

**THE INFLUENCES OF TRADITIONAL MEDICINE IN RELATION TO ITS
VARIOUS USE BY THE AFRICAN SOCIETIES: A REVIEW OF ZULU NOVELS**

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BY

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ABSTRACT

Traditional medicine, unlike western medicine, is not merely concerned with physical illness, but it is used for various purposes. For instance: It can be used for *ukuthwala*' (the process whereby a person consults a traditional doctor for the medicine that will make a person very rich). The practice of *'ukuthwala*' has numerous disadvantages, especially because of the price that is paid in return of the wealth accumulated. The price is usually a human sacrifice, depending on what version of *ukuthwala*' a person has opted for. Traditional medicine can also be used for witchcraft (*ukuthakatha*), for protection against evil spirits (*ukuqinisa*), for making someone love you, for job opportunities, and for inspiration of the army. It can be either used for good or evil purposes. The dissertation looks at both versions by strongly drawing examples from Zulu novels.

Other issues raised in this study is the importance of religion and cosmology, culture, magic, as well as spiritual healing, in association with traditional medicine. The Africans believe in the spirit world. They believed that for people to communicate with *'Mvelinqangi*' (God) there should be *'amadlozi*' (the ancestors), who should intercede with God on their behalf. Usually, they call a *'sangoma*' (medium) or *'inyanga*' (medicine-man) to perform the religious ritual, or he would just instruct the elder person in the family how to carry out the procedure of communicating with the ancestors (Canonici, 1996). Traditional medicine has its own professional ethics. These ethics are also discussed in the research.

DECLARATION

I solemnly swear that I am the original owner of this piece of work, and that all sources that were used for the development of this dissertation have been fully cited and acknowledged by means of references.

S.Z. Ntshangase
.....

S.Z. Ntshangase

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“The Lord above, is the reason for my success”

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The research project is a mission of re-discovery of the integrity and significance of traditional medicine, and how it might influence the lives of people of today. Obviously, in doing so, one must also mention certain practices that undermine traditional medical practice, like witchcraft, and misuse of traditional medicine. By exposing these things, the point is not to despise traditional medicine, but is an endeavour to rescue it from the power of evil, by strongly condemning malpractice and corruption.

The research focuses mainly on demonstration of the fact that traditional medicine does not only deal with physical illness, but serves a lot of purposes like *ukuthwala* (the medicine for getting rich), *ukuthakatha* (witchcraft), *ukuqinisa* (the medicine for protection, either from evil spirits or anything that might harm a person or a homestead), inspiration of the army, and traditional medicine for love and job opportunities.

The process of getting the medicine for getting rich (*ukuthwala*) somehow along the way incorporates some religious practices. For example, a human sacrifice that is supposed to be brought into the altar as a paying price for the wealth accumulated through *ukuthwala*. The evidence from Zulu novels show that some of the practices resemble the kind of contemporary evil religion called 'Satanism'. To see how traditional medicine is linked with this kind of practice, read Chapter 5 for more details. Details of the consequences of *ukuthwala* are also presented in Chapter 5.

Two dimensions are notable in the use of traditional medicine. It is either used for good or evil purposes. The research project will draw an analogy, and is going to be a revelation of the truth that traditional medicine is not bad, but it is people who misuse it who make it appear to be bad. Traditional medical profession has got its own ethics, and when these ethics are broken something bad happens. An outline of the ethics will come in the research, and it will show that traditional doctors who break the ethics are the ones that strain traditional medical profession.

When traditional medicine is used for evil purposes, we call it witchcraft (*Ukuthakatha*). When it is used for good purposes we call it *'ukwelapha'* (healing). The research will focus on both versions (i.e. good and evil usage of traditional medicine). The use of traditional medicine will be justified by the analysis of five Zulu novels. (See Chapter 3)

The research will also address the collaboration of traditional doctors, the importance of culture, African cosmology or religion, magic as well as spiritual healing. These issues, especially culture, cosmology, and spiritual as well as magical healing form a central framework of theories used by other scholars like Makinde, Mbiti, and Callaway, in trying to understand traditional medicine and African tradition. Theory, definition, and discussion of these terms and many others that are used frequently in the study will be presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 will present methodological processes. The data from the fieldwork material collected in Durban and surroundings (Umlazi) will be presented in Chapter 3 as well. Chapter 4 will be reserved for data analysis, which will be accompanied by summaries

of all Zulu novels from which the research bases its argument. Interpretation of data and the findings of both the fieldwork and the analysis of Zulu novels will be given in Chapter 5. One English short story from *To Kill a Man's Pride* (Hodge, 1984), entitled "No Witchcraft For Sale" will be used as an example to support the argument of how African cultural beliefs affect traditional medical professions and its values and principles.

The final chapter, which is chapter 6, renders some concluding remarks and recommendations for further research. It gives an overall evaluation of the entire research and what the research has achieved so far. It also imposes a challenge across different disciplines: medical sciences, art sciences, and the government to start a new road to human re-discovery by starting to appreciate the goodness of traditional medicine, and to let it function as a parallel and equal paradigm with western medical practice.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BREAKDOWN

2.1 Introduction

The chapter is aimed at giving an overview of theories by different scholars on the subject of the research, which is multi-purposive use of traditional medicine, the importance of culture, religion, and magical as well as spiritual healing associated with traditional medicine. The chapter gives a basic explanation of words and phrases that are going to be used frequently in the study. For example, traditional medicine, traditional healers, medicine-men, 'izinyanga', 'izangoma', 'ukuthwala', 'ukuthakatha', 'umhlahlo', 'insila', 'ukuqinisa', 'ukwelapha kwendabuko', cosmology, magic, spiritual healing and culture.

2.1.1 The Definition of Traditional Medicine

What is 'traditional' medicine? Is it called 'traditional' medicine because it is primitive or what? There might be two possible explanations to this question, depending on where the person stands (i.e. Eurocentric point of view or Afrocentric point of view). By Eurocentric point of view, we mean that the person sees the world through eyes of western civilization that sometimes undermines African cultures. Afrocentric point of view on the other hand praises the African cultures.

A person who upholds to Eurocentric point of view would say 'yes' traditional medicine is called so because it is indeed primitive. She/He will then justify herself/himself by saying that if it were not so, traditional medical profession would

be exposed to new modern technology. However, a person who upholds to Afrocentric point of view would say 'traditional' in this sense does not mean 'primitive', but it means that traditional medical profession still upholds to tradition, and that it should remain so, no matter what. Tradition in this sense refers to cultural and customary practices of the Zulu nation or African society. The research, therefore, goes in accordance with Afrocentric point of view. (For more details, see Chapter 5).

2.1.2 Traditional Doctors

People who are specialists in the use of traditional medicine are called traditional healers or traditional doctors. In the olden days they were referred to as 'witchdoctors'. It is obvious that people who gave them this name were misguided. It could be either they didn't grasp the actual semantic value of the name 'witchdoctor', which is normally associated with evil, or they were possessed by the prejudices of their own upbringing.

In a clarification of the term, Mbiti (1969: 166) says:

These are the specialist who have suffered most from European/American writers and speakers who often and wrongly call them 'witchdoctors' -a term which should be buried and forgotten forever.

Mbiti (1969) prefers to call these people specialists because of the skills and expertise they have in the use of traditional medicine. In the research, they are referred to as traditional doctors, because like western scientists, they are practitioners in their profession and they are trained for it. Like Mbiti, this research rejects the word

witchdoctor, for it carries a negative meaning. Witchdoctors are only those people who use traditional medicine to foster their evil and wicked ways. Nothing good is implicated in their practices.

Traditional doctors differ, depending on their form of specialization. Mbiti (1969) divides them into medicine-men, mediums and diviners. In trying to draw a distinction, Mbiti (1969: 171) refers to mediums and diviners as:

These people belong to the category of the medicine-men both in the training and duties. In their profession they also deal with the living/dead and spirits, whereas medicine-men generally do not. This is, however, chiefly an academic distinction and often the same specialist plays the role of both medicine-man and diviner, and African names for them are often the same.

Mbiti might be right to say traditional specialists perform more or less the same functions, and that many Africans usually give them the same name. However, one should not overlook possible differences. Let us look at what is said by the proceeding of a seminar held in the centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, entitled *African medicine in the Modern World* (10 and 11 December 1986: 9):

A careful study of most societies in fact reveals an enormous range of practitioners and practices, from the purely pragmatic to what could loosely be termed psychotherapy. There are for instance, herbalists, priests and diviners, bone-settlers, etc.

The practices of these people are totally different. For instance, a herbalist might know only how to use herbs to cure diseases, but he might not have the knowledge of revealing the cause of misfortune, as a diviner or a priest could do. The practice of a

herbalist might not be influenced by spirits that guide him on what is to be done. His knowledge might only be influenced by his personal inclination in using traditional medicine.

In a Zulu society there are terms like '*inyanga*' or '*isangoma*.' Both these people may be referred to as traditional doctors or specialists. They both use traditional medicine, and they both can perform some spiritual rituals like re-integration of the ancestors with the living (*ukubuyisa amadlozi*-further explanation will follow soon.) However, not all traditional-doctors falling under the group of '*izinyanga*' have powers to perform spiritual rituals, reason being that some of these people are only herbalists; they only know how to use herbs for specific sicknesses. Their practice is not influenced by spiritual healing (See chapter 5 for more details). The mediums (*Izangoma*) on the other hand are all linked with the spirits, and they all have spiritual powers, very ordinary in nature, to such an extent that they can reveal even some deep hidden secrets. Mbiti (1969: 172) says:

Through them messages are received from the other world, or men are given knowledge that would otherwise be difficult or impossible to know. For example, through a medium who gets in touch with the spirit world, a person may be directed to find a lost property or to know who stole his goods. Mediums function in this role only when 'possessed' by a spirit, otherwise they are 'normal' people without specialized abilities.

'Izangoma' and some of '*izinyanga*', especially the ones whose practices are influenced by the spirits, are entitled to perform a ritual known as *Ukubuyisa Amadlozi*' (re-integration of ancestors with the living, or calling back of the ancestors). The integration practice is deeply rooted in cosmology, religion and culture of the

African people.

2.1.3 *The African Cosmology and Religion*

Cosmology refers to the way people perceive the universe. The proceeding of a seminar held in the centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh (1986: 9) says:

Traditional medicine is inextricably bound up with people's total view of the universe and the meaning of life and death...A proper understanding of the traditional healing practice of any culture requires a knowledge of the prevailing religion and cosmology. We should not underestimate or ignore the spiritual of much healing.

In verifying the importance of cosmology and culture in traditional medical practice, Makinde (1988: 91) says:

Therefore, theories and practices of medicine have a cultural dimension. Its system and policy must have taken root the beliefs and culture of the African people. From this point of view the concept of illness, disease, diagnosis, treatment, life and death must also have a cultural dimension. That a people's belief, faith, and religion have much to do with the acceptance of the efficacy or otherwise of any particular system of medicine need no philosophical justification.

Callaway (1970. Anth. 1 and 2) shows how and why the ritual of recalling the ancestors should be performed? Even before the advent of Christianity, African people did believe in the existence of God. Zulu people used to call Him *Mvelinqangi* (the one who came first), or *Nkulunkulu* (the great ancestor). They believed that *Nkulunkulu* created everything and everybody, including the ancestors (*Amathongo* or *Amadlozi*). Canonici (1996: 85) says:

Amathongo, the so called 'gods' or great spirits, are his creatures, subordinate to him. They are to be venerated, not worshiped. One may add here that, according to D & V (pg 161), *amadlozi* are the spirits of the recently departed, who are waiting to enter the realm of *amathongo* through the *ukubuyisa* (bringing back) ceremony, when they are asked to return to their families as tutelary spirits. They are believed to remain close to their graves, emanating an invisible active power for the benefit of their descendants, provided they are not forgotten. Animals are ritually slaughtered for them that they may bless their children (=bring them good luck in children, cattle and crops, and remove disease).

The quotation above, from Canonici (1996: 85) can be summed up to represent a structure like this:

uMvelinqangi (God)

0

AmaThongo (Ancestors)

0

AmaDlozi (spirits)

0

Inkosi (King)

0

Umnumzana (Head of the Family)

0

Amakhosikazi nezingane (Wives and children)

African people believe that if the ancestors have turned their backs on them, nothing on God's earth can turn on their favour. Unless they reconcile with the ancestors, no traditional medicine can help to eradicate their misfortunes. The mediums, or

'*izangoma*' are the ones that, through communication with the spirits or the ancestors, reveal all what is to be done. They too, are the ones who perform the ritual ceremony, with the help of the elder person in the family. Sometimes they give instructions, and the elder person in the family would do the business.

2.1.4 *The Supernatural Power of Evil (witchcraft)*

Africans believe that almost all misfortunes that uninvitedly and unexpectedly descend into their lives are influenced and engineered by witchcraft (*ukuthakatha*). In explaining witchcraft Mair (1969: 7) says:

In many parts of the world people believe that it is possible for human beings to cause harm to their fellows by the exercise of powers not possessed by ordinary folk, powers which operate in a manner that cannot be detected, so that the cause can only be recognized when the damage comes to light.

The reason why the powers of witchcraft are hard to detect is that witchcraft operates in a more magical way. Witchcraft takes different forms, and is usually stirred up by jealousy, greediness, zeal for economic power, etc. For witchcraft to function efficiently and effectively, '*insila*' (anything that might be in contact with a person's body) is needed. To find out who is a witch, people of the area usually converge to go and see the medium. That kind of an operation is called '*umhlahlo*'. If a person has been bewitched, the person requires traditional medical attention (*ukwelapha ngokwendabuko*). For prevention of any harm in the future '*ukuqinisa*' (vaccination) is usually performed. Through '*ukuqinisa*', a person is made strong to stand any kind of witchcraft. '*Ukuthwala*', the quest for medicine to get rich has been classified in the

research as one of the forms of witchcraft (See Chapter 5 for more details).

The information given in the chapter supports the hypothesis raised by the research. The first argument was that traditional medical practice does not simply deal with physical symptoms, or illness, but with a variety of purposes. It can be used for good or for evil. Hole (1945: 11) presents a good analogy:

The same hidden forces which the magician controlled could be used for good or evil. They could be employed to promote or blast fertility, to cause or cure disease, or bring good or bad fortune upon any man, to bring health and prosperity to one, ill-fortune, madness or death to another, to estrange or unite lovers, make men impotent and women barren, and destroy crops.

Scholars like Mbiti, Makinde, Callaway and Canonici have verified issues raised by framework theories of this study. For example, the importance of cosmology and religion, culture, as well as spiritual healing in association with traditional medicine. To make the argument very firm, Chapter 5 will give examples taken from Zulu novels, which are actually the focal point and main sources of the study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK SAMPLES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reveals the methods that were used in applying the theories that have been raised in Chapter 2. While this research focuses mainly on Zulu novels, fieldwork was also carried out.

The fieldwork was conducted in Durban (Grey Street, Russell Street) and in the outskirts of Durban (Umlazi township and surrounding hostels=Tehuis and Glebelands). The method used was a random survey, where traditional doctors were approached and asked already prepared questions. No tape-recorders were used, and questionnaires were not distributed for the traditional doctors to fill. A shorthand system was used in jotting down the responses of each and every interviewee. All the interviewees were asked one and the same questions.

3.1.1 The Fieldwork Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ)

- (a) Whether age is important in traditional medical practice? Or are there any age limitations or boundaries in the call for becoming a traditional doctor.
- (b) How does a person know or find out about the cure of a certain disease or illness, or is it true that this knowledge is only entrusted by the ancestors to certain individuals, otherwise that individual has no right to claim he is a traditional healer?

- (c) What kind of a training is given to traditional doctors, and how long should a training last for someone to qualify as a traditional doctor?
- (d) How do they differentiate between witchcraft and healing? What contribution is made by traditional doctors to ensure that the profession is cleansed from the strains of witchcraft?
- (e) What are the views of traditional doctors on the issue of HIV and AIDS? Is there a cure or not?
- (f) Do they think it is a good idea for traditional doctors to work hand in hand with western medical doctors?
- (g) Should traditional doctors combine their remedies with western remedies, or should they uphold strongly and uncompromisingly to tradition?

3.1.2 The Sample of Interviewees

Area	No. per Area	Males	Females	Age Group
Grey Street	30	20	10	26-46
Russell Street	60	35	25	19-55
Umlazi and Surroundings	30	30	----	30-59
Total	120	85	35	

Table 3.1.2

3.1.3 *The Selected Novels for the Study*

The following Zulu novels were selected because they are relevant to the subject of the research:

- (a) *Izwi Nesithunzi* (R.R.R. Dlomo)
- (b) *Shumpu* (J.C. Gwayi)
- (c) *Uphuya Wasemshwathi* (Kenneth Bhengu)
- (d) *Imithi Ephundliwe* (Moses Hlela and Christopher Nkosi)
- e) *Inkukhu Yanqunywa umlomo* (M.T. Mkhize)

The abovementioned novels will be analyzed concurrently, only to justify and backup the argument that would have been presented, than analyzing them consecutively. This will be done in order to avoid unnecessary redundancy since some of these novels deal with issues that are more or less the same.

CHAPTER 4: THE FIELDWORK DATA ANALYSIS AND SUMMARIES OF NOVELS

4.1 Introduction

The first part of the chapter will present the analysis of data from the fieldwork. The summaries of Zulu novels will be presented on the second part of the chapter. The English short story from the book *To Kill A Man's Pride*, entitled "No Witchcraft For Sale" will be included as well. The inclusion of the English short story does not mean a total diversion from the main focus, which is on Zulu novels, but it is done only with the purpose of anchoring the argument, especially to demonstrate the influence of culture in traditional medical practice.

4.2 The Percentage Distribution of Responses

Frequently asked questions	Positive-%	Negative-%	Uncertain-%
The importance of age	15%	85%	---
Revelation of remedies through dreams (by ancestors)	10%	90%	---
The importance of training	100%	---	---
Denouncement of witchcraft	100%	---	---
Whether there is cure for HIV/AIDS	60%	10%	30%

Collaboration with scientists	50	50	---
Disguising tradition with science	5%	90%	5%

Table Figure 4.2

4.3 The Summaries of the Novels

4.3.1 Summary No. 1 *Uphuya WaseMshwathi* (Bhengu, 1983)

The title of this book means a poor man of Mshwathi. *Uphuya* means poor, *Mshwathi* is a place name.

In the book, a man named Mbizeni Hlophe went to a traditional doctor named Mkhokhobi, in the Eastern Cape. His intention for going there was to get the medicine that would make him rich. After several sessions, he eventually returned home. When he got home he started businesses, and they all flourished. He became a multi-millionaire.

After 21 years, he started to experience problems. In getting the wealth, he had made an agreement with the traditional doctor that he would give up his first born daughter as a sacrifice, in return of the wealth he would have accumulated. When his daughter reached the age of 21, he became reluctant to give her up, and he made some arrangements to take her into hiding. His daughter was beautiful and educated.

The man's life became miserable, and he disappeared. He became mentally

handicapped, and started to live in the bush. His daughter's life too, was miserable. She used to be overcome by evil spirits. And she was later kidnapped by the traditional doctor's son, for her to fulfil an agreement that her father made with the traditional doctor. Fortunately, she was not offered for a sacrifice, because she had lost one finger in a car accident. After the boyfriend had rescued her, her father too was rescued. Unfortunately, the man's (Mbizeni's) wealth diminished, and he died shortly after that. When he died, he was no longer called *Ainkinsela yaseMshwathi* (the squire of Mshwathi), but was now called '*Uphuya waseMshwathi*' (the poor man of Mshwathi).

4.3.2 Summary No. 2-*Izwi Nesithunzi* (Dlomo, 1977)

The title means a voice and a shadow. *Izwi* is a voice. *Isithunzi* is a shadow or a figure.

In the book a traditional doctor from Pietermaritzburg, named Ncibijane Zuma, because of the collapse of his traditional medical business, decided to consult a very powerful and well-known traditional doctor from Maputaland (Northern Zululand). His intention, was to get the '*muti*' that would make his business flourish, so that he would be known as the richest man in the country. The traditional doctor gave him a belt that should be always kept tightened around his waist. The belt that would make him a multi-millionaire, and if he removes it from his waist, all his wealth would vanish and evaporate like moisture. The traditional doctor informed him that he would hear a voice, and see an unknown shadow. The voice

would tell him what to do, and he should react immediately to what the voice would say, otherwise he would be in big trouble. If the voice commands him to kill, he should comply.

In his return from Maputaland, Mr. Zuma was a very changed man. He became a multi-millionaire, and he became unpredictable: sometimes happy, and all of a sudden would become angry, and aggressive. People started to fear him even his beloved wife started to feel very uncomfortable around him. He killed her afterwards. He also killed a daughter of Mrs Nkosi, one of his patients.

Later on, Mr. Zuma was very drunk, and he was fast asleep, when Mrs Nkosi, who was one of his patients removed the belt from his waist. This catastrophe culminated with evaporation of all the luxuries and decencies of life that he once enjoyed. The incident marked the beginning of his nightmare that ended with him being arrested and sentenced to death for murder.

4.3.3 Summary 3-*Shumpu* (Gwayi, 1974)

The title of the book *Shumpu* refers to a Zulu ideophone for chopping something. It relates to what is happening in the book, where we find Ntombazi beheading chiefs and decorating her hut with their heads.

In the book, Ntombazi, the lady elephant of the Zwide tribe, is notoriously known of being a witch. With her powerful medicine, she used to bewitch chiefs of different tribes. If they fall for her trap, she would behead them, and hang their heads on the

wall of her hut.

Every time when there was a conflict between the Zwide tribe and other tribes, Ntombazi would resort to her '*muti*'. The most wanted and prospective victim was Dingiswayo, the paramount chief of the Mthethwa people. Dingiswayo was a very powerful chief and he had defeated the Zwides twice.

Realizing that the Zwides would never defeat the Mthethwas, Ntombazi, Zwide's mother, advised Zwide to put aside weapons and let her use traditional medicine to bewitch Dingiswayo. After several abortive attempts to defeat Dingiswayo, Zwide eventually yielded to his mother's plan. They made arrangements that Ntombane, Zwide's sister, should go and marry Dingiswayo, so that she should try to get his '*insila*' (anything that might have been in contact with his body). Ntombane managed to get Dingiswayo's *insila*. She then fled back home.

Seeing that his wife had disappeared, Dingiswayo organized the army to attack the Zwides. The Zwides laid a trap. They bewitched all the rivers that the Mthethwas will cross. The Zwides caught Dingiswayo while he was taking a walk with his beautiful wives. He was captured, murdered, and his head was hung around the hut with the others. Shaka, the king of the Zulus, was also in the list, but they never got him, instead, it was him who killed Ntombazi and Zwide in retaliation of the death of Dingiswayo.

4.3.4 Summary No. 4-*Imithi Ephundliwe* (Hlela, 1985)

The novel focuses on the events that took place in Zululand in the late 1870s, during the reign of king Cetshwayo. It traces back the factors that contributed into the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. (Hlela and Nkosi, 1985).

In the beginning of the novel, we are told of a young man named Mehlokazulu. Mehlokazulu was the son of one of Cetshwayo's trusted headmen, named Sihayo. We are told that Mehlokazulu was in love with a girl named Ntombana. Ntombana did not want to return Mehlokazulu's love, and Mehlokazulu started to use '*muti*' that would make Ntombana love him. He believed that if Ntombana could reach his home, traditional doctors would make her stay forever, through the use of their medicine.

As the events of the novel unfold, we are told of a terrible criminal offence that was committed by Mehlokazulu and his friend. They had killed the wives of Mehlokazulu's father on their way to Natal. Portshepstone, the then governor of Natal demanded Cetshwayo to send Sihayo and his son, Mehlokazulu, to Natal so that they should be tried and sentenced for the crime they committed. In addition, Cetshwayo had to give in a large number of cattle for an apology, and the Zulu people were commanded to pay poll and hut-tax. Cetshwayo called a general meeting to discuss Port-Shepstone's decrees. The ultimate resolutions taken in the meeting was that the people of Zululand would rather die than yielding to the powers of the English. And that is how the Anglo-Zulu war started.

In the preparation for the war, king Cetshwayo ordered his traditional doctor to use his medicine to inspire the army. Warriors were given meat that was mixed up with the medicine, and they became fearless and ready to face the enemy. In the battle of Isandlwana, the English were severely defeated. However, the Zulus were eventually defeated in the battle of Ulundi.

4.3.5 Summary No. 5-*Inkukhu Yanqunywa Umlomo* (Mkhize, 1991)

The title of this book *Inkukhu Yanqunywa Umlomo* is derived from a Zulu proverb meaning that a person has run out of words or that a person has been forced to remain quiet.

The man by the name of Nguboyelanga is found taking-off with his cousin to try and find work in the Durban harbour. His first day in trying to find a job was a disaster, therefore, he made some arrangements with his cousin to see a traditional doctor. The traditional doctor gave him two unmarked identical bottles of medicine. One was for him to use orally, and the other one was for him to use anally. Unfortunately, Ngubelanga confused the medicine and used it wrongly. When he arrived at the work place the employer called him first. He was stunned as to how the employer had recognized him because by the time the employer called, he was facing the back. Soon he realized that may be it was the effect of Sibubulungu's traditional medicine.

However, when Ngubelanga faced the employer, the employer asked who called him, and why he was showing off his bums onto the employer. This incident happened repeatedly until Ngubelanga decided to give up. When he and his cousin confronted

Sibubulungu, the traditional doctor, he said all what happened was because Ngubelanga did not use the medicine as he was directed.

Ngubelanga, as a result, did not find the job, and he wrote a letter addressed to his wife, saying that he would drown himself in the sea. He then disappeared, and everybody thought he was dead. Later in the novel, he reappeared to his wife who was about to get married to another man. Ngubelanga pretended to be a brother of the widow's deceased husband and accepted '*ilobolo*' (the bride's price). Unfortunately for him, the bridegroom to be, knew him, for Ngubelanga had once worked for him. When they met Ngubelanga was very shocked in a way that he had nothing to say. That is why the title of the novel is *Inkukhu Yanqunywa Umlomo* (he had nothing to say).

4.4 The Summary of the English Short Story

4.4.1 Summary No. 1- "*No Witchcraft for Sale*" (Doris Lessing)

In the story we find a man called Gideon working as a cook for the Farquars family. The Farquars had no children for years, until a boy by the name of Teddy was born. When the boy was born, he became a pet of the family. Teddy and Gideon were inseparable friends. One day Teddy had a misfortune. The puffadder spat and blinded both of his eyes. The Farquars feared that their only begotten son would be blind for life. Gideon went into the bush and came back with plant roots that he used to heal Teddy's eyes. After few hours Teddy's eyes were healed.

The tidings of a magic herb used by Giddeon to heal Teddy's eyes were spread all over the place. One day a scientist visited the Farquars in order to see Giddeon so that he should show them the magic plant. Giddeon was very furious and he felt being betrayed by the Farquars. He initially refused to show them the plant. After a long persuasion by both the scientist and the Farquars he eventually yielded. He took them into the bush, under a very scorching sun. He said he no longer saw the plant. When he realized that everybody was exhausted he then bowed down and came up with a useless plant and said it was the plant he used to heal Teddy's eyes. Everybody was disappointed, for the same plant was all over the way they passed. The scientist however, smiled because non-availability of the plant would prove wrong the rumours about a magic plant that gave instant healing to Teddy's eyes.

CHAPTER 5: THE INTERPRETATION OF THEORIES AND THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

5.1 Introduction

The framework theories of this study are: traditional medicine does not simply deal with physical illness, but serves a lot of purposes (which might be either good or evil), traditional medicine incorporates cosmology and religion, culture, spiritual healing, as well as magic. The chapter is going to verify the above theories. Firstly, the interpretation of the findings of the fieldwork will be presented. Then the analysis of Zulu novels, and the English short story will be used to justify the argument.

The data presented in Chapter 3 (see Table 3.1.3) shows that finding information about traditional medical practice is the most difficult thing to do. It has got a lot of complications. Mainly because of African tradition stressing that traditional healing should remain an exclusive knowledge of traditional doctors, their sons, or immediate relatives. However, the table illustrates that the interview was a success, because 120 traditional doctors had agreed to partake in it.

Explaining why traditional doctors are reluctant to talk about their practice, Dlamini (2000, interview), who is the head of the Traditional Healers' Committee in Russell and Grey Streets in Durban said:

We are commercial traditional doctors. By commercial traditional doctors, I mean

that we are here in Durban only for selling purposes, not for general practice. We therefore, don't want to say a lot about general medical practice. I cannot allow people who come to steal information from us so that they become traditional doctors themselves. We, as traditional doctors had suffered a lot because of violence engineered by the youth against us. In the countryside, the youth had burnt down our houses and killed many traditional healers, because they are suspected of being the witches. Many African people look down on traditional medicine, especially those who are educated like you, and I see no reason why you are interested in this research.

Dlamini (2000)'s statements explain the complications that the researchers encounter when they go out to research about traditional medicine. Perhaps the researchers need to come up with some kind of an approach that can make traditional doctors feel comfortable to talk openly about their practice. However, there is doubt whether it can be possible if there is still the 'iron curtain' (i.e. African culture) that prevent traditional doctors to release all information pertaining traditional medical practice.

5.2 The Summary of Responses

In Chapter 4 (see table 4.2) there is a percentage distribution of responses to questions that were frequently asked in the survey. The interpretation and findings are presented in this section.

5.2.1 The School of Learning Traditional Medicine

Learning traditional medicine depends on what field of specialization the person wants to pursue. Mbiti (1969: 167,168) says:

In every case, medicine-men must undergo formal or informal training...When the training is over, the candidates is, in some societies,

formally and publicly initiated into the profession of medicine-men, so that everyone may recognize him and his qualification.

The information given by traditional doctors on the question of training traditional doctors, therefore, varies, depending on what exactly the focus is. For instance, to an ordinary herbalist, learning traditional healing is so easy. It does not need any kind of special training. You just learn that plant B is responsible for treating illness D. That is all, no complexities or complications involved. The practices of the herbalist have no spiritual influence so far, therefore he cannot reveal any hidden forces associated with the sufferings of his patients. His inclination for using herbs is the main reason for his drive, or else he should have been learning traditional medicine from someone who has been a relative, either a father or an uncle.

The most intricate part of learning traditional medicine is what we call '*ukuthwasa*'. This refers to a thorough training of traditional healers whose practices are more influenced by the spirits or ancestors. It could be either a '*Sangoma*' (a medium), or '*inyanga*' (a traditional doctor who can reveal secrets).

Being a '*sangoma*' or '*inyanga*' is not voluntary. It is not something that someone sits down and decides that he wants to be a '*sangoma*' or '*inyanga*'. According to the information given by traditional doctors, this is a call that comes anytime. A person who has been called for the job of being a traditional doctor, usually starts by having visions at night. Sometimes he sees an old man or woman. Sometimes he hears a voice that tells him that the ancestors want him; they want him to work for them. The person would keep on having these experiences until he consult other experienced '*zangomas*'

who would tell him that he is having 'idlozi' (the ancestor's spirit), and that he should go for training. If the person tries to overlook the call, consequences are disastrous; either the person dies or he becomes mentally impaired or a vagabond.

Training for becoming a 'sangoma' or 'inyanga', they (traditional doctors) say is usually the minimum of six months and the maximum of three years. They say it is the most horrifying moment, and all traditional doctors interviewed were reluctant to give details of what actually happens. In conclusion, they said that training would not be completed unless someone goes to stay underwater for a certain period. "The underwater training is the worst nightmare", they said.

5.2.2 Finding Remedy for a Disease

Traditional doctors say, for them to know how to cure a disease, firstly they have to find a Zulu name for a disease. If they cannot find the name, they cannot heal the disease as well. This assertion is very interesting, and it has to do with culture. African people believe strongly in the importance of naming. To them, a name bears a very vital significance and meaning. For instance, Onomastics (a study of naming practice) shows that each and every Zulu name given to a child has got a very specific meaning. However, the study is not going to dwell on this. Once a disease has been identified by its name, traditional doctors, with revelation through dreams would then know what remedy should be used to heal that particular disease. They strongly believe that whatever they do is not in accordance with their knowledge or intellect, but everything they do is entrusted onto them by the spirits or the ancestors. It is the ancestors that reveal all the secrets of healing to them.

Talking about spirits, Blackley (1994:91) says:

In any case, African religions recognize the importance of these spiritual forces in the lives of people, acting with an independence that can be either troubling or beneficial to men and women. Those forces have influence on people's lives. In some cases they are recognized as having an exceptional power and positions.

It is, therefore, evident from the information given above that traditional medicine is closely linked to the spirit world.

5.2.3 The Importance of the Age

The majority of traditional doctors say age has got nothing to do with traditional medical practice. They say a call can come at any time, to a small child or to an adult.

Mbiti (1969: 166) confirms:

There is no fixed rule governing the 'calling' of someone to become a medicine-man. This may come when he is still young and unmarried, or in his middle or later life. In other cases, a medicine-man passes on the profession to his son or other younger relatives.

However, when it comes to the practices of young and older traditional doctors, the views of traditional doctors differ. There are those who say young traditional doctors have a tendency of misusing their medicine for evil purposes, like witchcraft, and so forth.

Traditional doctors say that once a person has been called for traditional medical profession, that person should hold up till the last breath on earth. So, there is no age of retirement in traditional medical practice, only death gives a person a break.

5.2.4 Witchcraft and Healing

All traditional doctors interviewed had strongly denounced people who use their knowledge of traditional medicine for evil purposes. They said people who do this are scandalizing the name of traditional doctors, and they should know how to abide themselves with ethics of a traditional doctor.

5.2.5 Whether there is Cure for HIV/AIDS

This is the most controversial issue. 60 % of traditional doctors say they can treat HIV, but not AIDS. The above mentioned group of traditional doctors have much faith in their medicine. They say if a person is not too sick, their medicine responds efficiently and effectively. Perhaps, the remaining question is whether these people do cure HIV infected people or they just treat symptoms? (This question is subject for further research). 30% say they are not sure whether there is any cure because none of their patients has come forward with such problem. However, they believe that if such a person can come, maybe they can do something. 10% say 'NO', there is no cure for HIV/AIDS.

5.2.6 Collaboration of Traditional Doctors with Western Scientists

Traditional doctors say they are prepared to work hand in hand with western medical doctors. They say there are other kinds of diseases that are beyond the strength of western doctors, and that require only the expertise of traditional doctors. They mentioned things like *'umthwebulo'* (when a person is taken by evil spirits to become *tikoloshe* or *umkhovu*, which are used for evil purposes), *'umego'* (the *'muti'* that goes in through feet when you step on it on the path), *'idliso'* (the *'muti'* that goes in when you eat), and many other illnesses associated with witchcraft. They also know that there are other sicknesses that they cannot be able to attend, like a stroke, heart attack and high blood pressure, as well as sicknesses that need surgeries.

5.2.7 Mixing Tradition with Western Practice

To traditional doctors, mixing traditional medical practice with western practice is something unpalatable. They say they can appreciate working co-operatively with western doctors, but only if they work on parallel lines and as equals. They say the knowledge they have was bestowed to them by the ancestors and whatever they do should go in accordance with tradition.

“Traditional medicine, as the word says ‘traditional,’ should remain traditional,” said traditional doctors. What the traditional doctors say here coincide with the African cultural belief that traditional medical practice, and the power of healing should remain exclusively for traditional doctors, their sons, or immediate relatives. This is the kind of belief that has been going down from generation to generation. Seemingly,

it is here to stay.

The fieldwork ends here. Coming next is the analysis of Zulu novels used to justify the argument that traditional medicine is not only used to cure physical diseases, but it is used for many purposes, that might be either good or bad. These books also reveal the importance of religion, cosmology, culture as well as magical and spiritual healing.

5.3 The Analysis of Zulu Novels

The main focus of the study is to show how Zulu novels verify the theories of the study that were discussed in chapter 2. Five Zulu novels and one English short story have been selected to back up the argument of the study. For reference, all the summaries of these books are obtainable from chapter 4.

5.4 The Multi-Purposive Use of Traditional Medicine

Traditional medicine, as it has been said in Chapter 1, does not simply deal with physical illness, but it serves a lot of purposes. The following information verifies this argument:

5.4.1 The Medicine for Wealth (Ukuthwala)

Ukuthwala is a Zulu word which refers to the process whereby a person consults a traditional doctor for 'muti' or medicine to make him wealthy. Usually, people who resort to this stance, are males, because *ukuthwala* requires people who are brave. This

is so, because of frightful encounters these people experience during the procedure, and after the procedure of *ukuthwala*.

5.4.1.1 *Ukuthwala* and Witchcraft

Ukuthwala, is a version of witchcraft. Witchcraft and *ukuthwala* are two birds of the same family, because both have undesirable consequence, which is death'. In depicting this, the analysis of two Zulu novels: *Uphuya WaseMshwathi* (Kenneth Bhengu) and *Izwi Nesithunzi* (R.R.R. Dlomo), will be done.

5.4.1.2 *Ukuthwala* as Portrayed in the Book *Uphuya WaseMshwathi*

There is religious implication in the kind of *ukuthwala* that is portrayed in this book. African medical practice is deeply rooted in religion, the ancestry religion. However, in the novel, *Uphuya WaseMshwathi*, we find a different kind of religion. It is what we know today as 'Satanism'. Satanism is the religion that is aimed at challenging the authority of the almighty God. All occurrences associated with Satanism are evil. The master of Satanism is the Devil himself. People who believe in Satanism usually do unpalatable things like killing people in their large numbers, without showing any sign of remorse or repentance. People who do all the evil seem to be ordinary members of the society, but behind the scenes they are something different. They worship the Devil, and they are his strong army. (ref. On-going gossip). Coming next are the examples from *Uphuya WaseMshwathi*, to show how '*ukuthwala*' resembles Satanism.

Examples No.1 (Bhengu, 1983: 67):

Leyo ngane makube intombazana; iyothulwa eladini likaLusifa, ibhabhadiswe egameni likaLusifa. (That should be a female child; she would be brought into Lusifa' s altar, to be christened in the name of Lusifa.

Example No.2 (Bhengu, 1983: 221):

Hhayi UNkulunkulu kaGobisile uMkhokhobi wokufa kaLusifa. Izinhlanhla ezizuzwa ngegazi labantu abamsulwa, igazi lomuntu kaNkulunkulu, ziqalekisiwe. USathane akasoze aba namandla okunqoba. Kwaba ngakho uMbizeni Hlophe agcina esenguphuya waseMshwathi ekubeni waye yinkinsela yaseMshwathi (Not the god of Gobisile, Mkhokhobi of death, and Lusifa. The fortunes that are consumed from a human sacrifice are doomed and cursed. The devil will never be a conqueror. That is why Mbizeni Hlophe, the former squire of Mshwathi ended up being the poor man of Mshwathi).

The above two quotations put it clearly, that 'ukuthwala' in this novel has been used in association with Satanism. Lusifa, seemingly, represents the devil himself. If a person comes for 'ukuthwala', a person would be taken into Lusifa' s altar, to make vows that at a certain stage, he would offer a sacrifice in expression of gratitude for the wealth he would have been given by Lusifa. That child to be a sacrifice, would then be brought into Lusifa' s altar to be to be baptised, and to be given a new name. When the time for her to be sacrificed comes, all the procedure would be carried out in the altar as well, and she would later become the angel of Lusifa. People who come for 'ukuthwala' would then ask for everything by calling her name.

The second quotation, however, shows that all the powers of Lusifa are doomed to fail. It shows that the kind of wealth that is consumed through the process of 'ukuthwala'

is not the blessed one. Therefore, it turns out to be a temporal measure that disappears and evaporates easily when time comes. This indeed, is verified by what happened to Mbizeni Hlophe, when later in the novel, we find him losing all the wealth and fame he had once enjoyed.

It is generally believed that all the occurrences associated with satanism normally take place underwater. In the novel too, people who go for the process of *ukuthwala* always spend seven days underwater with animals of different species, depending on what exactly they want. For instance, Mbizeni Hlophe had spent seven days underwater, with a seven-headed snake.

'*Ukuthwala*' functions in a magical way, and it has many varieties. The following quotations from the novel best describe the magic and varieties of *ukuthwala*.'

Example No.1 (Bhengu, 1983: 63,64):

Ukuthwala kunhlobonhlobo. Kukhona isisalamuzi, imilutho eyimilingo, njengokuthi nje uguqule iphepha libe yimali-iheheba lamarandi athile; noma usonge uluthi ngephepha bese luguquka lube insavunsavu kashukela, noma usawoti, noma inyoka, kumbe iselesele; ukukhomba umuntu aphenduke isilwane esithile kumbe itshe; udle amalangabi omlilo kodwa ungashi; uhambe phezu kwamalahle omlilo kodwa ungashi, nokunye okuningi okungumlingo. (There are different kinds of ukuthwala. There are those that involve magic: like turning a paper into money notes, or else by folding a stick with a paper that would turn it into tons of sugar, or salt, or a snake, or a frog or by pointing a figure at someone, and someone turns into a certain animal, or a stone, or eating flames of fire without being burnt, or walking on fire, and remain unscorched, etc.).

The above quotation refers to minor versions of *ukuthwala*.

Example No.2 (Bhengu, 1983: 64)

Umcebo ozalwa uhlobo lomsebenzi owenzayo, njengowokuhweba. Kungaba umsebenzi wesitolo, isilaha, igalaji, noma ukulima, nokunye nje okungakwenzela imali. Kokunye ukhethe ukuthwalela ubugebengu ungaboshwa noma ngabe wenze sigemegeme sini, futhi ungabonwa unyamalale emehlweni abantu bebhekile. (The wealth that comes from commercial business; either a shop, a butchery, a garage, or a farm, etc. Sometimes, others choose *ukuthwala* for robbery. They don't get arrested, no matter how offensive the crime is. Sometimes they become invisible to the eyes of people).

The above quotation refers to the most serious versions of *ukuthwala*'. In the novel, our main character, Mbizeni Hlophe had opted for the kind of *ukuthwala*' that has been portrayed in the second quotation. He had opted for *ukuthwala*' that is associated with commercial businesses. His businesses had flourished, although it was only a matter of a while, because at the end everything had evaporated like moisture into the air.

The payment for wealth accumulated from *ukuthwala*' depends on its version and intensity. The following example explain all (Bhengu, 1983: 67):

Kukhona umnikelo owenziwa ngezilwane, amakati, izinja, amahhashi, izimbongolo, nezinkukhu ezimnyama. Kukhona umnikelo owenziwa ngomuntu. (There is a sacrifice of animals like cats, dogs, horses, donkeys, and black fowls. There is also a human sacrifice).

There is price paid by people who go for minor versions of *ukuthwala*'. The price paid by people going for this kind of version is not big. Example (Bhengu, 1983: 68):

Ukhumbule ukuthi iminikelo engumhlabele wegazi lezilwane... isetshenziswa yilabo abasuke becele ukuthwala kancane, nabemilingo. (Remember that the blood of animals is paid by those people who ask for minor things).

There is also a bigger price for bigger versions of 'ukuthwala'. This version requires a person to offer a human sacrifice. It is either a person who is your flesh and blood, particularly, your daughter. If you don't have a daughter, you need to offer a human sacrifice on annual basis. It takes only a very brave man to abide with the requirements of this version.

Example No.1 (Bhengu, 1983: 67):

Leyo ngane makube intombazana... kuyokuthi uma isiqede iminyaka engamashumi amabili nanye, bese iyalandwa izoba umnikelo wakho wokubonga inkosi yakho uLusifa ngoba ekunikeze impilo ende, nomcebo omningi. (That child should be a female... when she reaches the age of twenty one, she would be brought along as your sacrifice to thank your god, Lusifa, for prolonging your days of life, and for giving you an uncountable wealth).

Example No.2 (Bhengu, 1983: 68):

Qaphela lokhu: uma ungenayo ingane yentombazana ezalwa nguwe kuyodingeka ukuba wenze umhlabele wegazi lomuntu njalo ngonyaka, kuze kuphele leyo minyaka oyicelile yokuphila kwakho, nomcebo wakho. Lapho-ke akukhethiwe ukuthi ngumuntu oluhlobo luni ngobulili, nobudala akunakekile-inqobo nje uma uwenzile umnikelo wegazi lomuntu ekupheleni konyaka. (Heed this: if you don't have a daughter, you will be required to offer a human sacrifice on annual basis, till the culmination of the years you have requested for your life and your wealth to last. Here, there is no stated law on gender, and age. As long as you bring along a human sacrifice every year).

The consequences of 'ukuthwala' are usually disastrous. The failure to abide with the requirements of the price, especially for bigger versions of 'ukuthwala', is death. But,

before you die, you sadly and obliviously witness your wealth vanishing right in front of your eyes.

Example (Bhengu, 1983: 68):

Uma kuphela unyaka uhluleke ukwenza umnikelo wegazi lomuntu, umcebo wakho uyophela, kuthi ngemuva kwesikhathi esiyingxenye yeminyaka owayicelayo ulandwe.
(If you fail to bring a human sacrifice over the year, your wealth would diminish, and in the short run we shall fetch you).

Mr. Hlophe had failed to abide himself with the regulations of 'ukuthwala' he had opted for (i.e. bringing his daughter for a sacrifice). Therefore all his wealth had disappeared, and he died painfully.

5.4.1.3 *Ukuthwala* as Portrayed in the Book *Izwi Nesithunzi*

The instrumental force of 'ukuthwala' used in the book is centred around the magic belt that was given to Mr. Zuma by a traditional doctor from Tongaland. Here are the wonders of a belt that contained the 'muti' that revolutionized Mr. Zuma's life, which culminated in a tragic end of his own life.

Example (Dlomo, 1977: 65):

Ibhande leli yilona elizokulethela umnotho owufunayo. Umnotho nodumo emhlabeni. Uma lisokhalweni lwakho liyokwenza konke okuyokunothisa. Uyokuzwa izwi likhuluma nawe kodwa bangalizwa abanye ohlezi nabo endlini noma ephi...kvesinye isikhathi uyobona isithunzi engingekke ngikutshela ukuthi ngesani. Kodwa uyosibona ngenkathi izwi likhuluma nawe, likutshela elithi kwenze noma kuyini. Uma ungakwenzi kube ukufa kwakho. Uma wahlukana nebhande leli kube ukufa kwakho.

(This belt is the one that is going to make you rich. It will give you wealth and fame on earth. If it is always tightly kept around your waist, it would give you all the wealth you want. You will hear a voice speaking to you, but remain inaudible to those with you in the house or wherever you are...sometimes you will see an anonymous shadow. You will see the shadow only when the voice commands you to do whatever it would like you to do. Your failure would spell your fate. Disconnection of the belt with your waist would result to your fate as well).

The belt had a very forceful and powerful command over Mr. Zuma's life. The very first command of the belt had a very catastrophic and tragic end. The first victim was Zuma's wife. (Dlomo, 1977):

Mbulale (kill her) ... *Gcoba inkemba enegazi ebhandeni* (Smear the belt with blood from your dagger).

Zuma's wife was killed because she had questioned where Mr. Zuma was from in the middle of the night. She was also killed probably, because through her feminine suspicious instincts, she was going to be a major threat to Zuma's crooked ways. Lastly, she was obviously killed as price, or a human sacrifice that was suppose to be paid by Zuma in an expression of his deepest gratitude for unlimited wealth that was given to him by the belt.

The second victim was Tholakele, a young schoolgirl who was the daughter of Mrs. Nkosi, one of Mr. Zuma's patients. (Dlomo, 1977)

Sukuma khona manje uhambe ngendlela edlula ngasesikoleni samandiya...kuentombazanyana ozohlangana nayo, ufike uyibulale. (Get up right now. Take the path that goes via the Indian school, on the way you will meet a girl-kill her).

Mr. Zuma was no longer the person who thinks for himself. He was now totally and completely under the control of the magic belt. Every wealth that is consumed through 'ukuthwala' is paid for through human blood that is offered as a sacrifice. Mr. Zuma killed because of the zeal to become rich. Seemingly, his targets were only women.

The traditional doctor, from Maputaland, had advised Mr. Zuma not to take away the belt from his waist, for that would mean the end of his richness, and sadly, the end of his life. (Dlomo, 1977: 65):

Uma wahlukana nebhande leli kube ukufa kwakho. (Disconnection of the belt with your waist would result to your fate).

One day Zuma visited Mrs Nkosi, one of his patients. He drank a lot of alcohol on that day. The voice spoke to him, telling him to go home immediately. For the first time, he ignored the voice, and kept on drinking until he fell fast asleep on the sofa. Mrs Nkosi removed the belt from his waist and threw it on the ground. Immediately after that, Zuma woke up quickly, and felt for his belt. He beat Mrs Nkosi until she showed him the belt on the floor. This is what happened thereafter (Dlomo, 1977: 139):

UZuma abheke phansi lapho akhomba khona, alibone ibhande lakhe phansi. Okwamethusa kakhulu ukulibona lisontasonteka phansi liyaluzisa okwenyoka izibinya kade uyishaya ekhanda. Liyaluza, lisonteka ngamakhulu amandla. Lakwenza lokho liya ngokuncipha laze lanyamalala emehlweni akhe elibhekile. Awasala lutho nolinci lapho kade liyaluza khona okwenyoka ibulawa. (Zuma looked down where she pointed at, and he saw the belt on the floor. What frightened him was to see it moving like a snake, beaten on the head. It was moving and twisting vigorously. It did that, bit by bit diminishing until it totally disappeared, while he was watching. Not even a slight trace of it remained where it was twisting like a beaten snake).

That is how Zuma's life became miserable. Soon after that he deserted his home, drowned his car in the river, and absconded, for the police were hunting for him up and down. Eventually, they caught him in the shebeen and was convicted and given a death sentence. This incident actualized what was once articulated by the traditional doctor to Zuma, as a warning, that disconnection of the belt with his flesh would spell his own fate.

5.4.2 Witchcraft (Ukuthakatha)

In explaining witchcraft, Mair (1969: 7) says:

In many parts of the world people believe that it is possible for human beings to cause harm to their fellows by the exercise of powers not possessed by ordinary folk, powers which operate in a manner that cannot be detected, so that the cause can only be recognized when the damage comes to light.

Witchcraft has been as old as the human race. People have been practising it for ages. (Hole, 1945). The main problem is that it is hard to tell exactly who is the witch, since witchcraft has got to do with magic. So someone remains with no tangible evidence to lay a charge in court that he has been bewitched. Hole (1945: 60) says,

One of the most terrifying features of the general witchcraft belief was the fact that no one knew for certain who was, or was not a witch. There were, of course, many known magicians, but there were many more who were not known and who practiced their art in safety for years before they were discovered...There is nothing to distinguish such people from their neighbours...They bear no visible signs by which they could be recognized.

5.4.2.1 Accumulation of Witching Expertise

The greatest question is how an ordinary person turns out to learn or acquire supernatural powers like witchcraft. A lot of explanations have been brought into light. Some persons believe that it has to do with heredity. Others say, a child is vaccinated with 'uhlanga' (i.e the medicated cuts) around the anal parts. These cuts remain hidden, and the child doesn't know s/he has them. When the person who did that to a child dies, the child will then take over, and become a witch. Mair (1969: 47) says:

Most African people believe that witchcraft runs in families, whether they suppose that it is an inherited quality or that parents teach it to their children. In the later case it might be argued that one could not teach it to a person who was born without the capacity for it.

5.4.2.2 Witchcraft as Portrayed in the Book *Shumpu*

The Zwide tribe is notoriously known for using witchcraft to conquer other nations. (Gwayi, 1974: 16):

Uma kubonakala ukuthi uGodongwane uyasehlula ngezikhali esikhathini esizayo mina bengicabanga ukuthi simthakathe, Nxumalo. (If Godongwane defeats us in the near future, I think it would be wise to bewitch him, Nxumalo).

The above quotation reflects the words that were articulated by Ntombazi, as an advice to Zwide, that the best way to defeat the paramount chief of the Mthethwas was to bewitch him. Zwide had initially rejected this advice, but later on, he heeded to it when the Mthwethwa army had once again defeated the Zwide army.

It is generally believed that for a 'muti' to work effectively and deadly to a particular person, the person's 'insila' is a very essential and disastrous tool to foster witchcraft activities. *Insila* is a figurative Zulu word referring to any thing that might have been in touch with a human body. It is usually a piece of clothe, as long as it has not been washed. (Gwayi, 1974: 100):

Inggondo kaNtombazi yona yashona emithini yakhe. Wakhumbula ukuthi wake wakhuluma nenyanga yakhe ukuthi bangamthakatha kangcono uDingiswayo uma bengathola noma yini nje eqhamuka emzimbeni wakhe, ikakhulu insila. (Ntombazi only thought of her medicine. She remembered that she was once advised by her traditional medicine man that it would be easier to bewitch Dingiswayo if they get anything that has been in contact with his body).

Getting Dingiswayo's 'insila' was not the easiest thing to do. For this to happen, the Zwides played a marriage trick, whereby Zwide's sister, Ntombane, was sent to marry Dingiswayo. Ntombane managed to get something that was in touch with Dingiswayo's body (*insila*). She then escaped and fled back to the Zwides, so that the Mthetwas should pursue her. The trap would then be set for Dingiswayo.

When Ntombane was married to Dingiswayo, she managed to get something that was in touch with his body (*insila*).

All arrangements for Dingiswayo to fall into the trap of the Zwides were finalized. (Gwayi, 1974: 122):

Yonke imifula abazoyiwela abakwaMthethwa uma beza lapha basebeyiloyile abakwaNdwandwe ngomuthi lowo owenziwa ngensila yakhe uNyambose. (All the

rivers that the Mthethwas would cross on their way to the Zwide's homestead were already bewitched with the medicine that was mixed up with Nyambose's 'insila').

Indeed, that was the last journey Dingiswayo undertook in the invasion of the Zwide tribe. He was captured and beheaded. His head, like all other victims of Ntombazi, was hung on the wall to beautify Ntombazi's hut.

5.4.2.3 Witchcraft in Polygamy

Jealousy in polygamy always surfaces itself. Sometimes, it starts when the man stops visiting the other houses and frequently spends his time in another wife's house. Or, else if he starts loving the children of another house much better than the children of other houses.

The good example of the above mentioned argument is clearly presented in the book *Akuyiwe Emhlahlweni*. (Msimang, 1983). (The book is not discussed in details because it is not one of those used as a case study). The book presents to us a picture of what happens in polygamy if jealousy starts to surface itself. The wives here, due to jealousy and competition to win the favour of their husband start to bewitch each other. An innocent child becomes a victim. The child eventually loses the precious gift of life, because of animosity that exists in the family.

5.4.2.4 'Umhlahlo' and Witchcraft

The word 'umhlahlo' is a Zulu name which refers to the process whereby, a group of people in the area would converge, and agree to consult the 'Isangoma' or the

medium, who would reveal to them the names of the witch(es). This is the process that had been put in practice for ages in the history of the Zulu people. It was intensively practised during the reign of king Shaka. Those pointed out as witches would be brutally murdered. One day Shaka, killed the goat, and smeared its blood on the entrance of his hut. He then called all the 'zangomas' (mediums) to come and reveal the culprit. They all failed to identify him, except one. He then killed all those who failed.

The book *Akuyiwe Emhlahlweni*, as the title suggests, is the continuation of the practice of 'umhlahlo'. After the death of an innocent child, people gathered together and decided to go and find out as to who was the cause of the incident. The culprit was ultimately revealed as one of the wives.

5.4.2.5 The Use of 'Utikoloshe' in Witchcraft

The 'utikoloshe' is the evil spirit that is in a form of a very short man. It is in a size of a two years old baby. It is generally perceived to have a very long beard, and uncleared voice. It can enter the closed doors and only the target person can see it.

When a person is attacked by the 'utikoloshe', he feels as if there is something pressing him down. He can neither wake up, speak, nor shout for help, till it leaves him. (ref. Personal experience).

There is lack of consensus among the Africans themselves over the existence of 'utikoloshe'. There are those who reject its existence, and call it a superstition. However, there are those who strongly believe that the 'utikoloshe' is used on daily

basis by the witches and that it has a very major influence in their lives.

Example No.1 (Dlomo, 1977, 130):

Yena utikoloshe ukhona noma kakho? Umkhovu wona? Izipoki? Izimfene ebusuku? Konke lokhu iqiniso lakho liyotholwa yithina sizifunela lona ngezazi zakithii. (Is any existence of 'utikoloshe' or not? What about 'umkhovu'? The ghost? The baboons used by witches at night? The truth of all this will only come if we take an initiative and go and find out from the fortune-tellers).

This was a debate among the characters in the book *Izwi Nesithunzi*. The characters represent the perceptions of the African people pertaining to their doubts over all what has been said in the quotation. The last sentence of the quotation refers to 'umhlahlo', that for people to unlock the truth about all these things, need to do what our forefathers have been doing for years, that is to hear from the 'izangoma' or the mediums. Those are the people, who through their mysterious link with the ancestors understand the universe much better than any ordinary folk can do.

Example No.2 (Dlomo, 1977, 130):

Ukhumbule futhi ukuthi ikhona ngempela imithi yawotikoloshe nemikhovu. Konke lokhu ungeke ukuqage ngeqiniso kodwa kukhona. Siyabonga nje madoda ngoba ngabathakathi bodwa abenza leyo mikhuba. Nazo izinyanga zakithi eziqotho zilwa nakho. Yizona ezivikela abomdabu emihloleni efana nalena. Ngabe bayaphela ukuba kazikho. (Remember that the 'muti' for 'utikoloshe' is indeed available. All this remains mysterious to ordinary human beings, but it is there. We are very grateful that it is only the witches who utilize all these evil things, and our honest traditional doctors are fighting against this evil. It is them who protect the Africans from this evil. If it were not because of them, people would have easily become victims).

The book *Uphuya WaseMshwathi* (Bhengu, 1983) is also a good example of how the

witches use '*utikoloshe*' and ghosts to implement their evil purposes. The daughter of Mbizeni Hlophe, Tholakele was always taken by the evil spirits to the cemetery till the break of dawn. Her disappearance used to occur every night.

Mbizeni Hlophe, Tholakele's father, after arbotive attempts to run away from the promise he made that he would bring his daughter for a sacrifice when she reaches the age of 21, was also the victim of the evil spirits. He went to stay in the bush known as the bush of Nompisholo. Nompisholo, was perceived to be a very powerful witch who was using '*tikoloshes*' and ghosts for evil purposes. People of Mshwathi feared to go near Nompisholo's bush. However, Mbizeni Hlophe, because he was possessed with the evil spirits did not fear to go and live there. He later became partly human and partly unhuman, till he was rescued by Siphso (his son-in-law) and Msongi, the traditional doctor. Even after, he was rescued from the bush, the '*tikoloshes*' had come thrice in an attempt to take him alive so that he should become a sacrifice in the place of his daughter, Tholakele. Msongi, the traditional doctor rescued him, and he gave him traditional medical attention until he fully recovered. Unfortunately, Mr. Hlophe died shortly after he fully recovered from his madness.

5.4.2.6 A Contrast between African and Western Beliefs

There is always a misunderstanding when groups of different races come into contact. This kind of misunderstanding is usually fostered by cultural differences. By cultural differences, we mean beliefs and practices. According to Western cultural beliefs, there is nothing like witchcraft. That is why there is no law or bureaucracy that

prosecutes witches. Africans on the other hand, do believe that the witches are there, and they are their daily threat to their well-being. However, even though they know who is the witch, they are afraid to take any decisive measure, for they are afraid of western legal laws that might lock them behind bars.

The good example of what has been said in the previous paragraph is illustrated by the trial of Mr Zuma after being apprehended for killing people.

Example No.1 (Dlomo, 1977: 152):

Wema ephuzwini elithi zonke izenzo lezi okuthiwa wazenza zazenziwa umoya omubi ongutikoloshe abuya nawo eButhonga. (He insisted that all the unpalatable things that he is allegedly accused of were not deliberately done by him, but were done by 'utikoloshe' he brought it along from Tongaland).

The above quotation refers to the alibi presented by Zuma (2000) in his abortive attempts to defend himself in court. From where he stands, as an African, all what he says is understandable and acceptable. It is an undisputed fact that any African can understand.

The following quotation reflects the perceptions of the judge, who represents the western point of view. The judge, through cultural ignorance, or misunderstanding of the ways of Africans, found it difficult to believe or accept Mr. Zuma's testimony. To the judge, Mr. Zuma's alibi was totally a lie.

Example No.2 (Dlomo, 1977: 154):

Kayikho into engutikoloshe nemimoya emibi leyo eshiwo nguZuma. Inkantolo kayikholwa ngempela ukuthi ukhona umuthi noma imithi engenzela umuntu inhlanhla yemali nomnotho. Yinkolo yeze leyo...Lathi ijaji, ANgikulahla ngecala lokubulala ukuhlosile. Ngikunqumela ukuba ulengiswe ngentambo uze ufe. (There is nothing like 'utikoloshe' and evil spirits that is mentioned by Zuma. The court does not believe that there is any 'muti' that can make a person rich. That is nothing, but a superstition. AI found you guilty of intentional murder. You are given a death sentence,@ Said the judge).

The cause of this kind of misunderstanding is obvious. Witchcraft is some how magical, in such a way that it is difficult to detect. Witchcraft is a kind of science that is very covert, and that is abstract. African people have a very wonderful gift of exploiting the wonders of nature in the way that would be totally incomprehensible to people of other races. Through the use of traditional medicine, they can make the impossible possible. With their 'muti', they can turn a person into an animal, a snake, or a baboon. They can create 'utikoloshe' or a ghost. They can also protect a person from evil spirits.

5.4.3 *The Inspiration of the Army*

In the culture of African people, Zulus in particular, before the army started its expedition, traditional doctors would see to it that it was ready. Traditional doctors would prepare the medicine that was going to inspire the army and to make them fearless of the enemy. We call it 'ukuqinisa' in Zulu, meaning to make you strong.

The study has opted to use two Zulu novels (*Imithi Ephundliwe* and *Shumpu*) in illustrating or in developing the argument that traditional medicine can also be used in inspiring the army during war times.

Example No.1 (Hlela, 1985: 25):

Isibindi sengwenya nezidladla zengonyama kwashiswa nezinye izinsizi ezenza kuthimule onke amabutho ukukhipha uvalo...Kwase kuthuleke kuthe cwaka kuzwakala kuphela ubuwahlawahla bezimpondo zenyanga, yehla yenyuka namahle amabutho iwachinsa ngentelelzi. Yayithi uma ihlala emzimbeni wendoda uyibone ifingqana ngoba yayishoshozela sengathi imbabazane; ilume sengathi ulunywe ufezela. Yiwo lomuthi okuthiwa wawuzihlanyisa izinsizwa. (The crocodile=s liver and the lion=s claws were mixed-up with traditional medicine which made all warriors sneeze-off all their cowardness...There was a dead silence, audible was only the horn of a traditional doctor, going up and down the rows of the army, sprinkling them with the medicine. When the medicine came into contact with the man' s body, you would see the man twisting, for the medicine was as painful as the bite of a scorpion. It is the medicine that inspired the warriors and made them fearless and ready to face the enemy).

The above given example, if put in context, refers to the time when the Zulus, under king Cetshwayo in the late 1870s, were preparing for the war with the English, generally known as the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. The British were severely defeated at the battle of ISandlwana, although they were eventually defeated at the battle of ULundi. (Hlela, 1985).

It would be an assumption to declare that the battle of ISandlwana was won because of the powerful 'muti' of Zulu traditional doctors. Perhaps, one would ask, why then the Zulus were ultimately defeated at the battle of ULundi. The argument would then go on and on. However, it is an undisputed fact that traditional medicine was like a

national asset in the history of the Zulu people, before Shaka's era, and intensively during the reign of Shaka, during the '*Dimfegane*' wars. Even after the death of Shaka, almost all Zulu kings had traditional doctors to look after their best interest, as well as the nation's. Traditional doctors, therefore, were and are still playing a prominent role when it comes to national duties or national ceremonies.

Example No.2 (Gwayi, 1974: 31):

Lwafika usuku lokuba elashwe kahle amabutho kaNdwandwe. (The day came for a traditional doctor to use his medicine for inspiring the Ndwandwe's army).

The above quotation seems to be very ironic. It refers to war preparations by the Zwides. The traditional doctor, as a general practice, made preliminary arrangements to inspire the army in readiness for a fight. This is very ironic in a sense that the Zwides were people who in real practice didn't believe in the power of weapons, but who were notoriously known for witchcraft. Witchcraft is what they were strong in. Ntombazi, the lady elephant was indeed the master of witchcraft. She had unlimited powers and expertise to exploit the wonders of traditional medicine to weaken the targeted enemy. The enemy would be beheaded, and the head would be hung on the wall to decorate Ntombazi's hut. The Zwides were very powerful, and their power was consumed in the use of traditional medicine. Therefore, in this case, there is unmistakably no doubt about the power of traditional medicine in the success of the Zwides. This is not an assumption, but an undisputed fact. (Gwayi, 1974).

5.4.4 The 'Muti' for 'Ukuqinisa'

'Ukuqinisa' can be described in different ways depending on the context. The term can refer to inspiration of the army as it has been illustrated in 5.5.3. It can also refer to protection of the king. For example (Gwayi, 1974: 24):

Ayezohamba nayo inkosi kanye nenyanga yayo bayozingela izilwane eziyingozi njengebhumbesi nezinyoka ezifana nemamba. Inyanga yayizokwenza ngazo imithi yokuqinisa inkosi ...ihlanganise-ke neminye okwakwaziwa ukuthi iyaqinisa ukuze inkosi iphile kahle njalo, imelane nezitha zayo. (The warriors would be accompanying the King in a hunt for dangerous animals like lions and vicious snakes like mambas. The traditional doctor was going to make a medicine for protection of the king. The medicine was to be mixed with all other medicine that are known of preserving the health of the king, and that would make him overcome his enemies).

Almost all traditional leaders, kings and chiefs had their own exclusive traditional doctors to make sure they were healthy and strong, and that they were feared and respected by their subjects. Otherwise they would be weak, and less feared, which might have some disastrous effects, like losing dignity, if not death.

'Ukuqinisa' can also refer to protection against evil spirits, associated with witchcraft. For example (Bhengu, 1983: 145):

Kulula ukumthola, uzothweishulwa. Ngizoninikeza umuthi eniyomhangula ngawo. Aziphumele yena emgedeni, eze lapho eniyobe nimmemeza khona...Ngizoninika omunye umuthi eniyoziqinisa ngawo ukuze izilwane zinesabe zinibalekele... Ngizonigcaba izinhlanga ezimbalwa emzimbeni ukuze nikwazi ukungena ehlathini likaNompisholo. (It is easy to get him. I will give you the 'muti' you will use to call him out of the caves, and come straight to you...I will also give you the 'muti' that will protect you from evil spirits; they will fear you and run away from you. I will vaccinate you with few medicated cuts that will make you strong for entering Nompisholo's bush).

'*Ukuqinisa*' can also refer to the process of applying the '*muti*' that might protect the entire household. We call it '*ukuqinisa umuzi*,' and this kind of practice is intensively used even in our modern era, intensively in the rural areas, and even in some of the urban areas.

5.4.5 Traditional Medicine and Love

Love is supposed to be something that comes spontaneously. It is supposed to be a mutual feeling that goes with no conditions: the unconditional love. However, according to African traditional practice, if someone doesn't love you, you can use traditional medicine to influence the feelings of that person.

If a man loves a woman and a woman doesn't love a man, a man can use traditional medicine, and we call it '*ukuphonsa intombi*' (to induce a girl to love him). For example (Hlela, 1985: 9):

Kuthangi lokhu ubehayiza uNtombana egadlwe uMehlokazulu. (Two days ago Ntombana was hysterical because Mehlokazulu's love inducing medicine).

When the girl is the victim of the above practice, the girl cries loudly and calls the name of the boy, while she is running straight to the home of the boy. No matter how hard people try to stop her, no one can succeed, for she is full of strength and determination to see the boy.

If it happens that the girl reaches the home of the boy, the boy calls traditional doctors to use their '*muti*' to ensure that the girl does not go back home. For example (Hlela,

1985: 9):

Uma nje eke wanyathela amabala akubo zonke izinyanga lezi zakwaZulu zazingeke zahluleka ukumakhela umuzi. (If it happens that she reaches my home, Zulu traditional doctors would not fail to make her love him and stay with him, through the use of their medicine).

Not only men use traditional medicine to win love, women also do. Say a woman is married, or is having a boyfriend who doesn't love her wholeheartedly, a woman would look for medicine called '*intando*', and she would use that '*muti*' to win the love of the man. We call this '*ukudlisa*'. The medicine is usually mixed-up with the stew, either chicken stew or beef stew. Women know that men love meat very much. This practice is still applicable even in our modern era. If it happens that the man tends to be more like a man of the new millennium, and does things that a man is not supposed to do (i.e. washing dishes, nappies, cooking, doing ironing, dressing the kids, or bringing breakfast to his wife in bed), people would say, Oh! '*Usemdlisile*', meaning the wife has used the medicine to make the man her little fool. (Ref. Personal experiences).

5.4.6 Traditional Medicine at the Work-Place

Traditional medicine can be either used by a person who is looking for a job or by a person who is already having a job. A person who is already having a job uses traditional medicine to keep his job, or to cause him to be popular with the employers, or to put himself in high chances of getting promotions. The person who is looking for a job uses traditional medicine to make sure he is the first to be selected for a job.

The illustration of the above argument is drawn from the novel entitled *Inkukhu Yanqunywa Umlomo* (Mkhize, 1991). In the novel, a man named Ngubelanga consulted a traditional doctor in quest of the 'muti' that was going to give him the luck for finding a job. The medicine man gave him two bottles that looked alike, and there was unfortunately no pen to mark them. Example (Mkhize, 1991: 51, 52, 53):

Ngizokunikeza imithi emibili ozoyisebenzisa. Omunye uzophalaza ngawo kuthi omunye uchathe ngawo...Wayithatha imithi waya nayo lapho ayehlala khona waqala ukuyisebenzisa ngendlela ayecabanga ukuthi yimuphi owokuphalaza nowokuchatha@ (Inkukhu Yanqunywa Umlomo. (I am going to give you two bottles of medicine to use. The other one is for drinking, and the other one is for you to use anally...He took those bottles to where he stayed and used them the way he thought was right).

After using the medicine Ngubelanga felt confident that he was going to find a job, without any complications. Here is an account of what happened when he reached the workplace (Mkhize, 1991: 54):

Lapho kwaba sengathi uyaphupha uNgubelanga ngoba naye wayegqoke isigqoko sewuli. Wamangala ukuthi induna imbone kanjani ngoba ngaleso sikhathi wayekade ebheke emuva. Kodwa kwasheshe kwamkhanyela ukuthi ngabe sekuwukusebenza komuthi kaSibubulungu...Kodwa wathi lapho esethi uyasondela wathola ukumangala lapho induna isimhebeza ithi, "Uyaphi-ke wena... Wenzani lona wangiphenyela izinqe?" (To Ngubelanga, it was like a dream when the employer called the man wearing a wool hat, because that was him. He wondered how the employer had recognized him since by that time he had turned his back against the employer. However, he soon realized that perhaps it was the effect of the medicine which was given to him by Sibulungu...But when he turned to face the employer he was stunned by the employer's remarks saying, "Why are you coming here"? Why are you showing-off your buttocks onto me"?).

The implication of the above quotation is that Ngubelanga did not use the medicine

the right way. Example (Mkhize, 1991: 56):

Uma kwake kwenzeka into efana naleyo kusobala ukuthi wena wathatha umuthi wokuchatha wawuphuza, kwathi owokuphuza wachatha ngawo. Njengoba induna eqashayo uthi yathi uyayidunusela nje, ubuso bakho obase bufana nezingq. Izingq zakho zona zazifana nobuso. (If it is true that something like that has happened, it means that you took the medicine that was suppose to be used anally and drank it, and that was supposed to be drunk, you used it anally. As you said the employer had said you were showing-off your buttocks onto him, it implies that your face was like buttocks, and your buttocks were like your face).

Traditional medicine works very well if it has been used accordingly. If it hasn't, it ends up having negative results that might be detrimental to the user. It is for this reason, therefore, that traditional doctors always ask their patients to use the medicine exactly as they have been ordered to do. The two quotations above indicate that the medicine that was given to Ngubelanga, was the real thing, for the employer had called him. However, because Ngubelanga had failed to keep-up with the doctor's directions for using the medicine, its effect were not desirable to him. As a result, he didn't find the job that he wanted.

5.4.7 Traditional Medicine and Healing

Healing is one of the most significant roles played by traditional medicine, and most of the Africans still believe in traditional healing. Example (Dlomo, 1977: 1):

Iningi labantu bomdabu liyazethemba izinyanga zomdabu nemithi yazo. Ngisho bona uqobo abafundisiweyo nabakholwayo, baya kuzona bayofuna usizo kuzo. Abanye balaba bayesaba ukuya kuzona obala. Baya bengabonwa benyonyoba ngoba besaba amehlo nemilomo yabanye abantu abazenza ngcono ngokubukela phansi okwakubo komdabu, bagijimele okwezizwe abathi yimpucuko. (Many African people still believe in traditional doctors and their medicine. Even those who are educated and

Christians they do consult traditional doctors. Some of them are afraid of going there during the day. They go at night, fearing the eyes and gossipers, who despise traditions and adopt things of other races, for they believe they are more sophisticated and civilized than those that belong to Africans).

The above quotation shows that traditional medicine is still an asset to African people, educated or uneducated, Christian or pagan. The only problem is the stigma that is attached to traditional medicine. This is because of the advent of Christianity. Christianity had made African people start to despise their own cultural practices.

5.5 The Ethics of Traditional Medical Profession

Traditional healing like all other professions, has got its own ethics. Traditional doctors are subjugated to those ethics, and they are expected to respect themselves so that their patients should feel safe and dependant on them, physically and emotionally.

Example No.1 (Dlomo, 1977: 6):

Umuntu ogulayo uza enyangeni ezofuna usizo. Usizo lolu ulufuna ngezindlela eziningi. Ubheke ukuba inyanga imamukele ngobuso obuhle nobuzwelana naye. Ikhulume naye ngokumzwela, imnike isibindi nethemba. (The patient comes to the traditional doctor looking for help. The help he is looking for should come in different forms. He is expecting the traditional doctor to show kindness and compassion onto him. The doctor should address him kindly, and give him encouragement and hope).

The above quotation depicts an absolute dependence of patients on the character of the traditional doctor. The traditional doctor is supposed to give physical as well as emotional support to his patients. Otherwise, his medicine would have no desired effects, and his business would obviously go down, for people would start losing

interest and trust on him.

Example No.2 (Dlomo, 1977: 7):

Ngikwenzele isibonelo ngokwelapha kwami ngobuqotho, imithi yami ngingafuni ukugila ngayo imikhuba emibi. Ngelapha ngayo abagulayo kuphela. (I have been a shining example to you, using my medicine not for evil purposes. I have been using it only for healing purposes).

The above quotation is an outcry against witchcraft. Traditional doctors who are not firm and strong in terms of morals, can easily be influenced by evil, and start using their medicine for evil purposes. This dilemma and challenge is facing traditional doctors even in our modern world. If they can manage to purify their medical practice, the world would perhaps remove the stigma attached to traditional medicine.

Example No.3 (Dlomo, 1977: 27):

Ingabe uyosihlola kanjani eqale ngokushisayo nje... Yingozi yodwa leyo... Ukuhlolwa umuntu esephuzile. (I wonder how he is going to attend to us as he has started with brandy... This is a great danger... Attended to by a person who is drunk).

The above quotation refers to consumption of alcohol while on duty. This is totally unacceptable, not only to traditional doctors, but to almost all other fields of work. It is totally against work ethics for any individual to start drinking before going to work. In the case of medical practice, it is even more dangerous. How if due to the influence of alcohol the traditional doctor gives a wrong medication to the patient, and the patient dies. The traditional doctor would be charged with homicide. And if this happens, the traditional doctor involved would be subjected to legal prosecution, and

be given a heavy sentence.

5.5.1 *The Consequence of Breaking the Ethics*

Traditional medical practice functions in the same way as any business. Traditional doctors depend on their medical practice for their living. If they are widely known of excelling in their medicine, they become famous. Their fame brings a lot of patients who come from all regions, seeking for help of different sorts. As a result, this places traditional doctors on chances for their businesses to prosper, and some become very wealthy and respected.

The kind of traditional doctors that usually end up prospering are those who always keep in place with fundamental ethics of their medical practice. However, the businesses of those who break traditional medical ethics are doomed to fail. Patients would start losing trust on them and go somewhere else for help. For example (Dlomo, 1977: 57,58):

Mina ngiyagcina ngci namhlanje ukuza lapha. Nomuthi lowo ebengize ngawo ngofike ekhaya ngiwulahle. Ngibuyele enyangeni yami endala uGumede. Ukulashwa yinyanga ekhonze ugologo nesilungwana seze kangihambisani nakho mina. (This is really my last day for coming here. And the medicine that I am here for, I would throw it away when I reach home. I would then go back to my former traditional doctor, Mr. Gumede. I really don't want to be attended to by a traditional doctor who consumes a lot of liquor and who mix-up traditional medical practice with western medical practice).

People were complaining like this about Mr. Zuma's practices in the book *Izwi Nesithunzi*. Unlike his father who had been a shining example, and whom his patients

had loved the most, Mr. Zuma junior was different. He was very unkind, insensitive and inconsiderate toward his patients. He used to spend time in his office drinking brandy before attending to the problems of his patients. No matter how serious the patient's condition was, Mr. Zuma would pretend as if he doesn't see anything.

Mr. Zuma, as a result of his behaviour had made himself unpopular with his patients. Slowly, his business started to collapse until he had no patients to attend to. It was because of this reason, therefore, that he decided to go to Tongaland in quest of '*muti*' that would make him rich.

5.6 The Ingredients of Traditional Medicine

Traditional medicine is very complex and complicated. One might think it has to do with plants only. In actual fact, it is more than that. There are so many components or ingredients than a mere use of plants. For example, different kinds of domestic and wild animals are used for finalizing or perfecting traditional medicine. Makinde (1988: 92), in verifying this argument says:

In addition, oral medicine demonstrates to the fullest the power of words and relationship of these words to natural phenomena and animal substances which are used as ingredients for such traditional medicine...The substances are either from animals or plants.

Examples from novels:

Example No.1 (Dlomo, 1977: 58):

Phela lapha eButhonga izwe linezingwenya, nezindlovu, namabhubesi, nawobhejane, nezinyoka ezinezihlungu ezimbi nezinye izilwane eziningi zasendle. Selapha ngazo-ke izilwane lezo, ngamafutha azo nangezikhumba namathambo azo. (Here in Tongaland, we have crocodiles, elephants, lions, rhinos, and dangerous snakes, and many other dangerous wild animals. We use all those animals for mixing-up our medicine. We use their fats, their skins, as well as their bones).

Example No.2 (Hlela, 1985: 25):

Isibindi sengwenya nezidladla zengonyama kwashiswa nezinye izinsizi ezenza kuthimule onke amabutho ukukhipha uvalo. (The crocodile's liver and the lion's claws were mixed-up with traditional medicine which made all warriors brave).

Example No.3 (Gwayi, 1974: 24):

Ayezohamba nayo inkosi kanye nenyanga yayo bayozingela izilwane eziyingozi njengebhubesi nezinyoka ezifana nemamba. Inyanga yayizokwenza ngazo imithi yokuqinisa inkosi ...ihlanganise-ke neminye okwakwaziwa ukuthi iyaqinisa ukuze inkosi iphile kahle njalo. imelane nezitha zayo. (The warriors would be accompanying the King in a hunt for dangerous animals like lions and vicious snakes like mambas. The traditional doctor was going to make a medicine for protection of the king. The medicine was to be mixed with all other medicine that are known of preserving the health of the king, and that would make him overcome his enemies).

Those three quotations highlighted above show the complexity of traditional medicine, and that it does not merely use herbs, but wild animals as well, are used to mix-up the medicine. It shows that a traditional doctor should be the one who knows very well his

scope of operation, and should be an expert in his or her field of specialization.

5.7 Collaboration amongst the Traditional Doctors

There is a well-known Zulu 'saying' which says that '*inyanga ayizelaphi*.' This is a proverbial expression meaning that when a traditional doctor needs some medical attention, he should consult another traditional doctor than treating himself. It is taboo for a traditional doctor to treat himself. It is believed that the medicine does not produce the desired effect if a traditional doctor tries to break this barring.

An example of a traditional doctor seeking for medical attention from another one is drawn from the novel *Izwi Nesithunzi*. In this book, as it has been mentioned in chapter 4, a traditional doctor by the name of Ncibijane Hlophe had consulted a traditional doctor from Tongaland in quest of '*muti*' that would make him rich.

Traditional doctors have a tendency of sharing experiences and expertise. They know that they have different spheres of specialization. There are those who are well respected for using herbs only, there are those whose healing powers are influenced by spirits or ancestors, and there are those who can reveal secrets, either by throwing bones or through invisible voices (*abalози*), that are audible only to the diviner.

Traditional doctors know each other's strongpoints and pitfalls. Therefore, they usually share expertise, by going to seek for help from another traditional doctor who is good in that particular kind of specialization. We call it '*ukukhendla*'.

In the novel *Uphuya WaseMshwathi* (Bhengu, 1983), Msongi is a traditional doctor, but his field of specialization is to rescue only those who have been overwhelmed by evil spirits like 'tikoloshe' and ghosts. Mr. Ngema is also a traditional doctor, but he only knows how to use herbs. Mrs Shezi on the other hand is well known for revealing secrets, through the use of invisible voices (*abalози*). She is also good in using herbs. She is therefore, multi-gifted, that is why Msongi and Mr. Ngema had consulted her to reveal the whereabouts of Mbizeni Hlophe, and for her to give them 'muti' to rescue him from where he was kept by the evil spirits.

Examples:

Example No.1 (Bhengu, 1983: 145):

Abalози baqaga zonke izingqinamba, nezinkinga zabo-bageqa amagula. (The invisible voices had revealed all circumstances, and their problems. They told them everything).

The above quotation reveals the expertise of Mrs Shezi for unveiling the secrets, through the use of powers that are beyond the reasoning capacity of an ordinary practitioner like Msongi and Mr. Ngema. She is well known for having those powers, and people flock everyday to her, traditional doctors and ordinary folks alike.

Example No.2 (Bhengu, 1983: 145):

Kulula ukumthola, uzothwetshulwa. Ngizoninikeza umuthi eniyomhangula ngawo. Aziphumele yena emgedeni, eze lapho eniyobe nimmmeza khona...Ngizoninika omunye umuthi eniyoziqinisa ngawo ukuze izilwane zinesabe zinibalekele...

Ngizonigcaba izinhlanga ezimbalwa emzimbeni ukuze nikwazi ukungena ehlathini likaNompisholo (It is easy to get him. I will give you the 'muti' you will use to call him out of the caves, and come straight to you...I will also give you the 'muti' that will protect you from evil spirits; they will fear you and run away from you. I will vaccinate you with few medicated cuts that will make you strong for entering Nompisholo's bush).

The above quotation reveals Mrs Shezi as a multi-gifted traditional medical doctor. In addition to her mysterious powers of unearthing hidden secrets, she is also gifted in using medicine itself. Her medicine is very powerful in the way that she has powers to overcome evil spirits, and to dismantle the powers of the most feared witch at Mshwathi, Nompisholo. With the help of her powerful medicine, Mbizeni Hlophe was rescued from the bush of Nompisholo, and later on, he was reintegrated into the mainstream of the ordinary society.

5.8 Traditional Medicine and Culture

In explaining a kind of relationship that exists between traditional medicine and culture, Makinde (1988: 91) declares:

Its system and policy must have taken the roots and cultures of the African people. From this point of view the concept of illness, disease, diagnosis, treatment, life and death must also have a cultural dimension.

Examples from novels:

Example No. 1 (Dlomo, 1977: 57,58):

Ikakhulukazi wena uyinyanga nje ungagudluki nakancane emasikweni omdabu. Imithi nezintelezi eselapha ngakho ngokomdabu. Sakunikwa nguMvelinqangi. Uma sifuna isisebenzele kahle ibe namandla kufanele siyiphathe ngokomdabu. (Especially you, as a traditional doctor, you should not abandon African traditions. The medicine we use is traditional, God gave it to us. If we want it to function effectively, we need to use it in a traditional way).

The above quotation, if put in context, depicts a conversation between two traditional doctors, Mr. Zuma and Mfulamfula, a traditional doctor from Tongaland. Mr. Zuma was advised by Mfulamfula about the importance of traditions. Mr. Zuma was from the city of Pietermaritzburg, and his medical practice was a mixture of tradition and western. People, especially, those patients who believed in purification of traditional medicine from western influences did not like that.

Example No. 2 (Dlomo, 1977: 27):

Ukwelashwa yinyanga ekhonze ugologo nesilungwana seze kangihambisani nakho mina. Cha. (To be attended to by a traditional doctor, who drinks a lot of brandy, and whose practices are more influenced by western civilization, is totally unacceptable to me).

The quotation above is overtly an expression of profound indignation of Mr. Zuma's patient who didn't want the way Mr. Zuma reconciled tradition with western. The patient even threatened to throw away all the medicine, and go back to his former traditional doctor, Mr. Gumede.

Example No.3 (Dlomo, 1977: 27)

Mina ngiyagcina ngci namhlanje ukuza lapha. Nomuthi lowo ebengize ngawo ngofike ekhaya ngiwulahle, ngibuyele enyangeni yami endala uGumede. (This is obviously my last day coming here. Even the medicine that I am here for, when I reach home I will throw it away, and go back to my former traditional doctor, Mr. Gumede).

A nation that abandons its traditions is worth nothing. This expression is constantly and persistently notable from the vocabulary of the people who are deeply concerned about preservation of their cultural traditions. Even the holy bible does state that the nation that ignores its culture and adopts the cultures of other nations is a cursed nation. Traditional medicine is part of African people, and African people are part of traditional medicine. The two are unseparable entities. Therefore, if African people look down on traditional medicine, they basically look down on themselves as well. As a result, they will never prosper or succeed in life.

Example No.4 (Dlomo, 1977: 147):

Siyisizwe esingelutho nje yikho lokhu ukudela okwakithi namasiko ethu. (We are marginalized race because of us overlooking our own cultural traditions).

5.8.1 *Going Across Zulu Novels*

As it was said in the introduction, the research will divert a little bit from Zulu novels, and draw one example from English literature to demonstrate how traditional doctors keep healing powers a very close secret. In an anthology of short stories, *To Kill A Man's Pride* (Hodge, 1984), there is a short story by Doris Lessing, entitled "No

Witchcraft For Sale”.

This is a very fascinating story. One day, the snake (puffadder) spat into Teddy’s eyes. Teddy is the only begotten son of the Farquars. Giddeon, the Farquars cook, disappeared into the bush, and came with a plant root that suddenly healed the boy’s eyes. Few weeks afterwards, the western scientist came to ask him to show the plant to him, and promised that it would earn him a lot of money. Knowing the African culture, that “no witchcraft for sale”. Giddeon ended up showing them the wrong plant. He could not break the tradition that the secret of healing should remain hidden to ordinary members of the community, except for the sons and daughters of the traditional doctors or else their immediate relatives. Expressing her opinion, the writer Lessing in (Hodge, 1984: 116) says:

The magical drug would remain where it was, unknown and useless except for the tiny scattering of Africans who had the knowledge, natives who might be digging a ditch for the municipality in a ragged shirt and a pair of patched shorts, but who were still born to healing, hereditary healers, being the nephews or sons of the old witchdoctors whose ugly masks and bits of bone and all uncouth properties of magic were the outward signs of real power and wisdom.

5.8.2 Culture and Urbanization

Urbanization is one of the influences of capitalism. The world, because of capitalist zeal to get money for survival, had witnessed a great exodus or departure of country people to urban areas. Some of these people still maintain their contact with the country, and some don’ t. Urbanization, therefore, came only to dismantle African traditions. For those who reside in urban areas have now turned their backs against

tradition. Example of which is found in the book *Izwi Nesithunzi* (Dlomo, 1977).

A contrast is drawn between Mr. Zuma, and Mfulamfula. Mr. Zuma is from the city, therefore, his medical practice is influenced by western practices. Mfulamfula is from the country, and his medical practice is purely traditional. The powers of these two traditional doctors are not the same. The one who is using pure traditional medicine is more powerful and respected than the one who is disguising traditional medicine with western practices. People despise his practices, and they end up boycotting his services, and alternatively seek help elsewhere.

5.8.3 Traditional Medicine and African Cosmology

It is difficult to distinguish African culture from cosmology, for the two are more or less the same, and they are closely intertwined. However, when we talk of an African cosmology, we need to draw some sort of a hierarchy like the one presented in chapter 2 of the study.

The ancestors are believed to be the ones that intercede with God on behalf of the living. The head of the family or an old person in the family is the one that pleads with the ancestors and shouts at them. We call this *ukuthetha amadlozi*. Alternatively, a traditional doctor is usually called to perform some rituals. In this case, the traditional doctor is acting more like a priest. The proceedings of a seminar held in the centre of African studies in the University of Edinburgh (10-11 Dec. 1986: 9) says:

Traditional medicine is inextricably bound up with peoples' total view of the

universe and the meaning of life and death...The most respected traditional healers also perform a priestly function, interpreting for the sick and anxious people the reasons for their state and pinpointing the spiritual and interpersonal influences which are believed to be affecting their health and well being...A proper understanding of the traditional healing practices of any culture requires a knowledge of the prevailing religion and cosmology.

African people, even before the advent of Christianity, did believe in the existence of *Mvelinqangi*, the one who came first. The ancestors are the ones that plead with God on behalf of the living. If the ancestors are angry, they usually turn their backs against the family of the one who has irritated them. That someone's life will then be overshadowed by ill omens, unless he reconciles with the ancestors by slaughtering a beast, either a cow or a goat. The traditional healer would then be summoned to carry out the rituals, and to reintegrate the ancestors with the family concerned. (Canonici, 1996: 85).

Traditional healing, therefore, goes hand in hand with African cosmology and religion. If your ancestors are not with you, or if they have turned their backs against you, traditional medicine cannot produce desired results, unless the mission of reintegration with the ancestors is performed. That is why in the novels that the study has used as a case study, every time when someone is given a medicine by a traditional doctor, the traditional doctor says, "*sengathi amadlozi akini angakubheka*" (I wish your ancestors should look after you). It was so with Mr. Zuma in the book *Izwi Nesithunzi*, and it was also so with Mbizeni Hlophe in the book *Uphuya WaseMshwathi*, and with Ngubelanga in the book *Inkukhu Yanqunywa Umlomo*, just mentioning the few.

5.8.4 *Traditional Medicine and Hereditary*

Unlike western doctors, traditional doctors, because of African culture, do not believe that it is a noble thing for them to sell their knowledge to other ordinary individuals who are not related to them. Makinde (1988: 91) says:

The main reason why traditional medicine has led to no discovery in medical sciences is that while genuine traditional healers use purely African remedies that are often wonderfully effective, they usually do not reveal their secrets to anyone except their children or immediate relatives, so that one finds no text book on traditional medicine. Therefore, no meaningful research can be carried out for the purpose of discovery and growth in medical knowledge.

The book *Izwi Nesithunzi* is a good example of where we find a traditional doctor leaving everything to an immediate relative. Mr. Zuma the senior, before he died, he called Mr. Zuma Junior (his sister's son whom he adopted as his), and told him that he would entrust the business onto him. Example: (Dlomo, 1977: 6, 7)

Uyabona-ke ndodana...yifa lakho elikhulu leli engikwakhela lona, ukwelapha ngemithi yomdabu. (You see my son, this is an inheritance I entrust onto you. To use traditional medicine for healing purposes).

Mr Zuma junior (Ncibijane Zuma) did not go for a formal training called *ukuthwasa*. He had learned how to use traditional medicine since he was a small child. He learned from his adopted father. His father had entrusted everything to him. However, Ncibijane had misused the trust that was left for him by his father. Eventually, he lost his life. (See chapter 4).

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The findings of the research show that the majority of African people, educated or uneducated, still depend on traditional medicine for their well-being. One of the speakers in "Take Five Show" hosted by SABC 1 had once said that 85% of Africans all over Africa still depend on traditional medicine (Take Five-SABC 1, 15/11/2000).

When the missionaries came in Africa, they exerted much of their strength in trying to induce African people with Christian values. They tried to make them see African cultures as backward, if not barbaric. Fortunately for them, many Africans converted into Christianity. Many Africans who became Christian converts started to attend missionary schools. The kind of education they received had made them thought they were no longer Africans. They started to identify themselves with the whites; the way they think, and their lifestyle was a resemblance of the Westerners. These Africans started to see everything from a Eurocentric point of view than an Afrocentric one. They started to despise African cultures. Traditional medical practice was then regarded as something ungodly and uncivilized.

Earlier African writers also contributed a lot in marginalization and degradation of African cultures. These writers were themselves the products of the Missionary schools, therefore, whatever they wrote was to conform to the kind of gospel that was spread by the missionaries. These people started to write negatively about traditional medicine, and many other practices that are associated with the African culture. It is because of this reason therefore, that we find only few Zulu books portraying

traditional medicine in a more positive light.

The challenge facing the African writers today is to change the attitudes of people about things that pertain to African cultures. Literature is a very powerful medium of communication, and fortunately enough, many people are now literate. It means that if writers can start now writing positively about traditional medicine and about African cultures in general, many people can benefit from it.

Colonization of African countries by western countries had a very disastrous effect on the lives of African people. It was very brainwashing, as African people had started to look down on themselves, and became alienated from the main stream of the African society.

The process of decolonization of Africa that became more visual after the Second World War was nothing, but a mink-mouse. Political and geographical emancipation is worth nothing if it is not accompanied by mental emancipation. Africa still needs to undergo a process of mental decolonization, so that Africans should cultivate the sense of somebodiness within themselves.

The call by the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, for African Renaissance is very legitimate. Africa needs to undergo a process of rebirth, so that people should once again begin to appreciate what they really are, and stop being circus mimics of other races.

The government needs to finance institutions and organizations that are dedicated for

reinforcement and rebirth of African cultures. Traditional doctors and their associations need to benefit from the government, in terms of having properly built centres for implementation of their services. Traditional medical practice needs to be recognized at home first before it receives international recognition.

African people are originally from the country. Industrialization, and the need of global market, had repulsive effect as the result of massive inflow of people from the country to urban areas. Nothing can be done to return people to the country, but their minds can be re-educated not to forget their roots, as African people. The information presented in the research shows that some people of the country still uphold to their traditions. These people are therefore a shining example to the people who live in big cities. Some of the urban people are even nostalgic, in such a way that some still maintain their link with the country. Some still go to the country, looking for traditional medicine (see chapter 4)

The lack of understanding between traditional doctors and western doctors as to how their practices operate is the only stumbling block in the way forward. Both paradigms are blinded by their own professional prejudice. Traditional doctors are blinded by the African traditional belief saying no witchcraft for sale. (See chapter 5). They don't want to share their knowledge and expertise with ordinary human beings, except with their sons and immediate relatives who are perceived to be their potential successors. These prejudices make it difficult for western scientists to access to the unique knowledge that is possessed by traditional doctors.

Perhaps, the problem is with the attitudes of the scientists themselves. The medical

scientists are themselves blinded by their professional prejudices that make them believe only on the powers of their sophisticated medical development, and look down on traditional medicine. It is a pity that our black medical doctors also uphold to these stereotypes.

In trying to come with a positive solution to this dilemma and a challenge, Makinde (1988: 107) says:

I see no reason therefore, for African doctors to look down on traditional healers or physicians and treat the African traditional system with cries of mockery...The possibility of such improvement lies with the western-trained medical doctors. They should show more interest in research into traditional medicine and see to it that African traditional physicians acquire a basic training in modern scientific methods. This could lead to the establishment of modern institutes of traditional or native medicine...African traditional medicine would take its place in the world of medical science and traditional African physicians gain international respectability.

What Makinde is suggesting in the quotation above is legitimate and constructive. The only problem is whether traditional doctors are prepared to accept basic training in modern scientific methods or not, or whether that would not mean underestimating or undermining traditional medical practice?

The findings of the study, indeed, show that there is a great problem in what Makinde is suggesting. Seemingly, traditional doctors are only willing to work co-operatively with western doctors, only if they are to work in parallel lines, and as equals. Traditional doctors don't want to disguise their traditional practice with any form of western practice. They believe that, by so doing it would mean a total rebellion against the ancestors, which might spell danger on them. (See chapters 4 and 5).

In approaching traditional doctors about the issue of giving them basic training in modern scientific methods, the western doctors should therefore try to evade any impressions that might provoke negative feelings on the side of traditional doctors. Western doctors, in researching traditional medicine, should also not be driven by their professional prejudices in trying to prove wrong the assertion by traditional doctors about the power of their medicine, especially on the issue of HIV/AIDS.

The overall evaluation of the study shows that the powers of traditional medicine cannot be underestimated. There are so many things that might look impossible to an outside viewer, which are possible when traditional medicine is put into test. Things like '*ukuthwala*' (the medicine for getting rich), '*ukuthakatha*' (witchcraft), inspiration of the army through the use of traditional medicine, and so forth.

Traditional medicine can be used to destroy, or to give positive outcome. It can be used for various reasons. (See chapter 5). However, the most significant motive of the research is to promote the goodness of traditional medicine, by strongly condemning its use for evil purposes.

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