a lucid dream space. Through this interaction, information about patients that might be visiting the shaman the next day is received, as well as specific instructions concerning medicinal herbs or *muti*. OBEs are also experienced during this trance state, which provide knowledge about the health of patients as well as events occurring in the future. The umbilini trance state belongs to the marginal and specialised discourse of the *icanusi*. The induction occurs mainly through a specific dance, and the experiences parallel those of the *kia* experiences amongst the San people and the *kundalini* experiences of Eastern and Western practitioners.

Importantly, there is absolute recognition that there are as many ASCs as there are practitioners, and that a certain overlap of trance states does exist. No claim is made that this model of trance state is rigid and complete. Given the importance of the ancestors to the South African shamans, what emerged as crucial was that the trance states could not be interpreted without an understanding of the relationship between the shaman and the ancestors. Consequently the trance states were named after the various modes in which the ancestors appear to the South African shaman.

Furthermore, power and knowledge relations of these trance states were described in order to show how these trance states function as discourses with their own specific effects. The aim has been to present an understanding of how the shamanic subject and the shamanic body are created and shaped by specific disciplines and strategies of the shamanic training. Another important finding has been the psi effects of the four major trance states. The South African shamans in this study have not merely provided evidence for the psi effects of the four major trance states, but it has also been shown that these psi effects in themselves produce knowledge and are linked to power relations. These power-knowledge effects pertain to the concrete production of medicines, the healing of patients, the conquering of time, and the

production of a shamanic subject that is able to produce and/or access the landscapes of alternate realities. The four major shamanic trance states produce specific psi effects, for example during the amathongo trance states, lucid dreams and OBEs occur, whilst pre-cognition occurs in both the amadlozi and the amakhosi trance states. Some psi effects are therefore specific to a trance state, whilst other psi effects are found in more than one trance state. In order to achieve the psi effects of certain trance states, the shamanic subject and the shamanic body are shaped and moulded according to certain pre-existent power-knowledge dimensions which are in turn maintained or recreated through particular shamanic subject and shamanic body they shape.

The implication has been that the South African shamanic trance states do have very specific psi effects, and that these concur with the findings of other shamanic practices from across the world. This is not meant to imply that South African shamanic practices can be simplistically equated with other shamanic practices, but rather this study aims to show that shamanic practices in South Africa have important points of convergence with other shamanic practices. This suggests that shamanic practices in South Africa can no longer be marginalised or neglected in the general reading of shamanism.

Concerning the limitations and future directions of the study, Walsh (1995) notes that an obvious step to take after conducting careful phenomenological mapping of altered states, is to follow such a study up with psychometric tests. Some of these tests have recently been developed, for example, 'The Phenomenology of Consciousness Inventory' (Pekala & Kumar, 1986). This would produce more quantitative and more comparable qualitative data pertaining to the shamanic states. New technologies measuring brain activities, such as the PET (positron emission tomography) and multichannel EEG (electroencephalography) could also be applied in order to compare shamanic states as well as in understanding some of the physiological dimensions, while exerting caution not to define altered states as

simply altered physiology. The conducting of further careful interviews, as well as the making use of research-practitioners, "yogi-scientists" (Tart, 1972), may be applicable in furthering the research undertaken in this study.

The intensive interviewing technique used has both strengths and weaknesses. It is evident that many of the method's strengths are also its most significant limitations. The interview gives the interviewer flexibility, thereby allowing for immediate clarification, a probing for additional material, the rephrasing of questions, as well as access to non-verbal material such as pauses and accentuated portions of the dialogue (Williamson, Karp & Dalphin, 1977). This form of interviewing has the potential for providing more accurate responses on sensitive issues if trust is established in the interaction. Perhaps the most important advantage of intense interviewing is the speed at which in-depth data can be collected for participant observation (Williamson et al, 1977).

Some of the disadvantages of this interview technique are that there is always the danger that the subject might give socially desirable answers. Furthermore, from the researcher's side, the interpretation of the subject's discourse is open to the researcher's theoretical or ideological leanings. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the study will initiate further research in the field of shamanic trance states, thereby providing more enriching insight into the world of the South African shaman.

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APPENDIX

THEMES FROM THE DATA ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

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Themes from Interview 1:

Shaman: Dr. Stan Matsiise (Sotho)

Age: 44 years

In Practice: 13 years

Training: Soweto, 18 months

Theme: Calling

1) The shaman is chosen by the ancestors. It is therefore irrelevant whether a shaman is black or white, for what matters is the choice of the ancestors. (Look, you are chosen, not just anybody can go to school and they want to become an *isangoma*. [...]) For the *isangoma* it doesn't matter whether you are black or white.)

2) The calling is also the result of having the gift of being a healer, as predicted by the 'bones'. Should the person not become a healer, s/he will suffer for the rest of their lives. (Not anyone can be a traditional healer, if you throw the 'bones' that you are given that you can be an *isangoma*. If you are given the gift, you must do that,

because if you don't you are going to suffer for the rest of your life.)

3) Some initiation illnesses parade as psychiatric illnesses. (When you get like that, and you don't know that you get very sick. Where other people get put away in Sterkfontein [mental institution], these people are not sick, they just need to go to school.)

4) The calling of this shaman was defined by the recurring need to buy goats. (I didn't know how I became an *isangoma*. But at that time I saw a goat, and I wanted to buy it. Then it happened again. By the third time I asked my father: "Why do I want to kill a goat?" He said that I must go to school.)

Theme: Genealogy

1) This shaman has no family history of shamans. He arrived at his professional calling through his friend's father. (Then my friend Richard, his father was an *isangoma*, so I beat the drums for him.)

Theme: Training

1) The long training brings about the ability to enter trance states "automatically". (When you have been at school [training] for a long time it comes automatically).

2) The training begins every day with the act of *phalaza*. There are also certain food taboos, as certain foods are said to block the contact with the ancestors. (Ya, vomiting, you have to do that after three weeks or a month. You can't eat cold drinks, coffee, eggs, or rich food, because it blocks you [pointing at his head].)

3) During the initiation ceremony, which signals the end of the training, the *thwasa* is tested in that s/he has to find hidden objects whilst in a trance state. This shaman stated that he was unaware of how he found the hidden objects. (In some initiations you need to find things. [...] I don't know. I just find it.)

4) The song from the ancestors is an indication that the training of the *thwasa* has come to an end. (Ya, you must bring a song from your ancestors, it comes, it just comes.)

Theme: Induction Techniques

1) The method of making contact with the ancestors is to "let go". This can occur spontaneously, especially during the training, as only over time does the ability to let go improve. (Sometimes it just happens without warning. [...] As a student it just happens.)

2) The 'letting go' induction is evident during relaxation as well as during beading. (You yourself have to let go, and you will sit until you do. [...] Ya, exactly, when you bead at the same time there is something you do, your mind works. Beading, beading, it is part of school, part of the whole thing. When you sitting quietly beading, you are concentrate on beading, it gives you quiet time.)

3) It also occurs while dancing as well as when a scream is let out. Feelings of embarrassment need to be overcome. (In our school you sit, and once you let go you can dance. So the sooner you tell yourself to let go, the quicker it goes, otherwise you hold back. They will still come through, it is just the scaredness to lose control. [...] You must scream, yaa, and some they can't scream, and then you fall. [...] Ya, you feel stupid, everyone is watching, you are shy. [...] When you are worrying about other people you are not there yet.)

4) The end of the trance is signified by suddenly being off balance, being aware of time and space, as well as being able to remember things again. (You become quite unbalanced. You come out and you wonder what I have done, what I have said, what were my actions.)

Theme: Ancestor Contact

1) Trance implies the entry or embodiment of the ancestors into the shaman. It is the ancestors who are in control, and not the shaman. (Ya, it roots you with you your ancestors. Whatever you do is your ancestors, because the ancestors are in control.)

2) Ancestors can be called, but the actual contact and communication depends on the ancestors as they hold the power. (No, you just can't be with them. They come and they talk to you. [...] They are the people with power. If you try to go to them, they won't come to you.)

- 3) The relationship with the ancestors is the most central issue for the shaman. This shaman saw his ancestors once during his training "with their skirts and all". (That is IT [the relationship with the ancestors]. [...] I saw them with their skirts and all.)
- 4) The ancestors are able to give the shaman warnings about future events. ([...] and they come to you and warn you.)
- 5) This shaman usually hears his ancestors speak or else he gets a certain knowingness. (You've got to listen, whatever they talk to you. [...] Otherwise you just get a knowing.)
- 6) It is difficult to remember what transpired during the ancestral contact or trance state. Generally shamans are not able to remember the trance content, and if they do, the genuineness of their trance is questioned. (You can't remember nothing, anything. [...] is that they are not genuine *izangomas* because you really don't remember.)
- 7) Ancestors may allow memories of trance states to surface. (Sometimes the ancestors remind you that you did this, you did that, you were here, you were there.)
- 8) This shaman could not remember the first part of his training, and is only able to recall the training from the middle part onwards. (No, really, I don't remember anything. My teacher remember. [...] and three months later I went to school. They said I was crazy, some of them told me that I knocked people out. I saw myself wearing a skirt, and I said: "Hei, ei" [laughter].)
- 9) The lack of memory is explained by the fact that the ancestors, and not the shaman, are in control. (Whatever you do is your ancestors, because the ancestors are in control.)

Theme: Dancing

- 1) Dancing improves the shaman's health and allows her/him to communicate what the ancestors have said to the people present at the dance. (You've got to dance. If you feel that there is something wrong with you, or something is happening, and then you must get up and dance, and then you must talk to people and they talk to you. If there is something bad, then you feel, then they tell you.)

2) The shaman experiences a certain lightness and this is felt as being euphoric, hence dancing is enjoyed. (You feel light, and wonderful, that's why we like dancing.)

Theme: Song

1) The ancestors are said to give the shaman a special song that signifies the end of the training. (Ya, you must bring a song from your ancestors, it comes, it just comes.)

Theme: Dreaming

1) Dreams are deemed to be very important for the shaman, for they are used to diagnose and heal patients. (Ya, they are very important, if you don't believe in dreams you've got a problem. If you don't dream, you've got a problem. [...] Ya, because if you are a patient, and if you go home, I've got to think about you, dream about you.)

2) Lucid dreaming was reported by this shaman. (Yes, sometimes.)

Theme: OBE

1) OBEs do occur but the shaman is not trained specifically for them. (It happens, it really happens. And you can see things. [...] No, it comes naturally.)

Theme: Healing

1) During divination and healing this shaman enters into a trance and will therefore often forget how the 'bones' were interpreted. ([...] when he is healing or throwing the 'bones' I can see he goes into a different state.)

2) A patient is 'scanned' and the shaman feels the illness and pain within his own body. (You scan them. [...] you just feel it, I don't know how. Sometimes when someone has a headache or at the back, I can feel it on my back.)

Theme: Power of the Shaman

1) A good and powerful shaman is defined by the power of her/his ancestors as well as by the amount of effort the shaman puts into her/his work. (You know what makes a good *isangoma*, it's your ancestors. They make you a good *isangoma*. You also got to want to be good as well.)

Themes from Interview 2:

Shaman: Julia Raseboya (Sotho)

Age: 35 years

In Practice: 9 years

Training: Soweto, 8 months

Theme: Calling

1) The calling began with a severe illness that had no cure, neither allopathic nor shamanic. The only form of healing was to become a shaman, which was finally accepted. (Even the *izangomas* couldn't help me with the *mutis*, they say they don't have that kind of *muti*, I must do that kind of work. And then I accepted it.)

2) The shaman's ancestors sent her to find a specific shamanic teacher. (My forefathers sent me to her just to get help for her to teach me these things.)

Theme: Genealogy

1) This shaman comes from a family of healers. However, none of them used dancing or divination. (Interviewer: Julia, have there been *izangomas* in your family?

Julia: Yes, but not like me, but they were more like witchdoctors, they didn't do the dancing like we are doing, and we throw the 'bones', they didn't do the *savuma*, *savuma*.)

Theme: Training

1) At the beginning of her training, this shaman dreamt of her deceased "grandfathers". They contributed fundamentally as teachers in that they helped her with the location and preparation of herbs and their medicinal mixtures (*muti*), and how these apply to specific illnesses. ([...] while sleeping I dreamt my grandfathers, they came to me and they taught me, what *mutis*. [...]) and immediately you must go outside in them veldt and dig it up [...] whatever, I must take what and mix with what when someone is ill).

2) With the help of her ancestors in her dreams, this shaman was able to be initiated after eight months when she completed her initiation test of finding hidden objects. (I dreamt my grandfathers, they come to me and they taught me. [...] I kept on doing that [dreaming] until my eight month, and then now I know everything now, I can finish my *thwasa*. Then I get everything there, well-trained, my medicines, they put something away, hid them away, I must get those things, and I passed everything.)

3) In order to find the hidden objects during her initiation the shaman uses *snuff*, prays to the ancestors, and then experiences a voice which that tells the shaman where the object is to be found. The procedure is to first communicate to the people watching where the object is, and if this is incorrect, the shaman must then once again listen to the voice within until the correct hiding place is found. Only then is the object allowed to be retrieved by the shaman. ([...] like someone talking to you, and you must tell them that they hid something in which corner. And then you tell them, you can't just go to that corner, you must tell them first.)

4) During the training, husbands and wives of the shamans are instructed not to touch the shaman's body during the night, i.e. to restrain from any sexual contact because the apprentice might be in contact with the ancestors during this time. (I don't need him to touch me, because those people are still talking to me very early in the morning. [...]) like when he has sex with you and in the beginning they must be patient, and especially when training, the people are still talking to you.)

5) In the morning, the shaman's teacher interprets the *thwasa's* dreams after which the instructions of the dreams are followed. These may include finding certain herbs,

mixing *mulis*, or wearing certain beads around the wrist. ([...] during the night, I must tell them what they say. If they need me to put something on my wrist I must tell her.)

6) Ancestral contact during the training occurs slowly, and feelings are difficult to control. Only later does a shaman learn to control the ancestral contact more. It was while dreaming that this shaman experienced most of her ancestral and where consequently most of her shamanic training took place. (I kept on doing that [dreaming] until my eighth month, and then now I know everything, now, I can finish my *thwasa*.)

Theme: Induction Techniques

1) *Snuff* has a mind-altering effect. (Julia: The snuff is going very well. Interviewer: Snuff does something to your mind? Julia: Ya. [...])

2) Burning *imphepho*, a herb, creates a feeling like that of alcoholic intoxication. It facilitates divining as well as contact with the ancestors. (The mind changes and it feels like liquor. You are not drunk, and like also reading the 'bones'.)

3) The body is kept still and relaxed in order to induce a trance state. It is different during dancing. (It is still and I just relax. [...]) It changes the time when we go dancing with the *izangomas*.)

Theme: Ancestor Contact

1) In order to contact the ancestors, two white chickens are slaughtered at a special place (*indumba*) which faces east. The shaman then kneels down, places an *isangoma* cloth over her head, puts water in her mouth and spits it out, after which she calls her ancestors by their name while clapping her hands and saying "*thokhosa*". ([...] and whenever my ancestors, they do things, they help me, then to thank them I slaughter two chickens, white ones, [...] I can take water, and I go to the corner wherever I am talking to them [...]. I must go to the east. [...] I must take the water and I kneel down, and take that cloth of mine over me and then I put the water in my mouth, spit it out, and then I talk, you my grandfathers, what, whatever, I call

them by their names [clapping] saying "*thokhosa*".)

2) *Snuff* is put on the ground to signify the presence of, or call for the ancestors. (I do put it down there, like when talking to my forefathers.)

3) A strong belief is expressed that the ancestors will hear the shaman. Positive changes in her life, such as a promotion at work, are attributed to the protective and supportive influences of the ancestors. (I've got that belief that they hear me. I never looked for the office work, and then they train me, the computers, even now I haven't been there a year and they promote me. I think that is my grandfathers.)

4) As the ancestors begin to be contacted, a strong feeling of fear is experienced. This is overcome by the use of specific *mutis*. *Mutis* also help make contact, and the act of *phalaza*, which opens up the chest and purifies the shaman, further supports the ancestral contact during divination. The use of *muti* over time helps the shaman to hear voices of the ancestors. (Ya, the first time you have fear, you don't know what they will do to you. As long as you take *muti* you will change. [...] Every morning they give you *muti* to drink, you vomit. [...] After that, it helps you open up the chest. My chest must be clean all the time. [...] It must be clean, when you are dirty, you are not going to see the 'bones' is open. [...] So when you started training your voices were not so clear. Then with *muti* and cleaning up of the chest, the voices became better and better.)

5) The shaman is required to stay calm, the aim being to keep the mind free of distraction. Patience is needed in order to achieve contact with the ancestors, for they are able to upset the shaman. (You must not be upset and you must be patient when they try to upset you. You must stay calm).

6) It is essential to focus the mind and to concentrate, especially during divination. ([...] you must concentrate, and know what, like the 'bones', you must know each 'bone', if it falls like this [...]. Your mind must be calm and not thinking of other things.).

7) Through letting the mind go while dancing, ecstatic feelings which allow the shaman to pick out those who are ill. (Interviewer: Do you let go of your mind? Julia: Ya, immediately you start dancing, and you can pick out who is sick, and they

come, and you can start talking now what is wrong, like this, like this, like this.)

Theme: Healing

- 1) When coming to see a shaman, the patient is required to remain silent while the shaman diagnoses the patient's illness through feeling the pain in the shaman's body. The location of the sympathetic pain is very specific. ([...] when you come to my place, and you have a problem with your stomach or your feet. Immediately when you come through my gate my body will change.)
- 2) Sometimes a specific type headache may function as a sign for the shaman that a patient is waiting for her at home. (When you come to my place, and you have a problem with your stomach or your feet, immediately when you come through my gate my body will change.)
- 3) Dancing has a healing and strengthening effect on the shaman's body. (If my feet were swollen, then my feet tomorrow will be okay.)

Theme: Drumming

- 1) The drumming begins to be experienced as a "knocking" that affects the head. This signifies an altered state of mind in which the shaman can identify ill people in the audience. The shaman has no memory later of what she said to whom. (There is something knocking in your head, and then you will change, and then you start talking to the people.)
- 2) The drums are an important induction technique, in that a certain state of mind, somewhat like an alcohol intoxication, is achieved. (That time when the drums are coming, it hits you as you dance. It is like the liquors, your head is changing because of the drums.)

Theme: Dancing

- 1) Dancing has a healing and strengthening effect on the shaman's body. While dancing the shaman experiences a letting go of the mind, and "good feelings" of joy or ecstasy arise. These feelings are a normal "madness" in which a sense of well-

being is achieved. ([...] you can dance the whole night and tomorrow you won't feel sore and tired. [...]) Like I can say like a madness who doesn't know what he is doing, but you know that you are normal, because at that moment you are feeling driven to do it. [...] It is a good feeling. [...] Yes. Joy, and tomorrow I feel much better.)

2) While dancing can occur sporadically, it always takes place during the training of *thwasas* as well as during initiation ceremonies. Dancing is not specifically taught but is learnt through copying or modelling. (Interviewer: Do you teach them how to dance? Julia: No, mostly actually, because if you teach them they all do it the same way).

Theme: Song

1) A special song may be transmitted to the shaman by the ancestors through a dream. This does not happen with every shaman. (It came by a dream, because for me mostly things come by dreams. [...] No, not all of us have it.)

Theme: Divination

1) The act of *phalaza* purifies the shaman, and opens the shaman's chest, thereby enhancing the skill of divination. *Snuff* is also used as an inductive tool for divination. (Every morning they give you muti to drink, you vomit. [...] After that, it helps you open up the chest. My chest must be clean all the time. [...] It must be clean, when you are dirty, you are not going to see the 'bones' is open. [...] Whenever also when I throw my 'bones' [...] and then I take some *snuff* and put some *snuff* on.)

2) The shaman needs to concentrate during divination. ([...] you must concentrate, and know what, like the 'bones', you must know each 'bone', if it falls on like this, and if it changes like this it says something.)

3) The shaman hears the voices of the ancestors during divination. The presence of the ancestors is most powerfully felt during divination while performing the ritual of "*savuma*", i.e. when the patient agrees with the reading of the 'bones'. ([...] when I throw them down and say *savuma savuma*, then the voice comes to me.)

Theme: Dreaming

1) This shaman's ancestors were her most significant teachers. They taught her almost everything while she was in a her dream state, appearing with specific instructions regarding herbs and healing practices. ([...] I dreamt my grandfathers, they came to me and they taught me, what mutis, whatever, I must take what and mix what when someone is sick.)

2) Her shamanic teacher would interpret the dreams every morning whereupon the instructions given in the dreams, such as wearing certain coloured beads around the wrist, would be heeded. ([...] and whenever during the night, I must tell her what they say. If they need me to put something on my wrist I must tell her, she must do it.)

3) *Snuff* and *muti* are used to encourage the remembering of dreams. *Snuff* is also used to continue a dream sequence. (You give them that *muti*, and to clean themselves, the chest, and when they sleep at night, I teach them to take the *snuff*, they must not forget the *snuff*. [...]) I must take the *snuff* next to me. Then I must throw it down, then that dream will come back, and then they will finish whatever they wanted to talk to me about.)

4) *Thwasas* sleep on the ground because a bed is believed to disturb the dreaming process. (Ya, they dream better on the floor. The bed is not always the same, it makes noises.)

5) While in a dream state, the *thwasa* is expected to interact lucidly with the ancestors in order to get specific information from them, such as clarifying, through questions, the identity of the ancestors, their desires and their instructions. (Ya, in the dream, when he wants him to go far, you can't just say yes, you must ask how am I going to get there. [...]) and then they must talk to those people, and then the grandfather is talking to you must answer him. That person must not just let him talk and he doesn't answer back.)

6) The best time to dream as well as to contact the ancestors are the early hours of morning, when the shaman is most relaxed. (Ya, especially in the morning before you wake up. [...]) That is the right time. Now you are relaxed and they can talk to

you.)

7) Some dreams are dreams of the future. (Ya, and some they help those that play the horses, and they see the numbers. I never had numbers, but they say that I will be promoted that I will have a nice job, they will promote me, I do see this before it happens.)

Theme: Vision Quest

1) A shaman might be instructed by the ancestors in a dream to complete a vision quest. The location is provided in a dream, e.g. mountains or caves. The shaman embarks on this quest without fear. S/he is in a trance state and don't eat or wash. The *thwasas* simply vanish for a while. (...) you don't even fear that anything can happen to you, that you can go there and sit by yourself. Some will go to the mountains and stay in the, hm, caves. They sit, they don't even fear snakes will come, your mind is out now, (...))

Theme: OBE

1) No classical signs of OBEs were reported. However, with the help of the ancestors this shaman experiences mind travel or bilocation. (Ya. when I am in my room I go somewhere else, I have that in my mind, and then they send me there, and they can send you to places you don't know).

Theme: Witches

1) A shaman must be able to sense the presence of, and effectively deal with, the effects of negative witchcraft, which in this shaman's understanding is the result of jealousy. Witches are considered to be dangerous. (...) we believe in witches. Like you are working hard and there are some who are jealous, and they go to *izangomas* and they do bad things to others, and someone can kill you by taking your footprints make *muti* and you can die.)

Theme: Cultural Differences

1) During divination, and especially during dancing, cultural differences emerge. For example the Shangaan sing and speak slowly, while the Zulu and the Xhosa speak rapidly. The Venda roll their heads. (The Shangaan speak slowly, and the Xhosa and the Zulus are nearly the same, they speak fast, even during dancing [...]. The Shangaan are slow and quiet.)

Themes from Interview 3

Shaman: Obed Mndaweni (Zulu)

Chairperson of the Gauteng Traditional Healers Association

Age: 56 years

In Practice: 20 years

Training: Bushbuckridge, 2 years

Theme: Calling

1) This shaman had the initiation illness [*ukuthwasa*]. (I didn't decide, but I was sick [laughter]. [...] In fact it started with bad headache and my feet started burning, even today, it went on in 1968 [...]. I had a big body, but I was thin then. I think I was nearly mentally disturbed.) Other difficulties, such as work and relationship problems, were also involved. (I had trouble with my wife. I was trying, naturally, with my two taxies.)

2) Faith healers and other shamans diagnosed his problems as being related to the initiation illness, and dreams about the ancestors confirmed this. (And then I dreamt about it of course. [...] I could see the old ones, teaching medicines, and wearing old skins, and I could see a deep hole with water inside).

3) His shamanic teacher was found through dream guidance. (Well, I dreamt about my teacher. I saw my teacher in my dreams. When I dream him, I could see a goat, [...] he was the person who will teach me how to talk to my ancestors.)

Theme: Genealogy

1) Being a shaman runs in the family, for his father was a herbalist, as well as a shaman, and his grandfather was a shaman. (My father was an *isangoma* or *inyanga*, and ah he died in 1972. My grandfather was an *isangoma*, and I took over from my grandfather.)

Theme: Training

1) The training consists of dancing, singing and graduation, which, in his case, occurred after nearly two years. (Yes, I sang like that, and they were happy about that. They were happy of course, and then it took me one year and ten months before I could graduate.)

2) He had to buy a "uniform", then take *muti*, and then the ancestors began to emerge. (When I got there, they gave me some *muti*. I took it one day, one week, then, and then the *amadlozi* [ancestors] came out.)

3) During the training the ancestors reveal to the *thwasa* his or her shamanic name. (That's right, that is my *thwasa* name. It was in the evening of course, and in the dance, I sprung up, and I sang.)

4) The ancestors help the apprentice to find hidden objects. (They [ancestors] show me things. Something tells you that, something tells you it is outside, find these things, when you are in the mood of course.)

Theme: Ancestor Contact

1) For the shaman the experience of the ancestor contact is as if he were "asleep" or "dizzy". ([The ancestors] came out of me and spoke. I was asleep or dizzy or whatever.)

2) In the beginning the voice of the ancestors is that of a "baby". (And then it came out and spoke like a small child, it started coming out and speaking like a baby.)

3) The "mind changes" during the communication with the ancestors. (A person is sometimes semi-conscious, and when you are in the mood, you are sub-conscious and you are conscious.)

- 4) The ancestors are able to "push" themselves into the shaman, who at that point forgets everything in the world. The body starts shaking and, he feels "half-dizzy" and "dazed" before the ancestors emerge and speak. The shaman experiences himself as absent and out of control, and he cannot remember what happened. (Ah, well, you cannot hear somebody, because I'm just gone.)
- 5) With age and experience, the shaman achieves more control over this mental state. Control is considered to be necessary and is achieved through either stating to the ancestors that he does not wish the contact or by distracting himself, but it is not an easy process. (In training, it happens anytime because you cannot control it, but now when you grow older you can control it. If it happens you just say no, get up and walk away.)
- 6) The shaman sees the ancestors in his dreams, but generally the ancestors are heard as voices from within. ([...] you hear sounds [...]) well, you ask them in the mind what you want to know.)
- 7) The shaman interacts with the ancestors by asking for advice regarding a healing process with a patient. Ancestors might answer straight away or during dreams. (And I ask them what will help [...] they do answer them, but even in your sleep they answer.)
- 8) The ritual of ancestral contact is described in the following manner: The shaman calls the ancestor at the *indumba*, a shrine in the corner of a room. At this corner the walls are covered by *isangoma* cloths, and on the floor or on the table shamanic tools (stick and a tin, and everything to do with being a *isangoma*) and incense are to be found. A stick, spear or shield can be present if the ancestor was a warrior. The shrine is where gifts are offered to the ancestors, and where the shaman talks or prays to them. It is here where the shaman takes off his shoes, kneels down and becomes silent, and then opens himself up to the ancestral contact. ([...] with my legs crossed, and then I go quiet and my mind changes.)
- 9) This shaman experiences a burning sensation in the chest as he makes contact with the ancestors. (You see they just come, it is also because we are talking about them. Ah, my chest is burning.)

10) Ancestors are supportive, for they help find hidden or lost objects. This is experienced as the shaman first having to enter into a "mood", after which the object is found. The finding of the object is supported by a voice, but again only when in the right "mood".

Theme: Dancing & Drumming

1) Drumming, as well as dancing, help the ancestors to "come out". During the dancing the body shakes. Dancing changes or alters feelings and the mind, and helps the mind enter the "mood". During the dancing the body shakes. (Ya, when you are drumming, the ancestors will come out, so if you are drumming you can let them out by dancing. [...] Dancing helps, it helps the emotions, the shaking. Interviewer: It helps the feelings, ah, does it also change things in the mind? Obed: Yes it does.)

Theme: Divination

1) A "semi-trance" state is achieved and the "shapes" of the 'bones' in the way they fall is interpreted. The ancestors are asked to be present and supportive before the throwing of the 'bones'. The bible can also be used with the guidance of the ancestors to pick out the meaning for the patient. (Well, you read the 'bones', you see the shapes when they fall, and you go into a semi-trance. And before you throw the 'bones', you talk to the ancestors, and you ask them. Even the bible, any bible, your ancestors help you, they give you the spirit to understand and feel what the bible says.)

Theme: Dreaming

1) While dreaming, ancestors answer specific questions concerning patients. (They [ancestors] do answer them, but even in your sleep they answer.)

Ancestors may give instructions in the dream. The *thwasa* needs to dream the answer as to where things are hidden, especially the goat which is to be slaughtered for the graduation ceremony. This is part of a test. (Well, if you are asleep, you dream of course, and when you are dreaming they will tell you to go to Germiston, you will

find something there [...]. For instance, when you are a *thwasa*, they buy you a goat or a cow, and you don't know the colour, whether it is female or male, and then you got to visualise, you got to have a vision, that will show you that the goat is in the third street, because you haven't seen it, they are hiding it.)

2) *Mutis* or medicines are used to support this form of dreaming. (Of course, it takes training, because you have to eat some medicines, it stimulates you.)

3) Lucid dreaming states are achieved. (Yes, you should be aware you are dreaming.)

Theme: OBE

1) The shaman agreed that he had left his body and travelled in his mind. The example given, was that through a dream he would know information about a person in another city that he could not have known. Ancestors are considered to be the information source for mind travel as well as for future events. (Left my body, yes it happens, of course. Ya, I mean, for instance you dream you are in Natal or in the Cape for instance when you are here. Things happen in Cape Town, and then they ask you to go to Cape Town, like I told you, to show you, if you get to somebody when you don't know anybody there. For instance, Cape Town, they show me Ingo that he will be at the medical centre at the doorstep. When I come here, and I say "Hallo Ingo", and you will wonder how I know. They tell you all the problems and fortunes.)

Theme: Power of the Shaman

1) The ancestors determine the power of a shaman, and no amount of training will change this factor. This is shown through divination. (No, no, you can't get more powerful ancestors, but you can help someone who is down there and bring him up. [...] You can't be all the same, like you are not the same like the doctors.)

Themes from Interview 4

Shaman: Paulina Mot'eana (Sotho)

Age: 35 years

In Practice: 17 years

Training: Natal, 2 years

Theme: Calling

- 1) This shaman became very ill. Doctors and *izangomas* were unable to heal her. (I was very sick. [...] They couldn't help me [...].)
- 2) During her illness she experienced unusual physical sensations. Something moves in her body, and when it reaches the shoulders she falls down. (It seems that something is moving up and down in my body When it comes here [shoulders], it holds, and sometimes I just fall down.)
- 3) During this illness, this shaman saw her grandmother or ancestor in her dreams. (Even if I am sleeping, I saw my ancestors, my mother, my granny, they show me the 'bones', and they tell me.)
- 4) She was a Jehovah's Witness, and she resisted the call of her ancestor, who also showed her divination 'bones'. (I was one of the Watchtower Jehovah's Witnesses, I was attending their church, then they showed me a bible. "Do you think this is going to help you?" I said: "Yes". They said: "Never". They showed me 'bones'.)
- 5) During her illness, she was very aggressive, and at one point was unconscious for three days. (You know I was sick, I was fighting with everyone. [...], they told me I was dead for three days. [...] Yes, I was sleeping deep, they called the ambulance and they said no after they felt my pulse. They said I was unconscious.)
- 6) A shaman's diagnosis of her illness was that she had the "powers of the ancestors", which is a sign of calling. (Then my brother give me ten rand you see, that I must go see African doctors, I was mad. [...] Hmm, and the *isangoma* says: "You've got the powers of the ancestors".)
- 7) Due to the illness she was in hospital. Her ancestor stated that she was not ill, and she was discharged by the doctor. (I was sick, I tell you, I couldn't even walk to the

toilet. When I arrived at the hospital, I hit the doctor (laughter). They gave me the injection to sleep. Yes, I did sleep, and in the evening my granny came to me and said: "What's wrong?" I explain, I'm sick. She said: "No, you're not sick." Then I say to her: "Tell that doctor to come and discharge me, I'm not sick." Then, just then the doctor came in, and looked, and said: "Paulina, there is nothing wrong with you." Then I was discharged.)

8) A goat was slaughtered to appease the ancestors now that she had accepted the calling. She sought out her teacher whom she had dreamt of. When she finally arrived in Natal, a goat was slaughtered thereby appeasing the ancestors for she was now in training. (Then they slaughter a goat, praying for the ancestors that they will take care for me, and then they said she can go. You know, in Natal there, the ancestors showed me the way. I saw my teacher sleeping. [...] Then I dreamt my teacher. When I arrived there they slaughtered the goat and prayed for my ancestors, saying: "She is here, don't fight with her."

Theme: Genealogy

1) Her deceased grandmother was an *isangoma*. ([...], and then she said: "I'm your granny. I said: "My granny, houw. She said: "My dear, I haven chosen you, somebody who can take my reign". She was also an *isangoma*.)

Theme: Training

1) During her training, this shaman had to drink specific medicinal herbs or *muti*, and practice finding hidden things with the help of the ancestors. (Every morning and afternoon they make us drink *muti*, and then they, every day in the morning and afternoon, they would hide things for us. We must say where that thing is.)

2) A feeling of fear emerges after which the ancestors are called upon to solve the task of finding things. This requires concentration and attention. (And you become scared, and the attention comes, you pray and call them [...].)

3) Part of the training includes training the ancestors both to talk through the shaman as well as to find hidden objects. (They teach you, but you think they teach Paulina,

no they teach your *amadlozi* [ancestors] how to communicate, how to find things, how to talk, how to think, how to do something.)

4) Precognition was taught by her ancestors and not by her shamanic teacher. (My ancestors come and show me [future events].)

5) The training helps the shaman to achieve more control over the effects of ancestral contact. (If you are already trained you can control your ancestors. If you feel that they are coming, you can step outside, or walk around.)

Theme: Ancestor Contact

1) The ancestor contact is heard, felt and experienced in the body. (You know when the ancestors come, you can hear, you can feel, because something is going to happen 2) Once the contact with the ancestors has been established, the shaman stares in front of her, oblivious to her environment. (I've got this thing, when the ancestors come, and I'm with you, I will change automatically. I will just do like this [stares ahead of her in a blank manner]. Even if you say: Paulina, no, I will not even hear you.)

3) The shaman is unable to remember the content of the ancestor contact, and therefore the shaman requires the presence of others to hear the message of the ancestors. (No [cannot remember content of the ancestor contact]. Somebody, you know how the ancestors are? They don't just come out when you alone, they want somebody to hear what they want.)

4) Ancestors emerge without permission and usually appear when others are present to hear their message. (They can come out right now, they don't ask for permission. [...] You know, sometimes they are very clever becuse they come when others are there so that you can hear the stories.)

5) During the ancestor contact the shaman concentrates, but after the ancestor contact the shaman feels exhausted. (While you are talking, no, you concentrate, but afterwards you feel tired. Even before that you feel tired and you know that something is coming.)

6) Ancestor contact can be painful, especially shortly before the visions occur, and

then mainly in the stomach and liver area. (Then they will say what they want. Now, in here when you with the prophecies you will feel pain [points to her stomach and then to her liver area].)

7) This shaman is also a faith healer, and uses the bible and prayer (Our father [...]) then the visions come straight away) to achieve a visionary state, thereby receiving information from the ancestors which she can use (You see, you know, you open it, and I can tell you the problems.)

8) Furthermore, the ancestor contact can occur through two different professions, namely that of the faith healer and the shaman. These different roles are not understood as being in opposition to each other, but rather as complementary. (Like this bible, I'm the only one who touches it because it is blessed by my ancestors.)

9) The ancestors are considered to have immense powers, for besides giving information to the shaman, they are able to physically transport her to another place. (Yes, you know they can take me here and throw me in the yard, and you won't even see those people, but that power it can throw me out.)

10) It is not possible to simply call upon the ancestors, for the mind needs to be "quiet" and the shaman must defocus from herself (You must keep quiet and forget about yourself). There is a sense of an absence of personality. (Ya, and I forget I'm Paulina now).

11) This shaman has visual and auditory contact with her ancestors, and she actively interacts with them. (Yes, yes, I see them [...] like I can speak to them mouth to mouth, and they can reply immediately).

12) A certain change in or absence of mind occurs, or is induced, when *snuff* is taken or *imphepho* is burned. ([...] when I take *snuff* and *imphepho*, I become, my mind is not here.)

13) *Muti* is whipped into white foam and is drunk every night, especially as a *thwasa*, in order to support good ancestral contact. ([...], you know that *muti*, that white stuff, yes it is also good. [...]) It is there for the sick and those who want their *amadlozi* to come out.)

14) Two forms of ancestor contact exist for this shaman, i.e. she experiences the

ancestors as both within and without her. During the *amadlozi* contact the shaman has no memory of the ancestral contact, whilst during the *amakhosi* contact, the shaman interacts consciously with the ancestors. The *amadlozi* contact is described as occurring when the ancestors are within the shaman, i.e. being embodied within the shaman. (When you are in *amadlozi*, you see, you must understand. When you are in *amadlozi*, you don't hear, or even see the ancestors, because this ancestor is holding you, the body is moving, you are talking, you are, you don't feel yourself.)

15) The *amakhosi* contact is evident during divination when the ancestor contact occurs in the head, and is interactive in nature. Ancestor contact during dreams lies between the *amadlozi* and *amakhosi* forms of contact. (So sometimes I going into *amakhosi*. [...] Ah, the ancestors, like I can speak to them mouth to mouth, and they can reply immediately. [...] That is when the spirit is in you, and the *amakhosi* is when the ancestors are out. [...] You know when you throw the 'bones' and I'm using my head then it is *amakhosi*. That is different because you get an answer. I dreams the ancestors are both in and out.)

16) When the ancestor contact has been established, the personality of the shaman is eclipsed by the personality of the ancestor. After the contact the shaman feels exhausted. (Like myself here, I've got an ancestor for a man. When that ancestor comes out, you won't hear Paulina speaking. You will hear a voice of a different somebody. [...] but afterwards you feel tired.)

17) The body is experienced as shaking and at the same time there is a feeling of energy moving firstly up and down the legs, and then up to the shoulders and chest. In the chest the energy is experienced as a ball. The shaman then feels like yawning. (You are shaking, you feel something moving from your legs up and down. Up and down, and when it comes to the shoulders, it starts shaking, ya. The chest you feel you have a ball, and you feel like yawning.)

18) With the help of the ancestors, this shaman can reveal the future. At times this shaman does not even need to use divination, and simply through concentration is able to see the future. (Yes, and I don't need the 'bones' for that. [...] I answered it, you know to pay attention and to concentrate, and to believe, that is very important,

that a true thing is going to come.)

19) The ritual of ancestor contact includes the slaughtering of a goat, the burning of its meat, as well as having available maize flower and oil. During this ritual the ancestors are asked "to help you to become what you want to be". (Then you do the burnings of the goat, *mielie meel* and oil. Before I slaughter the goat, I put it here, even in the house. I put on my things, take my *snuff*, and talk to my ancestors with the goat [starts clapping]. [...] I am going to ask my ancestors to help you to become what you want to be.)

Theme: Induction Techniques

- 1) *Snuff* is taken and *imphepho* is burned in order to shift the mind. ([...] like myself, when I take *snuff* and *imphepho*, I become, my mind is not here.)
- 2) The mind needs to be quietened and a defocus from self is achieved in order to allow ancestral contact to occur. (You must keep quiet and forget about yourself).
- 3) *Imphepho* is used against bad spirits and supports the concentration skills during divination. (*Imphepho* helps you concentrate, and makes you listen, you see when I was throwing your 'bones', I lit it for my ancestors)

Theme: Dancing

- 1) The shaman, whilst dancing, takes on the personality of the ancestor that is coming through. The shaman will dance for a long period until the ancestor withdraws from the shaman. (You dance, Paulina dances, but at some stage you can see that it is not Paulina dancing, something is there, that is going on for a long time[...].)
- 2) According to this shaman, dancing is not an essential part of shamanism in South Africa. It is more a part of the specific culture that a shaman participates in, especially where special movements are involved. ([...] you can become an *isangoma*, but you don't have to dance. It is traditional [...].)
- 3) During dancing, a burning and dizzy sensation is experienced in the head. The body then begins to shake and the shaman's sense of self retreats. As the shaman lets

go of the self, she may fall back physically. An important step is to keep quiet in the beginning. ([...] my head is burning and dizzy, it is not me who is answering now, my ancestors are helping to talk. [...] When you keep quiet and listening to the drum, sometimes the *amadlozi* will make you shake and you will fall back.) Even in church as a faith healer, this shaman can induce trance through clapping [...] singing. ([...] my head is burning and dizzy. [...] When you keep quiet and listening to the drum, sometimes the *amadlozi* will make you shake and you fall back.)

Theme: Song

1) Every shaman has a special, ancestrally transferred song. This song in itself is able to induce trance states as well as strong feelings, and becomes a strong motivation for the spirit. Receiving the song from the ancestors is an indication that the training of the shaman is complete. ([...] like myself, I've got a song [...] if they can sing this song, sometimes I just think, sometimes I cry, just tears. for it reminds me of like I am, all them problems I had when I became an *isangoma*.)

Theme: Divination

- 1) *Imphepho* is burned for the ancestors as well as to help the shaman's concentration abilities during divination. (*Imphepho* helps you to concentrate, and makes you listen, you see when I was throwing your 'bones', I lit it for my ancestors).
- 2) Visions occur when this shaman, as a faith healer, uses the bible and prayer as divinatory tools. (Sometimes when I pray and take the bible and as I say: Our father [...] then the visions come straight away.)
- 3) At times this shaman does not even need to use divination 'bones'. (Yes, and I don't need the 'bones' for that.)
- 4) By concentrating her mind, she is able to see the future without divination 'bones'. (I answered it, you know to pay attention and to concentrate, and to believe, that is very important, that a true thing is going to come.)

Theme: Dreaming

- 1) This shaman has "straight dreams", meaning that the manifest content of the dream is predictive of future events. (Very important, like myself, I dream a straight dream. [...] Sometimes I ... I can see that tomorrow morning a lady with this and this illness will come tomorrow and it will happen like that exactly.)
- 2) This shaman will sometimes dream of a patient with a particular illness arriving the next day. This patient would then appear the next day, exactly as she had dreamt. (I can see that tomorrow morning a lady with this and this illness will come tomorrow and it will happen like that exactly.)
- 3) Ancestors make contact during dreams. It therefore important for the shaman to remember her dreams. Remembering dreams is part of the training to be a shaman. (Yes, but there I won't forget, because I'm trained not to forget.)
- 4) The shaman acknowledged that she was aware of being conscious in a dream, she is therefore able to be lucid in her dreams. She uses the ancestor contact in dreams for pre-cognition. (You know I was just relaxing, when I look at the pillow, I started yawning, my body shaking, I know it is the *amadlozi*. When I look at the other side, I see a snake, a head of a snake. I knew what was happening, but I was not ready for that, and I ran out [laughs].)

Theme: OBE

- 1) The shaman responded positively to the description of classical signs of OBEs, and related it to her underwater experience. (You know yesterday I cried, I remembered I saw myself sleeping in the morning, and then I was wet. My whole family couldn't understand, it was a miracle. I saw myself in an ocean, inside an ocean. I have been inside the ocean, moving. My surname is Mokoena and it means crocodile. I was holding the tail of the crocodile, moving in the water, and the water was blue, and on that day, my sister was telling the people who came to see me, no they must go because I'm sick, the ancestors ... you know, they didn't know what happened.)

Theme: Underwater Experience

1) This shaman experienced an event underwater during her training. Her teacher suggested that she have this experience given that she was so ill. (You know I was really sick, and she said I must go underwater, and I was scared. She said: No, you mustn't be scared, talk to your ancestors.)

2) She was placed next to the river and then felt herself being transported underwater where she made contact with her deceased grandmother. (You know the Umkumasi river in Nelspruit, yeah, it was where I was put, there are falls, I was sitting there. They wanted me to the powers of my body, wanted me to sit there. I went there, you know it was horrible, when I look at the Umkumasi river, uuh. But I prayed. I was singing, singing, but I didn't know what happened. I heard they said afterwards, you know your back was like a crocodile and then I was not there. Yes there I met my granny. We were talking, not inside the sea, but inside the sea [...] she give me something to drink, water, then this African pots were there.)

3) Her ancestor supported her in that she was continuing the family tradition of becoming a shaman. (She said: My dear, I have chosen you somebody who can take my reign. She was also an *isangoma*. She said I was the best.)

4) When she returned home she was told that she had vanished, but on her return she was not wet. (When I came back I wasn't even wet.)

5) The consequence of this experience were that she was very ill for one week, but her teacher felt confident of the healing properties of this event. (Yes, [...] the whole week I was sick, I was sleeping, and my teacher said I was going to be all right.)

6) A related event occurred before her apprenticeship, when her ancestors are believed to have teleported her out of her room to the gate of the property. When she tried to enter the house she found the door locked (Yes, before I went to *thwasa*. When I was sleeping, then I saw myself at the gate. I was myself at the gate and the door was locked, I shouted: Hey, man let me in, and they said: Hei, man, no there is a *thokoloshe* outside. They didn't believe it.)

Theme: Totem animal

1) She stated that this animal becomes her protector during visions and dreams. (My surname is Mokoena and it means crocodile. I was holding the tail of a crocodile, moving in the water, and the water was blue [...].)

Theme: Relationship amongst shamans

1) Jealousy is a major issue amongst *izangomas*, according to this shaman. This is understood as being based on both a fear of losing status as well as of losing patients to a better shaman. (It is like this, as I told you I cured someone, a lady that has got AIDS, and remember I told you she got better. Tshu, if I go to another *isangoma*, and ask how we can mix something to cure, he won't like it, because he wants the person to come to her, it is not like the doctors at Baragwanath [hospital].)

2) Divination and information about ancestors can be shared, yet information about medicinal herbs or *muti* is not shared with others. (Yes, the spirits we can share. *Muti* is important for cure. Like I can teach you the 'bones', you won't take away the 'bones' from me, you can't take my ancestors away from me, that is why we can talk about it and share knowledge.)

Theme: Power of the shaman

1) The ancestors determine the power of the shaman, and the tools of the shaman are strengthened by the slaughtering of a goat. There is a belief in one God. (If you want your *isangoma* things to be strong, you must slaughter a goat. [...] We believe in one God. God is there.)

2) It is necessary to respect the ancestors for it is not the shaman who heals, but rather the ancestors and God. The shaman transmits the healing powers of the ancestors and God. (Your ancestors, you must respect them, believe them. You are not curing, no they are. Even ask God to give you power to do that.)

Themes of Interview 5

Shaman: Caroline Mukatshelwa (Sotho)

Age: 52 years

In Practice: 24 years

Training: Louis Trichard, 18 months

Theme: Calling

- 1) Since her birth, this shaman has been prone to illness. At a young age she would dream of divination 'bones', and play games that resembled divination. (Then my mother said I used to take the bones and stones and throw them on the floor. I was like that since I was little. So my mother agreed when I became an *isangoma*.)
- 2) During her adulthood, this shaman became seriously ill, which included vomiting blood. At this time she also dreamt of goats and *isangoma* cloths. After accepting the shaman's path, she was healed. (And since I *thwasa*, I have it no more.)
- 3) The shaman found her teacher by seeing her in her dreams and hearing her speak a language she could not recognise, namely Tsonga or Shangaan. She herself began speaking Shangaan or Tsonga in her sleep, while she is a Sotho. The shamanic teacher turned out to be a Tsonga. (I dreamt the lady talking Shangaan, and in my dream, my husband say I was talking Sh. ngaan. Then I dream the lady, and then my husband find a friend, and he take me to the lady.)

Theme: Genealogy

- 1) A shaman often comes from a family line of shamans, and the death of a shaman can mean that this shaman becomes an ancestor to another family member in the following generation. (If someone got the spirit, it might be someone when there was an *isangoma* in your family.)
- 2) It is possible to have ancestors from outside the family line, but this is understood as being the result of some past connection with the shaman. (Also a friend, when you have a good friend and he is an *isangoma*, and you close, and he dies, then you can get the spirit from him. Like now the other spirit I've got is not of our nation,

from Rhodesia [Zimbabwe]. When you ask the big *izangomas* how I can have this Rhodesian spirit they will say, maybe long, long time ago, the Rhodesian man crossed the border and came to your mother's hut, and they feed him, and he stay with her, they bury him, and the spirit will come to one of the family.)

Theme: Training

- 1) The training of a shaman continues after graduation. It never ends. (It feels like, you know the *isangoma* work there is no end you are finished, I'm right. No, there is always something you want to know. It is just like school it carries on.)
- 2) The graduation process was a frightening experience for this shaman. In front of the community, she had to find three hidden objects, namely the gallbladder of a goat, beads and a sheepskin vest. (They hide three things, *inyongo*, the bile of the goat, they put it in a bag, and the beads we carry, and the sheepskin, and they cut it nicely like a jacket, and they hide it in different places.)
- 3) According to this shaman, it has never happened that a *thwasa* has not found the hidden objects. Even when the gallbladder had been eaten by a cat, this *thwasa*, in a trance state, tore the cat apart with her bare hands in order to retrieve the bladder. (She took the bag out of the cat, ooowwee, and all the insides of the cat were on the floor. It was where the ancestors saw it.)

Theme: Ancestor Contact

- 1) The shaman takes *snuff* and puts it on the floor, claps her hands and calls the ancestors by the surname of both her parents, and then addresses them about a specific problem. (I take the *snuff* and put it on the floor and then [clapping her hands] I talk, call all my mother's surname, my father's surname, and tell them who I am, and what I am crying about.)
- 2) This shaman hears the ancestors during divination and sees and interacts with them in her dreams. (I talk to them, and some of them I don't know them because they are my grand-, grand-, grandparents.)
- 3) The identity of the ancestor in her dream is verified by describing the ancestor to

her mother who would recognise if it was deceased family member. (When I explain my mother, I have dream somebody like this and this, and looks like this, my mother tells me who it was, and how they been wearing.)

Theme: Healing

1) Herbs and animal fats are used for creating medicines. No human parts are used. Lion fat is acquired at the shop. (No, but other *izangomas* who use people, we don't work like them. We only use animals, we are Christians. We use the animals, we don't kill them, we buy it at the shop.)

2) Specific *muti* are used to get people discharged from court, to solve conception difficulties, to find work, to increase one's luck, to have run-away wives return to their husbands, as well as to cure madness or psychosis. Madness is cured by mixing with herbs a worm found in the sheep's brain. It is then applied to the patient's head through four minor cuts, the *muti* being rubbed into the cuts. In a few days the patient is cured. (We believe that the worm doesn't die and it changes the head of a mad man. We burn that worm and then we take the *muti* with a lot of things, and then another *muti* to drink, and in two days it is finished. We did have one two months ago, he is a driving instructor, he was mad, mad, mad, but now he is better, doing very well.)

Theme: Divination

1) This shaman finds that one can of beer assists her in divination more effectively, so much so that she can then divine without 'bones'. (When I can have a can of beer, my husband also knows that, I don't even need to look at the 'bones', I just push them aside.)

2) *Snuff* is also put on the ground during divination. (First of all I put *snuff* [down], then I throw the 'bones'.)

3) A certain level of relaxation is beneficial for the practice of divination. Once this has been achieved, this shaman is then able to hear her ancestors in her head and interact with them. (Ya, I talk back to them, I drink the beer before I throw the

'bones', and it opens my nerves and I don't get shy.)

4) The training of divination consists of recognising the patterns created by the 'bones' when they fall. Her teacher was strict, for which the shaman was at the end thankful. She would make her *thwasas* divine for her own patients. If the teacher was not satisfied she would give the correct reading, after which she would punish the *thwasas* physically as well as withhold food from them. (Punishment, no food. But today I say thanks, because if she didn't do it, you don't get clever.)

Theme: Dancing

1) During dancing the mind is experienced as being in a state similar to when intoxicated by alcohol. A dizziness is felt and a swaying of the body occurs when the drums begin. (Oh, your mind, you know you feel like your head is getting mad or you are drunk or dizzy. And your feet, when you walk they not your feet, you sway.)

2) The ancestors then take over and the voice of the shaman takes on the characteristics that of the ancestor. ([...] and the ancestors talk but not with their own voice.)

3) There is no memory of what happened or what was said during the dancing trance state. (And the people you are there with you they will tell you what you said, you don't remember.)

4) While dancing, the trance state can be so deep that no pain is experienced, even when stepping on broken glass. ([...] when you hear the drums and you can dance on glass you don't feel anything, only in the morning you see your feet.)

5) In Zimbabwe drums are not used. Instead they clap with their hands. (Another thing, in Zimbabwe they don't drum, they just clap.)

Theme: Song

1) A particular song is transmitted to the *thwasa* in a dream, which signifies the end of the training for the apprentice. (Yes, yes, for sure, you get it in your dream, and when you wake up you still know it.)

Theme: Dreaming

1) The burning of *imphepho*, the act of *phalaza* bring on significant dream states. (Especially when I can burn *imphepho* and *phalaza* with it, I dream.)

Ancestors are seen and identified in dreams by describing them to her mother. (When I explain my mother, I have dream somebody like this and this, and looks like this, my mother tells me who it was, and how they been wearing.)

2) The best time to have significant dreams is at three a.m., rather than immediately at night. (My dreams always come when it is coming three o'clock in the morning. It doesn't come straight away at night.)

3) This shaman dreams of future events. (For sure, even somebody, I can dream somebody can die, I tell my husband, and also Julia knows, that person is going to die.)

4) Lucidity in dreams is acknowledged. (Interviewer: Do you know it is a dream when you are talking to your ancestors in your dream? Caroline: For sure.)

Theme: OBE

1) This shaman stated that she did not have any of the classical OBEs, but does dream of locations which she then finds herself visiting in the future. (Interviewer: Have you ever left your body and see your body lying there? Caroline: No, uhm. Interviewer: Do you travel in your dreams? Caroline: For sure, like I go to other places, like I tell you with the forest. [...] That time in the dream I make a wee. [...] Immediately after the wee I turned my head, I see the 'bones', something was dead and the 'bones' were sticking out. In the morning I wake up and tell my husband the dream. We didn't take three weeks when we went to Hammandskraal to dig the roots. When we there I remembered my dream. Then I go, and when I wee, I turn and see those things. I finished the wee, and then I pick them up, pick them up, and I call my husband. What did I say, I told you I dream this. Then he gives me a kiss, and then he helped me to dig them up.)

Theme: Induction Techniques

1) A shaman *phalazas* in order to dream more effectively. *Phalaza* is the act of drinking and then vomiting *muti*-enriched water (white *vuma* and the bark of camphor) that has stood in a bucket for the whole night. The act of vomiting occurs in the morning. The water is drunk until the stomach is filled. The liquid is then immediately vomited out, and the procedure begins again with the shaman drinking the *muti* until the stomach is filled. This continues until the bucket is empty. This allows dreams to be clearer and future events to emerge. This shaman *phalazas* once a week. (You drink another, *wuruch*, even the bile come out. After that the dreams will be clear, clear, clear, even the horses number, you can catch them.)

Theme: Power of the shaman

1) The power of the shaman is determined by the power of the ancestors, as well as by God, the *muti* and the 'bones'. Lack of power is seen as being to a certain degree rectifiable by appeasing the ancestors with a ritual which includes meat, blood, *snuff* and sorghum beer. (Sometimes when you are an *isangoma*, and you have problems, you give a party, and you give ancestors food, you give them a bit of meat and blood. The *snuff* must be there, also Bantu beer.)

Themes of Interview 6:

Shaman: Vusamazulu Credo Mutwa

Age: 75 years

In Practice: about 50 years

Training: Natal and the rest of Africa

Theme: Calling

1) This shaman went through severe trauma on being raped at the mines in Johannesburg, where he had been working. Traumatized and rejected by his parents, he went to his grandparents in Natal, who normalized the experience for him, by stating that in Africa this happens to young warriors, in prisons as well as in boarding schools. It was explained to him that sex is a "multi-dimensional thing", and that shame and guilt are not appropriate feelings to do with sex. He was sent to his aunt, a high *isanusi*, for training. She taught and initiated him. (I has been subjected to the sin of Sodom, the sin that my father blanderated from the pulpit every Sunday. And you know what happened? My stepmother when I went home removed the money and she said: Look you can't come into our home yet, you have been sodomised, you are dirty, I don't want you amongst the children... I went away, I was alone in the world, and I felt sick, I felt sick, and looking back, I had suffered a breakdown of some kind. [...]) They took me to my grandfather in Natal. Now, then one day, my grandfather told me, what has happened to you is not a sin, it may be a sin in the stupid white man's god, but to us this used to happen to young warriors sometimes, so are you to be a Zulu or a dirty white man in a black skin? You are killing yourself with guilt, my grandfather said. Let your aunt teach you, and my aunt taught me, she taught me that in the eyes of the great earth mother, sex is a multi-dimensional thing [...]. I stayed under her initiation, and it required lots.)

2) A typical initiation dream is to be devoured by four leopards, lions or reptiles, after which a feeling of well-being occurs. (When you are in the land of animals, and where you get eaten by four leopards or lions, or even sometimes by reptilian

animals which your heart can't even describe after a while, you know, there you feel fulfilled.)

Theme: Genealogy

1) This shaman's grandfather was an *inyanga* or herbalist, and his aunt was a high *isanusi*. Under his aunt's tutelage, he eventually took over the position of high *isanusi*. (Let your aunt teach you, and my aunt taught me. [...] I stayed under her initiation.)

Theme: Transfer of shamanic knowledge

1) Although it is a shamanic law not to deny information to anyone, in this shaman's experience, information about shamans has been misused by the government in order to torture black people, as well as by universities, which have erected barriers between black and white. ([...] they used to ask me questions exactly as you have done, and because the law of our forefathers says that you should never deny information to a person, sometimes I was stupid and I paid a ghastly price. [...]) I concentrated too much on this person, and not realising that they were from the security force, and they want knowledge from me to use to torture blacks. Yes, and then these same people went out to demonise people to other blacks, with the result that at universities, in fact my aim is to sideline the university of the Witwatersrand as to show the whole world what an evil institution it is. Why? Because this university erects barriers between black and white. It feeds our people a pack of lies. Now I'm asking you with respect that this knowledge will not be used, otherwise I won't be talking to you much.)

2) Dysinformation has been given to scientists by shamans in order to protect the shamanic traditions. Only when approached respectfully, or by insiders (shamans), or when a special sign, such as a tuft of white hair is visible, then information will be given freely. (Now, Mr. Boshier's task was failing because he was approaching traditional healers like a white scientist. And the kaffirs just held their ground, and in order not to be rude, he told them a lot of rubbish. [...]) I said yes, sir, they told you

a lot of rubbish because your behaviour was a lot of rubbish. [...] Why? I said your approach is wrong, if you want something from them you must be an African. [...] So when next we went, Mrs. Boshier walked first, she has done up her hair and the white hair was visible, and the black people were awed, they looked at her, they touched her, and they opened up [...]. Now, Mr. Boshier in the end became initiated as an *isangoma*, and that is how it came about. Now, the way of an *isangoma* is to share knowledge, you must be willing to share knowledge like *snuff*.)

Theme: Relationship with shamans

1) This shaman states that relationships between shamans are determined by hate and jealousy. The reason for this is that being a shaman is a business rather than a function of the community, and therefore competition is prominent. So much so that this shaman advised against cross-checking the results section of this study with other shamans as he felt that the knowledge of the shamans who participated in this study would be derided. (Don't ever check the work of one *isangoma* by another. Because this *isangoma* out of jealousy will say this is nonsense. You see sir, these people hate each other. Why? It never used to be like that, they were brothers and sisters [...]. Now, an *isangoma* is a horrendous business.)

Theme: Induction Techniques

1) *Imphepho* is burnt in order to come out of a trance, but to enter into a trance a secret herbal medicine called "the opener" is used. However, information on the herbs is withheld in order not to encourage drug addiction. ([...] if you want to go into a trance there is a very secret medicine called the 'opener'. That medicine I cannot talk about, because there is enough drug addiction in this world.)

2) Another substance that is used for the purpose induction is a specific aloe leaf that is found in the Cape, the leaf is dried, made into powder and can be either smoked, which can be somewhat hazardous, or else it is burnt, in which case it functions as a mild hallucinogenic. This substance is also used for people close to death to make their dying experience more pleasant. (Now this type of aloe, some

smoke it which is risky, some burn it, which is the way to do it. We make burning of this aloe. If I do this I must be surrounded by seven dishes, and its smoke is madly hallucinogenic, but it is the type of thing you give to people who are dying in order to make their death pleasant, and the person who gives it to that person will be able to see the visions that will take him or her away.)

3) A further substance that induces trance states is a certain mushroom which grows on pine trees. ([...] the South African pine trees, those used for cheap planks, now that gives birth to a strange mushroom. Now that again, I cannot discuss.)

Theme: Trance states

1) If a shaman stands and imagines her/himself as being a tree for a period of two hours, this will allow a trance to occur. Timing is essential. The trance includes effects such as hearing voices and classical OBEs. (Now, let's say, I go into this space [a corner of the room], just standing there [starts swaying silently with his eyes closed], and I must become a tree. I must do this for about two hours, then something is going to happen, I don't know what it is. And you just stand and let it happen, gradually you hear voices, sometimes you will see yourself breaking away, you will see yourself, you will see your above yourself. Then, but the time has to be right.)

2) Firewalking, as a test of the mind, was a part of this shaman's training. (I, Credo Mutwa, had to literally walk over fire made out of animal bones. Several times, fire walking is a fearsome thing, across the fire pits, you thank the gods when you get to the other side. Fire walking is the most fearsome test of the human mind you will ever get, and I would not want to walk it, and I went through it three times.)

Theme: Umbilini

1) *Umbilini* is induced by a circular dance and not a straight line dance. ([...] you must dance in a circle, not in a line, as you dance, you feel your feet dancing, but your head is not over here.)

2) A sudden trauma or accident can elicit *umbilini* experiences. This shaman's

traumatic experiences during an attack by a mob are characterised by out of body experiences. ([...] I was stoned, you suddenly feel like your body is breaking in two. One part of yourself, the body part will become so peaceful, you no longer care what the people are doing [...] and you look down and you see it covered by blood [...] and when you go away through a long tunnel, you feel so happy, so forgiving, ah, there are some things that you can't describe.)

3) Another inductive technique is to tighten the muscle between the buttocks and to shake the body strongly whilst dancing in order to make "this spark" grow into a force that rises up to the head. (What the man is doing, he tightened up the muscle between his buttocks to really arouse this spark, it grows and grows until it is lightning up the spine and into the head.)

4) The use of drugs can induce the other world of the *umbilini*, but it can also lead to a "false land". (Some use that bulb, which you call in Afrikaans fengerboom, but it is dangerous. You shouldn't reach the land of gods through drugs because they will take you and throw you into a false land instead of a true one.)

5) This shaman learned about the *umbilini* experience from the Bushmen, the Ovahimba People of Namibia, the Nawati People of Angola and the Mpondo in South Africa, all of whom induce the *umbilini* by tightening the anus muscle whilst shaking during a dance. (I have learnt it some more amongst the Bushmen people, but the ones that are really excellent at this are the people, the Ovahimba people on the coast of South West Africa. I don't know if they still are in existence, the ones who keep the sacred fire, and they have all red hair, the ochre, like a Masai. Then there are the Nawati people of Angola, and those funny people, they are very, very good at this. And in South Africa, the Mpondos.)

6) The *umbilini* is described as "a fire" which builds up during the day through the contact of the feet with the earth, and in the evening it collects at the base of the spine. Circular dancing and drumming induce this energy as it rises "like a coil", "like a hot snake" up the spine. At this point the shaman experiences a darkness, a separation from the body, somewhat like an alcoholic intoxication, similar to dizziness. The experience is one of the feet dancing by themselves while the head

is experienced as being elsewhere. (You know the *umbilini*, it is like a fire [...] it is a kind of force that you build up during a normal day, [...] and then at a certain time in the evening, in the late afternoon, this thing starts building up at the bottom of the spine. It is like, you feel the *umbilini* when you have intercourse for the first time [...] that makes you want to scream like a baboon [laughter]. [...] how can I explain, it is like a coil, a moving coil down there. It is a hot spiralling force, and when you dance, and you dance, you feel your head as being separate from your body, and then it comes tearing up your spine and it comes out here [points to the head] like a hot snake. Now part of you goes away, haven't you had this, yes sir, you feel like this snake, whatever you call it, shot out of your head like a bullet, and it is taking your head up to where I don't know. There is darkness all around, and you feel sort of *dronk*, sort of out [...].)

7) There is a sense of breaking through a barrier, sometimes three barriers, and the shaman then finds her/himself in a dark tunnel in which a light is seen. Once the shaman moves towards that light and merges with it, s/he enters a "strange place", in which all the senses of the body are acute and active, such as smelling wet hair and hearing animals talk. Either a bird will gaze at the shaman, or the shaman becomes a flying bird that transports him across the land. With the eyes of the bird, the shaman can see the illness of a patient as lights shining in the patient's body. The future can also be viewed from the bird's perspective. The body shakes as if it were in the throws of "a holy madness". (And then your head breaks through something, puahhh, like breaking through plastic, puahh, and you can break out through three such things, and then you are dead, there is like a black mine tunnel, and you see a light, [...] and you are moving towards this, and then you will find yourself in a strange place, a place of talking animals [...] You see a bird looking at yourself, a bird which one of these long-legged birds like a crane, and all of a sudden you are the bird looking at yourself. And you go as the bird, this is where you will see things that are going to happen [...]. and you look downwards through the eyes of the bird, and then there is a person, and he is sick here and here and here, you will see him like with lights like a Christmas tree, all over his body, and you have the urge to

touch this person, to break through the red lights and the yellow lights, and you shake him and you shake him, and sometimes you yourself will, eh, shake, and it is crazy sir, it is a form of holy madness.)

8) The after-effects of this trance are that the body of the shaman is experienced as cold, with cold feet and arms, while the centre of the head feels hot, creating a severe headache. ([...] when you come back from there your body will be cold, the feet are cold, the arms are cold, the stomach is cold, and the only hot thing is the centre of your head, and the headache is sore that you don't want to open your eyes.)

9) The source of the *umbilini* is that it is "a sacred snake" and has been brought to humans from inhabitants from other stars. The Khoi and San people call it !Num!, a word that actually means star beings. In Zulu, Sotho, San, actually everywhere according to this shaman, !Num! means "star force" sent upward. (The *umbilini* we believe is sacred snake and it was brought to us by the stars. You know how the Bushmen call it, sir. They call it !Num!. Now the word really means star being. [...]) In Zulu, Sotho Bushmen, everywhere the word !Num! means the star-force which is sent up.)

Theme: Other World

1) The other world is called the "land of the spirit animals", a land in which the shaman travels at the speed of thought. There is a strong sense of well-being and completeness. It is a land where fairy tales are real. There is a sense of oneness with life. There is also a knowingness when in this land, out of which this shaman has invented instruments made out of crystals that can light up torches. (It is a mysterious land where all human souls go to [...]). It is a land where the animate and the inanimate become interchangeable. You can become the rock and the rock can become you [...]. And it is a time with the same texture, same texture as our grandmother's fairy tales [...]. The fairy tale asks you to sink yourself into it. There you feel fulfilled, you feel complete [...] you are one with the biosphere of the earth, one with the cosmos, there is nothing you cannot know. Now look I only studied until Standard Six, I don't have access to books, but if I go to the land of animals,

I come back with knowledge [...] I created an artefact which used stones and crystals. If you held your hands over the artefact, you felt like a stinging under your palm [...] then a flashlight would shine. I showed this to people who are sceptical, they looked at it and were amazed. That is the place where the great mind, the mother of knowledge is. That is the place if you come back from that, you walk in the bush, and the trees themselves will tell you which are poisonous, it is where the human being becomes one with all creation, and you feel like a god.)

2) The shaman suggested that dreams might also be a way of entering this land. Entry into this land can be induced by certain substances, but these may lead the shaman to enter the "false land", rather than the true land of the spirit animals. (You shouldn't reach the land of gods through drugs because they will take you and throw you into a false land instead of a true one.)

Theme: Dreaming

1) This shaman achieves lucid dream states. (Yes, a lot. You are aware, sometimes you end up within a dream within a dream. You know that you are dreaming.)

2) Electromagnetic pollution in the urban environment is believed to disturb the quality of dreaming. (The dreams that we receive in the urban areas, surrounded by electronic rubbish, surrounded by pollution [...]. If you really want to get into the real dreams of Africa, you should have a home far away in the rural areas, you should have a hut of grass that really smells of the olden days, and there must not be a hint of iron. Iron is a big polluter of dreams, and there you can find dreams that are very, very reliable.)

3) Certain dreams occur while in a hypnagogic state, and a colourful series of dreams are considered to be significant. (But, sometimes you can dream something on the verge of waking and sleeping. Also, we are taught not to rely on dreams unless it is a technicolour dream with all the colours visible with all the details. With this kind of dream will go on like a serial in the night.)

Theme: Types of shamans

1) There are four types of shamans, namely those that only hear voices, those that smell odours, such as blood for catastrophes and illnesses, as well as "smelling out a wizard". Then there are those who only feel, and lastly those who have visions. It is to this latter category that this shaman belongs. (There is a seer who hears voices only who does not see, There is the seer who smells odours, for example this seer will suddenly smell blood and explosives, and smell pain and suffering [...]. Now, there is a seer who feels and the seer who sees.)

2) Trance states either occur spontaneously or are induced. (And the trance you can induce or it can happen spontaneously.)

3) The after-effects of a trance can include terrible nausea and headaches. (Now, one day we will talk more about this hopefully, but a vision is a very, very terrible thing. When it comes you are physically sick, you can puke all over, you can have the most terrible headache, you can be totally drained. This is why I stopped consulting people because they demanded that I should see, but they don't know what a painful experience it is.)

Theme: Visions of Future Events

1) Visions of the future are pre-empted by a minor signal event. If the minor event that if it occurs, it supports the likelihood that the main vision will happen in the future. This trance cannot be taught but merely supported. (The power behind a vision is a conscious power, it shows you all that is going to happen and then it will give you a signal which says, if you want to know that what you were shown is true then it will give you one little incident that is going to happen tomorrow. [...]. For example, Nobela saw naked men drowning in mud, she saw a man screaming horribly with the dirt mud flowing like a river into his mouth and throat, and then there came this incident of the mine workers who drowned in the mud in the mine. This incident was the signal incident which tells me and Nobela and me that the horrendous vision is true and is going to happen.)

Theme: Breathing Exercise

1) The exercise is one of relatively fast breathing while closing first one and then the other nostril. This is related to the male-ancestor right hemisphere and the female-ancestor left hemisphere of the brain. This exercise needs to be continued until a light-headedness occurs. Combined with the breathing exercise is a visualisation exercise in that a positive image of love is breathed in while a negative image of hunger and desolation is breathed out. Each breath therefore becomes a wish. This exercise is the way of the *isanusi*, not the ordinary *isangoma*, and is also practised in Swaziland, Mozambique, and Botswana. (You breathe [breathes relatively fast and with eyes closed sitting upright], first through the mouth and then through the nose, and the tradition is that, while you do that you can scratch the air, scratch the air, scratch the air, because there is air around you. Then you breathe like a dog is making love. Then because the male ancestor head is here [points to the left side of the head], and your mother ancestor head is here [points to the right side of the head], so you switch off this nostril [right nostril] [breathes fast and switches nostrils] and then you must breathe until you get drunk but not too drunk otherwise you lose control. When you breathe inside, you must not merely let it be air that goes into your lungs, you must let it be a picture, let us say a picture of children running around peacefully. In other words you exhale the evil and inhale the good. That is the way of the *isanusi* [...] and then I went to Swaziland, Mozambique and Bechuanaland, and so on, and I found that these great knowledge are similar, and you must not waste air and breathe in nothing.)

Theme: Zulu Meditation

1) The aim of this meditation is to see a star in your eyes when you awaken every morning and to concentrate on it. The subject then focuses on a heavenly body, such as the moon or the sun, and merges with it, imagining being surrounded by the sun in an ocean of light. If the warmth of the sun is felt, then healing takes place. This can also be achieved by imagining being a bird in flight or a fish in a river. (You must have a look sir, we believe that everyone has got a little star with which she or

he is born. You will see the star when you flick you eyes open in the morning. Now you concentrate on that star. But now you think of a heavenly body and you concentrate on it, and then you go to it in your imagination, you imagine yourself surrounded by the sun like a wonderful ocean of light all around you. You find all your sickness being eaten by the sun, and you feel the warmth of the sun. Now that is the *isangoma* way, or you look at a flight of birds against a sky, and you imagine yourself as one of them, flying through the air, beautiful, free, unthreatened, untouched, and imagine yourself as a fish in the river, I love this one, a fish in the river that goes all around in the water.)

Themes of Interview 7

Shaman: Nobela Ndlangisa (Ndeble)

Age: 45 years

In Practice: many years

Training: 2 years with Credo Mutwa

Theme: Calling

1) This shaman became very ill, and this illness was identified as the "*thwasa*" or initiation illness. (Toe word ek baie siek, dit was baie erg. Ek he die *thwasa* illness gehad.)

2) She dreamt that her ancestors showed her shamanic teacher. (Toe my *amadlozi*, hulle weis vir my Baba (Credo Mutwa), jy verstaan. Toe sien ek Baba in die Zulu dress.)

Theme: Genealogy

1) This shaman's mother was an *isangoma*. ([...] my ma was 'n *isangoma*.)

Theme: Types of shamans

1) The *inyanga* as a herbalist only heals, while an *isanusi*, being the highest form of an *isangoma*, see more than the other *izangomas*. The *isanusi* is able to see water and gold underground, as well as see future events. (*Isanusi* is 'n *isangoma mabula*, die *inyanga* is vir siek mense, *isanusi* is alles, kan ondergrond sien soos water, goud en goed. En ook die toekoms.)

Theme: Training

1) As an apprentice, this shaman *phalazad*. Her teacher then suggested another method, namely to be covered up totally with blankets, and at the same time closing her ears. The *thwasa* lies still for two hours and then starts screaming. The experience is one of separating and drifting away from the body. At that point, the *thwasa* begins to see the future from a bird's perspective. The *thwasa* enters a land, and can see the ground and the people from above. ... maak jouself toe met die kombers, jy doen die goed so dat jy niks kan sien nie. Jy slaap so, alles toe, ook die ore toe. Dan is jy so twee ure so, dan sal dit net uit jou uit kom. Jy sal aanhoudend skree, uuuh, uuuh. As jy so maak, hierdie lyf van jou, jy weet nie waar jy is nie. [...] Ja jy dryf af. Nou, jy sien ver af, jy sien ander goede, ver, en hierdie goede, jy kan die toekoms sien, alle goed sien jy. Jy sien die grond, jy sien hierdie mense.)

Theme: Ancestor Contact

1) This shaman experiences a feeling of dizziness until the voice of the ancestor is heard. (Jy weet as die *amadlozi* kom vir jou, hy kom, jy feel dit, jy feel dizzy, jy hoor die stem.)

Theme: Umbilini

1) This shaman was taught that the *umbilini* relates both to the ancestors as well as to certain points in the body, namely the genitals, the womb, the solar plexus, the heart area, the throat and the head, in that order. (Baba vertel my van die *amadlozi* en hierso [points to genitals, solar plexus, heart, throat and head] en hierso, en

hierso.)

2) For a woman the *umbilini* starts in the womb, and when the *umbilini* rises and reaches the head, a dizziness is experienced. (Dit begin in die womb en dit gaan bo [...]. Jy feel dizzy.)

Theme: Dancing

1) Dancing for this shaman "wakes up" and activates the ancestors. (Dit feel so as die *amadlozi* moet nou wake up, wake up.)

Theme: Dreams

1) Dreams are important in that the shaman then has visions, as well as sees herself. (As jy droom dan sien jy ook, en jy sien ook jouself.)

Theme: Breathing Exercise

1) This is a typical *isanusi* exercise. Fast breathing is practised until a dizziness is achieved which in turn opens the shaman up to ancestral contact. (Ja, dit is n' *isanusi* ding. [She breathes quietly, but faster and faster]. Jy doen dit tot jy dizzy feel, en as jy dizzy feel dan kom die *amadlozi*.)

Themes of Interview 8

Shaman: Virginia Rethela

Age: 50 years

In Practice: 8 years as a shaman, 32 years as a faith healer

Training: 3.5 years in Soweto

Theme: Calling

1) This shaman initially became ill. She then began having significant dreams. After a period of time she dreamt about her teacher, Credo Mutwa. However, when looking for him another *isangoma* claimed that Credo Mutwa did not teach *thwasas*

anymore, and so this shaman took up the training with her. She describes her ancestors as having been unhappy about her choice of teacher, and as only being appeased once she *thwasad* under Credo Mutwa. ([...] when you become an *isangoma*, you become ill first, and secondly you dream, and then after that it will show you the one that is going to teach you. So I was shown Credo Mutwa in my dreams. [...] So I fell by another lady, she crooked me, she said he doesn't work with the *isangoma*, the *thwasas*, he is now working with American people. So this lady takes me to teach me to become a *thwasa*. Because my ancestors were not happy, I can't, I felt dizzy and miserable in my dreams. So in my dreams my grandmother says to me this is not the one, and this is not the proper person we sent you to. In January 1990, he takes me out from this lady, and then when I got home I couldn't work, I could do nothing. I became miserable and confused. As I came back to Mr. Credo, now I beg him to become my teacher. So he started to teach me to be a *thwasa*, some subjects.)

Theme: Genealogy

1) This shaman's ancestor is recognised as being her deceased uncle from her father's side. He had been an *inyanga*. (My ancestors are not my great great grandfather, but my brother of my father, he was an *inyanga*, and he was travelling everywhere, England, Swaziland, Benoni, he was travelling to the whole world as well as my Baba Mutwa, my teacher.)

Theme: Training

1) This shaman was taught how to relax and take things slowly and easily, as this supports ancestor contact. She was instructed to take time, sit straight and still, keep her head straight, sometimes close her eyes, and be quiet in order to hear or see the ancestors. (Credo Mutwa, when he train you, he shows you everything that you must do. He tells me that when I am with people I must take time, I must relax, I must not be fast with things, I must be slow with the thing I do. [...] The time when you speak to the *amadlozi*, take time, sit straight and still, put your head straight, sometimes

you close your eyes and be quiet and you hear something through your ears, and appearances in your eyes, you see something. It will take time, and then when you heard something, open your eyes, and immediately you open your eyes you see something.)

Theme: Ancestor Contact

1) For this shaman the best time for ancestor contact is at 3 am, 7 am, 12 am, and 3 pm. (They come to me at twelve o'clock and at three o'clock during the day or seven o'clock in the morning or three o'clock during the night.)

2) Ancestor contact can occur spontaneously. The experience is "like something is shaking my brains". The shaman then goes to sleep and while asleep sees or feels events of importance. While dreaming the shaman is able to observe events occurring at other places, as well as see into the future. These visions are later verified by events depicted in the newspaper or on TV. (I look at people in the dream, and I think, huh, they mustn't come to me, they are using knives, you know knobkerries, you know bad things, burning the cars. In the morning I see it in the newspaper, saying that they burning the cars, and I see it in the TV.)

3) Ancestor contact is revealed during healing events. This shaman was woken during her sleep and told be a voice to go to a place many kilometres away. The shaman found this place through the directions given by the voice. She then knocked on the door and found and healed a child based on the instructions of the ancestor voice. Similarly, her own child was diagnosed as being dead. However, as she was leaving the hospital, her ancestor told her that her daughter was not dead. After difficulty with the nurses, she eventually managed to heal her daughter. ([...] during the night, I was fast asleep, and then there comes a voice telling me that here is a dying patient, I must help that person. [...] I refused, I just heard, and I felt someone beating me on my back and a voice said just go where we send you. During the night at twelve o'clock, and I walked 12 kilometres from my place to that one. [...] I first said to the lady of the child: "I've been sent for who is sick." "Who sent you?" I said: "Don't ask me now, just do what I'm going to tell you." [...] Even when I open the

mouth and immediately heard the voice saying: "Warm the water and make an enema and give it to the child." [...] "What happened? Is my child alive?" And I said: "Of course, yes, you didn't believe." [...] By that time I see that I know the ancestors. Secondly, my child was critically ill, and I take it to the hospital, and then in the middle of the night my child passed away. [...] The minute I just wanted to go out the entrance, just in the middle of the entrance I heard the voice: "Don't go away, your child is still alive, she is not dead, she is half-alive." [...] and I open the sheet she was wrapped in. I take the sheet off, and I leave my child naked and I take its hands because I have been told to take the hands and just rub here at the areas of the stomach, so I just rub it, rub it. And the nurse said: "Look your child is not moving." And I said: "Look here you clever nurse, can you see the little heart beat of the child," and she leans close and she sees it does a little bit like this: beat, beat, but very softly, slow, slow, slow. [...] The report was written that my child had passed away at three during the night. But my ancestors told me she was not dead.)

4) Ancestors are seen as being able to convey knowledge to the shaman on herbs and medicines, including exact dosages for specific illnesses to the shaman. ([...] and from dancing when I just sit down, and then my ancestors come and show me things, and how I can use medicines [...] they show you how to use it properly, the dosage, everything.)

Theme: Induction Techniques

1) The act of *phalaza* opens up the body and the lungs, and it purifies the body, creating movement in the womb for the *ancestors* or the *umbilini* to rise. ([...] it opens up my body inside, so that my lungs can be open as well, and as I have said that the womb must be clean, and this *phalaza* shakes out all the rubbish, and this *phalaza* of the womb goes straight to the veins and tubes of my womb and it is going to create movement in the womb so that my ancestors are going from there upwards.)

2) This shaman was instructed to take her time, sit straight and still, close her eyes and seek silence, thereby allowing her to see visions and hear voices. ([...] take time,

sit straight and still, put your head straight, sometimes you close your eyes and be quiet and you hear something through your ears, and appearances in your eyes.)

3) The rituals surrounding divination focus and silence the mind. The rituals include using *snuff*, burning *imphepho* and praying to the ancestors. (Yes, when I am throwing the 'bones' [...] the time you put on your hair and your bag of 'bones', put on your things, taken your *snuff*, before that you must be quiet, silence, and I burn *imphepho*, quietly without speaking. After that I take my *snuff*, and in seconds or a minute then I talk to my ancestors, I pray.)

4) Shaking the body is a significant inductive technique. (Yes, when they come stronger, you shake [...] They shake you, like a magnet, your head becomes so tight.)

5) This shaman uses *imphepho* and *snuff* to induce dreaming. She "talks" to the medicine so that she may dream. Thus an intent to dream is formulated. ([...] we use *imphepho* and *snuff* to ask them for things [...]. When I see or I want a nice dream tonight, I use it as a *thwasa*, shake my *lekamba*, and ask my *amadlozi*, and I talk to this medicine of mine to give me good dreams. You use it as an *isangoma* to wake up the *amadlozi* so that they don't sleep.)

Theme: Dancing

1) Dancing and drumming induce ancestor contact and create feelings of happiness and well-being. At the moment that this shaman feels something coming out of her brain, the ancestors reveal things to her. (You see when I dance, I can feel happy and healthy, I feel something coming out of my brain, and from dancing when I just sit down, and then my ancestors come and show me things, and how I can use medicines.)

Theme: Umbilini

1) Dancing exercises the body as well as the feelings. It heals the body, the healing energy rising from the feet to the head. Dancing or shaking the feet on the sand is especially effective. (When you dance you exercise the body and the feelings, and as Baba Mutwa said, we move our feet on the sand, it helps to heal the body [...]. We

especially like the sand when we shake our feet on the sand, the healing goes through our feet, and in us it goes out and we grab the knowledge of the sand, for the sand itself is a healer. Through our feet it goes to our head.)

2) The feeling is similar to flying. The energy rises from the womb in the women, and from the testicles in men, this being where the power resides. Both strong perspiration as well as feelings of movement up and down the body are significant indicators of the *umhilini*. ([...] it feels like you are going to fly, you are perspiring and you feel like going up and down (with her hands moving up and down her body. You are dancing, you feel you are moving up but your shoulders are not moving up [...] with ladies it goes straight to the womb, with the men it goes straight to the testicles [...] that is why a lady who doesn't have a womb cannot become an *isangoma*. The power of a woman *isangoma* is in the womb, and the power of the man is in the testicles.)

Theme: Dreaming

1) The ancestors can also be contacted when the shaman is relaxed or in a hypnagogic state ([...] but sometimes they can come to you when you lie and relax, then you can see things in your eyes but you are not fast asleep.)

Theme: Song

1) Receiving a song from the ancestors is a signal to the apprentice that s/he is now ready to be a shaman. The song is often a simple refrain. (The song makes you ready to be an *isangoma*.)

Theme: OBE

1) This shaman claims to have had typical OBEs, in that she saw her body lying on the bed while she was in the process of separating from it. This also manifests when she experiences a sense of movement in her body when she shakes during dancing. (Sometimes, when you get a bad dream you wake up and you get up and look back and see your body, and then something is pushing and you back in bed. Your chest,

your whole body goes up and down, up and down, sometimes you are shaking.)

Theme: Vision Quest

1) This shaman was told by the ancestors to visit caves in the mountains. She was told about a second exit from the caves that no one knew about except a priest. (Usually in April I go to the mountains and there are caves, when winter is coming, there inside I myself have been shown a secret place. That cave has two doors. When I came there, I ask the owner of the place, if my ancestors are true, and he says, yes, of course, you are the place.)

Theme: Power of a Shaman

1) The power lies in the belief of the shaman. If there is no belief, "nothing will happen". (It is his belief, everything comes to you when you believe, but when you don't believe, nothing will happen.)

Themes from Interview 9

Shaman: Nomsa Dlamini

Age: 45 years

In Practice: 11 years

Training: Diepdale, Swaziland, 4 months

Theme: Calling

1) This shaman's calling was characterised by her numerous dreams, as well as by the fact that she gained herbal knowledge at an early age through helping her parents who were healers. She later she became a nurse. (When I was young I used to dream a lot. Doing medicine, doing a lot of things. I used to see somebody who is going to die. My mother was a healer also, and my father. I used to help them a lot. [...] and I would wake up in the morning and tell them who is going to come and she is just like this and she has this problem, and what you need to do, and you must fetch this

kind of herb, and help the person. So that was my first knowledge of this healing.)

2) She suffered from a severe initiation illness [*ukuthwasa*], i.e. that she had terrible chest pains and was unable to lift her left hand. In a dream she was instructed to slaughter a white chicken and wear red and white beads [shamanic beads]. She did as the dream told her and was consequently cured. (Okay, in 1978, yes, I was very sick. [...] asked colleagues, and nothing worked for me. I was working by then, and so I dreamt somebody gave me a white chicken, and he said I must slaughter it and buy white and red beads. [...] So I did it and I was cured.)

3) However, she resisted the call to become a shaman, and thus became ill again. She finally accepted her calling and began her training. (Then I was much better, but I always had a migraine headache, and my mother could see I should become a healer, but she doesn't want me to do this, and she loved me a lot. I had terrible headache [...] I had blackouts. [...] Then I met another *isangoma*, I said that I had a problem that where ever I go they say I must *thwasa*. You know I don't like this thing. [...] Then in 1986 after Easter that headache came back again, and it was serious because I throw my baby out of the bed, I was mad. So I decided that I must take the work, I must train, for I will kill the baby.)

Theme: Genealogy

1) Both her parents, who were healers wanted her to take on other professions, and so this shaman became a nurse just like her mother. (My mother was a healer, also, my father. [...] Then they did not want me to become a healer as such, because my father wanted me to become a lawyer. I wanted to become a nurse like my mother. Then my mother wanted me to become a medical doctor.)

Theme: Training

1) The *thwasa* is woken up at either twelve p.m. or two a.m. by the ancestors or teacher. (At twelve or two a.m. we woke up. [...] my ancestors woke me up, but sometimes my teacher woke me up.) The apprentice *phalazas* in the morning after which the dreams are interpreted. (We used to wake up and do *phalaza* in the

morning, and then we would tell our teacher our dreams.) After the dream interpretation, dancing would take place from three to five a.m., following which the house would be cleaned before going off to the field. (After the dreams we dance from three to five a.m. [...] After that you wash and clean the house, then you go to the field.)

2) In the fields herbs would be collected, particularly those mentioned in the dream. The herbs would be then washed, dried, ground into powder and stored in labelled bottles, after which either water would be fetched from the river or linen would be washed. (Then we dig up medicines, and when you dream the medicines you must go and dig them. [...] Then you take all the stuff and throw it on the ground, wash it, let them dry, and after that grind them, put them in the bottle and label them. From there you go and fetch water or you take dirty linen and go and wash there.)

3) Because of her prior knowledge, this shaman was taught the 'bones' for one day. (When she started to teach me the 'bones', she taught me for one day, one day only, that was enough. She didn't do much because I was already ready.)

4) Sometimes animals would be caught, cut up and the treated skins to dry. (Sometimes we would cut up animals and hang up the skin, sometimes you braai the meat, and also cut the snake, take everything out you need.)

5) As the sun went down, the dancing would begin again. Prayers to the ancestors would take place at ten a.m., three p.m., and seven p.m. (And when the sun goes down you dance again, it is the last communication and then you go to sleep. During the day you have communication with ancestors by calabash, by medicine, *ikhamba*. You are given times to do the praying. We used to pray at ten o'clock in the morning, three in the afternoon and seven o'clock at night.)

6) There seemed to be little rest in order to avoid reminiscing about the past and consequently worrying about home. The four month training was experienced as hard and severe. (There was no time for relaxing, all the time you were working because the minute you relax, you feel sleepy, and you start thinking about the old things from home. [...] and it can make you worry, and that is why it is important you work all through the day [...]. Ya, it was hard.).

- 7) No alcohol or sexual intercourse was allowed during the training. Any transgressions would either be psychically seen by the teacher, or confessed during dancing by the ancestors, or the *thwasa* would fall while dancing.
- 8) The reason given for these taboos is that the apprentice is required to achieve a certain state of purification.
- 9) Taboo foods include eggs, cheese, milk, beans, canned food, fish, i.e. all foods that are rich and create sexual desires. (She is not allowed to drink alcohol, can't have sex, that is why it is important to stay with your teacher, otherwise you can mess everything up. [...] You can't sleep around, can't eat eggs, beans, milk, and tinned food, no fish, but only until you are finished. Because when you eat all those rich foods then you can't be fertile, and if you eat rich food you feel like having sex.)
- 10) Purification is achieved through the use of enemas and the act of *phalaza*. In this way the *thwasa* is thought to be cleaned in preparation for the contact with the ancestors, as the ancestors require a clean vessel or vehicle. (Yes, you must be clean and purified. To communicate with the ancestors, they don't want you dirty.)

Theme: Ancestor Contact

- 1) This shaman does not see the ancestors but rather feels their presence. At times she receives visions. (You feel them. Sometimes you've got a vision.)
- 2) This shaman was not directly taught how to contact her ancestors. She herself teaches her *thwasas* by focusing on the use of *ikhamba*, *imphepho*, and *snuff*. No, even my teacher, she didn't tell me anything. [...] The way I was taught. Like I said, use *ikhamba*, *imphepho*, *snuff*.)
- 3) A trance state is sometimes achieved and is experienced as if it is occurring in the head. The sound "Eishheee" creates "a wind inside" and signals the presence of the ancestors. If this is not expressed a shaman may become ill, and require enemas and *phalaza* in order to purify herself. The sound brings out the "winds of the ancestors". (Only sometimes when I do: "Eishhheee." It is a sound, inside you feel a lot of wind inside. [...] You bring out the winds of the ancestors. If you don't you will get sick. You push it out and you inhale, you bring in good spirit. If you don't you get sick,

and then you must vomit and have enemas.)

Theme: Induction Techniques

- 1) If the *thwasa* has failed to make contact with the ancestors certain rituals are performed and offerings are presented to the ancestors. Food is burned at the river for ancestors are believed to live under water. The ritual is repeated until contact is established. (There are rituals, sometimes you can have an offering [...] so my offering I use any food that we eat in the house [...] rice, tea, sugar, whatever, and then cakes, and then I make a fire, that is how I communicate best, and then we burn all the food that we are having. Either here or I take to the river because it is quiet, it is important to go to the river because some ancestors are under the river.)
- 2) *Snuff* affects the mind by relaxing the shaman and opening her up for ancestor contact. (It works on your mind, it is a pity I don't smoke [*marijuana*], and they can tell you better, but it relaxes your mind so it opens your mind to have more contact.)

Theme: Dancing & Drumming

- 1) Dancing establishes the link between the shaman and the ancestors, for the "spirit is brought up". (When you dance, the minute you hit the ground very hard, you are bringing your spirit up, that is why it is a communication between you and the ancestors.)
- 2) Drums are an important inductive technique as they affect the mind. (The drums also plays an important part, because it works on your brain.)
- 3) A sign of closeness with the ancestors is the experience is of being absent, of feeling like a magnet or getting an electric shock. (Ya, that is why I am saying that it is a communication between you and the ancestors, and you can see, the person changes the appearance, everything, the mind is no more there. The time you dance the spirit also works on you. Something funny is happening in your body, a magnet in your body. It is a funny feeling in your mind, in your body. You know, it sometimes is like an electric shock.)
- 4) There is a change of consciousness that happens automatically. The mind and

heart become peaceful, and the shaman feels "in a different place". It is hard for this shaman to find adequate words to describe the experience. (You know, the drum and the music, that is the first thing you use to prepare, the whole thing automatically changes. The feeling, you know the feeling, it is so peaceful in your mind, in your heart, you are in a different place. I can't even explain.)

5) When the body shakes, there is a sense of an itching or of an electric shock. At this point the ancestors are embodied in the shaman. In some cases, this shaman hears her ancestors while dancing, but mostly she cannot remember what the ancestors said. (When they come to you like a real person, and you are dancing, you are in the spirit, you feel something, you feel itchy, funny, electric shock, you know, and you start shaking, doing funny things you know. That is how you communicate, they are in your body now. [...] Ya, you can hear the voices. [...] Your mind is off. You can say anything that comes out, but you are out of your mind.)

Theme: Dreaming

1) Contact with the ancestors occurs while dreaming. Dreams about medication and the future were reported. This shaman interacts actively with the ancestors during her dreams. (I know exactly they tell me everything, and they say this medicines, then I know exactly. They tell me what is going to happen.)

2) Significant dreams happen automatically, but they can also be induced by herbs which have as their aim the purification of mind and body. (Automatically, ahm, by the medicines you are using in the cleansing of the body and mind, that is how your ancestors can communicate with you.)

Theme: OBE

1) This shaman is possibly referring to either an OBE or a lucid dream state. (Ya, you know I thinking of a funny dream where I see myself in the bed and I stand there and I see myself in the mirror.)

Theme: Umbilini

1) The *umbilini* is "the sign of the ancestors" and is most strongly felt in the heart area and the thymus. Strong emotions emerge, the body shakes, hair stands on end, cramps are experienced and the whole body itches. It took this shaman thirty minutes to relax and achieve a normal state of mind. (It is the sign of the ancestors. Sometimes the ancestors come to you by the *umbilini*. It is at the *ivalo*, not the heart, just here [points at her sternum]. I don't know what they call it in medicine, ahm, thymus, ya. You can feel it here, you start crying, the big tears, and the heart beat also comes. You can't even stand when it comes. [...] something was holding my hair like an electric shock, and then I start shaking. [...] and I couldn't walk, and it felt like I had cramps, and itching my whole body, and it took me thirty minutes to relax myself.)

Theme: Underwater Experience

1) This shaman did not have an underwater experience or see "the snake under the river". She related another experience in which she was numbed by a cold waterfall, which in turn switched her mind "off", enabling her to experience visions. (I haven't seen the snake under the river, but the last time I went to the river where we normally go, the river had a waterfall. [...] When you get into that water, your body will be so dead, so numb, that someone must help you out. [...] Your mind is off [...] but you still have visions.)

Theme: Power of the Shaman

1) The power of the shaman is determined by the level of commitment, for commitment is required in order to have successful ancestor contact. (You need to be a person who is really dedicated to this thing to talk to them. You need commitment.)

2) The powers of the shaman come from the ancestors and from God, for the ancestors are the mediators of God. (You see I don't have powers, the powers I have are from my ancestors and from God, because our ancestors are the messengers of

God, because God can't come to me and tell me what to do. Our ancestors are mediators.)

Theme: Totem Animal

1) The animal of this shaman is a leopard. Dreams, therefore have increased significance if a leopard appears in them. (The leopard. I dream it, my grandfather brought the leopard skin and put it over my head. My grandfather was a king, from my mother. [...] but if I see him (leopard) in the dream, then I know it will be something good.)

Themes of Interview 10

Shaman: Daniel Baloyi

Age: 40 years

In Practice: 29 years

Training: Bushbuckridge, 3 years

Theme: Calling

1) At the age of eleven, this shaman became very ill and began dreaming of his ancestors. These dreams led him to find his shamanic teacher. (I started my profession when I was eleven years old. [...] I was just dreaming, and I was told to go to Mapumalanga. I dreamt the place I must go. I found my teacher there. [...] I went there and the spirits came out, and from there they start teaching me. I was ill, very ill.)

Theme: Genealogy

1) This shaman carries the same name as his great grandfather, who was also a shaman. His family comes from generations of shamans. ([...] you know our family comes from my generation of *izangomas*. So my great grandfather gave me this, and

when I was born he had just died, and I have his name and then the spirit also comes to me.)

Theme: Training

1) This shaman was instructed to go into the bush, and choose a dead tree trunk and begin to talk to his ancestors. (Hmm, you know, you just speak to the ancestors, and they just show me how to do it. I just go to the bushes and speak to my ancestors. [...] you choose a tree who has died, and you are going there and you talk to them, and when you talk to them.)

2) The ability to contact the ancestors improves over time and with practice. The contact is supported by dreaming, acts of purification as well as the taking of herbal medicines. (When you are ill, then you get better, then you get clean, and then you start dreaming, and you must also take the *muti*.)

3) Different *thwasas* have different strengths and weaknesses. Some concentrate on dancing, whilst others are more skilled at curing patients. (Some are different. Some they can just dance but they [the ancestors] don't give her medicine, they can't cure people, like others they can cure, and there are different ancestors.)

Theme: Ancestor Contact

1) The mind is experienced as being "off". This allows the spirit to emerge, after which visions can occur. (When the spirits come to you, the feeling is like you are off-minded, *nee*, then the spirits are working. Sometimes they don't come so strongly and you can see things, you know.)

2) Through visions the ancestors reveal what illnesses patients have as well as where lost objects are to be found. (Ya, I can see things, I see pictures, so when someone is coming now, when I look at him, I can see he is sick or when he has lost something and he wants to know where it is, so the spirits show me.)

3) Contact with the ancestors also occurs in the form of prayer. (Ya, it is just like a prayer.)

4) This shaman hears the ancestors speak to him. The best time for this contact is at three a.m. (Ya, they speak to me [...] Ya, at night, let us say three o'clock at night.)

Theme: Induction Techniques

1) Both *snuff* as well as water mixed with ash and salt are used for induction purposes. The *snuff* is put down at the *indumba* (shrine) which is inside the house, whilst outside the shrine or *gandelo* is usually a tree stump in front of which the shaman claps his hands while worshipping his ancestors. (Ya, the *indumba* inside and the *gandelo* outside, it is where you workshop your ancestors. [...]) [the *gandelo*] looks like a dead tree, and you sit down and talk to your ancestors. And you clap your hands.)

Theme: Dancing

1) While dancing, a spirit is felt within the body. A difference is noticed in that the spirit controls the body. There is no retrospective memory of the ancestral presence, this being a sign of the power of the trance. (You feel the spirits in your body. [...]) You feel different. Then you know the spirits are controlling your body. [...] Inside, your mind. After the ancestors are gone, she doesn't know what happened. Just like when you fainted, you don't know what happened and how you got there, ya. Just like that when it is powerful.)

Theme: Drumming

1) Two rhythms exist, the *bhandawu* which is for the under water experience, and the *gida* beat which is used for drumming. (Ya, the *bhandawu*, which is for when you are at the water. And then there is also the *gida* beat, that is for dancing.)

Theme: Umbilini

1) This shaman did not have any knowledge of this term nor could he relate to the experience when it was described to him. (No, I don't know that.)

Theme: Breathing Exercise

1) This shaman does not practice any breathing exercises. (No, they [the ancestors] just come.)

Theme: Divination

1) The ancestors are also present during divination, at which time they are heard internally. (There is something that tells you to say this and this and this.)

Theme: Dreaming

1) While the shaman is dreaming the ancestors provide answers, as well as reveal herbal knowledge as to both where the herbs are to be found and how to prepare them. This form of dreaming occurs regularly. ([...] when you talk to them at night in a dream they show you what you are seeking. Maybe they show me that I must get a herb and show me where it is, and how I must treat it. [...]) Ya, lots of herbs.)

2) Lucid dream states are achieved by this shaman who interacts actively with the ancestors in the dream. (Ya, I can talk back to them and I can see it is a dream. I know it is a dream.)

Theme: OBE

1) This shaman denied having experienced any classical OBEs. He interpreted the question as relating to the ancestors being active in lucid dreams in which herbal knowledge is conveyed. (No, but I understand what you mean. When you feel like that you must sleep down on the floor like the *thwasas*. Maybe your ancestors need you and they want to take you so that they can speak to you.)

Theme: Vision Quest

1) While in mountains caves, the *thwasas* talk to their ancestors and dream about them. This shaman also related the vision quest to the underwater experience. (And those in the cave, they workshop their ancestors. They talk, sleep there, and they will come and dream there.)

Theme: Underwater Experience

1) This shaman stated that there are underwater people called *nzunzu* [Tsonga], who look like women but take on the form of a fish from the hips down. These water people take the shamans to a safe place underwater, where the shaman will be taught. This shaman was given his divination 'bones' under water. It was claimed that some shamans stay under water for up to a year. This shaman jumped into the water where he stayed for "only" two days. During this time he went to an underwater cave in which there was no water, and which was filled with normal light. His shamanic teacher came to pick him up from the cave after two days because he had been underwater too long. The reason he gave for being able to stay under water and not drown was that the ancestors were with him.

While in this cave the woman with the fish-body from the hips down taught the shaman how to divine and gave him his set of 'bones' for divination. To this collection he added a 1991 coin, as well some bones around which he wrapped copper wire in order to distinguish from male and female 'bones'. This shaman was told by this being that he would be a shaman for the rest of his life. Drums were beaten with the *bhandawu* rhythm in order to call him back to the surface. This shaman has not been under water in this manner again. (The water, I don't know how to call it, *watermens*, or what, ya. That thing takes you and you go inside the water, there is a safety place there where they are going to teach you. Sometimes you come out there and you are a faith healer, sometimes you come out and you are an *isangoma*. Some stay underwater for six months, sometimes for a year. [...] Ya, I was at Bushbuckridge. You know that time I was at school, my ancestors tell me that I must go there and check it. Then I get there at the water. Then I jumped in. [...] Ya, I was only underwater for two days [...] I just stay, inside the water is another cave there, there is no water there. [...] it was just like light now (indoors) [...] she [shamanic teacher] come and pick me up because I was long time in the water. [...] we call it *nzunzu* [Tsonga]. Ya, it is like a woman, but she is a fish person from the hips down, and she teach me. She gives me the 'bones'. [...] Ya, that one [1991 coin] I put there, and these with the copper wire, I put the copper wire on it so that I can

know which bone is male and which is female. And I got it in a bag, and she said that I would be an *isangoma* for the rest of my life. Ya, I was wet, but they were also beating the drums so that I must come out. [...] No [not back underwater], but I take my ancestors to the rivers so that they can worship the ancestors there.)

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