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**Against Evil –**

**A comparative study of ancient Greek and contemporary Zulu  
protective magic**

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**Declaration**

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, in the Graduate Programme in Classics, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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*Futhi-ke, ngiyababonga bonke abakhulumeli bamaZulu, laba abangikhulumile nabo. Ngaphandle kwenu, angibe ngikwazi ukubonana kahle namaZulu anamuhla. Ningisizile. Ngiyabonga. Ukugcina, ngokuhambisana nendlela yamaZulu, ngiyabonga uNkulunkulu, ukuthi Yena unginikezile ithuba lokubala lencwadi. Baba, ngaphandle kwakho, akukho lutho okungenziwayo.*

**Abstract**

In the study of ‘magic’, whether in the Late Antique world of the Mediterranean or contemporary South Africa, there exists a *lacuna* in the understanding of conceptions of ‘evil’. This dissertation attempts to fill this *lacuna* through the use of comparison, comparing ancient Greek conceptions of evil as contained in a selection of six amulets from the third and fourth centuries of the Common Era, written in Greek, with conceptions obtained through interviews with contemporary *isiZulu*-speakers in KwaZulu-Natal. It begins with the Greek material, teasing out the complex intersecting discourses used in a search for protection from evil through in-depth textual analysis, and then moves on to a similar analysis of the oral ‘texts’ of the Zulu respondents. The way in which these two sets of material interacts is reliant on the fact that the interrogation of attitudes and conceptions in the Zulu material enables a fuller elucidation of the ‘voiceless’ popular discourses underlying the Greek texts. Moving on from analysis of each set of material in relative isolation, the dissertation embarks on a comparison of the various discourses, examining the varying thought-patterns which reflect a broader social context and which are in turn creative of that context. These ‘popular’ voices are then situated in the broader ‘grand narratives’ of their historical context, enabling a further elucidation of the way in which intellectual or codified discourses around the nature of evil intersect with the voices of individuals grappling with them. In a reflection on the nature of the comparative endeavour, the utility of comparison is further highlighted as the means to achieve a greater understanding of both the distant past and the immediate present.

## Table of Contents

<b>Title Page</b>	1
<b>Declaration</b>	2
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	3
<b>Abstract</b>	4
<b>Table of Contents</b>	5
<b>Chapter 1 – Introduction</b>	8
1.1. Aims	8
1.2. Literature Review	9
1.2.1. Studies of Magic in General	9
1.2.2. The Ancient Greek Area of Study	13
1.2.3. The Zulu Component	17
1.2.4. Comparative Work	19
1.3. Theoretical Framework and Methodology	20
1.3.1. Description	20
1.3.2. Analysis	22
1.3.2.1. Amulets	22
1.3.2.2. Interviews	25
1.3.3. Comparison	26
<b>Chapter 2 – Greek Sources</b>	28
2.1. Introduction	28
2.2. Methodology	30
2.3. Texts	31
2.3.1. Antioch Caesarea: Exorcism, Possession, and Belonging	31
2.3.2. Athribis: Impersonating the Divine	36
2.3.3. Fayum: Cosmos and Chaos	43
2.3.4. Oxyrhynchus (A): Fighting Fire with Fire	49
2.3.5. Oxyrhynchus (B): The Lord Triumphant	55
2.3.6. Berytus: Finding One’s Place	59
2.4. Conclusion	71
<b>Chapter 3 – Zulu Sources</b>	72
3.1. Introduction	72
3.2. Methodology	72
3.3. Participants	74
3.3.1. Introduction	74
3.3.2.1. E.	75
3.3.2.2. M.	76

3.3.2.3. No.	77
3.3.2.4. Nt.	78
3.4. Responses	79
3.4.1. Cause	79
3.4.1.1. <i>bakhona abantu abazalwa nenhlanhla</i> – there are people who are born with fortune/luck	79
3.4.1.2. <i>umuntu 'me kuzonda</i> – if a person hates you	80
3.4.1.3. <i>akubonakala ukuthi ukhona umuntu ungyena owenza ukuthi wena ubeneshwa</i> – it is not apparent that there is a person who it is who makes it so that you have <i>ishwa</i>	82
3.4.1.4.i. <i>imfundo nokushintsha</i> – education and change	84
3.4.1.4.ii. <i>awunamsebenzi</i> – you have not performed the rituals	87
3.4.1.4.iii. <i>ukuhlonipha</i> – respect	89
3.4.2. Method	92
3.4.2.1. <i>umzimba wona uyakwazi ukuzelapha</i> – the body can heal itself	92
3.4.2.2. <i>uhloniphe impilo yakho</i> – you should respect your health	92
3.4.2.3. <i>u-cleanse-e</i> – you should ‘cleanse’	93
3.4.2.4. <i>kuhkona umuthi</i> – there is <i>umuthi</i>	93
3.4.2.5. <i>ngamazwi</i> – with words	97
3.4.2.6.i. <i>abantu abanamandla spiritually</i> – people who have power spiritually	98
3.4.2.6.ii. <i>amadlozi</i> – the spirits of the ancestors	99
3.4.2.6.iii. <i>ubuntu</i> – inter-personal reciprocity and harmony	101
3.4.3. Conceptions	102
3.4.3.1. <i>ubani unamandla....?</i> – <i>who has power....?</i>	102
3.4.3.2. <i>ububi buyini?</i> – what is evil?	104
3.5. Conclusion	105
<b>Chapter 4 - Coding, Collation, and Comparison</b>	107
4.1. Introduction	107
4.2. The Nature of Evil	107
4.2.1. Similar Identifications of Evil	107
4.2.1.1. Attack and Defence	107
4.2.1.2. Darkness and Light	108
4.2.1.3. Disconnection and Reconnection	109
4.2.1.4. Corruption and Purification	110
4.2.1.5. Possession or Loss of Autonomy and Freedom or Autonomy	110
4.2.1.6. Chaos and Order	112
4.2.1.7. Domestic and Public	112
4.2.2. Different Identifications of Evil	113
4.2.2.1. Foreign and Native	113
4.2.2.2. Generic and Omnipresent	114
4.2.2.3. Evil as Natural, Necessary, and Unavoidable	114

4.2.2.4. Confusion and Certainty	114
4.2.2.5. Suddenness and Stability	115
4.2.2.6. Sharpness and Bluntness	115
4.3. The Role of the Supernatural	116
4.3.1. The Supernatural as Malevolent	116
4.3.2. The Supernatural as Benevolent	118
4.3.3. The Supernatural as Distant	120
4.3.4. The Supernatural as a Source of Power	121
4.4. Power	121
4.4.1. Knowledge as Power	121
4.4.2. Respect as Power	125
4.5. Conclusion	126
<b>Chapter 5 – Conclusions</b>	128
5.1. Grand Narratives and Popular Discourses	128
5.2. The Comparative Endeavour	136
5.3. Gains and Future Research	137
<b>Bibliography</b>	139
<b>Appendix A</b>	151
<b>Appendix B</b>	158

## Chapter 1 - Introduction

### 1.1. Aims

This research aims firstly to determine the nature and characteristics of the amulets in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, the *Supplementum Magicum* and in the collection of Kotansky (1994), and the nature of evil as conceptualised in them. Secondly, this dissertation aims, through interviews with practitioners and ‘patients’ in the field of contemporary Zulu traditional medicine, to investigate the conception of evil and the notion of protection against that evil through analysis of those interviews. Finally, a comparative analysis will be undertaken in order to determine what similarities or differences there are between the two cultural systems, and what light they can shed on each other.

This research stems from a desire to show how the study of Classics is relevant to Africa, and thus contributes to ‘African Scholarship’ as proposed in the mission statement of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.<sup>1</sup> The study dovetails with previous comparative anthropological or sociological work done in the department of Classics at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, especially in the connection between traditional Zulu and classical Greek culture.<sup>2</sup>

What this study also hopes to achieve is to re-examine the concept and world-view of Zulu traditional medicine in a contemporary context. There has recently been work on the influence of contemporary cultural changes on southern African culture,<sup>3</sup> but none that has focused as completely on a Zulu paradigm.<sup>4</sup> Given the thoroughness of the ethnographical data already collected on this subject, interviews may seem redundant, but the argument to the contrary is that fresh examination may yield new information, or information that may previously have been masked by the researcher’s own standpoint. As such, more rigorous analysis of interviews, as well as interviews conducted in the mother-tongue, will be valuable for the re-examination of contemporary Zulu culture. Furthermore, the previous ethnographic studies will prove useful as a ‘spring-board’ for the interviews, as well as a ‘voice’ in the analytical stage, while not being the primary source. As such, what this study aims to do is to

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/aboutus/ukznmission.asp>.

<sup>2</sup> Lambert 1990; 1993; 1995; 1998; 2000; 2007. Kirby-Hirst 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Moore 2001; Ashforth 2005; Carton 2008.

<sup>4</sup> Carton (2008) contains many contributions which are valuable for their discussion of contemporary shifts in Zulu identity, but none focuses specifically on Zulu traditional medicine.

establish ‘popular’ concepts of evil by analysing the magical amulets or phylacteries (in a Classical context) and by interviewing the practitioners and ‘patients’ (in a Zulu context).

Potential outcomes of this research, as well as reasons for it being worthwhile, include strengthening the standing of Classics in an African context by showing its relevance to an African, and specifically a contemporary Zulu, context, adding to a growing body of work on magic in the Classical Greek world, and illuminating the obscure or inexplicable areas of a Classical system of thought through the examination of a current one. The study will take great care not to import ideas from one system into another, and is aware of the specific problems inherent in a comparative study of this nature. Consequently, the study is not aimed at making any value judgments based on the results, and is instead looking for the dialogue between conceptual maps. This research will not simply categorise all the amulets.<sup>5</sup> Nor will this research re-invent the Zulu conception of evil and protection against it, as this has also been done,<sup>6</sup> but will rather be re-examining the subject in the light of contemporary society, as well as tapping into changes in the oral record.

This project is part of a general comparative sociological and anthropological research interest in the study of classics, particularly in the ongoing desire to see the Classics in new ways. In addition, this project is part of a general trend toward ‘African Scholarship’, and toward an integration of the supposedly incompatible paradigms of the West and Africa. Furthermore, this research is relevant to the continuing ever-changing dialogue between our seemingly solid past and altogether transient present. Fundamentally, what this research seeks to find is the nature of socially constructed conceptions of ‘evil’ in these two societies, and how a person might protect herself against this ‘evil’.

## **1.2. Literature Review**

### **1.2.1. Studies of Magic in General**

The field of magic is no stranger to research. In fact, considerable scholarly energy has been spent debating exactly what the field is, and where the definitional boundaries lie. These debates about the definition of ‘magic’ have dominated the field of magic in social anthropology for many years, and as such need to be mentioned here in order to understand the shifting fields of research in this discipline, both in the Greek and the Zulu fields of study.

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<sup>5</sup> This has already been done – see Daniel & Maltomini (1991) and Kotansky (1994).

<sup>6</sup> Most comprehensively by Berglund (1976).

Magic, both as an aspect distinct from religion and as part of the same complex as religion, has been an important field in anthropology for as long as the discipline has had its own field of research. Frazer (1922), following on from the work of Tylor (1878), focused on the creation of an evolutionary continuum incorporating the tripartite division of magic, science and religion, mainly in order to discover their origins.<sup>7</sup> Even though it was based on what are now regarded as “vague and contradictory ideas on chronology” (Graf 1997: 13), Frazer’s classification has had a lingering influence in all fields connected to the study of magic, and most specifically in the discipline of Classics, which adopted Frazer’s distinction despite the ensuing debate in the anthropological field.<sup>8</sup> In Frazer’s classification, the three aspects of religion, magic and science are differentiated from each other on a number of levels. Firstly, science and magic as systems of knowledge are potentially plausible and can possibly be verified by inquiry, whereas magic and religion are both based on a dogmatic truth which cannot be proved by any empirical endeavour (Frazer 1922: 63-79). The contrast between magic and religion, however, is to be found in the fact that, while they both refer to a supernatural reality, religion is by its very nature unable to be proven true, whereas magic has the pretence of verifiability (*ibid*). Secondly, in terms of action, both magic and science offer control over the world without recourse to any mediator – they both put power in the hands of the possessor of knowledge (*ibid*). To tie this all together, Frazer believed that magic, science, and religion existed on an evolutionistic continuum, moving from ‘primitivism’ towards ‘culture’ (*ibid*). This understanding had a crucial impact on the study of magic, as it formed the perception of the primitive as opposed to the advanced, an evolutionistic view which was later disputed, ironically by the disciples of Frazer himself.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most influential of the disciples of Frazer was Malinowski, who was not primarily interested in the evolution of magic and religion, but rather in its functions and phenomena.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See also Versnel (1991) and Graf (1997) for further discussion and disputation of this issue. Versnel focuses on the fact that, while the Frazerian distinctions are outmoded, it is counter-productive to dispense with the categories of magic and religion altogether. Graf’s argument is that Frazer’s triadic distinction was very necessary for the subsequent development of studies in magic and religion, and still has some utility in its distinctions.

<sup>8</sup> Versnel (1991) discusses this point in greater depth, with a view to finding a clear path through the definitional shambles. Specifically, he makes the point that, while an evolutionistic account of magic does not suffice, the terms ‘magic’ and ‘religion’ are still valid in the study of Classics, in part because they are a product of the same social system. Thus, in his argument, the important thing is not to come up with new terms, but rather to be conscious of the implications of the old terms.

<sup>9</sup> Versnel 1991; Graf 1997

<sup>10</sup> Malinowski 1935a: x; 1944: 147-176

Malinowski (1935a: xi) used Frazer's triad; however he countered religion with magic and science or technology, with religion being emotional as opposed to magic and technology, which he argued to have empirical functions and objectives. Malinowski, using his landmark study of the Trobriand Islanders as a template, theorised that magic is only used where rational science will not guarantee a positive outcome in a task – in Malinowski's own words,

wherever there is an important human activity, which is at the same time dangerous, subject to chance and not completely mastered by technical means – there is always for the Trobriander a magical system, a body of rites and spells, to compensate for the uncertainty of chance and to forearm against bad luck.

(1935 v2: 217)

Malinowski's work was further scrutinised by Tambiah, but this time in relation to another interpretive model – the 'performative model' (Tambiah 1979: 115). Tambiah's theoretical model is also the product of Anglo-American linguistic theory, which focuses on the performativity of certain verbs in ritual utterances, a theoretical basis which itself leads into the fields of discourse analysis, which will form the methodological basis for parts of this research, as well as other forms of structural analytical techniques. Tambiah's (1979) work in the study of ritual points out categorically how rituals associated with magic and those associated with religion are indistinguishable from each other, and follow the same patterns. This work, then, seemed to demolish once and for all the carefully constructed hierarchy and relationship, proposed by Frazer and Tylor, that was supposed to exist between religion, science, and magic.

At this point it seemed that there was no way out of the 'semantic trap'<sup>11</sup> of the magic-religion debate – even to make use of the terms 'magic' and 'religion' seemed to be a declaratory exercise in favour of one or other theoretical school, with some theorists making use of the compromise of words like 'magico-religious' instead of confronting the distinction (cf. Graf 1997). Others, however, retained the distinction between magic and religion, making the debate hinge rather on whether one ought to use the terminology of the culture in

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<sup>11</sup> Discussed more fully in Hammond 1970.

question or of the researcher's culture.<sup>12</sup> This debate relied on a distinction between 'emic' and 'etic' schools of thought, with emic researchers attempting to portray the cultures in the culture's own 'words', and etic researchers focusing on some kind of objective description (Burr 2003). But there were many anthropologists who began to voice their doubts about the supposed 'empathetic/emic' standpoint in ethnological research, and its use as a conceptual tool for avoiding the tangle of the magic-religion debate.<sup>13</sup> These doubts were strengthened by the publication of Malinowski's *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (1967), which showed the flaws of the 'emic' approach more clearly than any academic debate might have (Versnel 1991). As Geertz writes,

the myth of the field-worker, perfectly self-tuned to his exotic surroundings, a walking miracle of empathy, tact, patience, and cosmopolitanism, was demolished by the man who had perhaps done most to create it.

(1973: 222)

Yet another solution to the problem was offered by Evans-Pritchard (1937), who, in his research of accusations of witchcraft among the Azande, focused on analysing those accusations using the indigenous terminology, while at the same time using an objective framework for his ethnography – a compromise between the purely etic (i.e. Frazerian) and purely emic (i.e. ideally Malinowskian) poles of ethnographic and anthropological research. Through this compromise, though, Evans-Pritchard (1937) showed that the accusations of witchcraft served to explain the source of misfortunes and unhappiness in the community, without which they would have been incomprehensible – magic thus being theorised as an important means for understanding and interpreting the accidents of human existence.

The debate about 'magic' as a word and concept still rages, with some theorists arguing either for the creation of a new terminology or the fully conscious adoption of the older doctrines as conceptual tools with which to understand the material.<sup>14</sup> For this research, it seems that "it will be necessary for [research] to consider and analyze the...use of *magic* as it constitutes an element of the indigenous discourse on the relationship between the human and the supernatural" (Graf 1997: 19). This approach is useful for the study of the Greek as well as

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<sup>12</sup> Versnel 1991; Graf 1997.

<sup>13</sup> As discussed in Versnel 1991.

<sup>14</sup> See Versnel 1991 and Graf 1997.

the Zulu aspects of protective magic, acknowledging the fact that if *magic* or *protective magic* is defined by what the interviewees or other primary sources construct it to be through their discourses, then that is what it is for them at that moment.

### 1.2.2. The Ancient Greek Area of Study

All of the literature reviewed above does have bearing on the research at hand, but it is necessary to focus more on each of the two cultures that are being held up for comparison - the ancient Greeks and the contemporary amaZulu. The research into ancient Greek magic will be reviewed first, followed by a similar review of the Zulu material. The Greek material which will be used in this study forms part of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*,<sup>15</sup> being the collection of papyrus fragments from around the Greco-Roman world that pertain especially to magic, consisting of formularies, curse fragments, amulet fragments and descriptions of rites performed as ‘magic’. In addition to the papyri, this dissertation is also concerned with certain of the metallic *lamellae* included in Kotansky’s (1994) collection. As such, this study is not concerned with literary aspects of magic, a field which is also well-researched,<sup>16</sup> and which has yielded valuable insights into the practice of ‘magic’ in antiquity. The focus of this research will be on the papyri and related *corpora* instead. Some of the key points of research conducted with the *PGM* as the subject include the collation and editions of the *PGM* by Preisendanz (1974), the translation of the *PGM* edited by Betz (1992), the further collation and edition by Daniel and Maltomini (1990), and the publication of various *corpora* edited by Robinson (1949), Jordan (1985) and Kotansky (1994). Therefore it is apparent that the material necessary for the Greek aspect of this research is already edited and accessible, leaving room for analysis.

The *PGM* and related *corpora* have not, however, been devoid of in-depth analysis. Quite the contrary, in fact. With regard to commentary and analysis, all of the editions and translations already mentioned have included some analysis of the texts, on a linguistic, formal and contextual level. Bonner (1950) produced both significant editions of and commentaries on the collections of gem-amulets in various museums throughout the world. Preisendanz’s edition of the *PGM* (1974) includes analysis of the structure of the texts, both on a linguistic or formulaic level and on the level of physical appearance and contextual relationships to

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<sup>15</sup> Henceforth referred to as the *PGM*. For the purposes of this dissertation, I shall be using the edition of Preisendanz (1974), as well as the subsequent editions of amulets in Daniel & Maltomini’s *Supplementum Magicum* (1990a, 1990b), abbreviated to *SM*.

<sup>16</sup> See Graf 1997; Luck 1985; Dickie 2001; and Kirby-Hirst, 2005, among others.

other works of literature. Betz's edition of the translated papyri (including the Demotic Magical Papyri) (1992) offers a few new comments on possible readings of dubious texts, as well as an appendix of *vores mysticae*.<sup>17</sup> Daniel and Maltomini's (1990a, 1990b) work extends the commentary on the texts it includes, again focusing mainly on variant readings in the papyri and on interpretation of the *vores mysticae*. Jordan (1985), while offering a comprehensive catalogue of new material not included in the *PGM*, fails to engage in much extended comment on the texts themselves. Kotansky (1994) engages in extended comment on textual issues and points of interest, particularly shedding light on the social and literary context of the creation of the *lamellae* on which his work focuses. As such, Kotansky, methodologically speaking, comes closest to the framework of this dissertation.

In terms of focused analysis that is not concerned principally with the publication of the material, however, the emphasis has largely been on two specific aspects of the *corpora*. The first has been the formularies – lengthier texts from the *PGM* and elsewhere which offer 'recipes' for the practice of magic – usually with an emphasis on their relation to more 'accepted' religious practice of the time.<sup>18</sup> The work done on the formularies in the *PGM* and related *corpora* has also centred on the syncretistic use of names and religious practices from neighbouring ethnic groups in pieces of writing which were otherwise solely Greek.<sup>19</sup> As well as this, some of the work has included a medical evaluation of the prescribed herbs and other *materia* in the *PGM* in terms of both the existing Hippocratic Corpus and other examples of medicine in the ancient world (e.g. Scarborough 1991).

The second researched aspect of the *corpora* is that which is concerned with what are variously called 'curse tablets', *defixiones*, and 'binding spells'. This aspect of Greek magic has garnered enormous interest following the discovery of the various *materia* to do with cursing and binding – including 'voodoo dolls', lead curse tablets and parts of the magical formularies which deal with cursing.<sup>20</sup> As can be seen from the number of recent and older essays, articles, book chapters and indeed entire monographs on the subject, this area of Greek magic is well researched.

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<sup>17</sup> The seemingly unintelligible 'names' or 'incantations' found repeatedly in the magical texts.

<sup>18</sup> See Betz 1991, Brashear 1995, Ciruolo 1995, Faraone 1995 and Frankfurter 1995.

<sup>19</sup> Such as Bonner 1942.

<sup>20</sup> See *inter alia* Faraone & Obbink 1991, Gager 1992, Graf 1997, Martinez 1995 and Janowitz 2001.

Having looked briefly at the two major areas of scholarship with the *PGM* and related corpora, it is necessary to focus on an area which has not attracted very much focused scholarly interest in recent years, apart from the publication of the collection by Kotansky (1994) - the area of the magical amulets. There was significant work done in the field by scholars such as Bonner (1942; 1944; 1946; 1950; 1951) and Nilsson (1951) concerning the magical amulets, which focused primarily on “amulets...made of stone or metal”.<sup>21</sup> As such, work on papyrus amulets did not receive equivalent attention from the same scholars, being used “only for occasional illustration” for the more enigmatic gems and stones (Bonner 1946: 27).

In the past twenty-five years, there have for the most part been only brief discussions of amulets in books or essays concerned primarily with curse tablets or other aspects of classical magic.<sup>22</sup> When there has been a comprehensive discussion or an entire essay or chapter devoted to the magical amulets, such as Kotansky (1991), there has not been a comprehensive study of the amulets as a class in and of themselves, but rather on aspects of them in relation to other magical or non-magical ‘genres’ such as prayers or curse tablets. Daniel and Maltomini (1990a) do offer their own classification of the amulets in that collection into the two categories of ‘Protective Charms, Pagan’ and ‘Protective Charms, Christian’. However, as with other parts of the *PGM* and related *corpora*, the editions published offer the briefest examination of their purpose and/or function, and are concerned mainly with textual issues. In terms of in-depth analysis, then, only a few articles or chapters have recently been published on this subject, and these have tended to focus on re-examinations of old finds in the archaeology of the period<sup>23</sup> or on an approach such as this study, underpinned by a single research question.<sup>24</sup>

Where the literature has engaged with the attitudes or world-view of the wearers of the amulets, the commentary has a tone to it that is not untouched by the kind of superior or patronising tone used by Frazer in his discussions of ‘primitive’ practices – in short, the discussions have been grounded in a post-enlightenment framework of rationalism and empiricism, and do not take into account the belief of the actual ‘ordinary people’ who wore

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<sup>21</sup> Bonner 1946: 27. This work continued the scholarship of Petrie (1914) and Budge (1930) with regard to the gem and jewellery amulets.

<sup>22</sup> such as Gager 1991; Graf 1997; Ogden 1999; Dickie 2001; Janowitz 2001.

<sup>23</sup> such as Jordan 1985.

<sup>24</sup> such as Kotansky 1991.

the amulets. As Lambert (1998) notes, the scholarship of many western-based academics tends to overlook the fact that there are still cultural milieux within which magic flourishes, and in which there is no question of magic ‘working’. Gager, of all the western scholars in Classics, comes closest to a sympathetic stance when he discusses the amulets, framing the question thus:

But who made use of amulets? In raising the question, we come up against a major issue regarding our general understanding of late antique culture. Do amulets – and their attendant beliefs and assumptions about how the world works – represent a basic and universal feature of the culture or just ‘an unswept corner of odd beliefs, surrounding unsavoury practices’?

(1992: 220)

His answers to this question are quite positive, pointing to a general or universal belief in the efficacy of amulets, quoting from religious, philosophical and medical sources to support his claim against what he calls “occasional voices of protest and dissent” (Gager 1992: 220). And his next question is of equal value – whether the amulets actually ‘worked’ (ibid). This question is posed, in various forms, throughout *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*, and it is what makes it such a compellingly useful book on ancient magic – Gager (1992) doesn’t merely list or discuss the empirical presence of amulets, curse tablets and voodoo dolls, but actually grapples with the subjective world of magic and comes to terms with the world-view inherent in its various manifestations.

In answer to his own question about the amulets, Gager draws on the work of Tambiah, and as such comes very close to answering the questions which this research poses. However, instead of seeing the amulets as they are seen in this research, as ‘discourses of or against evil’, Gager offers a solution in the form of a Freudian analysis – that “the amulet becomes the physical token of Roheim’s (1955) ‘counterphobic attitude’, the belief that we can *achieve something* [my emphasis] despite all the evidence to the contrary” (Gager 1992: 222). In this brief excursion into the question of whether amulets ‘worked’ and, if so, how, Gager goes further than many other scholars in the field. As such, his probing questions point the way to a need for a more extensive analysis of the discourses inherent in the texts of the amulets, perhaps as a tool for finding out just how the amulets functioned, and this is the area into which the current research fits.

### 1.2.3. The Zulu Component

It would be completely unjust to dismiss all of the older ethnographies (pre-Berglund) as artefacts of a Frazerian evolutionist or colonialist viewpoint. It would be unjust to dismiss them, but that is, to a large extent, exactly what they are. All the ethnographies or ‘accounts’ of the Zulu people published from first contact with the west until the late 1960s contain valuable contributions to the anthropology of the people and the region, but their attitude towards their ‘object of study’ is at worst offensive and at best patronising. Of the major ethnographies published in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, almost all<sup>25</sup> were published by missionary groups (either with their own agenda of conversion and the ‘stamping out’ of immoral heathenism, or of a kind of anthropological tourism), while the remainder were published by colonial officials<sup>26</sup> who also had their own agenda. That being said, it is worthwhile to note that Callaway and Bryant’s studies are valuable tools when one talks about the amaZulu of the past, or to use Bryant’s (1929) phrase, “Olden times”, and Stuart’s archive is an invaluable source of first-hand historical data.

This research is concerned with modern or contemporary viewpoints. As such, the older ethnographies provide a good springboard towards a re-evaluation and a fresh understanding of the conception of evil among the contemporary amaZulu, but are unfortunately not sufficient. Fresher research is needed. In the midst of the gloom of apartheid South Africa’s policies, Berglund’s (1976) research into the thought patterns and symbolism of the amaZulu provided a beacon of understanding. It is first of all an attempt to let the people under investigation speak for themselves. Secondly, it is a pervasive study, covering all aspects of both the indigenous and adopted spirituality of the amaZulu. Berglund (1976) focuses an entire chapter on the issue of ‘Resisting Evil’ (304 – 344) dealing with issues such as ‘the Field of Operation and Destruction of *Abathakathi*’,<sup>27</sup> ‘The Defenders [against evil]’ (307 – 311), ‘Confessions [as a means of resisting or averting evil]’ (312 – 327), and ‘Expelling Fluid [as a means of resisting or averting evil]’ (328 – 332).

However, there are two concerns that can be raised, which necessitate the current research. Firstly, Berglund’s research was conducted just over thirty years ago and, as such, is in need of revision, particularly since the change in South Africa’s political situation. As Berglund

<sup>25</sup> Callaway 1870; Bryant 1929; 1949; 1963; 1964; 1966.

<sup>26</sup> Such as the work of James Stuart, originally gathered from the 1920s onward, collated and published in Webb & Wright 1976.

<sup>27</sup> Evil-intentioned magic practitioners (Berglund 1976: 304-306).

points out, when speaking of the use of new ideas in medicinal lore among the amaZulu, “new herbalists launching new treatments are popular in Zulu society” (1976: 347), and so there is a high possibility of changes in treatment as well as changes in attitude towards what is being treated – in this case, evil. Secondly, while Berglund’s work is a masterpiece of detail and nuance, it does not cover every aspect in as much detail as this study requires, offering tantalizing clues to new or other information which might be found if the right or different questions are asked.

Berglund is by no means the only work in the past half-century to deal with the issue of the spirituality of the amaZulu – Krige’s (1950) work is a comprehensive guide to all aspects of Zulu culture, not just to spirituality, as in the case of Berglund, although it is largely a paraphrase of the earlier colonial ethnographies such as Callaway and Bryant. Again, however, the material can only act either as a springboard or a reflective tool for research which seeks to ascertain the contemporary view, as this one does. If this study were concerned solely with the existing ethnographic evidence, it would be a different study entirely. Apart from Krige, Ngubane (1977) has written extensively on matters of Zulu spirituality and medicine, which writings have far more force than those ethnographies conducted by non-Zulus as they are written from a non-judgmental and in fact sympathetic stance, although Berglund attempts to approach the material from a similar standpoint. Ngubane’s work has provided valuable material for the fields of comparative theology and comparative studies in general, but is also itself sadly out of date.

So, what we are left with is the handful of articles and books published in the past ten years that deal with Zulu spirituality in particular, and there are few indeed. Some of the most in-depth studies have been re-evaluations of theories of Zulu religion, such as Weir (2005). Apart from these general works on spirituality and religion among the amaZulu, there have been recent books such as Ashforth (2005), which have examined urban ‘magic’ and spirituality in the context of Soweto, and Niehaus (2001) which explores magic and spirituality in the South African Lowveld. However, as is clear both from the titles and from the scope of those two books, neither of them deals either exclusively or partially with contemporary *Zulu* magic and spirituality, and so can only provide parallels in related ethnic groups or in related situations.

It should be quite apparent then that there is a very real gap in the literature regarding extensive research into contemporary ‘magical’ or ‘religious’ practices among the amaZulu, and more specifically a gap in literature specifically regarding the conception of evil through a discourse of protection, as is the basis of this dissertation. As such, this research is very necessary as a means of updating Zulu attitudes to the problem of evil, as well as offering a comparative evaluation, which is the subject of the next section of this review.

#### **1.2.4. Comparative Work**

Comparative African and Western scholarship is not an easy or trouble-free research area, particularly following on from some of the debilitating effects of paternalistic or evolutionistic anthropological paradigms – in brief, the area is a sensitive one, as the tendency has been to judge rather than to compare. Because of the lead given by recent comparative scholarship, as well as some of the methodological advice offered by comparative religion theorists such as Smith (1990), this study aims to learn from the mistakes of previous scholarship, and engage in what Smith speaks of as the “active, at times even playful, enterprise of deconstruction and reconstitution which, kaleidoscope-like, gives the scholar a shifting set of characteristics with which to negotiate the relations between his or her theoretical interests and data stipulated as exemplary” (1990: 53) – the act of comparison.

Firstly, in recent years in related fields, there has been research in the area of biomedical testing of traditional Zulu medicinal plants, such as Mulholland (1997) and Stewart et al.’s (2002) work, and comparative analyses of traditional Zulu and modern Western medical science, such as Crawford and Lipsedge (2004) and Jolles (2000). In terms of comparison though, this study most neatly dovetails with previous comparative anthropological or sociological work done in the department of Classics at the University of KwaZulu Natal, especially in the connection between traditional Zulu and classical Greek culture. Lambert, particularly, has engaged in research focusing on comparative mythology (1990), ritual (1993), medicine (1995), ethics (2000) and magic (2007). The most recent work done has focused on the connection between the *defixiones*, these being curse tablets or binding spells (also called *katadesmoi* or *katadesmata*) which were inscribed on lead tablets, and African culture, focusing on the connection between ‘immigrant African’ traditional medicine and the *defixiones* of the *PGM*. Lambert’s scholarship in this field has opened the area for further comparative work in the sociological and anthropological disciplines. There has also been

recent work done in the area of divination – a comparative dissertation by Kirby-Hirst (2005) researched ancient Greek and Zulu divination, relying on the literary record for the Greek material, and on some of the old ethnographies for the Zulu material.

All of this research has yielded valuable insights into both sides of the comparative binary – to the Greek and the Zulu aspects. This current dissertation aims to achieve the same end, to contribute to the growing field of comparative Classical and Zulu studies in an effort to bridge the yawning divide between what have been perceived as two different worlds – Europe and Africa. In continuation of Lambert’s most recent work, this study focuses on a different aspect of the field of magic, as has been mentioned previously, which is namely the field of protective magic.

The following section discusses issues related to the theoretical framework of this dissertation, highlighting the need for a study using Social Constructionism. The section draws further on the literature already cited, primarily in terms of the underlying philosophies behind the research, as has been discussed briefly. Following on from this discussion of the theory, the next section will outline issues of methodology relating to this research.

### **1.3. Theoretical Framework and Methodology**

This dissertation is based almost entirely in a social constructionist paradigm, and thus is qualitative. Design coherence, the conjunction of epistemology, ontology and methodology, is generally desirable in any research; however, an eclectic approach is necessitated by the three main aims of this dissertation – to describe, to analyse, and to compare. So, while this dissertation is conducted from within the overarching paradigm of social constructionism, it is not possible to maintain complete design coherence in terms of methodology. Each aim favours a different methodology, and shall thus be discussed in turn.

#### **1.3.1. Description**

Primarily, this research aims to describe evil as it is conceptualised in the Greek and Zulu sources. However, this dissertation does not view description as an end in itself, but rather as a means to enable more in-depth analysis.

The description relating to the Greek sources – their provenance, textual and physical composition, and content – serves to establish a context for the discussion of the conceptual

maps which they represent. This study does not aim to describe the nature of the amulets uncritically or without reference to the contexts of their creation and use, and as such this aim of the research forms a crucial part of the analysis which is to follow.

Using the provenance (both geographical and chronological) of the amulets as a starting point, the context of each of the amulets (as gleaned from archaeological and historical commentaries) is described – including the religious, linguistic, and political influences in the time period and in the area where each amulet was found. Then the physical composition of each source, based on commentaries (as the researcher is unable to inspect the originals) is also discussed. Finally, the structures of the texts and all linguistic points of interest are analysed in detail. Recurring themes, formulae and other elements are then explored.

In describing the conception of evil in contemporary Zulu protective magic, the rationale is similar to that underlying the description of the Greek sources – that it is through a description and outline of the context and mechanics of protective magic that a more coherent and valid analysis of the interview data may follow. It must be noted that the information about the conceptions of evil and the nature of contemporary Zulu protective magic gained from the interviews, will not be viewed as an infallible artefact of the views of the entire Zulu people, but rather as a composite of a number of different perspectives (both of practitioners and of users of ‘traditional medicine’), open to question and interpretation from other viewpoints.

As has been discussed in the literature review, there have been a number of ethnographies conducted over the period of time since first contact between European settlers and the amaZulu. Concomitant with the social constructionist paradigm, this research is intent on questioning these previous interpretations and finding new ways of understanding. As such, those ethnographies will be consulted only as another kind of conversation in a general discourse.

The main sources of the Zulu data in this dissertation are interviews conducted in the course of the research, which are recorded for later analysis. The cue for how to develop an interview schedule for the Zulu participants was taken from the Greek amulets, which protect against or heal both sickness and misfortune

### 1.3.1. Analysis

The dominant mode of analysis for the social constructionist paradigm is Discourse Analysis.<sup>28</sup> However, this analytic framework works better with extended written or verbal ‘texts’ – and is thus better suited to the analysis of the interview data than to that of the amulets. This then also presents a problem for which an eclectic framework might be the solution. I shall deal firstly with the social constructionist paradigm and how it is methodologically suited to analysing the amulets, and then with the interview data.

### 1.3.2.2. Amulets

The social constructionist paradigm, in general, has a number of features which are common to the various ‘schools of thought’ that constitute it. Firstly, social constructionism takes a stance which is critical of or opposed to knowledge which is simply ‘taken for granted’ (Burr 2003: 3). This means that research which is based in this framework does not simply accept previous interpretations of the world as fact, and seeks to challenge these interpretations (ibid.). It follows, therefore, that social constructionism is opposed to the positivist or empiricist theories of knowledge, opting instead for a consciously sceptical or suspicious view of knowledge and assumptions which constitute it (ibid.).

Secondly, following on from this sceptical stance, the paradigm is founded on a belief that “all ways of understanding are historically and culturally relative” (ibid.: 4). Thus the followers of this paradigm hold that no particular way of understanding the world is more valid than another, since they are all products of specific cultures or times in history. As such, this dissertation is not aiming to make value judgments about different ‘ways of knowing’, but rather to analyse them in the form of an ‘archaeology of knowledge’,<sup>29</sup> conscious at all times of the contexts of the different elements under analysis (namely the amulets and the interviews), but also of the historical and cultural specificity of the researcher – the fact that I am a white South African male classicist in the twenty-first century has bearing on every aspect of this dissertation, and it is possible that someone from a different historical and cultural context would, when faced with the same data or research questions, approach the research in a completely different way.

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<sup>28</sup> Burr 1995; Gee 2005.

<sup>29</sup> To use the translated (1974) title of Foucault’s (1969) *L’archéologie du savoir*.

The paradigm is also conscious of the phenomenon that knowledge is produced and sustained by processes of social interaction (Burr 2003: 4). What this means is that all ways of understanding in the world are not simply artefacts of the world as it really is – social constructionism is an anti-essentialist theoretical framework – but are rather created through discourse (whether textual or verbal) between people in society. Thus, there is no single ‘truth’ about the world at any time, but rather many ‘truths’ which are the products of context and interaction, themselves constantly being refreshed and changed and crafted. In terms of this research, this fits in very strongly with the emphasis on the language and ‘texts’ (whether spoken or written) of people’s interactions with evil. Language is seen as the means by which we express our ideas about the world, while those ideas are constantly changing and are themselves forming and governing our use of language – this cyclical process is in rejection of traditional ideas about mind and language, which emphasise both of these concepts as static or pre-conceived and essential to ideas of ‘personality’ and ‘attitudes’. So the context creates the text, and the text in turn modifies or creates contexts of interaction.

The final general similarity is that social constructionism holds the belief that the different ‘ways of understanding’ constructed through discourse each call for action from humans as social beings that are dependant on or reactive to these ‘social constructions’. So, to use an example from this research, if evil is constructed as something connected with urbanisation, then people who construct evil in this way may be urged (by this construct) to act towards urbanisation in a negative way. In contrast, if urbanisation is constructed as a way of combating evil, then people may be urged to act towards it in a positive way. Therefore this dissertation sees discourses or constructs as ‘goads’ to social action, impacting on the way in which further interactions are conducted.

Many aspects of social constructionism hold true for the analysis of the amulets. The amulets are products of their social situation, and in turn they maintain and modify that situation through text and its interaction with society. However, the fundamental difference between this analysis and the analysis of the interviews is that one of the aims of this dissertation is to find out what popular (as opposed to intellectual) conceptions of evil existed at the time when these amulets were created and used – the third and fourth centuries of the Common Era. The amulets represent only one part of a complete discourse about evil – they exist as part of a pluralistic reality concerned with protection, and as such they cannot be analysed in a way which divorces them from their context. As a result of our fragmentary knowledge about the

morality and beliefs of ordinary people in antiquity, our understanding of the contexts of those people is similarly fragmentary. Through the understanding of the nature of reality offered by the theoretical framework of social constructionism, it is possible to reconstruct what that context and what those conceptions may have been. So this part of the research is, in effect, attempting to reconstruct a context for the amulets – to rebuild or recreate the various discourses about evil and protection that might have been present at the time, through analysing what might be called the ‘distillations’ or realisations of those concepts. The amulets, as social artefacts, are seen as products of the society, and more specifically products of a societal stratum which has not been given a clear voice – almost none of the discussions about efficacy in ritual or about evil stem from a ‘popular’ standpoint.<sup>30</sup> It is far more difficult to find a view akin to that of the participants in the Zulu interviews, as one cannot simply organise an interview with an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchos in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE. Thus this dissertation hopes to theorise or reconstruct the discourses or ‘situated conversations’ (Gee 2005) which may have produced the amulets. If indeed the context and the text are co-creational, then this analysis will fall into the social constructionist framework, as text creates the context and is created by it.

On a more detailed level, the amulets will be analysed using close textual readings and structural analysis, themselves a hallmark of certain schools of Discourse Analysis.<sup>31</sup>

The texts of the amulets are read critically, noting recurring and dominant themes. These texts, coded thematically, are then discussed and analysed for the ways in which they seem to portray ‘evil’ – either directly or through their methods of protection. From that analysis, conceptual maps of evil are formed, which are then used to hypothesize the conception of ‘evil’ in the context of the amulets. The initial analysis of the amulets and a discussion of the variant versions of the themes presented in them are presented here in Chapter Two. A further analysis of the overarching themes in relation to the Zulu material is presented in Chapter Four.

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<sup>30</sup> The literature of the time comes either from Christian writers and thinkers (e.g. Origen, Clement of Alexandria) or from philosophers (e.g. Iamblichus) (Burkitt 1939b: 476 – 492) . Neither of these can be seen as speaking for ‘the popular’.

<sup>31</sup> See Gee 2005.

### 1.3.2.3. Interviews

One of the underlying motivations for this dissertation is to challenge ‘knowledge’ about the amaZulu which is simply taken for granted, and to find new ways of understanding the world views of the contemporary amaZulu. As with the amulets, the interviews are constructions of realities through talk – constructions or conceptualisations which are themselves formed through interaction with a wider socially-situated debate about the nature of evil.

In this dissertation, I am aware that I am working from the standpoint of a western theoretical framework in an African context, but the choice of qualitative, social-constructionist framework is an attempt to work within a paradigm that is not completely alien or opposed to the contemporary Zulu aspect of the research, simply because, as has been discussed, the social constructionist paradigm does not aim to make value-judgments, and it also takes the historical and cultural context into account as much as possible. This theoretical framework is also useful for this current research because the dissertation aims to establish individual people’s views towards specific socially-constructed issues, and thus does not require statistical analysis or other quantitative methods.

This approach to socio-anthropological research is what has been called *emic* (meaning research conducted from the subject’s point of view rather than the researcher’s), although the *emic/etic* distinction has fallen into disfavour in recent years, primarily undermined from within the anthropological field by Malinowski, as discussed previously. There is a definite question of the validity of either the distinction or the usage of these terms, and the view of this research is that, as far as possible, the voices of the original actors will be the determining and defining factors in all the analysis conducted in the course of this dissertation. As an adjunct to this, the research will rely on the previous research conducted in each field, particularly the Zulu work, only so far as it will itself constitute an additional ‘voice’ in the overall construction of the ‘conversations’ about evil. Thus I, as a researcher, will act as a participant in that conversation, and this research may therefore be seen as a further contribution to a more general public discourse or conversation about protection and evil.

The recordings of the interviews are selectively transcribed, using standard modern *isiZulu* orthography. This selective transcription was based on the need to focus the research on the nodes of discussion around crucial issues, and the context of each of the selections provided

in Appendix B is given as fully as possible when discussed below. The interviews are transcribed so that they could be analysed more closely than they would have been had they remained in audio format. Once the selections are transcribed, each of the selections is translated, with constant cross-referencing to the three major dictionaries cited in the reference list, namely Doke et al., Nyembezi and Mbatha. This translation is mainly for the benefit of the inclusion in this dissertation, as the researcher developed conceptual maps from the untranslated data.

Each of the interview transcripts was read repeatedly and coded for recurrent themes, which are then noted and discussed, through which conceptual maps of the various discourses are developed. The themes themselves, as discussed by the participants, are presented in Chapter Four, along with the Greek themes. Close textual analysis of various selections is then conducted, examining the verbal constructions underlying the text and the contours of the conceptual maps. The results of this analysis are then compiled, also forming part of Chapter Four in this dissertation.

### **1.3.3. Comparison**

This aspect of the dissertation is concerned primarily with comparing the two different systems of protective magic, on two different levels. Firstly, the aim of comparison is to highlight similarities and differences in the conceptions of evil of the two groups. Secondly, this dissertation compares the conceptual maps or world views of the two systems, as found through the analysis of the amulets and the interviews, and through that comparison theorises popular attitudes and conceptions among the amulet-makers and wearers of the chosen time period.

This research engages in comparison regarding the world-views or conceptions of evil. This necessitates using the more flexible sample (the Zulu interviews) to compile a list of questions with which to interrogate the problem of evil in the static sample (the amulets) - which could also be called the sample that is incapable of offering its own interpretation, or the sample that cannot engage in open or theorising dialogue. Thus the data from the Zulu sample can serve as an heuristic tool for questioning the Greek texts, thus enabling a reconstruction of the amulet-users' conception of evil.

Following on from the work done in the preceding chapters, the codes and themes from the Greek and Zulu sections are grouped together in terms of common or disparate discussions present in each. Each of these discussions forms the basis of Chapter Four, dealing with the similarities and differences apparent from the analysis, analysing the various ways in which the conceptual maps of the two sections either complement or contradict each other. Essentially, this Chapter uses the work done in the Zulu section to shed light on some of the conceptual *lacunae* in the Greek material, a process begun through the use of continuously reflexive qualitative methodology – the fact that the analysis of the themes raised by the Zulu material raises some important ideas about how to approach the Greek material, and vice versa. This section then is a further step in the development of more general themes that not only link the conceptions of evil in the two cultures, but also highlight their differences.

## Chapter 2 – Greek Sources

### 2.1. Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is the discussion of conceptions of evil in a selection of amulets, but before embarking on this discussion it is necessary to state what exactly is meant when referring to amulets. Amulets, called *peria/mmata* or *peri/apta* in Greek, in reference to their physical application, are sometimes also called *fulakth/ria* – phylacteries - in reference to the verb *fula/ttw*, denoting their purpose as protective charms (Versnel 1996: 78). While the first two nouns are very non-specific, in the same way as other words for the charms, such as *pe/talon* or *lepi/j*,<sup>32</sup> this third noun (*fulakth/rion*) offers a clue to their specific purpose - the extant amulets from the Greco-Roman world, spanning a time period from the early first century BCE right through to the seventh century CE,<sup>33</sup> *protect* their bearers, as Versnel puts it, “against witchcraft, illness, the evil eye, accidents, robbery” (ibid.), as well as many other threatening factors in their daily lives, as will be seen in the amulets studied in this dissertation. These amulets are either carved on precious stones or inscribed on sheets of precious metal – *lamellae* – or written on papyrus, and amulets have been found buried in tombs and in the walls of houses – their forms vary considerably and are found throughout the Greco-Roman world (ibid.).

The amulets in the *Supplementum Magicum* (1990a, 1990b) and in Kotansky’s (1994) collection invoke a range of different supernatural entities from different pantheons – Egyptian, Jewish, Christian and Greco-Roman deities all appear, sometimes together. Their texts make use of formulae which are very similar to those employed in prayers and other religious artefacts, while at the same time using elements common to the *PGM*. This fusion of ‘religious’ and ‘magical’ elements further complicate the debate about the division between magic and religion discussed previously.

The aim of the amulets is always benevolent – to help or heal or protect the bearer from something, rather than harming someone else (Versnel 1996: 78). In this way, they operate in direct contrast to the *defixiones*, the usually lead curse tablets and binding-spells seeking either pain or desire (and sometimes both) in their object. Another way in which the amulets are different from the curse tablets is that they were probably worn on the person at all times,

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<sup>32</sup> A ‘leaf’ of metal or papyrus – see Kotansky 1994: xv n.3.

<sup>33</sup> As collected in the *PGM*, the *Supplementum Magicum* (1990a, 1990b), and Kotansky (1994).

or placed in the wall of a house to be protected, rather than buried in the grave of one untimely dead or killed by force (Corey Brennan 1996: 414-415).

In the ancient world, the understanding of health and illness was far broader than the modern Western concept, encompassing a wide range of causes and manifestations of sickness, and thus a similarly wide range of options for cure. The bearers of the amulets had a number of different recourses in their search for help – they could seek help from one of the numerous religions present in the Graeco-Roman world at the time, or they could go to a doctor trained in the Hippocratic method. In the case of the amulets, the bearers made a choice – they chose the third option, an appeal to the ‘magical’ or ‘occult’ tradition, itself similar to both the religious and medical options available in society. By choosing this way, the bearers of the amulets put their faith in the perceived efficacy of the magical tradition.

The amulets included in this chapter all have a single aim – to protect the person who bears them from evil, whether demonic possession, fever, enchantment or any other of the myriad forms that evil may take. Their methods of doing this, however, are varied and numerous. Each amulet has a specific way of conceptualising the evil with which their bearer may be faced – in the lamella from Antioch, evil is conceived of as a loss of autonomy, a lack of belonging and as something foreign, whereas the Athribis amulet constructs evil as a part of the mythological system, which can only be conquered by impersonating the divine. The Fayum text focuses strongly on the idea of evil as chaotic and opposed to the cosmic order, whereas the Oxyrhynchus (A) amulet embodies the concept that evil is like an attacking enemy, and that the best defence against evil is to co-opt a formula or a supernatural entity from an offensive spell to use against it. The Oxyrhynchus (B) amulet focuses again on the concept that evil can best be opposed by an appeal to the cosmic order, and that evil is conceptualised as something chaotic. Finally, the Berytus *lamella* is a combination of almost all of these concepts – evil is conceived of as something chaotic and omnipresent, against which the only potent cure or protection is the re-iteration of cosmic or heavenly hierarchy. By finding one’s place in the world, the Berytus text seems to argue, one can defeat the unknown and chaotic evil that is a part of everyday life. Before embarking on a more detailed discussion of each of these amulets and their conceptions of evil, it is first necessary to discuss how these specific amulets were chosen, and then how they were analysed.

## 2.2. Methodology

These amulets were chosen because of two factors – their known provenance physically, and the fact that they have been dated to a period including the third and fourth centuries of the Common Era. The time period chosen is appropriate to the comparative aspect of the study because of the complicating presence of Christianity in this time period as well as the context of the twenty-first century *amaZulu*. In both contexts, the new faith co-exists with and challenges existing practises and evokes a wide range of responses. Each of the amulets was examined with close reference to the textual apparatus offered by their various collections, and from that examination possible themes or discussions about the concept of evil were deduced. A close textual analysis of each of the amulets was conducted, looking primarily at the conceptual maps around verbal usages through consultation of the *LSJ*, as well as contemporary and generically similar texts, such as the *Testament of Solomon*, the texts of the *PGM*, as well as other amulets from the *SM* and Kotansky's collection (1994). Based on these a map of the themes and methods involved in constructing a notion of evil was devised. Further research was conducted on the Zulu component, and then some of the themes from that section were used to understand some of the constructions in the amulets' texts. The previously deduced themes and maps were then revised and further examined.

The product of this analysis is both the following chapter, which deals with a close analysis of the constructions of evil in each of the texts themselves, and Chapter 4, dealing with a collation and further discussion of general trends in the conceptualisation of evil, as well as notions of power, viewed in relation to the Zulu material. In this chapter, in keeping with the social constructionist methodology previously discussed, each of the amulets is presented firstly as a text, followed by a brief discussion of the historical, cultural and linguistic contexts of its creation, and then by a discussion of its particular conception of evil. Finally the way in which each text constructs a context of its creation, as well as any intersecting discourses apparent in that construction, is then discussed.

## 2.3. Texts

### 2.3.1. Antioch Caesarea: Exorcism, Possession, and Belonging

#### Text

Πρὸς πν-  
 εὔμαθα·  
 Φωαθφρο,  
 4 ἀναχώρη-  
 σον ἀπὸ Βα-  
 σελείου, τῇ  
 δεξιᾷ χειρ[ι]  
 8 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ  
 τὸ ἔμα τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ[ς]  
 ἀγγέλων  
 12 σ α(ὐ)τῆς καὶ  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ.

1-2 πνεύμαθα: πνεύματα 6-7 Βασελείου: Βασιλείου  
 8 ἔμα: αἶμα 12 ἀτῆς: αὐτῆς 13 ἐκκλησίᾳ: ἐκκλησία

For (evil) spirits: 'Phōathphro, depart from Basilius, by the right hand of God, and the blood of Christ, and by her (*sic*) angels and (the) Church.'

(Kotansky 1994: 170)

#### Context

This amulet was found, in an excavation conducted in 1924, “three feet above the original pavement in the south portion of the colonnade behind the Augustus temple (Robinson 1925: 172),” although the temple was subsequently identified as a Temple of the Phrygian deity Men, not Augustus.<sup>34</sup> The city of Pisidian Antioch, also known as Antiocha Caesarea, was founded in the Seleucid period, circa 290 BCE (Ramsay 1924: 172). According to Ramsay, “the main purpose of the Seleucid and afterwards of the Roman foundation was to guard the fertile Phrygian plains along with the great Seleucid road leading east and west across Asia Minor from the attacks of the eastern Pisidian tribes” (1926: 111). The city had received Roman *coloni* in the Augustan period, when it was refounded as Colonia Caesarea, and this had contributed to its status (Jones 1963: 139). According to Jones, “Antioch was the most important of Augustus’ Pisidian colonies; [and] it alone was granted the *ius Italicum*”, which was “the highest privilege obtainable by a provincial municipality” and meant that the land

<sup>34</sup> Corrected by Ramsay 1926: 111. It would seem that, in this instance, the correction is valid, as will be seen shortly in a discussion of the archaeology of the region.

was free from *tributum soli*, and the inhabitants were not liable for *tributum capitis*.<sup>35</sup> The city is mentioned in the book of *Acts* (14:24) as a destination of St. Paul in his mission in Asia, and so had received some contact with Christianity early in the religion's growth. As Ramsay points out, a large proportion of the inhabitants of Antioch were Jewish,<sup>36</sup> but Antioch was also the centre of a pagan reaction to Christianity in the third century, under the instigation of the imperial policies of Diocletian and Maximin (1924: 174). This revival led to a revitalization of paganism in general in the city, but unfortunately, the temple of Men was "wrecked violently by a Christian mob" in the last years of the fourth century, as part of a "stamping out of paganism" in the area (*ibid.*). With regard to language, the local inhabitants spoke mainly Greek in the third and fourth centuries, possibly with a largely illiterate and less powerful peasantry speaking Phrygian, despite the influx of Latin-speaking Roman colonists, although the inhabitants retained Roman naming systems.<sup>37</sup>

## Discussion

Essentially, this amulet uses an exorcism formula, derived from a Christian context of pre-baptismal exorcism, but ultimately derived from exorcism formulae of the *Testament of Solomon* (Kotansky 1994: 174-180). It contains an incantation to exorcise a demon from the bearer, and uses a modified Christian liturgical utterance. It is written on a piece of silver, which was found rolled up inside a bronze tube (Robinson 1953: 172), presumably to be worn around the neck.<sup>38</sup> As with the other amulets, this one is written entirely in the Greek alphabet.

With all of these components, then, how does this amulet construct evil? The first interesting point is that evil is constructed as something which is foreign – through the use of the foreign demonic name.<sup>39</sup> Even if the amulet-wearer or maker did not create the name, it would have

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*: 139-140; cf. Nicholas 1996: 790.

<sup>36</sup> 1924: 173; Jewish settlers were sent to the area under the Seleucid kings.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*: 173 This statement is based on inscriptional evidence from the area, largely in Greek, but using Roman naming practices.

<sup>38</sup> The use of silver is interesting in that it is a step away from the predominant use of lead in the curse tablets. Silver is called for in a number of the formularies of the *PGM*, usually in the realm of protective magic, as were other precious metals, of which the rest of the amulets in this dissertation are a fair representation. Cf. 5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 16, 18, 34, 36, 39, 46, 48, 49, 54, 59, 60, 64, 66, 67, and 68 in Kotansky (1994).

<sup>39</sup> *Fwaqfro* (3), which is, according to Kotansky (1994: 171-172), in the vocative, and is a mixture of the names of the Egyptian gods Thoth and Re. There are two important aspects in this name. The first is that the name is of Egyptian origin, and the second is that a name is used at all. With regard to the first aspect, there are a number of reasons why an Egyptian demonic name might be used. Firstly, the spell itself might have had an Egyptian origin, or been copied out from a spell that did. Secondly, the spell-writer or amulet-maker may have been Egyptian. This hypothesis is not entirely unlikely, given the movement of peoples under

sounded foreign in the context in which it was found. However, is the foreignness important, or is it more important that the name is non-Christian? It is also possible that the identification of an Egyptian ‘demon’ may reflect the biblical association of Egypt with slavery and evil, rather than with ‘foreignness’ per se. To complicate this even more, how does one establish what is foreign in Antioch in the third century, particularly with the numerous ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups in the city in the third and fourth centuries? Since the overall character of this amulet is Christian, with the infusions from Solomonic magic providing a template,<sup>40</sup> it is more likely that this text is equating that which is foreign with what is non-Christian, and what is non-Christian with what is demonic and thus evil.

This idea of defining evil as that which is non-Christian is further emphasised by the liturgical formula employed, presumably in a pre-baptismal exorcism context.<sup>41</sup> The text makes clear what is powerful and good – God’s power and might (his right hand), the purification from evil ‘possession’ by non-Christian cults (offered by Christ’s blood), the protection of the angels (conveniently transposed from a Jewish setting), and the sense of belonging and community offered by Christianity, here exemplified by the Church.<sup>42</sup> Thus, in driving away the evil of foreignness and non-Christian belief, the method that the amulet

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Empire. The use of allusions to Christian liturgy later in the amulet may point to a missionary Christian presence in the area, which could also have had its roots in Egypt. Thirdly, the name may have been used for the sake of foreignness, but this needs more explanation. Why would the demon named here have been foreign? Possibly the amulet was a reaction against the ‘possession’ of a possible Christian convert by foreign or non-Christian cult, and this name was seen as the representation of that cult. This could have been the case most particularly if the area was affected by the pagan revival under Julian the Apostate, and would thus have represented that revival. Fourthly, dovetailing with the previous explanations, the name may have been used because of its previous efficacy in the same rite, more than for any of the other reasons – this is the ‘explicit precedent’ argument (as conceived by Frankfurter 1995: 469). Finally, the name may have been used in complete ignorance of any connections it may have had, or may have been made up, and we as researchers are simply reading too much into what is actually nonsense. If it is nonsense, then this too has implications for the perceived efficacy of the amulet, in that the ‘nonsense’ may be used as a kind of charm in itself, to ward off evil through confusion and a lack of clarity.

<sup>40</sup> Kotansky, in reference to one of the proposed points of origin of this amulet, discusses the arcane *Testament of Solomon*, in which “once the demon’s name (and the affliction he brings) is known, the demon can then be ‘sealed’ and exorcised by a particular angel under Solomon’s charge” (1994: 175). Kotansky argues that this practice has been incorporated into this amulet, and that Solomon’s ‘angel’ has been reduced to a phrase in the later part of the incantation – *toi=[j] / a)nge/loi-/j a(u)th=j* (10-12) - in keeping with the Christian elements of the text. So it is possible that the use of the name here has been copied from an exemplar of the *Testament of Solomon*, without regard for its actual meaning.

<sup>41</sup> Contemporary with and anterior to the creation of this amulet the verb seems only to have been used in Christian liturgical exorcisms (called *eu)xai/* or *e)corkismoi/*), most likely in a pre-baptismal setting, and there in the indicative mood, as *a)naxwrw=*. For a complete survey of the various sources, see Kotansky 1994: 174 – 180.

<sup>42</sup> It is important to note that the word *i)klhsi/#* (13) used here has the dual meaning in Greek of ‘political assembly’ and ‘church’ (*LSJ*, s.v.), although the word is used in its latter meaning in the New Testament, and it is unlikely that either the bearer or the creator of the amulet intended anything except the latter meaning, particularly considering the overall religious emphasis in the text.

employs to do this simultaneously defines what is good as well as what is evil. Furthermore, the use of the formulae on this amulet reiterates and strengthens the prophylactic or exorcistic nature of the Christian baptism, using the ritual performative utterances, inscribed here, as a prophylactic charm against further ‘possession’.

Another interesting point, which leads on from the previous one, is that evil is being constructed as something opposed to or apart from the community. However, the very fact that the bearer chose to wear a very individual expression of his baptism runs contrary to this idea of community, given that the wearing of an amulet is a very solitary act – the amulet is inscribed on a concealed *lamella*, rolled up inside a tube of metal, rather than displayed in a prominent place. It is possible that this amulet represents both a community-witnessed disavowal of paganism and a personal contract or covenant with God, as there are elements of the communal ritual as well as an individual exorcism rite. This is a very interesting concept when contrasted with the Zulu material, particularly with the idea that a loss of community or traditional values leads to evil.

The text of this amulet also displays or constructs the notion that evil is knowable, and that once it is known, that knowledge then has prophylactic power. This is in contrast to the idea of some of the other amulets, where the thing to be protected against is indefinite or general. The specification of evil that can be seen in this amulet is possibly related to its situated functionality (in that it is specifically being used in a pre-baptismal exorcism setting), or to its place in the Solomonic tradition (with all of its specifications about knowledge). Nevertheless, the amulet-maker or wearer had a very specific idea of what needed to be protected against, and also of what had the power to protect.

Altogether, the most definitive aspects of this amulet are its construction of evil as foreignness or else as possession by a non-Christian and thus anti-communal force.<sup>43</sup> It also

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<sup>43</sup> The name of the bearer of the amulet, Ba/selei/[oj] (5-6), is unremarkable apart from the fact that it is a Greek name and that the matronymic, so prevalent in the *PGM* and elsewhere, is absent. However, although Kotansky makes no comment on the meaning of the name itself, the aristocratic connotations of the name might shed some light on the identity of the bearer. It is possible that the bearer belonged to a Greek-speaking upper class, in which case this amulet would be an important artefact of the conversion of that upper class to Christianity. What is also possible, and what might change the interpretation of this entire amulet, is that the ‘name’ might also represent a place – the *basi/leion* of the city. The word means ‘a palace’ or ‘a treasury’, and may have been used to refer to one or other of the imperial administrative buildings in the city. The fact that this amulet was not found in a grave but rather buried in the ground just above the precinct of a temple supports this argument, in which case the amulet is not simply exorcizing the pagan spirit from a person, but

portrays what is powerful as the Christian liturgy.<sup>44</sup> However, the Christian formula is also not without its interesting aspects, particularly in the context of pre-baptismal exorcism. The use of ‘the right hand of God’ seems to imply “the power and strength by which the demon is banished” (Kotansky 1994: 172), whereas the ‘blood of Christ’ shifts the emphasis onto the purificatory, the angels are prophylactic and ‘the Church’ is emphasising the community into which the catechumen is to be baptised. Thus, this invocation is in itself a truly performative utterance, transcribed onto the amulet as a proof of the ritual’s occurrence, or as reiteration of the ritual itself. So, while itself exorcising the demon, this formula emphasises the ritual of which it is a part, and reiterates Christian baptismal doctrine.

### Constructions and Discourses

The text as a whole seems to reflect a context of conflict between religious systems, and specifically between Christianity and the pagan cults of the city. It constructs this context through its use of the foreign or pagan to indicate demonic possession, and through its reiteration of formulae indicating Christian belief. The text’s appropriation and adaptation of Solomonic or Jewish exorcism ritual and practice displays an intriguing intersection of discourses of power – the tension between Christian and Other seems to be ignored when inconvenient or when necessary, in that the strong convictions shown in the utterance of the creed are subsequently undermined by the appropriation of a Jewish method of exorcism. However, it may also be the case that the context here is not one of Christians at odds with all non-Christians, but rather of Christians (as new converts from among the predominantly Jewish population) at odds with the native Phrygian or colonial Greco-Roman religion. This text may reflect a context of Christianity as an emerging facet of a larger Judaeo-Christian framework, rather than as an adversary to the pre-existing Jewish beliefs of some of the inhabitants. In terms of the apparent conflict between Christian and pagan, this amulet may further illuminate a more individual response to the more macro-historical conflicts in the Greco-Roman world at the time, particularly the religious upheavals and tensions around the

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from an entire city or building. This amulet, then, may represent a move to counter the pagan revival that had occurred under Julian, exorcizing the city and ‘re-baptizing’ it as Christian space.

<sup>44</sup> The amulet uses a seemingly alternative Christian liturgical formula – t\$= / deci#=# xeir[i\] / tou= q(eo)u= kai\ / to\ e(ma to[u=] / X(risto)u= kai\ toi==[j] / a)nge/loi-/j a(u)th=j kai\ / i)klhsi/# (6-13) - rather than the more standard liturgical invocation from *1 Tim.* 5:21 - Diamartu/romai e)nw/pion tou= qeou= kai\

Xristou= kai\ tw=n e)klektw=n a)gge/lwn – or even the Trinitarian invocation found on other amulets - i(=° path/r... i(=° ui(o°... e(\n / pneu=ma a(/gion – as found in P. Köln VI 257, ll. 1-2 (*SM* 21), an amulet of unknown provenance from the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> CE. This may simply be an artefact of the amulet or the formula’s creation prior to the various codifications of Christian creed at the council of Nicaea in 324 CE, but this could also be a local variant.

conversion of the Empire under Constantine (Cameron 1991: 21-22). Thus the amulet seems to construct a context in which the macro-historical issues are translated into an everyday struggle against the ‘demonic’ or threatening aspects of indigenous or pagan religion.

In the next amulet, from a different part of the Greco-Roman world, the construction of evil as situated in context is varied to respond to a new set of threats impinging on the daily life of its wearer or user. Instead of that which is foreign being identified with an entire religion, the following text constructs foreignness, and evil, in both a cosmic and individual way.

### 2.3.2. Athribis: Impersonating the Divine

#### Text

- 1 ἐγὼ ἴμι ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ λωτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων,  
ὁ ἅγιος θεός, ἐξεῖκ ἰβει ἀβει σελτι βελτι βελτι  
βιλλακου ἀμου νηι ἀτθουεῖνι ἀτθουιν σελβ-  
4 ιουχ βοτιαω Καβατιαω ἀτθεραθιωθ ἠθουατ οθηθια-  
σεουρσε ουρμεοθ ερμουχι ἀβι εἰβι βι ο βηι ἀβι Ιαω Καβα-  
ωθ ἠηαιωῖου χωουχ Καβαωθ ἰχχιωυιχονοωχ ἰσοοιχ ἀηι ἀη ιυ  
ἰχχοχοχωω ουριχ χυευ ἠηηη ιι οοο υυυ ιι ἀααα, διαφυλάσσων [ . .  
8 . . . μον], ἱερέα ἀληθῆν, ἐφ’ ὃν ἔχει ζωῆς χρόνον, ἀπὸ παντὸς  
κακοῦ καὶ μήνεος θεῶν καὶ [δα]ιμώνων καὶ ἀπὸ βαρκάνων  
πάν-  
των.

1 εἶμι 2 ἐξῆς? 8 ἱερέα ἀληθῆ 9 μήνιος vel μήνιδος δαιμόνων

I am he upon the lotus, having the power, the holy god — as follows (?) — *ibei abei selti belti belti billakou amou nēi atthoueini authouin sielbiouch* <sup>4</sup> *botiaō Sabatiaō attherathiōth ēithouat othēthiassourse ourmeoth ermouchi abi eibi bi o bēi abi Iaō Sabaōth iēiaiōdiou chōouch Sabaōth ichchiōyichonoōch ἰσοοιχ aēi aē iy ichchochochōō ourich chyey ēēēē iii ooo yyy iii aaaa*, protecting [ - - mon], <sup>8</sup> true priest, for the time of life he has, from all evil, and wrath of the gods and daemons, and from all sorcerers.

(Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 18)

#### Context

Athribis is located in the Nile Delta, about fifty kilometres from present-day Cairo and one hundred kilometres from Alexandria. The site was occupied from the Late Pharaonic period through to the early Byzantine period (Bagnall & Rathbone 2004: 82), and its position in the delta would have meant, in terms of contact with the Greco-Roman world, extensive Greek

(as part of the Ptolemaic state), as well as Roman, influence. The chronological provenance of this amulet is loosely the ‘Roman Period’, spanning the period 30 BCE to 330 CE. As such, it is one of the more doubtful amulets for inclusion in this study, since it is not exactly from the time period specified in the inclusion criteria. Its inscriptions do provide, however, an interesting example of the use of Egyptian (the language) in Greek script. The Athribis amulet employs the Greek alphabet throughout. However, it also includes words and phrases in Egyptian and Coptic, which is not surprising since the amulet is from the heartland of these two languages. The actual incantation is written in grammatically coherent Greek. This amulet also includes repetitions of the vowels of the Greek alphabet, a practice which is recurrent in the amulets.

### Discussion

Taking the amulet as a whole, how does it function? Firstly, the amulet-wearer is identifying himself with Horus as victim or patient, and calling on the assistance of Thoth as divine doctor. The Athribis amulet, by virtue of its shape, is itself a symbolic representation - this amulet is in the shape of a falcon. As Daniel and Maltomini point out, “Harpocrates is the young Horus, and so it is fitting that the inscription is on the figure of a falcon. This was the sacred animal of Horus, and it is in this form that he was venerated with a special cult at Athribis, which is the provenance of the present artefact” (1990: 17). However, one of the most important points is that Horus was used (in Egyptian magic) as a representation of the patient in need of healing (Pinch 1995: 29). The wounding of his eye by Seth and its subsequent healing by Thoth (discussed below) was often used as an *historiola*, requesting by example that Thoth would also heal the one who identified himself with the wounded Horus. In fact, from the very first lines of this amulet, it is apparent that Horus’ image in the amulet’s falcon shape is perceived to have power in itself – the text contains a formulaic opening that begins ε)gw/ i)mi – a kind of self-invocation in the first person.<sup>45</sup> Presumably this invocation is identifying the object with the god in question – in much the same way as the Oxyrhynchus (1) amulet does – and the amulet-maker or wearer believes that the image has power. Alternatively, this opening invocation is rather a kind of performative utterance, in that the god has merely to utter his name and the spell will become effective. Perhaps most interestingly, however, is the fact that the ε)gw\ ei)mi/ formula is a direct translation of the self-identification of the Hebrew god in *Exodus* 3:14 - “I am who I am” - itself a very

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<sup>45</sup> This same formulaic opening occurs in 13 in Daniel and Maltomini (1990a), as well as 36 in Kotansky (1994), and elsewhere in the *PGM*.

powerful incantation, mainly because of its identification with God's name. However, in this instance the phrase is used with a complement, and so may merely be an allusion to the biblical text. Together with this, the amulet is invoking Horus as 'saviour' or conqueror of evil, personified in Egyptian mythology by the god Seth.<sup>46</sup> The amulet also uses divine names and powerful tools such as the vowels in an incantatory rather than an invocatory sense, since the participle used in the text is in the singular.<sup>47</sup> Apparently, the main god who is the subject of the participle *diafula/sswn* is Horus, since he is praised as *th\ n du/namin e)/xwn* (1). The usage of Hebrew divine names,<sup>48</sup> as well as Egyptian and other potent elements,<sup>49</sup> belies a syncretistic view of efficacy not unusual for the area and time-period of provenance, a view which relies on the fact that any and all elements from religions which have a proven track record may be used as tools of power. The possible presence of a Coptic summoning charm<sup>50</sup> in the midst of the incantatory section is in keeping with the syncretistic context, although it jars slightly with the overall performative nature of the piece. How is this piece performative, though? Firstly, the phrases written in the first person are identified as the words of Horus himself in his role as 'saviour', and it is fairly logical that the words of a god are more potent than that of a human being. However, the incantatory section seems to be used almost as a way of charging the text with added power, as well as acting as a key to gain access to a reserve of power,<sup>51</sup> and it seems unlikely that this section is also 'being said' by

<sup>46</sup> He is *th\ n du/namin e)/xwn*, *o( a(/gioj qeo/j* (1-2). As Pinch points out, "Horus partakes of human nature in his vulnerability, but he also seems to represent the powers given to humanity to defend itself and establish the rule of order" (1995 : 29).

<sup>47</sup> The verb is interestingly the present singular masculine participle, seemingly agreeing with the initial invocatory phrase. Thus the amulet contains a text which identifies the bearer with Horus while simultaneously using Horus to utter the statement of protection. This participle is a clear example of performative writing/utterance, in that, through writing the word *diafula/sswn* (7), the amulet is simultaneously in the act of *protecting* the bearer. The fact that it is in the singular seems to negate the presence of the previous invocations of Thoth. However, the invocation may in fact relate to the *historiola* of Horus needing healing, rather than Horus as saviour.

<sup>48</sup> In the word *botiaw*, and followed by *Sabatiaw* (4). This second word contains within it another divine name which occurs frequently on this amulet – *Sabawq*, which occurs twice on its own and once in this compound (5-6, 4). *law* (5) is the standard Greek transliteration of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton YHWH, and also occurs in the Fayum and Berytus amulets. The second word, *Sabawq*, is the transliteration of the Hebrew 'lord of hosts', and is an epithet of the Jewish God.

<sup>49</sup> *ibei abei* (2) and *abi eibi bi o bhi abi* (5) – which are most likely a reference to the Egyptian god Thoth as *ibij* (Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 19); 'nonsense' syllables - *atqeraqiwiq hqouat oqhqia<sup>oo</sup>our<sup>oe</sup> ourmeoq ermouxi* (4-5); the use of the Greek vowels in the formation *ihiaiwiou* and *hhhh iii ooo uuu iii aaaa* (6-7) – a repetition which is not in the sequence of the alphabet, and which is lacking any omega or epsilon, and which from a numerical point of view is only notable for the number of repetitions – 4,3,3,3,3,4 – which is palindromic. Also, from a linguistic point of view, the sequence is 'book-ended' by two long vowels, *h* and *a*, further bracketed by the two repetitions of *i*, with a pairing of three repetitions of *o* and *u*.

<sup>50</sup> The phrase *amou nhi* (3), which is a possible 'summoning spell' in Coptic, with the meaning 'come to me' (Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 19).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Frankfurter 1995: 469 for a discussion of this concept of tapping into a 'reserve' of power.

Horus himself. Secondly, by writing out or reading aloud the amulet one is performing the very act of protection itself, again in the guise of Horus – by uttering the statement *diafula/sswn* (7) one is actually enacting the verb and thus protecting the wearer or bearer of the amulet.

Lastly, how does this amulet construct a view of evil? In the list following the participle, there is no specific thing to be protected against. The use of the formula *a)po\ pantoj kakou=* (7-8) seems to define the act of protection as being akin to ‘warding off’ potential evil, rather than attacking (as a direct object) an identifiable evil, as in the Antioch amulet. This formula seems to generalise evil, as opposed to specifying it. It also betrays a certain world-view which the amulet-user may have in common with the Zulu world view – that evil ‘exists’ and is not necessarily directed at you, and you must employ prophylactic methods to prevent the possibility of evil. This amulet is different from the amulets which act in a healing or exorcism capacity. Even the second item to be warded off, *mh/neo<sup>o</sup> qew=n kai\ [da]imw/nwn* (9), implies that there isn’t a specific occurrence of the wrath of the gods and *daimones*, but rather that this amulet is protecting against its possibility. The language is general too, in that no specific gods are mentioned, in spite of the multitude of divinities mentioned in the incantation, nor are any *daimones* mentioned by name, in contrast with the Antioch *lamella*. And the final item to be protected against, *baska/nwn/ pa/n/twn* (9-11), is also amorphous.<sup>52</sup> This amulet is then a kind of ‘general prophylaxis’, rather than the more specific fever charms found elsewhere.<sup>53</sup> The things to be protected against can be classed into three sections – general ‘evil’, divine wrath, and evil that has human origins. The world view that this portrays is that evil is everywhere, and that precautions must be taken against every avenue of attack. This world-view also comes through very strongly in the Berytus amulet, to be discussed shortly.

The use of the *e)gw\ ei)mi/* formula with Horus and Thoth seems to be localising the amulet in a mythological system involving healing, and yet there is no mention of sickness on the amulet. Perhaps the identification with Horus is being used as a kind of summoning charm

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<sup>52</sup> The word *ba/skanoj* generally means ‘a slanderer’ or ‘tale-bearer,’ however, it also means more specifically ‘a sorcerer’. The cognate word *baska/nion*, which may be the correct spelling for this word here, means ‘a charm or amulet’, and also means ‘sorceries’. Another cognate, *baskani/a*, which may also be the correct spelling, means ‘slander’, ‘envy’ and ‘malice’, and can also mean ‘sorcery’ or ‘witchery’. Ultimately, this word comes from the verb *baskai/nw*, which has the meanings ‘to slander’, ‘to malign’, ‘to use ill words to another’, and ‘to bewitch [a person] by means of spells, an evil eye, etc.’ (*LSJ*, s.v.).

<sup>53</sup> E.g. in the Fayum amulet.

(supported by the presence of the Coptic *amou nhi* (3)) for Thoth's assistance. The use of Horus is the most interesting aspect here, with regard to the definition of evil. In the majority of the Egyptian mythological cycles, Horus is depicted as victorious over Seth – a personification of the victory of good over evil. However, Seth is not entirely evil, and has his uses, particularly in the control of chaotic forces as part of the daily journey of the sun (Pinch 1995: 27). Horus is here being invoked in much the same way as the archangel Michael is invoked in other amulets (some in this dissertation) – in the method of the *historiola* or 'explicit precedent' (Frankfurter 1995: 469). This is similar to the idea of 'like-with-like', but here the emphasis is on the 'track-record' of the invoked power – Horus, like Michael, was victorious over Evil, and as such can be invoked, by precedent, for protection from any evil whatsoever. What this does seem to mean is that 'evil' is being identified with the forces of Seth.

In terms of the incantations, as has already been pointed out, a plethora of different methods is used. What they all have in common is that they are deemed to be powerful in their own right, not necessarily for good or evil. In fact, the incantations seem to be interchangeable and easily used in both aggressive and protective *logoi*.<sup>54</sup> This gives further credence to the theory that the central section of this amulet is an incantation, rather than an invocation. In terms of a definition of evil, as well as a means to protect against it, it seems to be the case of the use of an efficient 'explicit precedent' again – though this time not a name but instead an incantation. With regard to the names employed here as part of the incantation, it was a generally accepted doctrine that names themselves had power. Fowden argues that the use of "extended sequences of vowels and cryptic divine names" was an essential part of Greco-Egyptian magic, citing an example from the *Nag Hammadi Codices* in support of this which states: "we use not just words, but sounds full of efficacy."<sup>55</sup> With regard to the vowels, Fowden cites Demetrius' *De Elocutione*, in which the text states that

in Egypt the priests, when singing hymns in praise of the gods, employ the

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<sup>54</sup> The phrase *xwoux* (6) is theorised (by H.J. Thissen, in Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 19) to be the Egyptian for 'darkness' – seemingly out of place on a defensive charm. The invocation of incongruous deities, and its implications for an understanding of the conception of evil, is discussed further in the Oxyrhynchus (A) amulet.

<sup>55</sup> *Nag Hammadi Codices* vi.6.56.16-22 in Fowden 1986: 118.

seven vowels, which they utter in due succession; and the sound of these letters is so euphonious that men listen to it in place of flute and lyre.<sup>56</sup>

This perception of the efficacy and power of sounds comes through strongly in the incantatory section of this amulet, and further supports the idea that the section acts to “concentrate divine powers” (Fowden 1986: 118).

Finally, the verbal usage reinforces the conception of evil as an omnipresent part of life, as the verb is not in the aorist, which would imply either an instant of action or an action having occurred, nor is it a present imperative, as elsewhere in the amulets. Rather, the fact that the verb (7) is a present participle implies that, for as long as the bearer wears the amulet, that amulet is ‘protecting’ him. This participial usage therefore implies constant protection, tying in with the general nature of the prophylaxis here.

### **Constructions and Discourses**

At first glance, this text seems to construct a context which is syncretistic, where numerous options – in terms of religious symbolism – are available for use, a context which is multilingual, and in which sorcery is prevalent and gods and demons grow angry and have a direct impact on the daily lives of human beings. However, as discussed above, the many names used in this amulet are unlikely to be seen as invocatory, but rather as incantatory keys for accessing power. What does this mean for the construction of a context for its composition? Does this mean that *[A]mon* (8) is a ‘traditional’ Egyptian, since he portrays himself as a ‘true priest’ of Horus and seems to be tapping into an Egyptian – rather than Greco-Roman or Christian – mythology? However, he makes use of Greek for his amulet – not Hieratic, nor Demotic, nor Hieroglyphic, nor even Coptic, which are all native Egyptian forms of writing and communicating. Why does he do this? Another perplexing question centres on the text’s acknowledgement or construction of the power of Jewish divine names – why, if the text does not use other non-Egyptian mythological symbols, does it make use of these names? This constructs a version of the intersecting religious discourses in the context of the amulet’s creation which is different and slightly more complicated than that of the Antioch *lamella*. It seems to portray Greco-Roman religion as either lacking power or negative, in opposition to the comfort that the text shows with the use of Jewish divine

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<sup>56</sup> Demetr., *Eloc.* 71 (tr. Roberts) in Fowden 1986: 119.

names. Does this perhaps reflect a context where the Jewish community in Egypt, together with its own discourses and practices around magical efficacy, is more established in, less discordant with and more acceptable to the Egyptian people than the Greco-Roman culture? Or does it perhaps construct a context where the Greco-Roman culture is perceived to pose more of a threat to the religious milieu of Egypt in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries CE?

In both this amulet and the previous one, elements of Judaic religion or magic have been allied as non-threatening and, in fact, beneficial adjuncts to a discourse of differentiation – while the distinction of Us and Them is otherwise so strongly reinforced. So, the context that can be constructed from this amulet is one where, again, there is conflict or negative contact between religious groups, but where certain elements of the adversarial religions and cultures have been adopted, possibly in recognition of certain similarities between the adopted elements and the defensive culture.

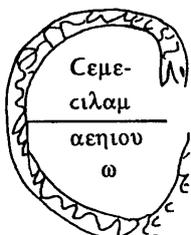
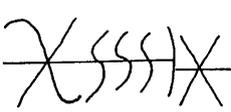
Another way in which the amulet seems to construct the context of its composition is in the way it speaks of a corrupted or lapsed form of Egyptian religion at the time of its creation. The statuette of the falcon, as well as the cartouche on its breast with Harpocrates upon the lotus, are elements which belong to traditional Egyptian religion, whereas the invocation in Greek and the use of non-Egyptian divinities – even if only as incantatory elements – belie a fragmented or imperfect attempt at recreating the archaic religion. The idea behind this, so familiar from Ptolemaic Egypt, is possibly identical to one that comes out in the Zulu material, that the reaction to new religions is to attempt to recreate an archaic or previous state of being in relationship with the divine that was present in the old religion. Possibly, this is why there is such an emphasis placed on the identification of *[A]mon* as the ‘true priest’ of Horus (8), and also why the amulet protects against ‘the anger of gods and of *daimones*’ (9). These two phrases construct a context where there is a nascent influence of a new religion which is perceived to be corrupting and threatening, while at the same time powerful – otherwise there would not be the belief that the ‘anger of [other] gods and *daimones*’ had any effect. Thus this amulet speaks of a context where there is a feeling of threat and fragmentation – where there is a social crisis which is associated with the influx of a new religion, and where the cure for that social crisis (itself leading to increases in feelings of paranoia associated with threats of sorcery) is seen to be a return to the ‘old ways.’ What is ironic here is that the ‘return to the old ways’ is still written in the language of the threatening culture, for centuries the language of administration and law (Lewis 1983: 28-9).

In the next amulet, a similar situation is apparent, although there from the perspective of a Jewish person in Egypt. In the amulet from Fayum, the need to reintegrate or even recreate the fractured cosmos in order to effect the healing of the bearer is emphasised very strongly, while the discourse of ‘returning to the old way’ seems to be abandoned in favour of a discourse of tapping into any efficacious elements in the religious melting-pot in a search for healing.

### 2.3.3. Fayum: Cosmos and Chaos

#### Text

1 Αδωναι Ελο[αι Κα]βαωθ Αβλαναθαναβ[λα Ακρ]αμμαχαμαρι /  
 Σεεενγ[ε]ρ Βαρφαρ[αν]γης / αειηιουω / Ιαω Φρη[ c.5 ]ηαω ιαω εαω

<p>4 αειηιουω          Ουριηλ          Μιχαηλ          Γαβριηλ          Σουριηλ          8 Ραφαηλ</p>			<p>καλαμαξα          Ζ Ζ Ζ          βαμεα ιαχα</p>	<p>Αβλαναθαναβλα          Αχραμμαχαμαρι          Σεεενγεν Βφαραγης          Ιαω / Καβαωθ          ωριφερ λου</p>
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φυλάσσεται Τουθοῦν, ὃν ἔτεκεν Κάρα, ἀπὸ παντὸς ῥίγους καὶ πυρετός, τριτέου, τεταρτέ-  
 [ο]υ, καθημερινόν, ἀμφημερηναὶ ἢ μίαν παρὰ μία(ν). Εἰλοῖαι  
 [ἄγ]γελος Ἀδωνιας Ἀδωναει, φυλάσσει[τα]ι ἐν . . . [ . . ]η.

7 φυλάσσετε ὄν 8-9 πυρετοῦ, τριταίου, τεταρταίου, καθημερινοῦ, ἀμφημερινοῦ 10 φυλάσσετε

*Adōnai Eloai Sabaōth Ablanathanabla Akrammachamari Sesenger Barpharangēs aeīioyō Iaō Phrē --- ēaō iaō ead. aeīioyō Ouriēl, Michaēl, Gabriēl, Souriēl, Raphaēl. Semesilam aeīioyō. Salamaxa (mag. signs) bamea iacha. Ablanathanabla Achrammachamari Sesengen Bpharagēs Iaō Sabaōth ōripher lou. Protect Touthous, whom Sara bore, from all shivering and fever, tertian, quartan, quotidian, daily or every-other-day. Eloai angel Adōnias Adōnaei, protect ---.*

(Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 27)

#### Context

The Fayum is an area centred on Lake Moeris (also called Lake Arsinoë, after the sister-wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos), approximately one hundred kilometres south of present-day Cairo. The region was the centre of a thriving cult of the Egyptian crocodile-god Sobek, hence the Ptolemaic city of Crocodilopolis in the area. Another important deity in the area was Dionysus, the patron god of the Ptolemies (Bagnall & Rathbone 2004: 135). Ptolemy II Philadelphos settled Greek farmers here (Stillwell 1976: 1216), in the period following the conquests of Alexander the Great. In the second century CE, Christian Copts made the city of

Arsinoë an important centre of their new religion (ibid.). By the time of the emperor Commodus, in the last decade of the second century CE, the area was inhabited by approximately ten thousand Coptic monks (ibid.). There were many monasteries in the area by the end of the fourth century CE, most interestingly (for this amulet) a monastery of the Archangel Michael built near the town of Theadelphia (Bagnall & Rathbone 2004: 142). There is also evidence of Manichaean influence in the area, with a translated copy of Manichaean scriptures found in the basement of one of the churches, dated to the third century CE (ibid.: 145). There was also a strong Roman military presence in this area, presumably to control trade-routes (ibid.: 140).

### **Discussion**

The amulet from Fayum is written entirely in Greek script. However, it contains phrases that have been identified as transliterated Aramaic, Hebrew, and Coptic. Since the amulet is from Egypt, the Coptic is not surprising – but the Aramaic and Hebrew (particularly the Hebrew) are quite surprising, as the Jewish communities in Egypt were mainly Greek-speaking (Smallwood 1976: 87, 123, 133, 424). The *prex* is, however, in Greek, and shows signs of Hippocratic medical terminology. In terms of structure, the fact that it was folded “dreimal horizontal und sieben vertikal” (Bashear 1975: 27) suggests a ritual surrounding its fabrication – three and seven are both powerful numbers in the religions in the area (Fowden 1986: 2, 115).

What does this amulet say about an attitude to evil? The text is a complex web of power – names, concepts, drawings and even the very structure of the amulet tap into almost every single potent religion or language in existence at the time of its creation. However, the overarching idea behind this amulet is one of cosmos, of order – and by implication, an identification of evil as that which is opposed to cosmos: chaos.

The names invoked on this amulet appear at first glance to be similar choices to those used in the Athribis text, in which case it is possible that they are being used in the same way – as an invocatory key to accessing divine power. However, crucially, the imperative *fula/catai* (7, 10) (*sic*) on this amulet is plural, implying that the powers in this text are each being invoked. Furthermore, instead of a single mythological locus – as in the myth about Horus in his battle against Seth and aided by Thoth – this text uses various loci related to what seems to be a governing idea of cosmic order and the ascendancy of the sun over darkness. Firstly, in the

initial invocatory section the amulet contains a curious mixture of divine names - law Frh (2). The first is the standard transliteration of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, but the second is the name of the Egyptian sun-god Ra or Re, preceded by the definite article. The amulet also contains, later on in the text, the word *Semesilam* (4-5), which Daniel and Maltomini propose means 'Eternal Sun' in Hebrew but which could also be "thy name is peace" in Aramaic (1990a: 28). There is also a drawing of the *ourobouros* serpent in the text - surrounding the word *Semesilam* and the seven vowels - a symbol which has strong associations with Egyptian solar mythology. As Pinch points out, the *ourobouros* serpent was a "symbol of totality" (1995: 118). Moving from solar to astrological connections, the amulet's reiteration of the seven vowels can be seen as a connection with the belief that the vowels were symbols for the seven planets in astrology (Fowden 1986: 118-119). Moreover, as has been discussed in relation to the Athribis amulet, the vowels were seen to have inherent power themselves. A further astrological connection is made through the inscription of the three crossed *zetas* - possibly a representation of the planet Zeus. All of this emphasis on cosmic order can be explained by the theory of efficacy underlying such rituals as the Babylonian recitation of the *Enuma Elish* at the annual Akitu festival (Hooke 1963: 42). In this ritual, as indeed in this amulet here, the recitation of the cosmic order is believed to re-establish that order, and so to conquer chaos and disorder. The invocation of the Jewish god, of *Sesenger Barfaranghj* (2 and 5), *Frh* (2), *Ourihl* (4),<sup>57</sup> and *Semesilam* (4-5) - all of these are connected with the Sun and light in some way, and thus the amulet seems to be invoking helpful, light-full powers to combat the evil and darkness of illness. The use of these types of names and symbols in a prophylactic setting may imply that what they are protecting against is their binary opposite. This proposition is, however, problematised by the invocation or incantation of the names of supernatural entities from offensive magical settings for a defensive purpose, as will be discussed in relation to the Oxyrhynchus (1) text. Therefore, what the idea might be here is rather that these names have more power because of their 'cosmogenic' properties, in the same way that the Hebrew god is invoked as *kṯi/s[aj] ta\ pa/nta* in the Berytus *lamella* (14-15).

However, it is not only the names that represent *cosmos*. The drawings used in the text - incidentally the only occurrence of drawings in the amulets in this dissertation - also represent 'cosmogenic' ideas. As has already been mentioned, the drawing of the *ourobouros*

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<sup>57</sup> 'God is my Light' in Hebrew (Kotansky 1994: 158).

serpent is important in representing the daily cycle of death and rebirth which Ra as the sun undergoes, as well as the cyclical nature of the universe. The amulet also contains a drawing of a *chnoubis* sign, itself redolent with solar and cosmic connections.<sup>58</sup>

Another aspect of the ‘ordering’ idea of the text is the use of specific medical terminology in the *prex* of the amulet. The fever to be protected against is specified, almost as though the specification was taken from a medical handbook – protection is sought from *pantolj r(i/gouj kai\ pureto/j, trite/ou, tetarte//[o]u, kaqhmerhno/n, a)mfhmerhnaì h)\ mi/an para\ mi/a[n]* (8-9).<sup>59</sup> This attempt to order that which is chaotic seems to collapse into the rhetorical ‘catch-all’ of *h)\ mi/an para\ mi/a[n]* (9), although the list itself is impressive in its attention to every possible manifestation of the illness. Even the use of a matronymic here – *w(\n (sic) e)/teken Sa/ra* (7) – seems to emphasise the need to reorder the world and state one’s place in it – a point which comes through very strongly in the Berytus amulet, to be discussed later.

Finally, it is not only the names that represent *cosmos* – the structure of the amulet also displays an underlying ‘ordering’ of the world. Instead of the more common thin column of text found in amulets such as those from Antioch, Oxyrhynchus (A and B), and Berytus, this text is ordered into different blocks or groups – seven in total, another interesting numerical correlation – and there are clear repetitions of elements such as the initial invocation, repeated twice, and the vowels, repeated three times. The threefold repetition of the crossed *zetas* (4) also follows this pattern.

Altogether, this amulet conceives of evil as a thing which is disordered and chaotic, needing to be ordered in order to be conquered. Beyond the ordering of the fever itself, the amulet also seem to view the re-enforcement of the cosmic order as crucial for the healing of *Touqou=[j]* (7), and goes about that re-enforcement in a way which is both methodical and intensely inclusive. It appears as though the creator of this amulet is not prepared to take any chances in his quest for health, invoking elements of mainstream Jewish and Egyptian religion, as well as the more mystical elements such as the angels. The end result is an amulet

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<sup>58</sup> The symbol to the right of the *ourobouros* serpent is the so-called *Chnoubis* symbol. *Chnoubis* appears to be a fusion of the Egyptian ram-headed god *Chnum* and the Greek *Agathodaimon*, a syncretistic deity which has ‘solar connections’ (see Bonner 1950: 25 – 26, 53, 58, and 154 for a fuller discussion).

<sup>59</sup> For the occurrence of these terms in the Hippocratic texts, see Hipp. *Epidemics* I, iv-v, 20-28; Hipp. *Epidemics* I, xxiv, 1f..

which creates order out of chaos – not only just the chaos of sickness, but the possible chaos of a country of conflicting and contrasting religious ideas.

### **Constructions and Discourses**

This amulet constructs a similar context to that of the Athribis amulet – one of multiculturalism and multilingualism – and what is interesting here is that the deities or divinities invoked are again only Hebrew, Aramaic and Egyptian. No Greco-Roman deities are invoked here, apart from a tenuous link with the planet Zeus in the crossed *zetas*. What this again constructs is a context of non-threatening or even positive contact between Jewish and Egyptian culture and religion, as well as magic – the Jewish elements in this text are perceived to have power in the same way as the Egyptian elements. Related to this is the fact that the religious background of the bearer is almost certainly Jewish – the matronymic, Sara is a very common Jewish name.<sup>60</sup> So, what seems to be happening in this text is that a Jewish person is using elements of his own religion, and elements of Egyptian religion, and is unsurprisingly writing in the language of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt – Greek (Smallwood 1976: 87, 123, 133, 424). This constructs, on a popular or individual level, a cultural interaction which is evident on a wider level, in the interactions between Jews and Egyptians, Greeks, and later Romans, particularly at Alexandria.<sup>61</sup> Another interesting contribution to the discussion of context that this amulet provides is the fact that it is one of only two amulets studied here which specifically protect against sickness. In both cases, here and in the Oxyrhynchus (A) amulet to be discussed next, the protection is aimed at fever. It constructs a context of using amulets as medical cures – a point known from the literary sources, but here clearly as an expression of popular belief, as opposed to intellectual interpretation. In relation to this, though, is the fact that the amulet does not seem to have abandoned Hippocratic medicine entirely as an efficacious or potent factor in healing – possibly this illuminates the practice of complementary healthcare options (to use an anachronistic idea) in the ancient world.

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<sup>60</sup> The most famous Sara/Sarai/Sarah was the wife of Abram/Abraham, mentioned extensively (43 times between *Genesis* 11:29 and 49:31) in *Genesis*, and thereafter named eight times in the Old and New Testaments (*1 Chronicles* 1:33; *Isaiah* 51:2; *Romans* 4:19; *Romans* 9:9; *Galatians* 4:21; *Hebrews* 11:11; and *1 Peter* 3:6). It is possible that this is a generic ‘mother-name’, particularly since Sara was known as a mother (albeit late in life) of Isaac.

<sup>61</sup> Of particular interest here are the formations of semi-autonomous Jewish municipal councils, the Hellenization of the Jewish community, and the complication of the religious situation with the arrival of Christianity. See Smallwood (1976: 220 – 255, 516 – 519, 539 – 545).

As in the previous text, this amulet also constructs a context of social upheaval – the need to reiterate and recreate the cosmos implies that the cosmos is fractured or lost in the first place – an idea that seems to be common to both the amulets and the Zulu respondents which will be discussed later. This idea of a fractured or lost culture is important, although any reference to Christianity is precarious in the absence of a more secure date for the provenance of the amulet, in that there is no mention of Christian or Greco-Roman symbolism or divine names in this text – a point which fits into the discourse of religious threat and fear of the Other already seen in the Antioch and Athribis amulets, in that Christianity (so prevalent in the area of this amulet’s composition), as well as the preceding Greco-Roman religious system, seem to be figured here as the threat itself – and more importantly as a threat to the very fabric of the cosmos in their perceived tendency to dislocate communities and populations from their traditional religions. In a recognition of powerful names and figures in the religious landscape of this amulet’s composition, the Christian and Greco-Roman options available seem to be disempowered, and so not worthy of inclusion in such a magically charged text. In the two centuries when Christianity was attaining dominance in the Mediterranean, the absence of Christian symbolism is intriguing.

The next amulet for discussion does not touch on this discourse of religious threat, but it does offer interesting contributions to a discussion of discourses around power, in its adaptation of a theoretically offensive formula for a defensive purpose.

#### **2.3.4. Oxyrhynchus (A): Fighting Fire with Fire**

##### **Text**

	Front:		
	Ἐπικαλούμέ	16	αὐτοῦ,
	[σ]ε τῶν ἐπὶ ὀκε-		κατασβέ-
	ανο(ῦ) πνεύμα-		νοιε τὸ
4	τι Ὀβαχ καὶ κα(τὰ)		καθά-
	τοῦ Βαβαραθαν	20	[παξ]
	Βαροχ Ἀβρααμ		Back:
	Σαβαρααμ,		καὶ σε ... εἶτα
8	φύλαξον τὸν		τ[εα]ν κ. προί[...]
	φοροῦ(ν)τά σε		
	ἀπὸ το(ῦ) πυρε-		1 ἐπικαλούμέ: ἐπικαλούμαί 2 τῶν: τὸν 17-18 κατασβένοιε: κατασβέννε
	τοῦ καὶ πα-		2f. ὀκεανο: ὠκεανοῦ 12f. πράγματου: πράγματος 15 ἐπιλάβητε:
12	ντὸς πραγ-		ἐπιλάβηται
	μάτου·		I call upon you, the one over the ocean, in (the) spirit (or: <i>in name of</i>
	ἄν πυρετὸς		<i>Obach</i> , and by the <i>Babarathan Baroch Abraham Sabaraam</i> : protect the one
	ἐπελάβητε		who carries you, from the fever and every matter. If fever seizes him,
			extinguish it once and for all.

(Kotansky 1994: 347-8)

## Context

Oxyrhynchus, much like the Fayum, was a site of Greek settlement during the Ptolemaic period. The Greek name of the town is a reference to the sacred animal of the area, the ‘sharp-nosed’ fish (Bagnall & Rathbone 2004: 158). The city was, in Late Antiquity, the seat of a Coptic bishop, and the capital of the province of Arcadia (ibid.: 159). It has been a major source of papyri, recovered from the rubbish pits of the ancient city (ibid.: 160).

## Discussion

In terms of physical appearance, this amulet is inscribed on a silver *lamella*, originally thought to have been tin or lead – something which would have been unprecedented, since lead tablets were used almost exclusively for *defixiones*. The use of silver *lamellae* is quite prevalent, with twenty of the sixty-eight amulets in Kotansky’s collection being composed of silver. It is inscribed on the front and back, but unfortunately the back inscription is not legible.

This amulet is not unique in its approach to the problem of evil, but its particular use of ‘offensive formulae’ in a ‘defensive’ setting warrants discussion.<sup>62</sup> This deployment of seemingly contradictory methods is further enhanced by the two verbal usages on the amulet.

<sup>62</sup> These various settings are those used by Daniel & Maltomini (1990a, 1990b) in their classification of the texts, and discussed by Kotansky (1994).

Complementing this is the conception of evil as an attacking enemy, even in the guise of fever.

The attitude of the maker of this amulet is that, in order to fight or defend against evil, one must use a formula which is shown to be useful in more aggressive spells, but adapt that formula only slightly to make it defensive.<sup>63</sup> In this amulet what appears to have happened is that an offensive *logos* and invoked power has been perceived to be efficacious in general, and thus been co-opted into what is fundamentally a benevolent or defensive spell.<sup>64</sup> But why would this transfer occur? Kotansky comments that this occurrence shows *evidence* of borrowing from aggressive magic in protective settings, and that the abbreviated form is due to space requirements.<sup>65</sup> What it shows is that the amulet-maker must have been conscious of the aggressive implications – the ‘earth-shattering’ of the transliterated Hebrew – and also aware of enough Hebrew to convert that aggression into a blessing – the typical *barox* or *baroux* still found today in Jewish prayer formulae.<sup>66</sup> This adaptation is akin to using a battlefield soldier as a guard, or using venom to make an antidote.

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<sup>63</sup> While there are some invoked powers, in general Chthonic powers such as the recently dead, Ereschigal, Hekate and others, which are only invoked for aggressive or offensive magic, there are others which seem to be used intergenerically, such as Iao, Sesengen Barpharanges, and others. Why would this be the case? It is possible, not to say entirely probable, that the perceived efficacy of these names in either a defensive or an offensive setting may have led to them being regarded as omnipotent, rather than specifically potent. Thus *Iao*, the Greek transliteration of the Jewish Tetragrammaton, would originally have been used for defensive or benevolent magic, rather than offensive magic. Over time, as the name became decontextualised, it may have been seen as a name with a kind of generic potency in itself, and thus it came to be used in other settings.

<sup>64</sup> This is not only proved by the use of the same invoked name in these two different settings, but also by the supposed meaning of the name, theorized by Schmidt (1934, in Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 8-9) to be transliterated Egyptian for “great one of the dead” or “Door-keeper of the dead”, which are both definitely chthonic epithets. Even if this proposed translation is incorrect, and the alternative suggestion of the meaning from the Coptic of “to be white and shining” (as theorised by Thissen, in Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 9) is more correct, the formula employed directly after this initial invocation shows the hallmarks of an adaptation from an aggressive formula. Kotansky (1994: 348-9) believes that the formula *kata\ tou= Babaraqan / barox Abraam / Sabaraam* (4-7) which is present in the text of this amulet, is actually an adaptation of the more common *kata\ tou= Barbaraqam xeloumbra barouxambra* ktl. formula found in aggressive spells such as PGM III. 109-111; IV. 362; LXVII. 10. In fact, through close examination of the various issues presented in the entire amulet, Kotansky’s judgment is that “the text presents a conflation of two formulas, is badly corrupt, or both”, and furthermore that “the magic names of the ... formula are found almost entirely in binding love-spells that adjure... underworld daimons for the aggressive acquisition of love” (1994: 348). Finally, Kotansky (1994: 348, 349) states, after an examination of the possible Aramaic and Hebrew roots for the invoked names, that the entire formula is “an... earthquake invocation to rattle and shake open the earth to release Hades’ spirits” – a verdict which places the formula firmly in the realm of chthonic and aggressive magic, and thus seemingly out of place in a phylactery.

<sup>65</sup> He only briefly mentions that “the shortened form has also turned the usual *barouxambra* of the aggressive spells into an apparent ‘blessing-formula’ of Abraham” (Kotansky 1994: 351). This adaptation is crucial for our understanding of the amulet-maker’s or amulet-wearer’s knowledge of the formulae employed on the amulets.

<sup>66</sup> This strengthens the case (in this amulet, at any rate) that the amulet maker was not an unintelligent copier and adapter, or else that the template from which this spell was drawn was created by someone with knowledge, at least, of some basic Hebrew.

The four different verbal usages on this amulet tie in somewhat with the idea of an aggressive supernatural force being used in a defensive setting, particularly in the use of summoning verbs.<sup>67</sup> However the important foci of meaning in this verb in relation to the text of this amulet are those to do with the notion that the one summoned is summoned as an ally – again this ties in strongly with the idea that a powerful and aggressive supernatural entity is being co-opted to fight.<sup>68</sup> The verb used in the *prex* of the amulet is *fu/lacon* (8), which has only one meaning (“to watch for, lie in wait or ambush for”) which is actively offensive.<sup>69</sup> The amulet-maker or wearer is aware of the aggressive or offensive ‘credentials’ of the invoked power, as well as the formula traditionally employed, and is thus co-opting a potent aggressive daimon to protect himself by analogy with someone hiring a bodyguard who has shown his prowess in battle.

The phrase *a)\n pureto\j / e)pela/bht[e] / au)tou=, / katasbe/noie to\ / kaqa//[pac]* (14-20) further entrenches the emphasis on fever as that which needs to be protected against. Specifically, it personifies or reifies fever as something which can ‘lay hold of’, ‘seize’, or ‘attack’ a person.<sup>70</sup> This metaphor, which is current in many languages, was used also in medical Greek,<sup>71</sup> and was thus not uncommon when referring to a fever.<sup>72</sup> Thus this amulet seems to be portraying the relationship between good and evil, or health and illness, as a conflict, and more specifically, a war, involving guards and attacking enemies. The use of the

<sup>67</sup> This amulet begins with a standard invocatory verb - *e)pikalou=me* (1). This verb occurs often elsewhere in the various magical collections, in defensive, offensive, divinatory and summoning spells. Defensive spells – *PGM* V, 99ff, 121ff; Offensive spells - *SM* 53,1; 54,10; 57,36; *PGM* IV, 1209.; Divinatory – *PGM* V, 1; Summoning spells – *SM* 75,12; 87,4; 90 frD, 4; etc. The variety of usages displays the verb’s usage as a ‘general-purpose’ invocatory verb, both in the magical literature and in more general literature – *LSJ* defines the verb as “to call in as a helper or ally”, “to call in as witness”, “to call before one, summon”, and “to challenge”.

<sup>68</sup> This ‘ally’ image is not, however, quite as strong as the idea of the god as *su/mmaxoj* in Sappho 78 (ed. Davenport 1965).

<sup>69</sup> *LSJ* s.v. This further adapts the aggressive *Hintergrund* of the spell’s formula, although not as much as might be thought. *Fu/lassein* has its roots in a military context, and a *fu/lac* is by no means a passive or ineffectual entity – in fact, a guard is drawn from among the ranks of the army, much as the formula in this spell is, by analogy, drawn from the offensive spells in order to be defensive. Through looking at the verbal usage in this way, the seeming confusion between offensive and defensive formulae clears, as does the attitude to the invoked power. However, it is more likely that the spell relies more on the effectiveness of the defender than on a marginal or contorted reading of the main verb.

<sup>70</sup> *LSJ* s.v.

<sup>71</sup> Daniel & Maltomini (1990a: 9) give the example of Hippocrates, *Remed.* 93: *h)\n de\ o( pureto\j pa/lin e)pila/bhtai au)tou=*, which is an almost perfect match for the text of this amulet.

<sup>72</sup> That this means that the amulet-maker had a medical background is not certain, particularly since the phrase is not as overtly technical as, for example, the temporal specifications of the Fayum amulet. However, the use of this verb, co-opted from an aggressive setting, ties in very well with the verb already used, which has itself already placed the language of the amulet in a military setting.

conditional clause here is also slightly problematic, however. What does it imply – that there is the possibility of inaction, or that the invoked power needs more specific instructions, much as, perhaps, a guard would need to be reminded of exactly what to do? It seems strange, following the imperative *fu/lacon*, with its commanding tone, that the amulet should then include what is in effect a request, involving a conditional and an optative. Kotansky gets around this seeming shift in tone by arguing for a change from the second person optative *katasbe//nnu/oij* (17-18) to the more likely singular imperative *katasbe//nnu/e* (1994: 351). However, is Daniel and Maltomini's reading really so out of place? The imperative is in the aorist, with the attendant aspect of immediacy and simple action, and thus may have been seen to have a limited temporal scope. This reading of the aorist *fu/lacon* gives support to the argument for this amulet being 'prescribed' for a single episode of fever, with the conditional clause implying continued wearing of the amulet after wellness has been achieved, with a further request for protection and extinction of the fever should it happen to strike again. Yet there is a different way to read the verb usage. In terms of performative utterance, the inscription of the aorist imperative *fu/lacon* has the effect of updating or reiterating the protective utterance for each new moment, since the amulet would be worn continually. What, in this case, does one do with the conditional clause? In this case, Kotansky's emendation with its imperative fits perfectly, since it acts as a further intensification or clarification of the original imperative.

The verb *katasbennu/nai* does have a function in the military context already established by the employment of the verb *fula/ssein*, while simultaneously operating in a medical context similar to the Fayum amulet, the context keyed into with the specification of *pureto/[j]* (10-11).<sup>73</sup> The use of these two contexts – the military and the medical – in the same text highlights a similarity in the response to both enemies and illness, and this similar response may belie a conflation of the two contexts, an hypothesis which is further strengthened by the use of similar magical formulae or *logoi* on both fever amulets and general phylacteries. What this means is that illness is here equated with evil in general, since the same methods are used against both. Thus, when speaking of attitudes to illness in this amulet, these same attitudes can be classed as attitudes to evil in general.

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<sup>73</sup> *LSJ* s.v. The verb means 'to put out, quench', 'to quell noise or strife', and 'to heal' wounds. The medical context is further informed by the root of the term *pureto/j*, which is *pu=r* or 'fire', and this metaphorical connection leads to the use of *katasbennu/nai*, since a fever is equated with a fire that can therefore be quenched.

The named evil in the text, fever, is mentioned together with a generic *pa\jj* *pragm[a/toj]* (11-13) or ‘every [evil] deed/happening’. What this usage implies is that the amulet-maker exists in a world where offensive magic is seen to be effective and potent, and thus able to be co-opted into a defensive context. It also implies that evil is omnipresent, and needs to be protected against constantly. In essence, though, this amulet ‘fights fire with fire’, using an effective cursing or offensive formula to effect healing or defence.

### **Constructions and Discourses**

This text is part of the construction of a context in which there is a trade in or active transmission of magical texts. The fact that it incorporates what is argued to be a conscious adaptation of an offensive spell from another text makes a strong case for this construction, as well as for the construction of a context in which magic-practitioners were possibly dual-purpose – they adapted their magical formulae to suit the needs of their clients, whether that need was defensive or offensive. Another important point which this text constructs is that the scribe writing it was apparently proficient enough in Hebrew for him or her to adapt the Hebrew *voces mysticae*, and in Greek for him or her to include higher order syntax in the usage of the subjunctive conditional as well as the more usual imperative.

To return to the issue of the nature of the scribe and his or her context, the fact that there is no name included in this text seems to construct a context where some of the magical texts in circulation were generic templates, possibly implying the illiteracy of the actual bearer. The generic nature of the text may also have had something to do with the ability of it to apply to whomsoever was bearing it (as long as the bearer was masculine), suggesting a context where amulets would pass from one person to another as needed for whatever was afflicting the person at that moment.

A point related to the construction of a scribal context is to do with the general magical context of this text – a context where offensive and defensive magic were not exclusive areas, and where there was a need for constant charms and counter-charms in the everyday interactions of life. This is a point which becomes very apparent in the Berytus *lamella*, to be discussed shortly. Another possible contextual reconstruction can be attempted on the basis of the medical terminology used in the text, specifically with regard to the words used to describe the attack of fever and its quenching or healing, as a context of alternative or complementary options for healthcare (to use an anachronistic term) in the treatment of fever

and sickness. However, the fact that the amulet's wearer can make use of medical language in reference to the fever does not necessarily mean that he has consulted a doctor or has taken medical care in addition to the use of the amulet.

A related issue here is the conflation of discourse about sickness and evil 'deeds', which is a possible nod towards the conception of illness caused by bewitchment or other magical activity, in a similar way to the Zulu material. This ties in also with the usage of the adapted offensive formula – perhaps this represents a context where the amulet is not only fighting fire with *similar* fire, but rather fighting it with the *same* fire. To clarify, what this amulet may represent is a direct adaptation of an offensive formula which has been used against the bearer and which has been believed to cause sickness in that person.

This amulet then represents an intersection of two discourses - around harming and healing - and a conscious adoption of a neutral discourse of power – that which is powerful is such and can be used for either good or evil. It also constructs a culture in which magic is perceived to be associated with sickness, and where Hippocratic medicine works hand in hand with the magical charms and amulets to effect a cure. Interestingly, as in the first three amulets in this dissertation, the Oxyrhynchus (A) amulet makes no mention of Greco-Roman religion at all, which may indicate a context where, in terms of the unnamed bearer, that religious system was no longer perceived to be powerful. The next amulet, however, shows that at least some elements of the context in Oxyrhynchus at the time of the amulet's creation believed in the power of the Greco-Roman deities – if only in one which was the product of purposeful syncretism, Sarapis.

### **2.3.5. Oxyrhynchus (B): The Lord Triumphant**

#### **Text**

1	α	πάντα νικᾷ	8
	εε	ὁ τροφεὺς	
	ηηη	τῆς ὅλης	
4	ι ι ι ι ι	οἰκουμένης.	
	ο ο ο ο ο	κύριος Σάραπις,	12
	υ υ υ υ υ	ἀπάλλαξον	
	ω ω ω ω ω	τὴν Ἄρτεμιδώραν.	

*a ee êêê iiiii oooooo yyyyyy ôôôôôôôô.* The nourisher of the whole inhabited world is victorious over everything. Lord Sarapis, deliver Artemidora.

(Daniel & Maltomini 1990a: 20)

## Discussion

The second amulet from Oxyrhynchus is very different. To begin with, it is inscribed on papyrus, rather than silver. Secondly, it is a generic amulet, rather than a ‘fever’ amulet. Thirdly, it is the first and only one of the amulets in this dissertation that contains the vowels in *klima* formation. Finally, it is the only amulet in this selection to invoke a Greco-Egyptian deity – Sarapis. The overall emphasis of this amulet is on the importance of order and hierarchical relationships, in a similar way that the Fayum text emphasises the order of the cosmos. The invocation of the vowels (1-7) which begins the amulet, seems to emphasise the idea of evil as chaotic or disordered, since the vowels most strongly represent the ordering of the planets in heaven, and are repeated here to emphasise ‘order’, and, by persuasive analogy, to combat somehow the ‘chaos’ of the affliction.<sup>74</sup>

The use of the phrase *th=j o(/lhj / oi)koume/nhj* (10-11) is interesting as another example of the analogy of the cosmos or world to the human body – Sarapis is being invoked here as an example of order and civilization. This aspect of the god may have been another reason for his invocation, ahead of the more usual healing or saviour gods, in keeping with the idea that one would invoke gods of order and civilization for protection from the chaos and randomness of illness and misfortune.

The title used in the invocation of Sarapis - *ku/rioj* (12) - displays a possible attitude of subservience on behalf of the amulet-maker or wearer, towards the more powerful deity, and complicates the conception of power and evil. It defines the relationship, in this case,

<sup>74</sup> However, the positioning of the vowels here, just above the invocation of Sarapis, may mean that these vowels are part of an invocatory complex, a kind of key with which to summon the god and his assistance. The numerical significance may have ritual implications, as has already been seen in the Athribis and Fayum amulets. They also imply a vocal part of the ritual, and situate the amulet firmly in the realm of performative *utterance*, rather than merely performative *inscription*. Thus this amulet may have been performed rather than simply written, or both performed and written.

between the human and divine – as one of a servant or subject asking a lord or master for assistance.<sup>75</sup> That the title also has associations with ‘order’, ‘regularity’ and ‘validity’ ties in with the ideas already posited in regard to the Fayum amulet regarding the opposition of order to chaos as symbolic of the opposition of health to sickness.

In terms of the purpose of this text as expressed in the main verb – *apa/llacon* (13) – one can speculate that this amulet, originating, as it does, from a culture where *defixiones* were quite common, is a form of ‘counter-charm’, designed to “release” the bearer from the binding of a curse-tablet, erotic or otherwise – one of the usages of the verb specifies the release of the object “from a debt or obligation”.<sup>76</sup> Another nuance of usage here is the meaning “to acquit”, which could point to the usage of this spell as a form of ‘supernatural legal aid’. One could also speculate that this amulet was composed against demon-possession – although there is no evidence of usage specifically in this area. Alternatively the amulet may have been composed against sickness – the verb has a history of usage in medical terminology, in the sense of “to recover from an ailment” in the passive and middle voice.<sup>77</sup> With all of these meanings of the verb used on the amulet, it is plain to see that the amulet has a general protective purpose.

Compared to the other texts selected for this dissertation, this amulet seems to be almost orthodox in both its structure and its content, in that it re-emphasises the beneficial character of the supernatural and calls upon ‘the lord’ from a position of supplication. In fact, this amulet operates in a similar way to the Berytus amulet, discussed below, in that it is re-integratory – it re-establishes a hierarchy in order to receive help from the supernatural. Its use of the cosmogenic vowels also feeds into the general theme of restoration as a defence against evil.

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<sup>75</sup> The word *ku/rioj*, when it relates to persons, has the absolute meaning of “having authority, authoritative, supreme”, but it also has related meanings of “ordained”, “valid”, “regular”. As a substantive, the word simply means “a lord, master”, specifically as an epithet of the gods, but is also used in legal terms as the word for “guardian” (*LSJ* s.v.). However, closer analysis needs to be conducted on the forms of address that Sarapis usually received in Egypt, particularly with regard to whether worshippers of all genders and social statuses addressed him as *ku/rioj*.

<sup>76</sup> *apa/llacon* is the singular aorist imperative of the verb *apalla/ssein*, which, with a direct object in the accusative, has the active meaning of “to set free, release, deliver from a thing”. Here there is no specified indirect object, and this, together with the generalising *pa/nta nik#=* (8) statement in the *historiola*, is an additional example of the ‘general-purpose’ nature of this amulet. The verb, when used only with the accusative, has the specific meaning of “set free, release”. This is a particularly tantalising usage here, since we are given no idea of what is plaguing the bearer, Artemidora.

<sup>77</sup> *LSJ* s.v.

But how does the amulet conceive of that evil? Throughout the text, emphasis is placed on the ordering of the universe, and so evil is here conceived to be chaotic. In a slightly more nuanced understanding, the foregrounded importance of the subservient relationship to the divine also conceptualises evil as something which is a result of the breakdown in those relationships. This idea is also clearly apparent in the Zulu material. A further emphasis is placed on the civilization-barbarism binary, in the reference to the ‘inhabited world,’ and this could be conceiving of evil as that which occurs outside of civilized society. Finally, the use of a verb denoting the driving away of evil seems to conceive of that evil as an attacking enemy, but also as a loss of autonomy – Artemidora must ‘be delivered’ from that which is binding her. This in turn reflects the notion that evil is omnipresent – that the world is full of threat, here specifically magical threat from curses and binding spells.

### **Constructions and Discourses**

As one of only two amulets in this dissertation which have women as the object to be protected, this amulet contributes much interesting detail to the construction of the context of women at the time of the amulet’s composition, and contributes to an overall discourse about the position of women in the ancient world. In addition to this detail, the amulet is the only one under discussion here which mentions any deity or divine power associated with the Greco-Roman religious system, here opting for the Greco-Egyptian syncretistic deity Sarapis. Both of these issues complicate the way in which the text of the amulet enables reconstruction of the context of its composition, especially given the reconstructions suggested thus far with regard to the other amulets, none of which made use of Greco-Roman religious symbolism or were composed for the protection of women.

To begin with, this amulet constructs a world with a distinct Hellenistic influence – the invocation of the Ptolemaic syncretistic deity Sarapis speaks to this point. Possible, too, is the argument relating to the same sort of idea as evidenced in the other amulets so far – the idea that these amulet-users are attempting to reconnect with a lost or fractured version of religious worship, in a context where the ‘old ways’ may be under threat from other religious systems. This links in quite strongly with the emphasis on Sarapis as a nourishing or creative deity, and the attitude of submissiveness apparent from the epithet of *kuri/oj*. It also contributes to the discourse about civilization and barbarism, in the text’s emphasis on the ‘inhabited’ or civilized world, and specifically the Greek world (*LSJ* s.v. *oi*)*koume/nh*), also bearing in mind the associations of Sarapis as a civilizing deity.

In terms of the discourse about and constructions of femininity, this text offers an insight into the social context of women at the time of its composition. Artemidora calls on Sarapis as *kuri/oj* – the same term used for a woman’s legal guardian in classical Athenian society (*LSJ* s.v.). Possibly, then, Artemidora’s context is one of not just legal minority, but spiritual minority too – she self-identifies as subservient in relation to the powerful male god, possibly mirroring her actual status in relation to powerful male figures in her everyday life. Another interesting point in this regard is the fact that Artemidora is quite possibly a victim of a binding spell or other offensive magical practice, and so this keys into a context where, in contrast to the literary representations of women as the witches, and in keeping with the predominance of male cursers in the majority of the *defixiones*, women are the ones cursed (Winkler 1990: 83, 95-6).

Both of the Oxyrhynchus amulets seem to be the products of a society where there was a constant battle between charm and counter-charm, and where any potent supernatural entities could be called upon for aid. The adaptation of a formula in Oxyrhynchus (A) implies a knowledge of the general magical tradition, while the ritual implied by Oxyrhynchus (B) is a testament to the survival of the archaic modes of interacting with the supernatural in defence against offensive magic. Both of these texts are clear artefacts of what must have been an everyday battle for ascendancy in the “magical arms race” (Ogden 1999: 51).

## 2.3.6. Berytus: Finding One's Place

## Text

	Ὀρκίζω σε τὸν ἐπάνω τ<οῦ> οὐρανοῦ Σαβαώθ τὸν ἐλθό<ν>-	Τοβριήλ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ ταί<ς> υδαισινλου, Θαδαμα, ἐπικαλοῦμαι
4	τα ἐπάνω τοῦ Ἐλα- ωθ τὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ Χθοθαι, διαφύλαξον	τὸν ἐπ<ι> τοῖς σισμοῖς
8	Ἄλεχάνδραν ἦν ἔτεκε- εν Ζοή <i>vac.</i> ἀπὸ παν- τὸς δέμονος καὶ πά-	45 Σιοροχα, ἐπικαλοῦμαι {ἐπικαλοῦμαι} τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσ<σ>η Σουριήλ, ἐπικα- λοῦμαι τὸν ἐπ<ι> τῶν δρα- κόντων Εθαβιρα, ἐπι-
12	σης ἀνάγκη<ς> δενόμων καὶ ἀπὸ δεμόνων κ-	50 καλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πο- ταμοῖς καθέμενον Βηδ- λια, ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁδοῖς καθέμενον
16	αὶ φαρμάκων καὶ κα- ταδέσμων. Ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐν <ὄν> ὄματι τοῦ κτίσαντος	Φασουσουήλ, ἐπικαλοῦ- μαι τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν
20	τὰ πάντα, ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ πρότου οὐρανοῦ Μαρμαριώθ,	55 καθέμενον Εἰστοχομα, ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν Νουχαήλ, ἐπικα- λοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς πλατίαις
24	ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν καθέ- μενον ἐπ<ι> τοῦ δευτέ- ρου οὐρανοῦ Οὐριήλ, ἐπι- καλοῦμαι τὸν καθέμε-	60 καθέμενον Απραφης, ἐπ<ι>- καλοῦμαι τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ ΦΙΣΙΜΑΕΙΘΩΝ Εἶναθ Ἀδωνης Δεχοχθα, τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τῶν
28	νον ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίτου οὐρα- νοῦ Ἀήλ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ τετάρτου οὐρανοῦ Γαβριήλ,	65 δρακόντων Ἰαθεννου- ιαν· ὁ καθέμενος ἐπὶ τῷ στερεόματι Χραβα, ὁ κα- θέμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θαλουμ- θουσιν μέσον τῶν δύ<ο>
32	ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν καθέ- μενον ἐπὶ τῷ πέμ<π> του οὐρ- ανοῦ Χαήλ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ ἔκτον οὐρανὸν <i>vacat</i>	70 Χηρουβιν τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰόνων· ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θ- εὸς Ἰακώβ, διαφύλαξο<ν>
36	Μοριαθ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ οὐρανῷ Χαχθ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς	75 Ζοή ἀπὸ δεμονίων καὶ φαρμάκων καὶ σκο- τοδινίας καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸ<ς> πάθους καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης μ- ανίας· ἐπ<ι> ορκίζω σε τὸν
40	ἀστραπαῖς Ῥιοφα, ἐπικα- λοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς βρον- ταῖς Βονχαρ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ ταί<ς> βροχαῖς Τευ- ριήλ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι	80 ζῶντα θεὸν ἐν Ζαορρ- βὲμ νομάδων Ζαμάδων,

- τὸν ἀστράπτουτα καὶ β-  
 ρο<ν> τοῦ<ν> τα Εβιεμαθαλαζε-  
 84 ρω ῥάβδον κα<ι> νὸν  
 τὸν πατήσαντα τὸν  
 Θεστα, τὸν Ειβραθιβας  
 βαρβλιους εἰψαθαφ-  
 88 αθαριαθ Φελχαφιαων  
 ὄν πάντα τὰ ἀ(ρ)ρευικὰ  
 καὶ πάντα τὰ φοβερὰ κα-  
 ταδέσματα, φύγετε ἀπ<ὸ>  
 92 Ἄλεξάνδρας ἦν ἔτεκεν  
 Ζοῆ ὑποκάτω τῶν πη-  
 γῶν καὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου Μ-  
 [αρ]εώθ, ἵνα μὴ βλάβητε  
 96 μῆτε μολύνητε ἢ φαρ-  
 μακώσητε αὐτῇ<ν> μῆτε ἀ-  
 πὸ φιλήματος μῆτε ἀπὸ  
 ἀσπασμοῦ μῆτε <ἀπὸ> ἀπάντη<ς>,  
 100 μῆτε ἐν βρώσ(ε)ι μῆτε ἐν  
 πόσει μῆτε ἐπὶ κύτης  
 μῆτε ἐν συνουσιασμῶ,  
 μῆτε ἀπὸ ὀφθλαμοῦ,  
 104 μῆτε τῷ ἱματίῳ, μῆ-  
 [τ]ε προσευχομένη<ν>, μῆ-  
 τε ἐν ὀδῶ, μῆτε ἐπὶ ξέ-  
 νης μῆτε ἐν ποταμίῳ  
 108 ἐμβάσι, μῆτε ἐν βαλαν-  
 [ί]ῳ. Ἄγια καὶ εἰσχυρὰ καὶ δυ-  
 νατὰ ὀνόματα, διαφυλά-  
 ξατε Ἄλεξάνδραν ἀπὸ  
 112 [π]αντὸς δεμονίου  
 ἀρενικοῦ καὶ θηλικ[οῦ],  
 καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ὀχλή-  
 [σε]ως δεμόν<ων> νυκτηρι-  
 116 [νω]ν καὶ ἡμερινῶν, ἀπαλά-  
 [ξ]ατε Ἄλεξάνδραν ἦν ἔτε-  
 [κε]ν Ζοῆ, ἦδη, ἦδη, ταχύ,  
 ταχύ. Εἰς Θεὸς καὶ ὁ Χριστὲ  
 120 αὐτοῦ, βοήθῃ Ἄλεχάνδρα-  
 ν. S S S S.

8,75,93,118 Ζοή:Ζωή 10 δεινόμων:δαιμόνων 11,75 δειμονίων, 112 δειμονίου, 115 δειμόν<ων>, 115 δειμόν<ων>:δαιμόν- 16,18/19,21/22,24,26/27,29,32, 51,53,56,60,61,64 καθέμενον, 66,67/68 καθέμενος: καθήμ- 17 πρότου: πρώτου 27 πέμτου:πέμπτου 40 χιόνεσι:χιόσι 44 σειμοίς:σειμοίς 47 θαλάση:θαλάσση 53 τοῖς:ταῖς 59 πλατίαις: πλατεΐαις 64 τον:τῶν 67 στερεόματι:-ώματι 70 Χηρουβιν: Χερ- αίονος:αἰώνος 71 αἰόνων:αἰώνων 80 ζοντα:ζῶντα 81 Ζαμάδων: Ζαβάδων? 83 βρο<ν>τοῦ<ν>τα: βροντῶν- τα 100 βρόσι:βρώσει 101 πόσι: πόσει κύτης:κοίτης 103 ὀφθαμοῦ: ὀφθαλμοῦ 108 ἐμβάσι:ἐμβάσει 108/9 βαλαν[ί]ω: -νεΐω 109 εἰσχυρά:ἰσχ- 113 ἀρενικοῦ:ἀρρενικοῦ θηλικ[οῦ]:θηλυ- 115 νυκτηρι:-νυκτηρι- 116 ἀπαλλά[ξ]ατε:ἀπαλλά[ξ]ατε: 120 βοήθι: βοήθει

(1) I adjure you (by?) the one above heaven, *Sabaôth*, (by?) the one who comes above the *Elaôth*; (by?) the one above the *Chthothai*. Protect Alexandra whom Zoê bore from every demon and from every compulsion of demons, and from demons and sorceries and binding-spells.

(13) I call upon (you) in the name of the one who created the universe.

(15) I call upon the one who sits upon the first heaven, *Marmaraôth*.

(17) I call upon the one who sits upon the second heaven, *Ouriêl*.

(20) I call upon the one who sits upon the third heaven, *Aêl*.

(23) I call upon the one who sits upon the fourth heaven, *Gabriêl*.

(26) I call upon the one who sits upon the fifth heaven, *Chaêl*.

(28) I call upon the one who sits upon the sixth heaven, *Moriath*.

(31) I call upon the one who sits upon the seventh heaven, *Chachth*.

(34) I call upon the one in charge of the lightnings, *Riopha*.

(35) I call upon the one in charge of the thunders, *Bonchar*.

(37) I call upon the one in charge of the rains, *Tebriêl*.

(39) I call upon the one in charge of snows, *Tobriêl*.

(41) I call upon the one in charge of the Nile waters(?), *Thadama*.

(43) I call upon the one in charge of earthquakes, *Sioracha*.

(45) I call upon the one in charge of the sea, *Souriêl*.

(47) I call upon the one in charge of serpents, *Eithabira*.

(49) I call upon the one who sits in charge of rivers, *Bêdlia*.

(52) I call upon the one who sits in charge of roads, *Phasousouêl*.

(54) I call upon the one who sits in charge of cities, *Eistochama*.

(57) I call upon the one in charge of the mountains, *Nochaêl*.

(58) I call upon the one sits upon the streets, *Apraphês*.

(60) I call upon the one who sits in charge the ... *Einath Adônês Dechochtha*

(64) <I call upon ?> the one who sits upon the serpents. *Iathennouian*.

(66) (O) the one sitting upon the firmament, *Chrara*,

(67) the one sitting upon the ... in the midst of the two Cherubim, forever and forever,

(71) the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, protect Alexandra whom Zoê bore from demons and sorceries and dizziness and from all passion and from all frenzy.

(79) I adjure you by the Living God in Zoar of the nomadic Zabadeans, the one who thunders and lightnings, *EBIEMATHALZERÔ*, a new staff (?), by the one who treads, by *THESTA*, by *EIBRADIBAS BARBLIOIS EIP-SATHAÔTHARIATH PHELCHAPHIAÔN* that (?) all male <demons ?> and frightening demons and all bindings-spells (flee) from Alexandra whom Zoê bore, to beneath the founts and the Abyss of *Mareôth*,  
 (95) lest you harm or defile her, or use magic drugs on her,  
 (97) either by a kiss, or from an embrace, or a greeting;  
 (100) either with food or drink;  
 (101) either in bed or intercourse;  
 (103) either by the evil eye or a piece of clothing;  
 (105) as she prays (?), either on the street or abroad;  
 (107) or while river-bathing or a bath.  
 (109) Holy and mighty and powerful names, protect Alexandra from every demon, male and female,  
 (114) and from every disturbance of demons of the night and of the day.  
 (116) Deliver Alexandra whom Zoê bore, now, now; quickly, quickly.  
 (119) One God and his Christ, help Alexandra. SSSS.

(Kotansky 1994: 276-281)

### Context

This amulet is by far the longest included here, and is also one of the most complicated. It was discovered in the area of what is modern Beirut, which was then, as now, a city composed of many different cultures. This amulet bears strong evidence of Jewish influence, but, as is argued by Kotansky, a very specific kind of Jewish influence – the amulet tends to use “idiosyncratic ‘Alexandrian’ versions of otherwise common [words]”, a feature which leads Kotansky to trace the provenance of the majority of the amulet to “the peculiar Jewish bilingual community of Egypt” (1994: 297-8). As such, a discussion of the area of provenance may not be as important as a discussion of area of possible origin. The fact that this amulet seemed to have had as much utility in Egypt as it did in Syria bears testament to a large degree of overlap in the living conditions and life-stresses of each area. To add to the peculiarity of its provenance, the *lamella* contains a number of apparently separate texts. However, if one looks closely at the general argument built up in the course of the text, it becomes apparent that each section focuses on different misfortunes and appeals to different powers (with some overlap), while keeping the identical name of the bearer, including matronymic, throughout the text as a whole. In fact, it is possible to see the text not as a patchwork of disparate or contradictory texts, but rather as a carefully selected ‘cocktail’ of effective incantations, leading up to the climax of a final single appeal. In terms of the names of the invoked powers in this text, the elucidation of their Hebrew and Aramaic roots by

Kotansky provides a reasonably clear rationale for their usage – they are not merely ‘mumbo-jumbo’ or ‘abracadabra’ names, invented for their similarity to Hebrew or other archaic or arcane languages (1994: 285-291). That this is the case does not definitively mean that the maker of this specific amulet was cognisant of their meaning, but it is not impossible that he was exposed to some Hebrew or Aramaic, and thus not impossible that the names were used here intentionally and intelligently, which leads back to the original appraisal of this amulet as a Jewish or Kabbalistic text. Bonner’s (1950: 1) warning about drawing conclusions about religious affiliation from religious elements in magical texts rings out clearly here, but this amulet does fulfil most of the criteria – it contains invocations of the Jewish God, the patriarchs, as well as various angels of the Kabbalah and elsewhere in Jewish angelology, and the amulet-maker seems to have used those names with the intent and understanding of someone conversant in Hebrew. The name of the bearer is not definitely Jewish – if anything, it could be formulaic, particularly since the amulet’s text has been traced back to Alexandria. Furthermore, the final prayer - Εἰ(=j Qeοj kaì ο( XristeV au)tou=, boh/qi )Aleca/ndra-/ n (119-120) – is a Christian statement. In the end, though, in the analysis of this *lamella*, does it matter what religion the bearer or maker belonged to? The answer is that it is not crucial to the understanding of how the amulet was perceived to function – at the very least, the wearer was living in an area with strong Jewish influence, and may have been aware of enough Hebrew to give him or her an added idea of the amulet’s efficacy.

## Discussion

This amulet seems to have an overall emphasis on hierarchy, particularly on hierarchy as a means of finding one’s place in the universe, and thus of restoration as an effective tool against evil. By way of explanation, as in the Fayum amulet, the citation of an hierarchical arrangement of the cosmos may have been perceived to be efficacious, through persuasive analogy, in similarly putting the bearer’s existence back into a clear order, and thus conquering the chaos and disorder of misfortune, sickness, and evil. The invocatory section of the Berytus *lamella* is also a statement of the order of the cosmos. This amulet seems to come close to a ‘cure-all’ for fourth-century CE life in the Mediterranean although, given that the subject is female throughout, it may have been tailored more to a female than a male bearer. Thus, to a certain extent, this amulet could be a display both of what was deemed the most effective against evil and of what threats existed, in the society of its creation, which needed to be protected against or warded off.

The amulet's text presents a fairly comprehensive list of things to be warded off or guarded against. What first becomes apparent, in keeping with the use of the exorcism's  $\text{o(rki/zw)}$  (1) formula, is the preoccupation with demonic influences – Alexandra requires protection, in the first request at least, from 'every demon' as well as 'all compulsion of demons' and then, more generally 'demons' (8-13). The reason for the repetition may have more to do with rhetorical symmetry than with any kind of specification, but even so that repetition is striking. Obviously, Alexandra lives in a world where demonic possession, demonic adjuration, bewitchment or poisoning and binding is serious enough to warrant the construction of an elaborate spell against them. If we had never seen any of the *katadesmoi* or *defixiones*, this request would have seemed strange, but in the context of aggressive magic, particularly erotic magic, this amulet's text stands as a testament to the 'magical arms race' mentioned previously – the text is a "counter-charm" (Kotansky 1994: 284), rather than specifically medical like the Fayum amulet. Kotansky comments that,

[while] the expression  $\text{pa=sa a)na/gkh daimo/nwn}$  does not occur in the *PGM*... [it] is clearly understood from the context of the spell as a whole: Alexandra seeks protection from a *nekydaimon(es)*, summoned by compulsion through the working of 'binding-spells'... The demons, in turn, would compel her to act against her wishes.

(1994: 284)

The amulet also gives an insight into the stressors in daily life – the foregrounding of these concerns in the first prophylactic request, rather than sickness or any of the numerous other concerns, highlights its importance. That demonic afflictions, poisoning/ bewitchment/ enchantment and binding-spells are all linked together may display the fact that they were considered to be part of the same category, or, as Kotansky argues above, that they are all facets of the same action against Alexandra – an erotic binding-spell.

In the second prophylactic request (71–79) employing *diafula/ssein*, there are some overlaps, but also some additions – again, following  $\text{a)po/}$ , the text lists *demoni/wn (sic)/ kai\ farma/kwn kai\ sko-/todini/aj kai\ a)po\ panto\<j> / pa/qouj kai\ a)po\ pa/shj m-/ani/aj* (75-79). In this case, while the request contains another reference to demonic affliction and bewitchment/poisoning, it also adds what might be either "vertigo" – which Kotansky (1994: 291) proposes is "a medical symptom ... [which] is perhaps difficult to account for in this context" – or a misspelling of *skotofini/aj* or *skotofainei/aj*, meaning

“shadow-demon”.<sup>78</sup> In the absence of other medical symptoms elsewhere in the amulet, and given the overall emphasis on demonic affliction, it seems most likely that the second interpretation is the best, although the first must not be discounted outright. The second interpretation would definitely strengthen the view of this text as a ‘counter-charm’. The fourth and fifth things to be protected against, *panto\<j>* / *pa/qouj* and *pa/shj m-/ani/aj* (77-78), are both fairly generic – ‘all sufferings’ and ‘all madness’. However, Kotansky (1994: 292) argues that these two ‘symptoms’ are “consequences of magical influences, most probably having to do with love-magic”. There are extant *defixiones* that adjure demons to ‘cause pain’ or ‘cause madness’ in the object of their desire, and so this is acting here as a direct counter-charm to their requests.<sup>79</sup>

The antepenultimate prophylactic request is the last one to use the verb *diafula/ssein*, although in this case in the plural form of the aorist imperative - *diafula/cate* (110-111). Here once again the focus is on protection from demonic affliction, this time *a)po\ / panto\j demoni/ou / a)renikou= kai\ qhlik[ou=]*, / *kai\ a)po\ pa/shj o)xlh-/[/se]wj demo/nwn nukthri-/[/nw]n kai\ h(merinw=n* (113-116). The specification of gender - *a)renikou= kai\ qhlikou=* - is interesting, given the sexual or erotic overtones of the amulet as a whole. It may point to a belief in *incubi* and *succubi*, or it may simply be a way of defining every demon, whatever gender they may be.<sup>80</sup> If one looks at the placement of these three prophylactic requests utilising the aorist imperative of *diafula/ssein* (6, 73, and 110-111), it is clear to see that they are primarily concerned with two things – demonic affliction and magical attack. In fact, because of the use of a phrase like *pa/-shj a)na/gkhj demo/nwn* (9-10), one could generalise and say that all three are concerned with protection against magical attack. This is worth comment because, apart from the Antioch *lamella* and a single specification in the Athribis amulet, none of the amulets in this study are so concerned about either magical attacks or demonic possession.

<sup>78</sup> De Villefosse (1909), in Kotansky (1994: 291).

<sup>79</sup> For pain, see *PGM* IV 1410, 1425, 1540-2; *PGM* XVI 1-75. For madness, see *PGM* IV 355; *SM* 72.i.10; *SM* 45.7,31,43,49; *SM* 41.12.

<sup>80</sup> The next specification - *pa/shj o)xlh-/[/se]wj demo/n(wn)* (114-115) - is similar to the original *pa/-shj a)na/gkh(j) demo/nwn* (9-10), but here the emphasis is on ‘disturbances’ or ‘annoyances’ of demons. As with

the original specification, this expression does not occur in the *PGM* at all, although it is used in theological contexts, as well as in one manuscript of the *Testament of Solomon*, where the participle is used to denote a possessed demoniac (I.2, II.5, IV.12, V.6,9,12, VII.8). The next specification may be countering a specific spell which curses the object with both nightly and daily visitations from demons, or else it may be generalising the spell to occupy a wider temporal scope.

After the extensive list of angels and other powers, which will be discussed shortly, the *lamella* returns to its primary aim – to protect Alexandra from the world around her which is perceived to be full of threat. The most focussed expression of this conception of the omnipresence of evil is a list of places where Alexandra might be vulnerable, and methods by which she might be attacked. Firstly, the text contains three verbs in the subjunctive following *i/(na mh/ or mh/te - bla/pthte* (95), *molu/nhte* (96), and *far-/makw/shte* (97). These three verbs govern the rest of the conditions, which all outline situations in which or methods by which Alexandra may be ‘harmed’, ‘defiled’ or ‘poisoned/drugged’.<sup>81</sup> The ways that these verbs may be enacted are stated clearly - in general personal interaction,<sup>82</sup> through consumption,<sup>83</sup> through sexual acts,<sup>84</sup> through cursing,<sup>85</sup> and in vulnerable spaces.<sup>86</sup> In fact, as one reads further through the list, one realises that there is almost no single place in which Alexandra is not under threat. This overwhelming belief in a world full of threat is a feature of both the Greek and Zulu sources.

A point of parallel importance in this text is the overwhelming use of hierarchy and the emphasis on order, a point already seen quite clearly in the Fayum and Oxyrhynchus (B) amulets. In terms of the hierarchical lists, there are numerous points of interest. The fact that God is referred to as *[o(] kti/sa[j] / ta\ pa\nta* (14 – 15) is important, in that it emphasises his role as the one who orders things and as the one who has control over his creation – an important point, considering that the name of God is placed first, ahead of all the angels. Technically, God has also been placed first in this amulet, as *Sabaoth* (3). This numerical ordering of each sphere of influence – i.e. ‘over the first heaven... over the second heaven’ –

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<sup>81</sup> *Bla/phtein* has the meanings of ‘disable, hinder, stop’ as well as ‘to distract, pervert, deceive, mislead [the mind]’ and ‘to damage, hurt, or mar’ (*LSJ*, s.v.). In general, this verb displays a context of offensive spells aimed at hindering and harming, much like the ‘speed-trap’ spells mentioned in the Zulu material. *Molu/nein* has a different but related meaning, of ‘to stain, sully, defile’ as well as ‘to make a beast of [someone]’ and ‘to defile or debauch a woman’ (*LSJ*, s.v.), a meaning which in a shame culture would carry as much weight as the first verb. Here is a further emphasis on the sexual attacks to which Alexandra might be vulnerable. The third verb is a well-known paradox in Greek, in that it has the dual root meaning of ‘poison’ and ‘cure’ (*LSJ* s.v.). In this case, Kotansky argues that the verb means “to bewitch”, which completes the three main threats to Alexandra’s existence – physical/mental harm, sexual defilement and supernatural bewitchment.

<sup>82</sup> *mh/te a)po\ filh/matoj*, *mh/te a)po / a)spasmou=*, and *mh/te (a)po\ a)pa\nth(j)* (97 – 99) (translated by Kotansky as ‘nor through a chance meeting’).

<sup>83</sup> *e)n brw/s(e)i* and *e)n / po/sei* (100-101).

<sup>84</sup> *mh/te e)pi\ ku/thj* (I accept Kotansky’s variant reading of *koi/thj*) and *mh/te e)n sunousiasm%=* (101-102).

<sup>85</sup> *mh/te a)po\ o)fqalmou=*, and *mh/te t%= i(mati/%* (103-104).

<sup>86</sup> *e)n o(d%=, e)pi\ ce//nhj*, *e)n potami/% / e)mba/si*, and *e)n balan/[i]j%* (105-109).

is important, and comes out very strongly in the list which comprises the second invocatory section.<sup>87</sup>

First of all, each angel sitting over each of the seven heavens is summoned. Here, each of the seven angels is ‘seated over’ - *kaqe/menon* (16, 18 – 19, 20 – 21, 24, 26 – 27, 29, 32) – each of the heavens. This participle has notions of ‘in charge of’ or ‘having control over’ – an important part of the perceived efficacy and the persuasive analogy of this text (*LSJ* s.v.). The names of each of the angels are important, since each of them, when deciphered, yields a new level of meaning.<sup>88</sup> An important part of this hierarchy is an inscription - *Ei)naq )Adwnhj Dexoxqa* (63) - which may be a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic, meaning either ‘thou art the Lord of the morning star’ or ‘thou art Lord of the globe’, a statement which in either case would tie in with the general cosmological method of this text (Kotansky 1994: 290). After this seemingly exhaustive list of both heavenly and elemental ‘angels’, together with their zone of control, the amulet’s text then contains a formulaic description of the Jewish God - *o( qeo\j )Abraa\m / kai\ o( qeo\j )Isaa\k kai\ o( q-/eo\j )lakw/b* (71-73). This formula seemingly situates the amulet’s text firmly in a Jewish liturgical setting, especially in the context of a hierarchy of Jewish angels, and this citation of scripture could be acting as a kind of identificatory tool here. By way of explanation, the formulaic utterance is pinpointing the

<sup>87</sup> The number seven is significant from a Judaeo-Christian point of view, since in the book of *Genesis* the creation of the earth took seven days – *kai\ sunete/lesen o( Qeo\j e)n t\$= h(me/r# t\$= e/(kt\$ ta\ e)/rga au)tou=, a(\ e)poi/hse: kai\ kate/pause t\$= h(me/r# t\$= e(bdo/m\$ a)po\ pa/ntwn tw=n e)/rgwn au)tou=, w(=n*

*e)poi/hse* (2.2) – and God is said to have uttered seven third-person creative utterances (usually translated by ‘Let there be...’ in English) – *genhqh/tw* (1.3; 1.6), *sunaxqh/tw* (1.9), *blasthsa/tw* (1.11), *genhqh/twsan* (1.14), and *e)cagane/tw* (1.20, 1.24). This Jewish idea becomes linked to the seven vowels of Greek, and repetitions of seven are deemed to be magically significant (cf. Fowden 1986: 2, 115).

<sup>88</sup> *Marmariw/q* (17) (‘Lord of lords’) is the angel over the first heaven; *Ou)rih/l* (20) (‘God is my light’) is the angel over the second heaven; *Gabrih/l* (25) (‘God is my strength’) is in charge of the fourth heaven; A name which has the general meaning of ‘authority’, ‘lord’, ‘strength’ and ‘dominion’ – *Moriaq* (31) – is in control of the sixth heaven. With the elemental angels, a name meaning ‘abundance’ and ‘increase’ – *(Riofa* (35) – is in charge of lightning, while an angel with a name meaning ‘to shine, be white’ or ‘glow, burn’ – *Bonxar* (37) – is in control of the thunder. The angel presiding over rains has the name *Teurih/l* (38-9) meaning ‘to break, fracture,’ while the angel over earthquakes has a more apt name – *Sioroxa* (45), ‘gate-keeper of earth.’ Another apt name is that given to the angel in control of the seas – *Sourih/l* (47), meaning ‘God rages’ or ‘God is violent’. Strangely, the angel controlling serpents has a name which means ‘there is a citadel/temple’ – *Eqabira* (49). A more understandable name is the one given to the angel presiding over the roads – *Fasousouh/l* (54), ‘God steps out’ or ‘God walks.’ The angel over the cities is given a name which can be partially translated as ‘insidious’ or ‘tricky’ – *Ei)stoxoma* (56) – a possible reaction to the dangers of urbanisation. Moving out of the urban area, the angel over the mountains is titled *Nouxah/l* (58), ‘God rests’ or ‘God is settled’, which, as Kotansky writes, is “not an inappropriate description for one who sits upon the mountains”. The next angel takes the hierarchy back into the urban sphere, with an invocation of an angel over highways whose name has a root meaning of ‘dust, mud, sand, mortar’ or ‘rubble’ – *)Aprahj* (60) - which prompts Kotansky to point out that “such an angel, whose name refers to the road’s building material, would be no more unusual than an actual angel appointed over urban highways!” (Kotansky 1994: 285-291).

God to which the amulet is addressed, and is also displaying knowledge of the scriptures, themselves importantly performative and potent texts. Interestingly, despite the seeming plethora of invoked powers in this text, it seems to be firmly grounded in a monotheistic world-view – even the use of plural imperatives, as will be discussed later, does not nullify or complicate the overall monotheism, and thus inherent Judaic background, of this text.

In fact, the very next part of the text again makes use of a singular imperative, *diafu/lacon* (73), despite the mention of numerous powers in the preceding passage. It is possible that the number of the imperative simple picks up on its nearest referent, the singular *o( qeo/j* (71), which is usual Greek practice. However, this usage must be taken into account when considering the overall perceived method of the text – from it, one can argue that is not the case that each of the angels is being invoked as a divinity in its own right, but rather that this hierarchy is being used as a kind of extended *historiola*, much like the already-mentioned *Enuma Elish* of Babylonian ritual, combined with an invocation of the one God who has control over all of the ‘powers’ in the list.

The text also contains what seems to be an allusion to elements of Mosaic narrative, or an implied *historiola*, in reference to the crossing of the Red Sea:

Ei)=pe de\ Ku/rioj pro\j Mwush=n, ti/ bo#=j pro/j me; la/lhson toi=j  
 ui(oij )Israh\l, kai\ a)nazeuca/twsan. Kai\ su\ e)/paron t\$= r(a/bd%  
 sou, kai\ e)/kteinon th\n xei=ra/ sou e)pi\ th\n qa/lassan, kai\ r(h=xon  
 au)th/n: kai\ ei)selqa/twsan oi( ui(oil )Israh\l ei)j me/son th=j  
 qala/sshj kata\ to\ xhro/n...

*Exodus 14.15-16*

particularly with the reference to the *r(a/bdoj* of Moses (84), and the translation of the syllables *Eibraqibaj* (86) as “the crossing of the Hebrews” (Kotansky 1994: 294). In an alternative reading (*ibid.*), this may be an allusion to the narrative of Moses’ staff ‘opening’ - *path/santa* (85) - the rock to provide water to the Israelites:

Kai\ ei)=pe Ku/rioj pro\j Mwush=n, proporeu/ou tou= laou= tou/tou:  
 la/be de\ seaut%= a)po\ tw=n presbute/rwn tou= laou=: kai\ th\n  
 r(a/bdon, e)n \$( e)pa/tacaj to\n potamo\n, la/be e)n t\$= xeiri/ sou, kai\

poreu/sh. (/Ode e)gw\ e)/sthka e)kei= pro\ tou= se\ e)pi\ th=j pe/traj e)n  
 Xwrh/b: kai\ pata/ceij th\n pe/tran, kai\ e)celeu/setai e)c au)th=j  
 u(/dwr, kai\ pi/etai o( lao/j.

*Exodus 17. 5-6*

This kind of Mosaic narrative or *historiola* is not unusual in this setting, particularly when one bears in mind the vast magical tradition associated with Moses.<sup>89</sup> The use of this *historiola* in particular meshes in with the general method of the amulet, as it highlights the power of God and righteousness (in the form of Moses) over the chaotic forces of nature – and hence probably over evil – and the destructive persecution of God’s people by Pharaoh, thus re-establishing God in supreme control of every aspect of the universe. With the second translation, this *historiola* highlights God as a provider.

Having looked at the two major preoccupations of the text – demonic or magical affliction and cosmic order and hierarchy – how then does this text construct evil? As mentioned already, none of the other amulets included here deals so strongly with demonic affliction. The Antioch *lamella* deals only with possession, while the Athribis amulet mentions demons only in passing. This amulet’s emphasis, not only on demonic attacks but also on poisoning, bewitchment and binding-spells, places it firmly in the context already briefly outlined by the other amulets here – a world perceived to be full of magical threat. Evil is thus conceived here in terms of the fearsome, the unknown – it is defined as something omnipresent and terrifying in its variation. This text not only mentions demons, but also ‘shadow demons’. It does not stop at mentioning bewitchment, but categorically lists all of the methods of bewitchment – a dizzying list of vulnerable situations and places. This idea, of evil as something vaguely omnipresent while simultaneously infinitely categorisable, is another important link to the world of the Zulu participants. In common with almost every single amulet here, apart from the Antioch and Oxyrhynchus (2) texts, this amulet also constructs evil as an attacking enemy through the use of *diafula/ssein*. This further entrenches the conception of evil as omnipresent, as the invoked powers must be on guard constantly against all evil.

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<sup>89</sup> For example, the ‘*Eighth Book of Moses*’ in the *PGM*.

However, this amulet also constructs evil in the same way as the Fayum and Oxyrhynchus (B) amulets – as chaos and disconnection, for which the only remedy is a re-iteration and thus a reconstruction of the cosmic order and the hierarchies linking the bearer with the supernatural world which she is asking for help. The invocation not only of heavenly angels, in control of the vastnesses of the universe, but also of angels in control of far more mundane things such as highways, acts to strengthen Alexandra against the chaos and actively threatening disorder which she confronts in the course of her daily life. By re-iterating the fact of supernatural control over every aspect of the world, and by re-iterating her own place in the hierarchy of the cosmos, she is combating the lack of control she feels in a world that is chaotic and full of threat.

### **Constructions and Discourses**

This amulet strongly constructs a world where cursing and *defixiones*, as well as the use of *nekydaimones* as agents of the curser – like the familiars of the Zulu system, to be discussed later – is a widespread and threatening phenomenon. It constructs a world where every place outside of one's own home, and in the case of sexual magic, some things inside one's home, are conceived of as potential locations for offensive magic.

The text also offers further insight into the context of women in the ancient world, and particularly their position as objects of desire and cursing, as mentioned in the discussion of the Oxyrhynchus (B) text above. In the context of the Berytus *lamella*, women (as exemplified by Alexandra) seem to be in constant fear, or to put it more positively, to be constantly aware, of the possibility of being bewitched, specifically with regard to sexual activity.

As in the Athribis and Fayum amulets particularly – and all the amulets to a certain extent – this amulet's reiteration of hierarchical relationships constructs a world which appears fractured and fragmented. Here, this discourse about a fractured world reaches its ultimate expression, in the ordering not only of the powers in charge of celestial areas of existence, but also of those gods (or angels, in this case) in charge of such mundane things as roads and highways.

Finally, in terms of discourses about power, this amulet enables the construction of a context where the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint – or equivalent Greek translation – are perceived

to have power, particularly in the case of narratives or *historiolae* as keys to magical power. It also emphasises the power of the arcane, and of knowledge in general, which is a point of convergence with the Zulu material.

#### **2.4. Conclusion**

There are two important aspects to this chapter. Firstly, how the amulets construct evil, and their defence against it, and secondly, how each amulet seems to enable the construction of a context for their creation. In common with the Zulu responses, to be discussed next, the amulets offer a sometimes bewildering array of understandings of the notion of evil – in some cases, foreign ideas are associated with evil, while at other times foreignness becomes a powerful method for success in the ever-spiralling stakes of the magical arms race. Identity, together with the relationship between identity and the bearers' interactions with the supernatural, has a very important part to play in the identification of what is evil. Underlying all of this, though, is a sense of a world that is threatening and chaotic, where social norms, in a mirror image of the political, religious, and linguistic upheaval surrounding the bearers of these amulets, are no longer stable. This is a world which is very similar to that of the Zulu respondents. Some of the conclusions reached in the discussion of the constructions and discourses in the texts - such as the underlying conceptions of binary opposition - may appear to be tentative, but they form the basis for the comparative process in Chapter 4, using the Zulu material in order to enable more concrete conclusions to be drawn.

## **Chapter 3 – Zulu Sources**

### **3.1. Introduction**

In this chapter the views of the Zulu participants are presented. Firstly, I discuss the choice of methodology in this instance, and then contextualise each of the participants with a brief sketch of his or her background and the context of the actual interview itself. The chapter then moves on to a presentation of the views of each of the participants, organised into their answers to each of the three broader sections in the interview schedule (Appendix A) – Cause (of misfortune, sickness, and evil), Method (of preventing or combatting misfortune, sickness, and evil), and the question of who has power to understand these causes and effect these methods. The participants' actual words are foregrounded here, and they are given a chance to speak for themselves. Each of the extracts is translated and referenced to the original transcripts in Appendix B, which are in English and *isiZulu*.

### **3.2. Methodology**

Interviews were chosen as the appropriate method of determining the various conceptions of the proposed participants for a number of different reasons. Firstly, in keeping with the social constructionist framework of this research, it would have been inappropriate to make use of more quantitative research methods such as surveys. Secondly, this project is an exploration of conceptions, which can most adequately be carried out through an open-ended interview, allowing for discussion and clarification of points raised in answer to initial questions. Thirdly, and most importantly, open-ended interviews allow the participants to structure their views on a given topic in a way that they want to, letting their voices be heard. The use of an interview schedule acts only as a general guide, and it is often the case that the interview departs from the initial schedule and that the questions became somewhat redundant. This is largely because of the fact that all of the areas in the interview schedule are interconnected, and thus a participant may have already spoken about a specific topic before it is reached on the schedule.

The interview schedule was formulated based on one of the research questions of this dissertation – namely ‘What is the nature of contemporary Zulu protective magic?’ and ‘What is the contemporary Zulu conception of evil, as evidenced by this protective magic?’ The answers to the second question were to be drawn from the entire interview, but for the first question there needed to be more focussed questions. In terms of protective magic, the cue for how to develop a schedule for the Zulu participants was taken from the Greek

amulets, which seem to protect against or heal both sickness and misfortune. Thus the main divisions in the schedule are along those lines – firstly, the causes of sickness and the causes of misfortune, and secondly, the curing of or protection against that sickness or misfortune. A question regarding the nature of evil was also added, to give the participants a final opportunity to clarify what they understood or believed about evil. Prior to these more focussed questions, though, the first few questions were meant to establish rapport with the participants, as well as to gain some important background information about them. This background information is incorporated into the introduction to the participants below.

The questions were firstly compiled in English, and then translated by the researcher into *isiZulu*. To ensure accuracy, these translations were then given to an independent translator for validation, and adjustments were made. Different phrasings of each question were also compiled, to cope with possible dialectical differences or difficulties in understanding. In each instance, the interviewer adapted the interview schedule according to the social and dialectical information about the participant, according to the Zulu principles of *hlonipha*, such as avoiding words or constructions deemed disrespectful. The questions were kept as general as possible, allowing the participants to speak for themselves. In the translation, great care has been taken to be cognisant of the contextual meanings of the words used. Where there are a number of different words for a concept, these words are noted in case of problems arising out of dialectical difference or lack of comprehension. It is highly possible that different answers may have been given if different initial words were used, but this possibility is balanced by the consistent use of the chosen terms.

An informed consent document was also compiled, firstly in English and then translated in the same way as the interview schedule. This informed consent document is included in Appendix A. As with the interview schedule, the translation was as sensitive as possible to dialectical issues, and was translated into the standardised form of *isiZulu* which is used in legal documents and the proceedings of government departments. In the informed consent document, each participant was informed of the researcher's intention to record the interview, and assured that there was no compulsion for him or her to participate in the research or to consent to the recording. All of the participants agreed to being recorded and to participating in the research.

These recordings of the research were then selectively transcribed, using standard modern *isiZulu* orthography. This selective transcription was based on the need to focus the research on crucial nodes of discussion, and the context of each of the selections provided in Appendix B is given as fully as possible

Once the selections had been transcribed, each of the selections was translated, with constant cross-referencing to the three major dictionaries cited in the reference list, namely Doke et al., Nyembezi and Mbatha. Where there are words which need further discussion or elucidation they are cited as follows, e.g. *ubuthakathi*. Where words had a number of differently nuanced meanings, all of the relevant meanings have been included in the translation, separated by slashes, e.g. ‘open/make lucky’. Any point of interest, such as a concord without an antecedent noun, or a word which does not appear to exist in the dictionaries, is noted using brackets.

After translation, each of the selected responses was coded into categories, based primarily on their relationship to the initial questions asked, and then secondarily to their common points of discussion.

### **3.3. Participants**

#### **3.3.1. Introduction**

The participants are listed here in alphabetical order, as their extracts are listed in Appendix B. However it must be noted that this is not the order in which they were interviewed, which was that of M, then Nt, then No, and finally E. Any relevant aspects of their personal details and of each individual interview process have been included here. Each of the sources consulted could be argued not to be representative of the ‘voiceless’ popular discourse of Zulu protective magic, since every source is in some way an expert in his or her field. However, their views stem from a subjective and personal response, rather than an objective or academic response. Perhaps the most representative of a ‘popular’ (as opposed to academic) voice is M, since he is a practitioner in an everyday sense. Bearing in mind the necessarily limited scope of this dissertation, it is hoped that further research would reveal a less academic and more ‘popular’ voice, through interviews with people who are in no way part of the academic discourses about Zulu traditional medicine.

### 3.3.2.1. E.

E is a man in his early forties, and is a combination of two usually separate types of traditional medical practitioner, at least in the Zulu framework – a fusion of the *isangoma* (a traditional medium between the living and the departed, a diviner) and the *inyanga* (usually a traditional herbalist, but also operating in a divinatory role). E works as a consultant for a health spa in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands, developing cosmetics and treatments based on traditional Zulu herbal therapies and making use of indigenous ingredients, while also offering ‘spiritual healing’. The spa itself has a strong leaning towards alternative therapies, incorporating reiki, reflexology, aromatherapy and others. E works within this framework, offering consultations in a traditional setting, albeit in the medium of English and catering to a largely non-Zulu clientèle. E has also contributed to numerous articles and books on ethnobotany, both at UKZN and elsewhere, and thus he has had a deep exposure to modern science and to modern biosciences in particular.

Seemingly in contrast to this, E also works as an *isangoma* and *inyanga* from his homestead, which is located in a rural area about an hour’s drive from the spa. His homestead is, like the man himself, a fusion of Zulu and Western styles, with his own consulting hut built as a rondavel while his main house is rectangular and incorporates satellite television and most modern conveniences. From his home E caters to an almost exclusively Zulu clientèle and offers traditional remedies and consultations.

The interview with E was suggested by family members and others who lived in the area – as E prefers, and not by way of advertisement. However it is a telling point that the only way in which he could initially be contacted was through the spa, whose details were found on their website. The initial comments, prior to the interview, were that E was ‘an interesting man’ who had ‘a different take on things’. Most of the referrals included the phrase ‘he’s had a lot of Western influence’ or ‘you know he contributed to that botanical book by so-and-so’.

The interview took place at the spa, in the coffee-shop area of the spa’s restaurant. There was a constant buzz of activity as waiting staff were preparing the restaurant for dinner. After initial greetings and some confusion over the use of either English or *isiZulu* – E is quite comfortable in both, although he preferred to conduct the interview in *isiZulu* once he had determined that there would be no problem with fluency – E signed the informed consent

form and then asked to see the interview schedule.<sup>90</sup> After perusing it, he immediately launched into his ‘take’ on the topic – so quickly in fact that the interviewer had to stop him in order to start recording and begin again. E’s confidence, and his clear idea of what was under discussion, was constant throughout the interview. E was the only participant to express spontaneous interest in the Greek aspect of the research, leading to some interesting responses which will be discussed below. The interview continued for over an hour, until eventually E agreed that what had been said was sufficient for now, and phone numbers were exchanged and the offer of a further interview was extended.

The interviewer has had another meeting with E since that first encounter, although in this instance to employ his services as an *isangoma*. At this meeting E expressed further interest in the research, and asked to see it once it had been completed.

### 3.3.2.2. M.

M is an *inyanga*, and his practice is located in the city centre of Durban. He has been practising his craft for at least the past thirty years – he was vague about the exact amount of time – and has a thriving business, as was attested by the numerous interruptions during the interview. The interviewer was introduced to M through his son-in-law, who is prominent in the city’s legal community. Upon meeting M in his son-in-law’s offices in central Durban, M then led the interviewer across one of the busy streets of Durban and into the building where he had his consulting rooms, walking past informal traders of every description, trading everything from medicine to music to food. On the way up to the seventh floor, where M has his rooms, it became apparent that M is a kind of adviser or father-figure to many of the people in the building, as he was stopped by many people on the way who asked his advice. In the course of these brief interactions, the interviewer presented an interesting talking-point, since white people very rarely venture into this particular part of Durban, or into this building. Upon being asked, M joked and said that this white interviewer was his son-in-law, upon which the asker would express disbelief usually related to his supposed inability to speak *isiZulu*. M would then prompt the interviewer to speak *isiZulu*, which was usually met with further disbelief or amusement.

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<sup>90</sup> See Appendix A.

The consulting rooms were small and cramped, and divided by a chipboard wall into a ‘waiting room’ and a ‘consulting room’. The consulting room was crammed with an assortment of objects – notebooks, bottles of ‘*isimangaliso*’ (a medical treatment which M was trying to market as a cure-all), and empty bottles to be used for containing remedies. But the largest part of the room was taken up by a table groaning under the weight of a complete pharmacy of Zulu medical material or *imithi*. The table was pushed up against the outer wall, with both windows open to the sounds of Durban outside. From the windows hung bunches of herbs for drying. In amongst the medical *materia* on the table, which were packed into plastic shopping packets, were bottles of over-the-counter medicines such as laxatives and cough mixtures. On the wall not occupied by shelves and cupboards filled with books was a Zulu *ihawu* or war-shield, onto which a beaded bottle was tied with a string.

M himself is a friendly, soft-spoken man, whose prosperity is evident - as much from the continual stream of customers and the thick stack of hundred rand notes he proudly displayed to the interviewer as from the physical evidence of a good life offered by his *umkhaba* or paunch. On his wrists M had numerous *iziphandla*, the traditional mark of one who has sacrificed an animal, made from strips of the skin of the sacrificial victim and tied around the wrist – since M is the head of his family, he is present at almost every single ritual sacrifice.

During the interview, the door to the consulting rooms was left open, so there were constant interruptions from clients and patients, seeking advice or treatment or both. These interruptions were sometimes used by M to elucidate a point he had made, and the medical *materia* provided ample examples when it came to discussing methods of treatment and protection.

As this was the first interview, it did involve some adjustment of the interview schedule to accommodate unforeseen dialectical differences or grammatical variations, so at times the interview was taken up in a clarification of terminology being used. Once the interview was finished, M then led the interviewer back to his son-in-law’s legal offices, offering a future opportunity to visit the various *muthi*-sellers in the Warwick market, which was nearby.

### **3.3.2.3. No.**

No is an *isangoma*, who works both in Pietermaritzburg and in Bulwer. Her contact details were obtained through Nt, who has a professional relationship with her. Contact was made and an interview arranged that would fit into No’s busy schedule – she is a strong proponent

of the reintroduction of various traditional rituals and observances into contemporary society in KwaZulu-Natal, and is thus very sought after when advice is needed on traditional matters. In fact, during the interview No mentioned that she needed to finish in a slight hurry because she was supposed to be interviewed on a Zulu-language radio station that day.

No's consulting room or office is located in the centre of Pietermaritzburg, in a building housing a combination of other traditional practitioners, micro-lenders, seamstresses and other entrepreneurs. No was dressed in the traditional way for an *isangoma* – beads in her hair, numerous *iziphandla* on her wrists, and crossed *iminqwamba* skins (the mark of a diviner or *isangoma*, two strips of skin from a sacrificial victim) across her chest. Initially, No spoke mainly in English, seemingly only moving on to *isiZulu* when she had satisfied herself that the researcher could speak it adequately. There were a number of occasions on which No seemed not to understand what was being asked, upon which she asked to inspect the interview schedule and pointed out that the way it had been phrased on the schedule was not the correct way – seeing as no problems were encountered with the other participants, it is likely that this was a dialectical issue. Of all of the respondents, No used the greatest percentage of English in her responses. Probably as a result of No needing to rush off to her other interview, her responses were brief and the interview itself was far briefer than any of the others.

#### **3.3.2.4. Nt.**

Nt is a male Zulu academic working in the Zulu department of a University in the province, and is in his early fifties. He has an MA in *isiZulu*, and specialises in *Sintu* (traditional Zulu) religion. The interview was organised through mutual colleagues at the university where the interviewer is situated, and the interview took place in Nt's office. As a result of Nt's specialisation in the area of *Sintu* religion, his answers were very coherent and ordered, as well as expansive. Despite his fluency in English, Nt preferred to conduct the interview in *isiZulu*, citing the reason that it was his home language and that the concepts to be discussed were most often present in *isiZulu* but not in English.

Nt's position as someone who is a part of both the academic and the traditional spheres made him a very valuable respondent, particularly since he was able to give responses which were structured while still retaining some of the mystery and uncertainty surrounding traditional religion. Nt is not an *isangoma* or an *inyanga*, which means that he is, in effect, the only

‘patient’ to have been interviewed in the course of this research. The importance of interviewing Nt was borne out by the fact that, of all the respondents, his responses were least biased in favour of a specific branch of traditional healing. Although E achieved the same mixture in many ways, his responses were still given from within the paradigm of a traditional healer. Furthermore Nt incorporated an understanding of western biomedical causality, unlike any of the other respondents except M, who briefly covered environmental causes of sickness.

### 3.4. Responses

What follows is a selection of the answers given by the participants to the interview questions, grouped into the three sections which were used in the grouping of the interviews – Cause, Method, and Conceptions. However some of the answers to these specific questions were more relevant to other sections of the interviews. As such, those responses relevant to other questions, but not necessarily voiced in response to them, have been included where necessary. So, for example, in answering a question about cause, a respondent may have spoken about methods of combatting sickness, in which case the comments about combatting sickness will be included in the section on responses to questions on method, rather than that devoted to discussions of cause. The responses have been grouped, generally in order from those common points least discussed to those most discussed.

#### 3.4.1. Cause

In the interview schedule, the questions centred around cause were divided into causes of misfortune (*ishwa*, *ibhadi*, or *ingozi*) and sickness (*isifo* or *ukugula*). In each case, the participants were asked what the origin or cause of each of these things was. The first set of responses discussed here has to do with the conception of life as predetermined, and in both cases is in direct response to the question regarding the origin of misfortune.

##### 3.4.1.1. *bakhona abantu abazalwa nenhlanhla* – there are people who are born with fortune/luck

Only E and M offered this point of view for cause of misfortune and sickness. E, in the context of discussing methods of returning good fortune, stated that ‘there are people who are born with luck’,<sup>91</sup> enlarging on this point subsequently and saying that

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<sup>91</sup> E-1-4.

when *uNkulunkulu* [name usually used when referring to God] created us, we are not the same. It is not the same, it does not match, so we cannot ever *all* match. When you are created you have luck - you just *have* luck. He created me in a way that my luck takes a long time to arrive - things just like that. It is the case that a person was created so that, for example, my luck will open up a little. This is right among the *amadlozi* [plural noun referring to the ancestral spirits who watch over their living family], do you see? We believe in this way that the *amadlozi* will open up all things. So it will be like this, you will be lucky / open up.<sup>92</sup>

E reiterated this point again in saying that ‘luck is just luck’,<sup>93</sup> that ‘luck and misfortune are things with which you are born - you do not make it for yourself’,<sup>94</sup> and that ‘it can never be taken by another person - it can never change; it is a thing which is given by *uNkulunkulu*’.<sup>95</sup>

To add to this idea, M simply stated that ‘*ibhadi* [borrowed word from English ‘*bad* luck,’ used to refer to misfortune] is done/happens – *ishwa* [the *isiZulu* term corresponding to *ibhadi*] is done/happens.’<sup>96</sup> Contrasted with this is the next topic centred on cause, where M’s opinion provides the title – that sickness (through *ukuthakatha* [verbal noun referring to the harming of another person through the action of an *umthakathi*, a traditional practitioner of evil intent]) is caused ‘when someone hates you’.<sup>97</sup>

#### **3.4.1.2. *umuntu ’me kuzonda* – if a person hates you**

M, Nt, and No discussed this idea, which is the idea of *ubuthakathi* [an abstract noun related to *ukuthakatha*, which refers to the practice of performing *ukuthakatha*], with E adamantly refusing to talk about it. M’s view here is crucial. He begins, after being prompted by the interviewer, to talk about *ubuthakathi* by saying that

it is the case that a person placed something there for you ... in the doorway - a person sprayed *umuthi* and it conquers you. It makes you stick fast when you cross it with

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<sup>92</sup> E-1-5.

<sup>93</sup> E-1-6.

<sup>94</sup> E-1-6.

<sup>95</sup> E-1-6.

<sup>96</sup> M-1-3.

<sup>97</sup> M-1-2.

your feet. Listen to this - it is called a 'speed trap'. Maybe they take hold of the door of your car, and he places *umuthi* for you. Do you see? [I: okay, there will be an accident there?] Yes. A potion causes it so that you become exhausted, or you become paralysed. Do you see? Death comes in ways which are similar to these. You see? Is it not so now that you see that a person if he hates you... You, you go there and he says "oh he's going there. Okay." Perhaps he looks at his watch. Monday - on Monday on Tuesday on Wednesday on Thursday. He says: "Oh, he's always going at this time. Oh, he's returning at this time". Do you hear? It is the case that bad people that *thakatha* are corrupted. They do not think... These people know an evil thing - but when it comes to a good thing, people have never learnt about it. They want something that will kill. These people don't know a good thing. Do you see? Blood comes from the nose and you die. Do you see?<sup>98</sup>

Nt discusses this point as a continuation of his discussion about poison, saying that

a person may also become ill because... because now for example something external - external poisonous substances - this enters a person, and this act is committed by a person deliberately. Like for example, with a person, if there is poison put in his tea, or if one *thakatha*'s him. Are you still hearing this? So it's man-made... with regard to this deed, the act of getting ill, and a person may become ill in this way.<sup>99</sup>

No, in contrast to M and Nt, sees *ubuthakathi* primarily as a spiritual thing, in that 'there are those things that are made by *abathakathi* [those who perform *ukuthakatha*] that are spiritual but that can do you harm',<sup>100</sup> but on continuing she gives examples of physical 'things' against which an *intelezi* [a protective medicine to ward off evil] may be bought, saying that they are 'animals there at home - animals - those that are sent; *abafana* [literally 'boys,' but referring to the familiars of *abathakathi*, such as *utokoloshe*] and *izimfene* [literally 'baboons,' but also referring to familiars of *abathakathi*] - *izimfene* that are sent by *abathakathi*.'<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> M-1-2.

<sup>99</sup> Nt-1-2.

<sup>100</sup> No-1-4.

<sup>101</sup> No-1-4.

Moving on from the idea that a single person causes sickness, whether moved by hatred or something else, many of the responses about cause focussed on the idea that there is sometimes no personal cause for sickness, a topic which is presented next.

**3.4.1.3 *akubonakala ukuthi ukhona umuntu unguyena owenza ukuthi wena ubeneshwa – it is not apparent that there is a person who it is who makes it so that you have ishwa.***

E, M and Nt offered this point of view, all in response to the questions about the causes. Some of E's answer to the question of cause of misfortune have to do with methods, and so will be included later, but he interestingly remarks that

there is this, this that is termed perhaps the negative energies and spirit. Do you see? If perhaps you start to see a lot of negativities, then they trouble you and perhaps you enter into being negative in yourself.<sup>102</sup>

Nt, in his long list of causes for sickness, stated a number of impersonal causes for sickness, the first one being that a person

is sickened because he ate food or... or a type of food entered his mouth - orally - or entered his rear - anally - or it entered his body through injection. A poisonous substance – poison. A person may also become ill because in his body there is poison which appears from outside of his body - it entered him - something that shouldn't have, and this poison makes him ill. It may give sickness to a person - a person may become ill in this way.<sup>103</sup>

Nt's second impersonal cause was that there is

another thing which can sicken a person - I'm saying now, me - is the way a person grows up. In the time when a person is growing, he is like a car and its wear and tear. A person will become sick, his knees will not 'comply' some day, and his body will

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<sup>102</sup> E-1-10.

<sup>103</sup> Nt-1-1.

not 'comply' well because this person is ageing. A person grows old/wears out, and these then are just things which may commonly sicken a person.<sup>104</sup>

Nt then went on to talk about 'natural *ishwa*',<sup>105</sup> saying that

it is not apparent that there is a person who it is who is making it so that you have *ishwa*, in this case. For instance you just have *ibhadi* - there is not a person who it is who makes this *ibhadi* or *ishwa* occur for you. You met with it. There are many *amashwa* [plural of *ishwa*] with which we meet,<sup>106</sup>

and explaining this idea with 'an example which is very clear',<sup>107</sup> that

when you go here and then you trip - if you trip over something - you see here that there is not a person who put a stone there. There is not a person who also put *ishwa* there. *ibhadi*... *ibhadi* just exists. But with this *ishwa* it is not necessary that a person should get up and do something specific. It will happen no matter what - maybe if you are walking and you fall. It's just like this.<sup>108</sup>

From a more physical and less philosophical viewpoint, M states that

sickness... this it depends on the fact that, you live in what sort of place. Perhaps you are staying in a place which is cold, which places upon you a specific sickness. Perhaps you are staying in a place which is hot, which places upon you a specific sickness. Or it could be maybe that there is a specific sickness with which you meet. Maybe just in your eating, or there is some kind of food which you like - perhaps it is the food which sickens you. It is sickness. With death you never know in what way/from what direction it is going to appear - not just one way.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Nt-1-3.

<sup>105</sup> Nt-1-4.

<sup>106</sup> Nt-1-4.

<sup>107</sup> Nt-1-5.

<sup>108</sup> Nt-1-5.

<sup>109</sup> M-1-1.

In contrast with this view of evil as simply existing, the next three topics of discussion all situate the causes of disease and misfortune in a wider socio-political context, and as such have been grouped together. The first of these has to do with the effect of change as a cause of evil.

#### **3.4.1.4. i. *imfuno nokushintsha* – education and change**

E and No offered this point of view. E begins a discussion of this cause by talking about “some people who are saved who say: ‘I don’t touch *imithi* [medical or botanical *materia*, here in plural].”<sup>110</sup> From this point he moves on to argue that ‘education and the Christianity for today is like an evil thing, because people are overturning/changing their traditions’ and that education is ‘the same as the way to criminality and thuggery, so that you live better on this earth.’<sup>111</sup>

In an extension of this argument, in which E is specifically discussing conceptions of luck and misfortune, E states that

in Africa long ago we grew this seed, that if you have many cattle and a person arrives who is traveling who has nothing, that you give him maybe five cattle so that he may rear them and so that you too may become a man, an *umnumzane* [literally, ‘one in control of an *umuzi* or homestead’ – used in contemporary *isiZulu* to refer to Mr.]. So that he may rear them and may also milk and eat *amasi*.<sup>112</sup>

E contrasts this idea of ‘long ago’ with the fact that ‘today, education has arrived, and it has ended all of this. A poor man must stay a poor man, and a rich man must stay a rich man’ and further, in relation to missionary work by Muslims and Christians, E asks the following question:

what will it do to teach these people about the Koran, to teach them about/make them read the Bible? The person who does this is leading him astray/making him get lost.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> E-1-1.

<sup>111</sup> E-1-1.

<sup>112</sup> E-1-7.

<sup>113</sup> E-1-7.

Moving on from the more religious argument, E also posits that it is ‘change of environment’, which he qualifies as ‘pollution’, that causes sickness. His argument here is that

when we pollute the environment it causes sickness concurrently with the way in which... if there are many factories that dirty the environment, you end up with weather/climate which doesn’t stay the same way.<sup>114</sup>

In another discussion about change, E argues that

the abandonment of cultures... makes sickness, because the creator gave us a way to live and be healthy. Now we if we change it, we leave this way of living/being healthy.<sup>115</sup>

As an example, E states that ‘African people ... used to eat vegetables... like wild vegetable which is an arum lily and stinging nettle, whatever. So people now no longer eat them’.<sup>116</sup> As a result of no longer following what they used to do, E argues that people are now experiencing diseases such as diabetes, asthma, and TB, stating in each case that ‘this is a thing which did not exist’.<sup>117</sup> Focussing specifically on TB, E posits that the disease is actually caused when

boys don’t do the rituals, they go and sleep with women, and when they sleep with a woman when she is closed with her periods, they sleep with her - then she causes TB in him.<sup>118</sup>

E then moves back to religious matters, talking about “people who say ‘no, the ancestors are the same as demons’”, arguing that

if when you possibly lose a person who is near to you, they are still alive. Let’s say your father - when he passed away, when they have died – “He is a demon”? We did

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<sup>114</sup> E-1-2.

<sup>115</sup> E-1-3.

<sup>116</sup> E-1-3.

<sup>117</sup> E-1-3.

<sup>118</sup> E-1-3.

not call him that when he was alive. Because now he is over there he now sees better, his spirit is nearer to *uNkulunkulu*. Why are you calling him a demon? Why?<sup>119</sup>

E's major point from this explanation is that 'a fast change of life is the cause of misfortune'.<sup>120</sup>

No's discussion about the cause of sickness focusses immediately on the fact that

they have challenges - many of them - people do. They are westernized with the religion Christianity, which imposed and which killed their traditions. Belief is concomitant with traditions, as well as with traditional healing - it is just an holistic approach, it is concomitant. *uMvelinqangi* - which is God in your context - *uMvelinqangi*, *uNomkhubulwane* and the ancestors, this trinity didn't arrive with the white people first - not with white people and Christianity. So, this thing, many black people are in a difficult situation because they don't know how to join up their life because they are torn apart. The environment, the religion and the civilization of here... and then they do/ they don't find... they haven't... they don't succeed, because their identity is absent there. They are just torn apart.<sup>121</sup>

No gives an example relating to the conception of a person in the womb, beginning by saying that "some diseases are 'built' by spirits rather than those that are physical."<sup>122</sup> She then moves on to say that

if there is a clash of spirits within one's body, particularly perhaps the mother has not married the father - they conceive a child outside of wedlock - the child then is in difficulty because he is torn apart: either he is rude, he doesn't hear, he doesn't listen - there are many... These diseases are created by conflict among the spirits from mother and from father, because when you conceive a person these two spirits come together. It is not something that you can prevent - you can't, it's natural. So you inherit from your father - it just happens from the womb. If it is out of the wedlock, the child is conceived like an illegitimate child - it causes problems. So that's why my spirit

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<sup>119</sup> E-1-3.

<sup>120</sup> E-1-3.

<sup>121</sup> No-1-1.

<sup>122</sup> No-1-1.

*buyisa*'s [the *ukubuyisa* ceremony is performed to return (*buyisa*) the spirit of the departed to the ancestral kraal, but what No is rather referring to is the idea of 'returning' the relationship between the living and the *amadlozi* to their original unspoilt state] so that children may grow up well - those ones who are conceived outside of marriage - to protect the street kid those ones... No wonder HIV/AIDS enters through sex prematurely.<sup>123</sup>

From this idea of change and the loss of the traditional ways of behaving, but still in keeping with the overarching focus on situating the cause of evil in a wider socio-political context, the next section deals with the breakdown in the relationship between those alive and the *amadlozi*.

#### **3.4.1.4.ii. *awunamsebenzi* – you have not performed the rituals**

M, No, and Nt all offered this point of view, which is tied up with the discussion of socio-political cause, all relating to versions of *ubuntu* (to be discussed later, under method) and *ukuhlonipha* (to be discussed next).

M discussed this point in response to the question of cause, after a small amount of probing by the researcher, with regard to 'us.... us people', explaining that

perhaps your father... he has four years that he has departed this world - you have not slaughtered a cow; you did not perform the *ukubuyisa*. Perhaps your mother, perhaps your grandfather - he wants you to give him food. You couldn't care less, you do not perform the rituals - perhaps it is this, perhaps and *ishwa* happens.<sup>124</sup>

No's conception agrees with this, stating that 'if there are rituals which haven't been performed, so you become a victim of everything',<sup>125</sup> explaining that

those who have passed away, they want that you should set all their things right that they have left behind, because we have families, we've got families over there. When you die, in my religion, you join your family, your clan, over there. Now - if it

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<sup>123</sup> No-1-1.

<sup>124</sup> M-1-3.

<sup>125</sup> No-1-2.

happens that you are naughty, they are/ they don't accept you - you are just away from your family. You will look at them, they will tell you 'why did you do 'a b c'? Because you should have done 'a.' We have shown you by these, but you didn't do it - they make it so that you are in crisis so that you make an apology on his or her behalf so that you enter into your family.<sup>126</sup>

In response to a question clarifying this, asking 'when you forget the *amadlozi*, [do] these things appear?' No responded affirmatively, saying that these things are 'many indeed', and that

when we don't respect nature [referring to *uNomkhubulwane*] ... there's a lot of incurable diseases... There is drought.... but unless people go to the mountain and ask for apology – this [apology] will end all diseases. And it happens - the more dedicated you are, the results will be there.<sup>127</sup>

Nt also argues, like M, that

in the beliefs of the people, the beliefs of black people, it says that perhaps there is something that you need to do, within the beliefs, that is in accordance with the beliefs. Perhaps you do this thing which is you 'send off a message'- you pacify/express regret with the *amadlozi*, and the *amadlozi* are the ones who pass this on to *uNkulunkulu*. For example you have something that you haven't done - perhaps you didn't say thank you - there is a thing that was done in the family or regarding you, and you didn't say thank you. So, it is just the doing of these things. *Ishwa* may appear like this - this is a religious belief, a belief which says, a belief of black people, a belief of *uMvelinqangi*, and it says that everything done in your life (like with a person or child), everything done in the family; it may be very beautiful/good/positive, it's exciting, positive - if it is significant it's important - you must do a report to *uMvelinqangi*, to *uNkulunkulu* ... to thank. Thanksgiving - they say it like this in English - but with us it is just that you must acknowledge this thing, saying 'here's a thing that has been found,' and you appreciate it.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> No-1-5.

<sup>127</sup> No-1-5.

<sup>128</sup> Nt-1-6.

Furthermore, Nt's conception is that an

*idlozi* [singular of *amadlozi*] does not have power to take a switch and beat a person, but it has the power to relax its protection a little - a little. If they've relaxed it a little you see that many misfortunes will appear.<sup>129</sup>

This is important in Nt's conception of cause, because the cause is not with the *amadlozi*. The examples he gives of *amadlozi* relaxing their protection are 'perhaps you may break your arm, perhaps you are fired from work, perhaps a person tells lies about you', but the most important thing for diagnosing this kind of *ishwa* is that it has 'a pattern', which causes a person to question and say 'what is it that hasn't been done well? – it can be this then'.<sup>130</sup>

Finally, focussing more closely on the interactions between living people as well as those with one's own body and self, the next topic of discussion centres on the idea of *ukuhlonipha*, a crucial aspect of Zulu culture, and how its lack can be a cause of evil.

#### **3.4.1.4.iii. *ukuhlonipha* – respect**

E and Nt offered this point of view, which at its heart argues that morality and self respect – and in opposition, the lack of these two things – are fundamental in discussions of health and cause of illness.

In E's discussion of the methods to protect against *amashwa*, he argues that

*amashwa* - it is that which is to do with respecting oneself, so that you live with the outcome of health, so that you *hlonipha* your health/life,

giving the example that 'if you *have* many girls you will end up dying'.<sup>131</sup> Moving on from this very brief example, E gives a moral code about how to behave, stating that a person should govern himself by saying

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<sup>129</sup> Nt-1-6.

<sup>130</sup> Nt-1-6.

<sup>131</sup> E-1-8.

let me leave this alone/stop behaving in a way which is improper, let me never wish bad things for people, let me not like people who cause it so that a person does not find fortune/luck, let me never have jealousy, and other things like this. Let me respect my father and mother,<sup>132</sup>

and qualifying this last statement by saying that

if I say it is necessary that I respect my father and mother, I am saying that I should respect the ancestors, and things like this, to respect the *amadlozi* so that you/you can remove *amashwa* in this way.

Finally, E states that ‘often times *amashwa* - we make it for ourselves, it is a thing which is created/made by us’.<sup>133</sup>

In another instance, E comments that

the ways to protect oneself from *izifo* [plural of *isifo*, meaning ‘sicknesses’] are numerous - you see they are numerous. To *hlonipha* oneself, in the way that is to *hlonipha* the outcome of health so that it is okay, so that I am healthy it is necessary that I live like this - a person who doesn’t smoke or drink lives for a long time, but a person who is smoking and drinking does not live for a long time.<sup>134</sup>

Nt, however, also in his discussion about methods of warding off or preventing *amashwa*, begins by arguing that ‘a fully matured person who knows, reasonably, how to differentiate between *ububi* [evil] and *ubuhle* [good]’,<sup>135</sup> by virtue of the fact that ‘*uNkulunkulu* created a person and gave him a mind’, and ‘above all the mind has power for a person, especially with his mind then ... it is necessary that he knows how to differentiate between *ubuhle* and *ububi*’.<sup>136</sup> At this point Nt brings in the concept of *ubuntu*, arguing that

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<sup>132</sup> E-1-8.

<sup>133</sup> E-1-8.

<sup>134</sup> E-1-9.

<sup>135</sup> Nt-2-4.

<sup>136</sup> Nt-2-4.

*ubuntu* states that a person must choose that which is *ubuhle*, but with regard to that which is *ububi*, let him ward it off or let him prevent it... or let him destroy it.<sup>137</sup>

In explanation, Nt argues that ‘a person will protect himself firstly with his mind’ and that, in a similar way to E’s statements, ‘he will not do things, physically, that will harass another person unjustifiably’.<sup>138</sup> In clarifying his point further, Nt further argues that ‘*ubuntu* states that you will work so that there may be harmony between you and another person’.<sup>139</sup> If this harmony or *ukuthula* is upset, argues Nt, ‘a person must hurry to end, to address this thing - this is the way of preventing all *ububi*’.<sup>140</sup> In the same discussion, Nt also discusses the fact that

there are things which a person ought to acknowledge. There are things which are good - one must be thankful for them. Another way then to prevent *ububi* is that if it happens that there is a thing, or that a person gives you a thing which you need, you must give thanks for any.... for any valuable.<sup>141</sup>

From this general premise, Nt moves on to discuss the interaction between himself and the researcher, saying that

with you too then, I am working with you. If this thing which I give is valuable to you, I wait for you to thank me. If it happens that you do not thank, and you return again on another day, it is apparent that that is where *ububi* begins there. You did not do that which you ought to have done.<sup>142</sup>

Through this explanation, and the explanation of E, even though they were both discussing methods of warding off evil, their conception of the nature and cause of evil is very apparent. The explanations which they give are a major part of both traditional and contemporary Zulu philosophy, and they also situate the causes of evil firmly in the way human beings interact both with themselves and others. Tying in with the two preceding sections, this section shows how important inter-relationship and connection are in much of Zulu philosophy, and how a

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<sup>137</sup> Nt-2-4.

<sup>138</sup> Nt-2-4.

<sup>139</sup> Nt-2-4.

<sup>140</sup> Nt-2-4.

<sup>141</sup> Nt-2-4.

<sup>142</sup> Nt-2-4.

loss of that relationship leads to a loss of health and good fortune. The next section deals specifically with the methods used to combat or prevent this loss of health or good fortune.

### **3.4.2. Method**

What follows are the participants' responses to questions about method, specifically methods for healing, for returning fortune, and for preventing or protecting against sickness and misfortune. The first few responses focus on the body and on sickness, rather than on misfortune, but then they are both discussed.

#### **3.4.2.1. *umzimba wona uyakwazi ukuzelapha* – the body can heal itself**

Only Nt offered this explanation, arguing that “your body itself knows how to heal itself,” giving the example that

if you are injured, you are perhaps cut, ... it can happen even if you don't put anything on it - it will heal itself, because the body possesses this... It may be the case that you are also pursued by a sickness, and you didn't do anything -perhaps it will, the body will know how to heal.<sup>143</sup>

This process of self-healing is aided by the following method voiced by E, that one should respect one's health.

#### **3.4.2.2. *uhloniphe impilo yakho* – you should respect your health**

E offered this point of view, which has already been presented in 3.4.1.4.ii, although in addition to those responses mentioned there, E emphasises that there are

certain ways of avoiding all these things that are in conflict with the outcome of health - like drinking, smoking, ... too much girlfriend, generally to behave yourself carelessly in your life.<sup>144</sup>

In addition to respecting one's own self, one should be aware that the relationship with one's body is a microcosm of larger inter-personal relationships, and those may in turn impact on one's bodily health. This is raised in the next discussion.

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<sup>143</sup> Nt-2-3.

<sup>144</sup> E-2-5.

### 3.4.2.3. *u-cleanse-e* – you should ‘cleanse’

Both E and Nt discussed this as a method of cure, with E arguing its usage in relation to his point in 3.4.1.3, in that, for the removal of the ‘negative energies and spirit’, one needs to ‘find *intelezi* that will help you so that perhaps you cleanse, perhaps you cleanse – you remove all these negativities’.<sup>145</sup> Nt argues that this method is especially useful for an *isifo* [a sickness or illness, but also denoting anything that can cause death or destruction, which is *ukufa*]

that is taken like a curse... like if there is a death in the family - that means the curse has struck the family, so that now we must do the cleansing. This is one way to remove *ishwa*, a way to ward off *ishwa* so that it does not occur. When it is present, it occurs in such a way that it is concomitant with *isifo* - you did not perform the cleansing that is proper. Then you will just perform the cleansing that is proper.<sup>146</sup>

This conception of method is related to the need for ritual observance mentioned by all the respondents in the cause section. An important point raised in this discussion is the need for a physical solution to the interpersonal or spiritual problem, and quite often, as here, this solution is in the form of *imithi*, as discussed in the next section.

### 3.4.2.4. *kukhona umuthi* – there is *umuthi*

All the respondents discussed this point, with varying degrees of detail. E’s initial response in this regard is interesting, in that he states that

I heal/cure with my *amadlozi*. I heal/cure - I am told by them. They tell me what I can do. Do you see? There is no other way in which I do this that is without them. For example it will be said by other people that they heal/cure with parts of other people. Do you see, things like this? So, I don’t do this. I don’t do it because if an *idlozi* tells me that I should take these *imithi* here, and that I should mix this together, saying: ‘you take these and you must mix this - a person will be assisted...’ Because it is the environment through which we become healthy.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> E-2-8.

<sup>146</sup> Nt-2-4.

<sup>147</sup> E-2-3.

In addition to this statement, E also stated that ‘*uNkulunkulu* .... created *imithi* for the specific purpose that we should heal with them’.<sup>148</sup> When asked about what specific *imithi* would be used, E mentioned three different kinds, the first of which is

a pot/medicine which is called *isiphungo*.... which removes all *izifo* so that, even if it happens that you have *umkhuhlwane* [any non-specific illness, related to the sound of someone coughing] or whichever kind of *isifo* which may enter easily, because there is an ‘immune’ which is created in the body, if an *umkhuhlwane* occurs ... the army which is in the body ‘kicks it’ and nothing happens.<sup>149</sup>

The second *umuthi* mentioned is

*intelezi*, which is administered by *ukuchela*, and which wards off *abathakathi* and spirits that are *bi* - bad spirits ... that are created by a person, so that these are warded off, these things from a person, so that people remain living well/ being healthy.<sup>150</sup>

Finally, the third *umuthi* mentioned by E is

a bottle ... that has *umuthi* inside it. This *umuthi* perhaps it will ward off also all things - against enemies, against *izifo*, against spirits that are *bi*, and things like this.<sup>151</sup>

E is at pains, however, to point out that, with regard to this ‘bottle’,

there is not anything written... because if there are things written, that this *umuthi* may act to ward off something, is this not then perhaps a way to ward something off from a terrorist, so that perhaps they may say: ‘okay, when we want to terrorize, let us wear these things, and then let us hide the bombs’.<sup>152</sup>

M’s responses in this regard were very focussed on the actual *imithi* that might be used, probably as a result of the fact that the interview took place in his consulting rooms

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<sup>148</sup> E-2-10.

<sup>149</sup> E-2-7.

<sup>150</sup> E-2-8.

<sup>151</sup> E-2-9.

<sup>152</sup> E-2-9.

surrounded by packets of *imithi*. M's conception of how he heals is very similar to E's, in that he states that

this power [of the *imithi*] comes from the *imithi* because it is a gift from *uNkulunkulu* for us because – it is just choice – I know if I take *umeleni*<sup>153</sup> and *umkhanyakude*<sup>154</sup> and *inhlanhla emhlophe*,<sup>155</sup> it will be like this. You see it is just choice - this is the power of *uNkulunkulu* this - I didn't go to school, I have not studied. *uNkulunkulu* gave [this knowledge] to me.<sup>156</sup>

When talking about specific *imithi*, M differentiated between *imithi* to return luck or banish misfortune, and those to ward off evil. With regard to those *imithi* used to return luck or banish misfortune, M mentioned *imithi* called '*inhlanhla....just like umuthi called inhlanhla emhlophe, umuthi of which the name is inhlanhla.... umuthi of luck*' as well as '*umuthi to return luck [which] is termed umkhanyakude... [which is a tree] which gives luck*', '*ulosilina*<sup>157</sup>.... [which is] *umuthi* which makes luck/fortune', and finally '*imithi of umphumeleli which causes you to receive imphumelelo*'.<sup>158</sup>

Regarding *imithi* to ward off evil, M's comment was prompted by the arrival of someone wanting

*intelezi*, which is for *ukuchela* [literally 'to sprinkle', which is the process of administering the *umuthi*]... that is to ward off something that is *bi...* which will ward off enemies and people that want to kill you.<sup>159</sup>

When asked if the *imithi* to protect oneself was the same as that for returning luck, M's response was 'no, we cannot make the *imithi* to return luck - we make *imithi* to ward off a thing which is evil in the homestead', following which he described *izintelezi* [plural of

<sup>153</sup> Possibly related to the verb *melana*, meaning to support someone or stand for someone. (Doke et al. s.v.).

<sup>154</sup> 'that which shines from afar' – the name of the fever tree, and of a district in Northern KwaZulu- Natal (Doke et al. s.v.).

<sup>155</sup> 'white luck' (Doke et al. s.v.).

<sup>156</sup> M-2-6.

<sup>157</sup> There is no trace of this word in any dictionary.

<sup>158</sup> 'success' (Doke et al. s.v.). M-2-1.

<sup>159</sup> M-2-2.

*intelezi*] saying that ‘you use *intelezi* - you steam with it... you wash with it... with *intelezi* it is not easy that a thing which is evil approaches you’.<sup>160</sup>

Finally, as E does, M mentions that, in connection with protecting against evil, ‘there is a bottle.... and they put *umuthi* in it’,<sup>161</sup> and that this ‘bottle’ is called *iselekelelo*,<sup>162</sup> and

if you place your *imithi* in it - a certain *intelezi* that you know of - it wards off people who approach you so that they weaken. They arrive and they so ‘oh.’ They have guns, they come up to you, and they arrive and they are weakened... and there will come a person who will ask you and say: ‘hhawu! How were you saved there? You know these are criminals?’ And you will say: ‘No, I was saved.’ And he: ‘Because we saw they had guns.’ And you say: ‘No, I’m saved.’ And he: ‘What did they say when they came up to you?’ And you: ‘No, they say they are asking for directions because they are just going to that place there’.<sup>163</sup>

No, in her discussion of the method involving *imithi*, initially did not go into as much detail about how she heals with *imithi*, only saying that ‘my work is to heal/cure with *umuthi*’,<sup>164</sup> which was listed with a number of other services which she provides. In a focussed discussion of methods of cure, however, No was more expansive, stating that

there are *imithi* which can protect against these things. If *ubuthakathi* strikes we give him this thing, and at the same time you are cured. It’s not the case that it’s next week – it’s now now, it is quick. That’s why we always argue about Western medicine - it takes too long... and it’s got its own side effects. For us, we’ve got our own medicine that works right now, and it causes harm to the one that sent harm, without knowing who he is. Immediately when you say [spitting noise], it must go back - it must go back when it belongs. At that same time it goes back. It just goes back there so that it does not return, because he feels the pain the same... if you cast a spell at a person, there is *imithi* that sends it back.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> M-2-3.

<sup>161</sup> M-2-4.

<sup>162</sup> ‘the helper’ (Doke et al. s.v.).

<sup>163</sup> M-2-5.

<sup>164</sup> No-2-4.

<sup>165</sup> No-2-6.

Nt's focus in discussing this method of cure or protection centred on the fact that 'umuthi has the power to communicate',<sup>166</sup> and that

if you then want to take that power that is to communicate, you take it at that time [referring to the specific time of day when a plant is most powerful – see section 3.5 below], then you come and make an *intelezi* - now you are telling it that any person who comes here, to you, you must ward off that particular person - this is then how it works.<sup>167</sup>

Furthermore, Nt gives a different example of the use of *imithi*, when

people just take that spiritual power, if you like - they took it and with it then they will strengthen another person... You will just strengthen him - perhaps you make incisions, inoculate him, you make incisions in him which are concomitant with what you are strengthening him against. Maybe you are warding off evil spirits - you made incisions in him. Or you are protecting this person from the acts of a witch - *umthakathi* - you strengthened this person. This then is the thing about which we are talking - you are warding off perhaps *amabhadi* too - all such things. You just strengthen, then the protection goes like this then.<sup>168</sup>

This kind of spiritual power used in a less physical way is discussed very briefly by E, stimulated by a discussion of the Greek amulets in this research. This is discussed in the next section.

#### **3.4.2.5. ngamazwi – with words**

Only E offered this as a method of cure, in response to his interest in the Greek aspect of the research, stating that

if I say 'Cullen, you will be better,' you will become healthy, but this is hope that I place in these words that you will become healthy. They spoke the truth when they were saying that words heal - hundred percent right there. But me, I don't like it just

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<sup>166</sup> Nt-2-5.

<sup>167</sup> Nt-2-6.

<sup>168</sup> Nt-2-2.

because I say it may be that if others say ‘hey, protect this person,’ and they put something on paper there,... it is a method of assistance which is criminal.<sup>169</sup>

This discussion of the healing power of words and intentions leads into a major part of the discussion of method – that part which places emphasis on the socio-political sphere and personal relationships. Firstly, mirroring the conceptions of cause, is the method related to the ‘disconnection’ experienced in current society, necessitating the visiting of someone who is still ‘connected’ with the traditional ways of living and behaving.

#### **3.4.2.6.i. *abantu abanamandla spiritually* – people who have power spiritually**

Only Nt mentioned this point, which is basically that in certain circumstances there are certain people who can heal one. Nt set out the idea that the course of action is as follows:

You will observe the pattern of *ishwa*, that this *ishwa* here, it has a pattern - that is a worrying thing, if it has a pattern. Then you will just get up and go to a person who will know how to address this pattern - he who will know how to stop it, people who will know how to stop a thing like this. They are the people who have power spiritually, just like *abathandazi* [literally ‘prayer-makers’, a term for a type of Christianocentric medium] and just like those *izangoma* too, and those *izinyanga* - they know how to stop *ishwa*. A doctor does know how to stop death.<sup>170</sup>

Furthermore, Nt also states that

when there is sickness which is mysterious - you do not see where it has come from - in the Zulu culture you will go to a diviner, an *isangoma*. He will know how to see where this sickness comes from and what sort of manifestation it is. That *isangoma*, if he is not able to heal/cure, we will come to an *inyanga*. Originally *izangoma* - their power to heal/cure is minimal. The person who cures/heals is the *inyanga*, but an *isangoma* will tell you where this sickness comes from, together with the formula of it, when there is a formula - if it’s a man-made illness. Then he just refers you to the *inyanga* with this history, so we can just go the *inyanga* because we know what it is that he is able to cure/heal. It is necessary that it just be like this. This then is the path

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<sup>169</sup> E-2-4.

<sup>170</sup> Nt-2-3.

by which he heals/cures {ambiguous concord – could be referring to ‘us’ or ‘sickness’}.<sup>171</sup>

In keeping with the format established in the section on Cause, the next method related to the socio-political sphere has to do with repairing one’s relationship with the *amadlozi*.

### 3.4.2.6.ii. *amadlozi* – the spirits of the ancestors

All the respondents discussed this point, although often in relation to other topics such as cause.<sup>172</sup> E states, in connection with a discussion of protection, that one method is that of

committing yourself to your *amadlozi*. Every time you see – to *khuleka* [to ‘recognise’ or ‘acknowledge’, also used in the sense of ‘greet’ or ‘remember’ (Doke et al. s.v.)] them so that if you are travelling - you are taking a path - you are placed in the hands of your forefathers: ‘I request that you guard me on the road and you watch over my house and see how it is while I’m travelling. It is better that you guide me while I am travelling on this long path, that I may travel safely.’ So you go, you will return.<sup>173</sup>

M’s conception is that ‘the *amadlozi* in their way have their power – in the way that is to assist’.<sup>174</sup> However, he is at pains to point out the way in which one should go about seeking their protection, and ultimately the protection of *uNkulunkulu*, in that

you do nothing without *uNkulunkulu*. You ask *uNkulunkulu*, ... but you can never speak with *uNkulunkulu* having not spoken to his *amadlozi*.<sup>175</sup>

When asked if this was the same as the idea of intercession in the Catholic Church, M disagreed, saying it was more like the hierarchical structure at a police station,

or at the court... There where there are cases and magistrates there - you have no right to arrive and go to speak directly with the magistrate. You should start at the police station.... it is just like this both on earth and in heaven.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Nt-2-2.

<sup>172</sup> Such as some of E’s and No’s views, already shown in relation to section 3.3.1.4.ii.

<sup>173</sup> E-2-6.

<sup>174</sup> M-2-7.

<sup>175</sup> M-2-7.

The metaphor used by No to describe the interaction between the living and the *amadlozi* was different from both E and M, as she states that

it is necessary that you perform rituals. You must ask from your ancestors - but before that you must see that everything to do with the ancestors is right. Then it is easier for them to respond.... It is necessary to ‘sweep’ firstly. Then they respond, and they know how to ward things off, even if you may not know. You may find/discover that you crash your car - you don’t die -they are protecting you.<sup>177</sup>

No also states that her work is to ‘heal/cure... in a way which is like that which is called *ukululeka* [a verb meaning ‘to put straight, straighten’ or ‘to advise, guide, counsel’ (Doke et al. s.v.)]’<sup>178</sup> – which continues the metaphor of ‘sweeping’. Also in keeping with this same metaphor, No also states that

there are many ways - many - to return luck. There is this one which is called *ukulungisa umsamo*. *Ukulungisa umsamo* is to make peace with the spirits - these are rituals. There are rituals.<sup>179</sup>

No also states that, if this ritual is not performed, “the more you are becoming a target. It is because of them, if they are not united with you, they make you a main target.”<sup>180</sup> In connection with this, No points out that if you

do not do things which are good, they just draw every dirty thing to you because you don’t care about them - if you don’t take care of it you become miserable, because they bring it all. But if you are on good terms, you’ve got a lot of luck - even things that you don’t like they just come your way.<sup>181</sup>

Nt’s view contrasts with this, as has been shown in 3.4.1.4.ii. However Nt does have this to say about the role of ‘spirits’, and specifically removal of spirits as a cure, in that

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<sup>176</sup> M-2-7.

<sup>177</sup> No-2-1.

<sup>178</sup> No-2-1.

<sup>179</sup> No-2-2.

<sup>180</sup> No-2-3.

<sup>181</sup> No-2-5.

if there is the sickness, because perhaps you have something which has not been done which you ought to have done, or there is the sickness because you are just... Here you have a spirit... that enters you - You will also need a person who will know how to heal/cure, who will know that this spirit that is entering that is making you sick - we can remove it from you.<sup>182</sup>

Finally, moving into the inter- and intra-personal parts of the socio-political sphere, the participants speak about the need to heal relationships through the practice of *ubuntu*.

### 3.4.2.6.iii. *ubuntu* – inter-personal reciprocity and harmony

Only Nt and E discussed this point, which they maintained was at the heart of an understanding of life among the amaZulu. Firstly, in the context of a discussion of methods of returning luck or fortune, E states that

there are ways to give someone luck... just like - let's say you have a Granny. When you help Granny, she will say: 'child when you grow up you will walk stooping.' She says: 'when you grow up you will walk stooping.' This is the giving of luck.<sup>183</sup>

This enigmatic statement is in reference to the fact that to grow old is to have good fortune. E's next statement in regard to the 'giving of luck' is more focussed on material fortune, when he states that

[giving someone good fortune] is done like this - let's say I've got a hundred cattles. 'Here are cattle - go and hoard them.' And you, you rear them so that you are a man. Do you see? This is luck. Perhaps I've got three hundred goats, and you have ten goats. 'You - go and take one and rear it. Attempt to be a man.' If you observe, in Africa, long ago we grew this seed - that if you have many cattle, and a person arrives who is traveling who has nothing, that you give him maybe five cattle so that he may rear them, so that you too may become a man, an *umnumzane* - that he reared and he also milked and ate *amasi* do you see?<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Nt-2-1.

<sup>183</sup> E-2-1.

<sup>184</sup> E-2-2.

Nt's contribution to this topic has already been highlighted above, in 3.4.1.4.ii, regarding the importance of 'thanksgiving' and the building of interpersonal harmony.

Bearing all of this in mind, as well as the conceptions of Cause mentioned earlier, the final set of questions in the interview schedule related to the conception of power, and to who or what had power to enact these methods and rectify the causes of illness and misfortune.

### 3.4.3. Conceptions

The responses to the conceptual questions about power and the nature of evil have been divided into two parts, with the first part dealing with the issue of who or what has the power to heal, return fortune, and protect, and the second dealing with the description of the nature of evil. Only E and M offered any detailed or lengthy discussions on this point, and where the other respondents did offer brief discussion of it, their points correlate almost exactly with what E and M explained in more detail.

#### 3.4.3.1. *Ubani unamandla...? - Who has power...?*

E's view about those who have power to heal and protect is that it is

a person who is chosen by the ancestors - they said that he has been chosen. It is necessary that he helps people. He is the person who is given power - and with regard to this power it is necessary that those who are given power *hlonipha* other people and *hlonipha* the creator, because this power is a thing that can disappear one day. So it is necessary that he *hlonipha* his power also and that he constantly - for example we are healing a person - that he *khuleka's uNkulunkulu* the almighty for those things, and say 'here is a person who is sick, whom I will heal, who has asked me to heal him.' You see just like with me, all those who are sick would be uncured because I may not heal unless I connect with *uNkulunkulu* and my *amadlozi* to say that 'here is a person who is sick, whom I will heal.' I ask also the forefathers of his that they help me and they heal this person and they save him - they will help him. There isn't a person who is sick whom I heal who is not still saved. I have healed sick people with me asking

their forefathers. But I do not have the voice of *uNkulunkulu*, the name of *uNkulunkulu* to say that I saved this many people.<sup>185</sup>

When probed about whether what he was saying was that *uNkulunkulu* was the one who had the power, E responded that it was, but also ‘the *amadlozi* and the angels’.<sup>186</sup>

M’s view was that the *imithi* themselves had power, but that the *umuthi*’s power ‘depends on how it is made’,<sup>187</sup> and that the *umuthi*’s power

is a gift from *uNkulunkulu* for us because - it is just choice, you know, if I take *uMeleni* and *uMkhanyakude* and *inhlanhla emhlophe*, it will be like this. You see it is just choice. This is the power of *uNkulunkulu* this - I didn’t go to school, I have not studied.<sup>188</sup>

When probed about what he meant by this, and whether he ‘found [his] knowledge from *uNkulunkulu*’,<sup>189</sup> M’s response was that ‘*uNkulunkulu* gave it to me’. A further discussion of the origin of that power and how one went about ‘tapping into’ the source elicited the response already shown at 3.4.2.6.ii.

No’s response was very similar to M’s, as she said that ‘[the *amadlozi*] have power... and they make use of me’.<sup>190</sup>

Nt, by contrast, differentiated between what he called ‘a physical appliance’ of chemicals and the spiritual ‘power to communicate’. With regard to the former, Nt argued that

when you talk of *imithi*, a black person believes that [they] have power. Trees and environment, *imithi*, or other things – waters, soils and so forth, the ingredients that are used when one is making *umuthi*. A person believes that this thing has power... There is power that is the chemicals - for example when you look at a tree, there is a

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<sup>185</sup> E-3-1.

<sup>186</sup> E-3-1.

<sup>187</sup> M-3-1.

<sup>188</sup> M-3-2.

<sup>189</sup> M-3-2.

<sup>190</sup> No-3-1.

chemical there in that tree. That tree may help a person if you place it in the body of a person, or perhaps it may injure a person.<sup>191</sup>

With regard to the latter understanding, Nt states that

*izinyanga* know that certain trees - like a fig tree. A fig tree begins to communicate almost at midnight... it is communicating with other trees, it has power at that point to communicate.<sup>192</sup>

The understanding of this power to communicate is discussed more fully under 3.4.2.4 above, in relation to methods of cure.

Moving on from discussions of power, a straightforward question was posed to the participants, and their responses to it are included in the following section.

### **3.4.3.2. *ububi buyini?* - What is evil?**

E's conception of *ububi* is that it

is a way of living on earth, because *ububi* - it's negative. Do you see? Not so? Things can never be positive all the time. It is necessary that there is positive and negative, so that one is healthy here on earth.<sup>193</sup>

When asked if this was similar to the idea of a balance, E's response is that

if we could all be rich, it would never work. It is necessary that some are troubled. Do you see? So that you know there is a state of balance. Now *ububi* is the thing which I am always healing, because it is a way of living/being healthy - it is necessary to live/be healthy in this way. Furthermore, some people may say that a thing which is to do with *ububi* is a thing of Satan. I do not know who can point out for me and say 'here is Satan.' Do you see? Because *uNkulunkulu* created this thing, so that there may exist that which is *hle* and that which is *bi*. He never said that while we are alive,

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<sup>191</sup> Nt-3-1.

<sup>192</sup> Nt-3-2.

<sup>193</sup> E-3-2.

everything should be good. We are mortal. Do you see? Because it is necessary that life is surprising. You see when it is the case that life is surprising, it is necessary that you see something *hle* today. Now, it does this [motion of hand to indicate turning over] - you are surprised.<sup>194</sup>

When asked to clarify further, E stated that

*ububi* is a thing which exists, and we may never end it, it will never finish, but we should not say that *ububi* is a thing of Satan. Because this Satan - we have never seen him. *Ububi* is a thing which is created so that life is not boring, you see? Life is constantly surprising - you see this and you see that and you see that. These are ways of living - because all cannot ever be *hle* - we cannot all be doctors!<sup>195</sup>

M's conception of *ububi* is that

we don't know where this thing comes from - you see we don't know because it happens to whomever and appears to whomever. It just comes. For example you haven't drunk alcohol, you aren't drunk - an accident happens and you are struck. It is not someone is hit because you were drunk, the accident happens to you.

When asked if there was any way to avoid it, M's response was simply that "we can ask the *amadlozi*, we can ask *uNkulunkulu*, and *uNkulunkulu*... helps us."<sup>196</sup>

### 3.5. Conclusion

What is apparent from the responses in this chapter is that the notion of evil is a varied and complicated thing, vague in one instant and intensely specific in the next. The notion of evil is tied up with ideas about power relationships – between the living and the *amadlozi*, between parents and children, between one person and the next – and also with ideas about identity – the impact of the influx of Christianity, as well as western habits of eating and behaving, on the physical and psychological health and fortune of the *amaZulu*. In this complex web of understandings of evil, what emerges often is the construction of binary

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<sup>194</sup> E-3-2.

<sup>195</sup> E-3-2.

<sup>196</sup> M-3-3.

opposites as a way of understanding reality – Christian is opposed to traditional in the same way as illness is opposed to sickness, for example. These binaries resonate with many of the enigmatic aspects of the amulets’ constructions of evil, and are discussed in the next chapter, which deals with the comparison and discussion of ancient Greek and contemporary Zulu constructs of evil.

## **Chapter 4 – Coding, Collation, and Comparison**

### **4.1. Introduction**

The previous chapters looked closely at the conception of evil and related ideas in each of the amulets, and then at the responses from the participants to the various questions posed in the interviews. This chapter offers a collation of all of those different conceptions and ideas, coded thematically into three sections. The first section deals with the ideas about the nature of evil itself, while the second is concerned with the conceptions of the roles and nature of the supernatural. The final section of this chapter focuses on the way in which the amulets and the Zulu respondents conceive of power. Each of these three sections offers a map for the understanding of the overall concept of evil and its construction in the ancient Greek and contemporary Zulu contexts.

### **4.2. The Nature of Evil**

Evil as a concept seems, in the ancient sources written in Greek, as well as in the responses of the Zulu respondents in the interviews, to be the ‘catch-all’ of negativity. The identification of Evil is far more widespread and far more pervasive than a single isolated idea. Evil, and its binary opposite, Good, form a relationship that seems to be almost as primal as the idea of self and other, or of 'Yes' and 'No'. As with the Greek amulets, what is apparent in the Zulu responses is that ‘evil’ acts as a metaphor or analogue for all perceived problems in the world – sickness, sorcery, poison, demonic attack, fever, or the anger of the *amadlozi* (the spirits of the ancestors). But the key conceptual tool offered by the Zulu interviews is the ability to interrogate these identifications or manifestations of evil, and what emerges upon interrogation is a form of underlying conceptual matrix, underpinned by the binary of Evil-Good. Thus, through the discussions with the Zulu participants, the key concept behind all of these ‘things to be warded off’ emerges - that they are conceived of as part of a binary. There are many of these binaries which are common to both the Greek and Zulu conceptions of Evil, as well as some which are unique to each system.

#### **4.2.1. Similar Identifications of Evil**

##### **4.2.1.1. Attack and Defence**

All of the amulets except for the Antioch amulet identify evil with an attacking enemy, or an enemy needing to be conquered. In the Athribis, Fayum, Oxyrhynchus (A) and Berytus amulets, some of the verbs used in each are based on the idea of a *fu/lac*, a guardian by night in a military camp. In the Oxyrhynchus (B) amulet a different word is used, *nikalñ*, but this

too has strong military associations, and portrays the evil as an enemy which is conquered. Thus evil is seen as both an active force acting like a military enemy, and as a constant threat to be guarded against. In the *isiZulu* discourse the participants made use of the verb *vikela*, which is also used in the same way as the English ‘ward off’ – in relation to the fending off of a physical attack or blows directed by an attacker.<sup>197</sup> The image in *isiZulu* is of the fencing involved in a stick-fight or other battle, although here the simple verb *ukuvika* has an added applied force, making it act on someone’s behalf or in favour of someone – the verb is used in a legal sense for the process of defence against prosecution.

#### 4.2.1.2. Darkness and Light

Evil is, in the amulets, also consistently portrayed and discussed in terms related to darkness – whether the *xwoux* of the Athribis amulet (6), the predominance of solar deities in the Fayum text, the possible use of the Coptic *Obax* meaning ‘white and shining’ (Oxyrhynchus A, 4), or the stated fear of *skotodini/a* or *skotofainei/a* (a variant reading of the word just mentioned, referring possibly to a ‘shadow-demon’ of some sort) in the Berytus *lamella* (76-77). It is interesting to note how many of the deities invoked in the amulets have associations with light and the sun, such as those already mentioned, and, notably, Horus in the Athribis amulet. This discourse seems to be in direct contrast to the perceived evil functions of the more chthonic or nocturnal deities such as Ereschigal, Hecate, Selene and the Eumenides, whom the curse tablets usually invoke (e.g. *PGM* IV, 2785-2890; V, 304-69; XVIIb, 1-23).

The Zulu participants also conceptualise evil in terms of darkness and blackness, as can be seen in the use of *imithi* with connotations of light and shining - such as *umkhanyakude* - or of whiteness, such as *inhlanhla emhlophe*.<sup>198</sup> In terms of Ngubane’s discussion of the symbolism of colour in Zulu thought-processes, “black and red are said to be equivocal, in that they stand for both goodness and badness; white represents only what is good” (1977: 113). Berglund’s comment on colour symbolism is that “evil, and associated things, are generally related to dark and the left side, while good things are spoken of [as] *ezimhlophe*, the white ones” (1976: 364).

#### 4.2.1.3. Disconnection and Reconnection

Another common binary is that of disconnection-reconnection. This discourse around evil is a little less obviously stated, but it is clear upon closer analysis of the Greek texts, after

<sup>197</sup> See particularly M-2-2 and M-2-5. Cf. Doke et al. s.v. *vikela*.

<sup>198</sup> Particularly in M-2-1 and M-2-6.

examining the discussions with the Zulu respondents, that evil is believed to arise from a deviation from normal relationship – whether between humans or between humans and the supernatural. In this way, the prayer formulae that recur in many of the amulets can be seen as attempts to reconnect with the pristine reciprocity that is supposed to have existed once in transactions between the gods and human beings, and to counteract the *mh/nij qew=n* experienced by the bearer of the Athribis amulet (9). In terms of Christian influence, in the Antioch *lamella* great importance seems to be placed on the need to conquer evil by integrating *Basilei/oj* (5-6) into society, with the *i)klhsi/a* (13) representing that society.

Moving on from the relationship with the divine, though, the amuletic texts also seem to contain a discourse about the breakdown of interpersonal relationships – the very existence of *baskosu/nh* in the Athribis text (9), as well as the *kata/desma*<sup>199</sup> that form the background to the Berytus *lamella*, point to a discourse about a fundamental breakdown in communication, where society has resorted to the use of spells and other offensive magic to achieve its ends, or else simply to scandal and envy, and where interpersonal interaction is a source of threat.

The Zulu respondents also discuss the concept that evil is a loss of a previous, usually better, state, or else is a deviation from a right way of acting. One respondent particularly focuses on this concept, stating that ‘the abandonment of cultures... makes sickness, because the creator gave us a way to live and be healthy. Now we, if we change it, we leave this way of living/being healthy’.<sup>200</sup> Combined with this conception is the idea of forgetting the *amadlozi* (the ancestral spirits), a point raised by all the participants.<sup>201</sup> Another point raised by all of the participants is that evil is caused by a breakdown in the necessary *ubuntu* (human-ness) between individuals. Emphasising the fact that this is a new occurrence, the same participant just quoted most often contrasts ‘long ago’ or *kade* with ‘now’ or *manje*, which also adds the idea of modernity to the list of evil’s attributes. In fact, both he and another respondent take it one step further, stating that Christianity is the cause of all misfortune – an interesting reversal of the dominant idea exemplified in the amulet from Antioch.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> cf. *to\ kata/desma* (LSJ s.v.), plural *ta\ kata/desma*.

<sup>200</sup> E-1-3.

<sup>201</sup> What effect this has on a definition of evil is that it includes ‘impiety,’ for want of a better word, as well as deviation from a path of cultural practice.

<sup>202</sup> No-1-1.

#### 4.2.1.4. Corruption and Purification

Evil is also perceived in terms of corruption and defilement, with the binary opposition of purification, in both the Greek and Zulu conception of it. In the Antioch *lamella*, the demon (representative of evil) is conceived of in terms of something needing to be cleansed away or exorcised from the bearer, and the blood of Christ (9-10) is symbolic of that purification from the taint or corruption of evil. In the Berytus amulet, this discourse is more clearly stated in the list of things which must not be done to Alexandra – she must not be harmed (either physically or socially, the verb *bla/ptein* (95) having both of those meanings) nor must she be defiled (again, the verb *molu/nein* (96) has both a physical and a social meaning). This is important for an understanding of the notion of evil in that it shows another binary that might be in existence – between correct, clean, pure, and wrong, dirty, defiled. In the Zulu conception, evil is also perceived as a corruption or defilement of that which is clean and whole, as is evidenced by the respondents' statements that one must cleanse away the evil, and by another's use of the metaphor of *ukushanyela* – to sweep up dirt – when referring to the warding off of evil.<sup>203</sup> This is closely related to the idea both of evil as darkness and of evil as deviation or loss, in that in both cases the idea is one of obscuring or moving away from what is good.<sup>204</sup>

#### 4.2.1.5. Possession or Loss of Autonomy and Freedom or Autonomy

In addition to the demon in the Antioch *lamella* being perceived to be defiling, this small text also represents another binary – that of possession as opposed to autonomy. However, the Antioch text are not the only ones which contain the discourse of evil as a loss of autonomy – the Fayum, Oxyrhynchus (A and B) and Berytus amulets all deal with it. The idea here is that evil is seen to be a loss of one's ability to act freely, which keys in very strongly to the overall societal picture of charms and counter-charms, and of binding-spells. In the Antioch and Berytus amulets, the discussion is firmly situated in an exorcism context – the evil is realised as a demonic influence, necessitating the expulsion of the demon or else the liberation of the demoniac from the bounds placed on him or her by the possession. Of interest here are some of the words used, such as the *a)na/gkh* (10) and *o)/xlhsij* (113-114) of the demons in the Berytus text, which belie an attitude of complete helplessness in the face of possession. The Oxyrhynchus amulets (both A and B), while not operating clearly in an exorcism context, still make use of vivid understandings of sickness and evil, with the first

<sup>203</sup> E-1-3, E-1-10, No-2-5.

<sup>204</sup> cf. Douglas 1991: 5.

Oxyrhynchus amulet using the verb e)pilamba/nein (15) to describe the recurrence of illness, and the second amulet using the imperative a)pa/llocon (13) to ‘deliver’ the bearer from that illness. The Fayum amulet also shows this discourse of possession through the use of the Aramaic phrase axrammaxamari (1, 4), meaning ‘untie the magic spells/nets’. Whether or not the amulet-maker was aware of the meaning of the phrase, the idea of sickness and evil as something which deprives one of freedom is strong here too. In all three cases, evil is seen as something physically binding or possessing the amulet-user. In connection with the idea of binding, the Berytus *lamella*’s whole response to evil can be argued to be related to kata/desma, and this in turn represents another facet of the discourse around possession or loss of autonomy. With regard to the binding spells or curse tablets, the evil there can be described firstly as a product of other people and their desire to subjugate for a purpose, but secondly the binding-spells and curse tablets can also involve the co-option of a demonic or supernatural force to enact that subjugation.

In a discourse which is very familiar from the Greek material just discussed, three of the Zulu participants discuss the presence of ‘bad spirits,’ with one particularly highlighting the need for them to be ‘removed’ from the body in much the same way as the breakdown of interpersonal relationship needs to be ‘cleansed’ before peace and health can return.<sup>205</sup> In relation to the breakdown in interpersonal relationships, the Zulu respondents acknowledged the use of demons and other familiars by *abathakathi* (evil magical practitioners) in order to torment and possess their rivals.<sup>206</sup> The need for the removal of that possessing evil, or what might be called exorcism in a western framework, implies that the evil is seen as a loss of the person’s own autonomy. The externalisation of cause in this case – that one is possessed and therefore not causing the evil oneself – is also interesting in that it absolves the self from responsibility for evil.

#### 4.2.1.6. Chaos and Order

Another discourse around evil present in the amulets is that evil is chaotic, and needs to be controlled or tamed. This discourse comes through in many different ways. Firstly, through the use of the seven Greek vowels in the Athribis (7), Fayum (2, 3), and Oxyrhynchus (B) (1-7) amulets, representing the seven planets and thus re-creating the universe through utterance,

<sup>205</sup> Nt-2-4; E-1-10; No-1-2; No-1-3.

<sup>206</sup> E-2-3; M-1-2; No-1-4; Nt-1-2.

evil is seen as something contrary to that celestial order. Secondly, through the physical ordering of the Fayum amulet in particular, for example with its numerical significance of three by seven, the world is reordered in sympathy. The invocation of hierarchies of creative and controlling deities or supernatural entities in the Fayum, Oxyrhynchus (A and B) and Berytus texts also similarly re-creates the order needed to combat the disorder or chaos that is evil. Finally, in keeping with the emphasis on hierarchical relationships, the use of a matronymic in the Fayum and Berytus amulets may play an important role in the re-establishment of one's place in both the celestial and temporal scheme of existence, by emphasising one's ancestry. Another point which needs to be mentioned is that there is an attempt made to know or at least quantify evil, particularly in the Fayum amulet with its temporal specifications about fever (8-9). The clearest correlate of this discourse in the Zulu responses is from the one respondent's discussion of the need to *lungisa emsamu* in order to counteract evil.<sup>207</sup> The verb used here is used to indicate 'put right', 'make straight,' 'righten,' or 'arrange,' and so is quite similar to the metaphor employed in the verb *shanyela*, but without the domestically localised context.<sup>208</sup> In the respondent's discourse, in order to conquer evil, one must put things in their correct place, in order.

#### 4.2.1.7. Domestic and Public

This is a binary which may be termed the Hestia-Hermes binary of the domestic as opposed to the public sphere. The amulet which most strongly emphasises the binary of domestic and public space is the Berytus *lamella*, which seems to locate evil consistently in liminal and public space, when its bearer, Alexandra, is travelling or socialising. After a brief look at all of the possible afflictions facing Alexandra in her everyday life – such as demonic attacks, love-charms, sexual molestation and madness – it is clear to see that this amulet conceives of evil as that which is external to the domestic sphere. In the Zulu respondents, as well as in the existing ethnographic literature, the world beyond the *umuzi* or homestead is filled with potential threat – threat from wild animals, witchcraft, or other people (Berglund 1976: 278-286). In a modern context, a respondent spoke about the dangers posed by hijackers and car accidents. This too seems to conceive of evil as that which occurs in the public sphere, combined with an association of public with modern, and hence with non-traditional and thus evil. An interesting point in regard to this last binary is the commonality in its expression – most often, both the amulets and the Zulu respondents expressed a conception of evil as

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<sup>207</sup> No-2-2.

<sup>208</sup> Doke et al. s.v.

occurring at crossroads or while travelling – on the borders and at the crossings between places.

#### **4.2.2. Different Identifications of Evil**

##### **4.2.2.1. Foreign and Native**

The first binary that is unique to the amulets is the binary of Foreign as opposed to Native. Evil is seen to be foreignness and otherness, as distinct from the discourses about protection against evil through re-establishment of relationship and hierarchy. However, this discourse is not without its problems, particularly in a society in flux – what exactly constitutes foreignness? In the Antioch *lamella*, this binary is apparent in the use of the demonic name, which is a possible reference to foreign cult or supernatural forces in opposition to the growing Christian faith represented by the amulet itself. However, the very use of the Jewish exorcism formula on the amulet complicates this binary, in that the assumption might be that Judaism would be viewed as an opponent of the new faith. The fact that the formula has been used points to a co-option of elements of Judaism into the practices of some Christians, at least in the area of Pisidian Antioch.<sup>209</sup> In the Athribis amulet, by contrast, the absence of Christian references may point to a differing system of allegiance, as both Judaism and the traditional Egyptian cult are conceptualised in opposition to the foreign religion. In fact, the only amulet which openly makes use of Christian references is the Berytus *lamella*, in its final invocation (119-120). The fact that this binary does not occur in the Zulu responses may be a result of the small sample size – more interviews with more people may have resulted in differing views. Perhaps one area where this binary may be present in the Zulu responses is in the discussion of the problematic influence of Christianity, Islam and Western culture on the Zulu culture, but this binary is more adequately conveyed as part of the ‘disconnection-reconnection’ binary discussed previously.

##### **4.2.2.2 Generic and Omnipresent**

Evil is not always perceived to act in specific ways, and in fact the amulets display a strong view of evil as generic and omnipresent. The Athribis amulet and both Oxyrhynchus texts contain phrases which are not specifically aimed at a type of evil, but both state that they act

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<sup>209</sup> Possibly an internalisation of the Roman attitude to Christianity as a branch of Judaism (Smallwood 1976: 212).

against ‘all evil’ or, through omission of any specification, imply the same.<sup>210</sup> Coupled with this vagueness about the nature of what is being warded off, the Athribis and Berytus amulets in particular display the attitude that evil is constantly present and real, and one needs to be on one’s guard constantly against any potential threat. In opposition to this vagueness, the amulets offer specifications and constructions which attempt to specify the exact nature of the evil to be warded off – as in the Fayum amulet’s specifications about fever (8-9). Perhaps further interrogation of the use of *imithi* like the panacea mentioned by M would reveal that this binary is also present in the Zulu conception of evil.

#### 4.2.2.3. Evil as Natural, Necessary and Unavoidable

In the Zulu respondents, there were similarly a number of binaries which were not mirrored by anything in the amulets. In contrast to the more negative views of evil, there is a binary apparent regarding the necessity of evil and the appearance of evil which is natural, such as Nt’s *ishwa lendalo*, or which is a part of the process of life.<sup>211</sup> This kind of evil is seen as unavoidable and as simply occurring.<sup>212</sup> A closely related discourse about evil, particularly voiced by E, is that evil is not only a part of existence but is in fact essential and necessary for life to be as it should. E’s clearest explanation of this is in his phrase ‘we cannot all be doctors’, which he uses when discussing that a balance of good and evil is necessary for life to be ‘surprising’.<sup>213</sup>

#### 4.2.2.4. Confusion and Certainty

Evil is also talked about as something which is uncertain, and M particularly highlights this idea when he states that ‘with death you never know in what way/from what direction it is going to appear - not just one way’.<sup>214</sup> Other participants also emphasise the uncertainty of evil, as well as the layperson’s inability to determine either cause or solution.<sup>215</sup> What the respondents offer as a binary opposite, and thus a response to or cure for evil, is the process of divination – that a chosen practitioner will, with the help of the *amadlozi*, be able to conquer the uncertainty of evil with the certainty of that knowledge, which he or she will then

<sup>210</sup> Athribis: a)po\ panto\j kakou= (7-8); Oxyrhynchus (A): panto\j prag/matou=; Oxyrhynchus (B): the lack of any specific object of a)pa//lacon (13).

<sup>211</sup> Nt-1-4, Nt-1-5.

<sup>212</sup> M-1-3.

<sup>213</sup> E-3-2.

<sup>214</sup> M-1-1.

<sup>215</sup> such as Nt-2-5.

use either to concoct *imithi*, or to instruct the client on which *umsebenzi* (ritual) to perform, and to whom the *umsebenzi* must be performed.<sup>216</sup>

#### 4.2.2.5. Suddenness and Stability

A more generalised and impersonal conception of evil is of it as something sudden, in this case evidenced by the participants' use of the verb *qhamuka* together with nouns like *ishwa*, already mentioned above.<sup>217</sup> *Qhamuka* means 'to appear unexpectedly' or 'come suddenly into view', and so evil in this instance is perceived to be both rapid and unforeseen.<sup>218</sup> This idea could possibly explain both the use of the aorist and participles in the amulets. This is, as in the binary about confusion and certainty, countered by the prescience of an *inyanga yokubula* (a divinatory herbalist) or an *isangoma*.<sup>219</sup>

#### 4.2.2.6. Sharpness and Bluntness

*isiZulu* also offers a binary in the term used for a counter-charm – *intelezi* – which further shows a binary of acuteness-bluntness which may relate to the o)cu/j / mwro/j binary of ancient Greek. In the responses of the participants, the use of the terms *izintelezi* and *ishwa* present another intriguing point of discussion.<sup>220</sup> *Intelezi* and its cognates have the idea of 'blunting' something sharp, or acting as an antidote to a poison or other enchantment. *Ishwa*, by contrast, has connotations of ripping and tearing – it is derived from an ideophone denoting "rapid movement" and something "making a ripping mark."<sup>221</sup> It is thus possible that the use of *izintelezi* implies that the evil is perceived as something sharp and piercing. It is also of interest that, at least on a linguistic level, this particular method of protection does not imply the strengthening of a person or object, but the softening or blunting of any potential attack. What is intriguing is that in Zulu ritual, the process of 'ritual immunisation' or *ukuchabha* involves incisions being cut into various parts of the body, and this acts to 'qinisa' or strengthen the person.<sup>222</sup> In addition to these two, the Zulu respondents highlighted the nature of evil as something sudden, with the good being things which happen clearly and predictably.

<sup>216</sup> E.g. E-2-3; E-2-10; E-3-1; M-2-7; No-2-1; No-3-1; Nt-2-2; Nt-2-3.

<sup>217</sup> M-1-4.

<sup>218</sup> Doke et al. s.v.

<sup>219</sup> Doke et al. s.v.; Berglund 1976: 136-196, 307-311.

<sup>220</sup> E-2-8; E-2-9; M-2-2; M-2-3.

<sup>221</sup> Doke et al. s.v.

<sup>222</sup> Nt-2-1; Doke et al. s.v.

### 4.3. The Role of the Supernatural

From the amulets it seems to be the case that there are two opposed views of the supernatural – as malevolent and benevolent. In some cases, however, what is interesting is that the usually malevolent deities invoked in curses have been co-opted as benevolent deities, a point which will be discussed in relation to discourses around power. What is clear from the interviews is that there are four different but related conceptions of the role of the supernatural. Firstly, that the supernatural is malevolent, and in contrast secondly, that it is benevolent. Thirdly, that the supernatural is distant and/or uncaring, and finally that the supernatural is the fundamental source of power. The supernatural is, in this case, describing those entities which are both non-human and powerful (i.e. not including animals), or else super-human (Berglund 1976: 278-285). The divisions offered by the Zulu respondents are useful in structuring an analysis of the amulet-users' ideas about the supernatural, and offer some insight into how they conceive of the interactions with the supernatural.

#### 4.3.1. The Supernatural as Malevolent

Firstly, what is clear is that the amulets display a view of a malevolent supernatural, populated by demons and, in the text of the Antioch amulet, *pn/eu/maqā* (1-2). These 'spirits' or demons are perceived to be attacking the bearers of the amulets, bent on harassing them – the *o/xlhsij* of the Berytus amulet (114-115) – or possessing them – hence the need for exorcism in the Antioch amulet. However, we are fortunate to be able to look at texts from the other end of the spectrum – the *kata/desma*. In these, it becomes apparent that these demons are being adjured to fulfil the needs of cursers, and so it is possible that these manifestations of the supernatural are not naturally malevolent, but rather adjured to be so. This seeming ambiguity is perhaps borne out by the use of what are considered 'offensive' *formulae* and supernatural entities – such as the *babaratham logos* in the Oxyrhynchus (A) amulet (5-7) and the name *Seseng[e]r Barfar[an]ghj* in the Fayum text (2, 5) – in seemingly defensive or therapeutic settings. This will be discussed below in relation to conceptions of power.

However, it is also not only demons and spirits who are perceived as malevolent. The Athribis amulet also contains a request for protection against the *mh/n[ij] qew=n* (9), which implies that the gods can become malevolent towards humans. The anger of the gods is possibly, as has already been argued, a product of the breakdown in the reciprocal relationship which may have once existed, but no longer does.

In the Zulu responses, the basic discourse in this regard is that there are supernatural entities which are more powerful than humans and simultaneously threaten them. The discussions around this topic divided the malevolent supernatural into those things which were associated with *ubuthakathi* and into those existent parts of the traditional *Sintu* system, such as the *amadlozi* and *uNomkhubulwane*, which may act malevolently.

To begin with the first division, ‘evil spirits’ are seen as roving malevolent influences which may possess a person at any time, and which need to be removed from the body. These are closely linked with *ubuthakathi*, at least in the participants’ discussions of the matter. Another important conception of the malevolent supernatural is the use of familiars by *abathakathi*, in this case *izimfene* and *abafana* (both familiars of the *abathakathi*, in this case ‘baboons’ and ‘boys’). These are seen as generally malevolent influences, but also ones which may be ‘tamed’ by an *umthakathi* and used against a person. Here the agency of the *umthakathi* acts merely as a pointer for the evilness of the creatures themselves. This division is most akin to the conception of ‘demons’ in the amulets. The second division, however, presents a problem, in that some of the participants conceive of the *amadlozi* and other supernatural entities such as *uNomkhubulwane* as potentially evil towards humans,<sup>223</sup> while others firmly posit that this is not the case, and that, in Nt’s words, an “*idlozi* does not have power to take a switch and beat a person, but it has the power to relax its protection a little - a little. If they’ve relaxed it a little you see that many misfortunes will appear.”<sup>224</sup> In fact, No is the only one of the participants who perceives the *amadlozi* and other supernatural forces to be active in causing evil, with M coming close to this idea in saying that a lack of ritual observance may be the cause of sickness – however, he at no point says that the *amadlozi* actively harm people.<sup>225</sup>

Again, though, the most emphasis is here placed on harmony in all the inter-relationships which exist, and in this way the malevolence or benevolence of the supernatural depends on the state of the relationships between the individual (or in No’s case, society) and the supernatural.

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<sup>223</sup> i.e. No-1-6.

<sup>224</sup> Nt-1-6.

<sup>225</sup> M-1-3.

In comparing the two different responses, it is clear that, in this respect at least, there is a high degree of similarity. The Zulu responses also inform some of the deductions drawn from the amulets – that the anger of the gods does not represent an idea of an ‘evil god’ akin to the Christian view of Satan, but rather that the anger of the gods may be the result of a lack of proper ritual observance. With regard to the first point discussed, it is clear that the idea of demons is not, at least in the amulets and the Zulu responses, an idea of freely acting evil influences, but rather of human evil and a breakdown in interpersonal relationships leading to the compulsion or adjuration of their power to cause evil to befall the object.

However, in discussing these ideas, what also becomes apparent is that there are some striking similarities in the conception of the supernatural as benevolent, and these similarities are discussed next.

#### 4.3.2. The Supernatural as Benevolent

By and large, the supernatural is perceived to be benevolent, or at least able to be persuaded and summoned to help as an ally. In the amulets, the attitude of humans to the supernatural is often one of a servant to a master, as in the use of *ku/rioj* in the Oxyrhynchus (B) text (12). However, the benevolence of the supernatural is also perceived to be nurturing – as in the reference to Sarapis as *o( trofeu\° th=° o(/lh° oi)koume/nh°* in the Oxyrhynchus (B) amulet (9-11). This nurturing aspect is extended into the perception of the supernatural as creative or ordering, as in the Berytus’ amulet’s invocation *e)n [o]n]o/mati tou= kti/santoj ta\ pa\nta* (14-15), an idea which is a direct antidote to the idea of evil as chaotic. This concept is also foregrounded in the invocation of *tw\ n e)pi\ o)ke/ano[u=] pneu/ma/ti* in the Oxyrhynchus (A) amulet (2-4). Control over the elemental and largely chaotic forces in the universe is also extended in the Berytus amulet to a vision of the universe in which every single thing is the province of an angel or controlling power, from snakes to highways.

In terms of verbal usage, the use of verbs such as *e)πικαλεισται* in the Oxyrhynchus (A) text (1) and its equivalent in the Berytus *lamella* (13-61) also points to an idea of the supernatural as a helper or ally in a fight against evil. In the Antioch amulet, too, the invocation using *t\$= / deci#= xeir[i\] / tou= q(eo)u=* (6-8) also keys into this notion of the supernatural having physical power and strength to protect. Finally though, the most obvious understanding of this idea of supernatural power is captured by the phrase in the Athribis amulet describing Horus as *th\ n du/namin e)/xwn* (1). This *du/namij* is, after all, why the supernatural entities

in these amulets are invoked at all, and is what constitutes the next section in this chapter, a discussion of how the amulets conceive of power and the powerful.

The overall conception voiced by the Zulu respondents is that, apart from the familiars of *abathakathi*, the supernatural is benevolent, on the condition that one cares for and about one's relationship with it. What is interesting in terms of the benevolence is the root meaning of one of the most important supernatural entities in Zulu spirituality – the *amadlozi*. The name comes from a verb, *ukudloza* or *ukudlozinga*. The former has two conflicting meanings, one being to 'seize violently',<sup>226</sup> and the other being to 'look after, keep an eye on, or take care of' – in Mbatha's very poetic definition, '*ukwalusa*', which means 'to watch over as a shepherd or herdsman over a flock or herd'.<sup>227</sup> Interestingly, Nyembezi's does not contain the verb '*dloza*', but ascribes the meanings of that verb to its derivative, '*dlozinga*' – to which meanings he has added the synonymous words '*phenya*' - 'turn over, look under, search, examine, investigate, undertake research'<sup>228</sup> - as well as '*dumela*' and '*xozomela*' - 'look fixedly at, watch intently, keep a sharp lookout on.'<sup>229</sup>

The importance of these definitions is that they clearly place the *amadlozi* into the same realm as that of the 'guardian angels' of the amulets, and particularly the angels in charge of each heaven and realm of the universe in the Berytus amulet. In addition to this similarity in role, the attitude towards the *amadlozi* may be used to form a clearer conclusion on the verbal usages in the amulet – the conclusions proposed about the creative, nurturing, and protecting epithets and verbs used in the amulets are made more concrete when viewed through the conclusions that may be drawn from the Zulu responses.

However, in contrast to the 'hands-on' role of the *amadlozi*, the role of *uNkulunkulu* is conceived of very differently.

### 4.3.3. The Supernatural as Distant

*uNkulunkulu*'s distance is a well-documented feature of Zulu spirituality, although not all of those documents agree exactly on his (or her, or its) nature, or on the relationship which exists between *uNkulunkulu* and humans (Berglund 1976: 93; Weir 2005 *passim*). In fact,

<sup>226</sup> Thus Doke et al. and Mbatha, s.v.

<sup>227</sup> Doke et al.; Mbatha s.v.

<sup>228</sup> Nyembezi; Doke et al., s.v.

<sup>229</sup> Nyembezi; Doke et al., s.v.

there is a case that has been made that the very name *uNkulunkulu* was misapplied by early Christian missionaries, and that there was no ‘supreme deity’ in Zulu spirituality.<sup>230</sup> This case is hard to swallow, particularly when one looks at the numerous other names for the concept of ‘God’ – *uMvelinqangi* and *uThixo* being just two of them. In the participants’ responses, *uNkulunkulu*’s distance and his omnipotence are both highlighted, along with the essential role that the *amadlozi* play in mediating between humans and *uNkulunkulu*. This may seem similar to the intercession of the saints in Roman Catholicism, however this idea was denied by M, who substituted the idea of the relationship being like the chain of command in a police station.<sup>231</sup> Here the discourse is one of having to go through the proper channels to get to a distant but powerful figure, a discourse which resonates strongly with the current South African culture of hierarchically complex bureaucracy, both in government and elsewhere. Different from the need to go through the hierarchy to reach *uNkulunkulu*, however, is the fact that both E and M strongly voice the belief that they receive their power directly from *uNkulunkulu*, with only No stating that the *amadlozi* make use of her to do their work.<sup>232</sup> This feeds directly into the next topic to be discussed here.

However, before this next, it is important to point out that this idea, of the supernatural being distant and unapproachable, is not mirrored in any part of the amulets under discussion – the supernatural in the amulets is near and accessible. This difference in conceptions of the supernatural is to be expected, especially when one looks at the massive differences existing in the ideas of ‘religion’ or ‘god’ in the two different systems.<sup>233</sup>

#### **4.3.4. The Supernatural as the Source of Power**

In the amulets, the very names of supernatural beings are invoked as words of power – as charms to order the world, or as evidence of arcane knowledge that will unlock a world of powerful magic to heal and protect. In addition to the names themselves having power, the supernatural entities are invoked to act directly in the natural world – to protect, deliver, or heal the bearers of the amulets. What is interesting also is that the power of the supernatural, in both the amulets and the Zulu responses, is perceived almost as neutral, and can be used for both good and evil. A supernatural power invoked for evil intent in one spell can be

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<sup>230</sup> See Weir (2005) *passim*.

<sup>231</sup> M-2-8. cf. Berglund (1976: 93) where he likens it to the position of Verwoerd in Pretoria.

<sup>232</sup> E-3-1; M-2-6; M-2-7; No-3-1.

<sup>233</sup> e.g. a belief in the power of the *amadlozi* (ancestors) as opposed to *uNkulunkulu* (the supreme god) to effect change in the world in response to petitions, the lack of a priestly class to carry out religious rituals in *Sintu* religion, the absence of scripture or collated doctrine, the emphasis on the familial relationship with the supernatural as opposed to the communal relationship of a congregation in a synagogue or church, etc.

invoked to protect in another, as in the Oxyrhynchus (A) amulet. An *umthakathi* can use supernatural power, in the form of familiars, for evil ends, while an *inyanga* can use the supernatural power inherent in *imithi* to cure a person. This discussion of the supernatural as the source of power leads into the next section of this chapter, dealing with the conception of power itself.

#### 4.4. Power

As has been seen with the Zulu material, what lies at the heart of the understandings of protection against evil and evil itself is the complex discourse about power – what power is, how it can be harnessed, and why it works. Unlike the Zulu material, there is no extensive discussion in these amulets about exactly how and why power operates in their contexts, but this is again why the comparative part of this dissertation is necessary – to help flesh out an understanding of something which we are unable to interrogate through something which we can. This having been said, the amulets do speak quite strongly about the nature of power. Firstly, in common with the Zulu material, the amulets speak about the discourse of knowledge as power. Secondly, both *comparanda* display an idea of Respect and Relationship as Power.

##### 4.4.1. Knowledge as Power

This discourse, centring on the use of knowledge as a tool of power, whether to access supernatural power or to use that which is inherent in the words, is common to all of the amulets. In a basic sense, the idea is using knowledge of the hidden, arcane, or appropriate in order to conquer that which is evil. The first aspect of this discourse is the use of knowledge of scripture or liturgy as a tool for fighting evil, an aspect which is apparent in the Antioch, and Berytus *lamellae*. This is shown by the use of formulaic phrases which rely on scripture, such as the invocation  $t\$/ = / \text{deci}\# = \text{xeir}[i\backslash] / \text{tou} = \text{q}(\text{eo})\text{u} = \text{kai}\backslash / \text{to}\backslash \text{e})/\text{ma to}[u = ] / \text{X}(\text{risto})\text{u} = \text{kai}\backslash \text{toi} = [j] / \text{a})\text{nge}/\text{loi} - /j \text{a}(u)\text{th} = j \text{kai}\backslash / \text{i})\text{klhsi}/\#$  in the Antioch amulet (6-13), or the use of the phrase  $\text{o}(\text{ qeo}\backslash j )\text{Abraa}\backslash\text{m} / \text{kai}\backslash \text{o}(\text{ qeo}\backslash j )\text{Isaa}\backslash\text{k} \text{kai}\backslash \text{o}(\text{ q-}/\text{eo}\backslash j )\text{lakw}/\text{b}$  as part of the Berytus text (71-73). The former finds its clearest referent in the Nicene Creed – Jesus is said to be  $\text{k}a\text{qez}o/\text{men}o[j] \text{e})\text{n} \text{deci}\# = \text{tou} = \text{Patro}/j$ , although Kotansky makes the point (after tracing the use of the baptismal formulae in the Patristic  $\text{eu})\text{xai}/$ ) that

the presence of the technical  $\text{a})\text{naxw}/\text{rhson}$  with the ecclesiastical formula, ‘... by the right hand of God, the blood of Christ, his angels, and the Church’ – though not the

set Trinitarian formula of later Christendom – certainly gives an example of an early liturgical exorcism.

(1994: 178)

There are also clear referents for the use of the ‘blood of Christ’ formula in the early Eucharistic prayers, particularly in the *qei=a leitourgi/a tou= a(gi/ou )lwa/nnou tou=xrusosto/mou*, where the text reads:

... tou=to/ e)sti **to\ ai(=ma/ mou, to\ th=j Kainh=j**  
 Diaqh/khj, to\ u(pe\r u(mw=n kai\ pollw=n e)kxuno/menon, **ei)j a)/fesin**  
**a(martiw=n.**<sup>234</sup>

The First Eucharistic Prayer from the Latin Mass renders this as follows:

... hic est enim calix **Sanguinis** mei novi et aeterni testamenti, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur **in remissionem peccatorum.**<sup>235</sup>

In a similar way, the use of Hippocratic medical terminology in the Fayum amulet also relies on the belief that knowledge of the seemingly arcane ‘liturgy’ of the *i)atroi/* will be a powerful tool against evil.

The second aspect of this discourse focuses more on the *praxis* than on the *logos*, and the best example of this is the amulet from Fayum, with its carefully laid out textual blocks and use of images and symbols. In this case, the knowledge of the correct way of writing, not just of what should be written, is a very important indicator of the idea that knowing ‘how’ to write seems to be as important as knowing ‘what’ to write. Even if one looks at the less organised texts, it is clear that writing plays a crucial role in the approach to the supernatural and in the accessing of power for one’s intended purpose.

Just as the act of writing is a key to power, so too are the correctly written names of the gods, angels, demons, and other supernatural entities invoked in the amulets. The importance of knowing the correct way to address the supernatural is shown by the inclusion of languages

<sup>234</sup> *The Order of the Divine and Holy Liurgy* 1987.

<sup>235</sup> *Missale Romanum* 1938: 408.

other than Greek - such as Coptic, Hebrew and Aramaic – as well as the various attempts to approximate the correct pronunciation of the supernatural entities belonging to Semitic language groups – such as the various spellings of ‘Ibis’ in the Athribis amulet, and the same variance in the spelling of the tetragrammaton in the Fayum amulet. These names also sometimes seem to have gained power as words in themselves, divorced from their original context and acting not as invocations but as incantations. In this way the Berytus amulet contains references to them as a(/gia kai\ ei)sxura\ kai\ du-/nata\ o)no/mata (108 – 109), and in the Oxyrhynchus (A) amulet the names of an offensive demon are used in a defensive context – a point which will shortly be discussed further. Finally, with regard to names, the knowledge of the true name of a demon is a key to the exorcism of that demon, as is seen in the Antioch *lamella*. Another important tool for accessing power in this regard is the use of the vowels, the ultimately potent symbols of the creative voice and the ordering of the universe. By pronouncing them, one is gaining power – but it is only through knowing their arrangement, how many times to pronounce them, and where, that one can gain true power.

Related to the knowledge of the correct way to address the supernatural is the knowledge of one’s place in relation to them. In the Berytus amulet this comes through very strongly in the lists of hierarchical relationships in the heavens and over various provinces on earth. The importance of this is that one knows where one stands, and the proper channels to use when communicating with the powerful supernatural and asking for its help.

Finally, as has already briefly been mentioned, knowledge of efficient precedents is a key to unlocking power. In the Athribis amulet this comes through strongly in the use of the Horus-*Thoth* mythological *exemplum* as the context for protection, while in the Antioch *lamella* the use of Solomonic exorcism ritual in a Christian setting operates in a similar way. One of the most striking uses of this knowledge of efficient precedent, however, is in the Oxyrhynchus (A) amulet, where an offensive spell perceived to be highly effective is used in a defensive setting. In a similar way the Fayum amulet makes use of the *vox mystica* Seseng[e]r Barfar[an]ghj (2, 5), which is also used in offensive settings. This ‘fighting fire with fire’ is a display of knowledge of the effective *formulae* from heterogeneric sources, and is thus important for an understanding of the discourses around power, as it shows that understandings about power are not limited to the use of that power in one specific way.

The discussion of knowledge as power is to some extent inherent in the vocabulary of *isiZulu*, and particularly in relation to two specific families of words – those around *inyanga*, and those around *umthakathi*. An *inyanga* is in its primary meaning a traditional medical practitioner who (usually) makes use of *imithi* in order to cure his patients – this idea is backed up by the understanding given by the respondents in this dissertation. All of the dictionary definitions state that, in addition to the specific usage of this noun, it also denotes an ‘expert, one skilled in a particular profession’,<sup>236</sup> or else ‘a person who has knowledge that is ‘deep’ about a specific subject, an expert or one gifted and experienced in something’.<sup>237</sup> *Umthakathi* has the usual meaning of ‘a person who kills others with *imithi*’, or a ‘witch or wizard or one who harms by occult practices’,<sup>238</sup> and the other words in this family have associated meanings. However, it is of interest that this word and its relatives also have the meaning of a ‘surprisingly clever or skilful person’,<sup>239</sup> and that *ubuthakathi* in particular can mean ‘a skill in a specific area’.<sup>240</sup> On a purely lexical level, then, the two opposed poles of the world of ‘charm and counter-charm’ have at their heart the same tool – knowledge. Thus the battle between those wanting to harm and those wanting to heal or protect are using the same tool for different purposes. In terms of the interviews, the importance placed on going to someone ‘who knows’ could not possibly be understated. Nt frequently mentions this idea,<sup>241</sup> and E and M also continually emphasise the fact that they only ‘know’ because of their relationship with the *amadlozi*, and that that knowledge is the source of their power to heal and protect.<sup>242</sup> No, in her role as a diviner, also places emphasis on the power she uses through ‘knowing’ what is wrong with a person, and ‘knowing’ how to heal them.<sup>243</sup> Finally, strong emphasis is also placed on ‘knowing’ what the proper or traditional way of doing things is, particularly in the face of westernising and Christianising influences.<sup>244</sup> This idea leads into the next point about discourses around power – that power is realised through respect, through *ukuhlonipha*.

#### 4.4.2. Respect as Power

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<sup>236</sup> Doke et al., s.v.

<sup>237</sup> ‘umuntu onolwazi olujulile ngento ethile, ingcweti.’ Nyembezi, s.v.

<sup>238</sup> ‘umuntu obulala abanye ngemithi, umkhunkuli, hodoba.’ Nyembezi, s.v.

<sup>239</sup> Bryant, s.v.

<sup>240</sup> Mbatha, s.v.; cf. Bryant, s.v.; Doke et al., s.v. and Nyembezi, s.v.

<sup>241</sup> E.g. Nt-2-7.

<sup>242</sup> E.g. E-3-1; M-2-6.

<sup>243</sup> No-3-1. cf. Nt-3-2, M-3-2.

<sup>244</sup> E and No are strong proponents of this in particular.

The second discourse around power has to do with respect – respecting one’s traditions. However, this idea is not the end of it – in order to realise and utilise power, one must (in the Zulu conception) respect the *amadlozi* as the source of power, and one must respect oneself and one’s body.<sup>245</sup> Through respecting the *amadlozi*, one is protected more as one has a better relationship with them and vice versa.<sup>246</sup> As a practitioner, the respect one shows to the *amadlozi* is reciprocated through their intervention in earthly affairs – either through recourse themselves to *uNkulunkulu*, or through granting a portion of their supernatural knowledge, whether about cause or about cure, to the *isangoma* or the *inyanga*.<sup>247</sup> Through respecting one’s body, one is enacting a kind of microcosm of the greater respect one has for other people, which, the respondents argue, has a beneficial impact on one’s life.<sup>248</sup> Thus, to respect is to have the power to influence health – either of the body or of the relationships which exist in the wider community.

How is this idea represented in the amulets? At first glance, it is not apparent that there is any sense of a need to respect the supernatural. However, having looked at the Zulu ideas here, what is apparent is the importance of certain formulaic utterances in the texts of the amulet. Firstly, the act of acknowledging the power of Christ’s right hand, his blood, and the church, Basileos in the Antioch *lamella*, is acknowledging the power of those three things, and showing respect for them. In showing respect to them, he is keying in to the Greek religious idea of *xa/rij*– that human beings and the gods need to exist in a reciprocal relationship with each other.<sup>249</sup> This same idea is present in the amulet from Athribis, particularly in the iteration of the bearer as the ‘true priest’ of the god (9). In the Oxyrhynchus (B) amulet, the dynamic of *ku/rioj* and *dou=loj* also emphasises the subservience of humans in their dealings with the supernatural. Similarly, the iteration of the extended hierarchy of angels in the Berytus *lamella* is founded on a relationship not dissimilar from the relationship portrayed in Chryses’ prayer to Apollo in *Iliad* I: 36 - 42, or Sappho’s hymn to Aphrodite – ‘I call upon you by your sacred names, and I know you, and I respect you, and so therefore please do this for me’.

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<sup>245</sup> E-2-5.

<sup>246</sup> E-1-8, E-1-9, E-2-5, M-1-3, No-1-2, No-1-5, No-2-1, No-2-2, No-2-3, No-2-5, Nt-1-6, Nt-2-4.

<sup>247</sup> E.g. Nt-2-4.

<sup>248</sup> See E-2-5 in particular.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. Seaford 1998: 1-14.

With regard to respecting one's body, however, there is no evidence in the amulets of this idea, and particularly no evidence of it as being an intricate part in the process of protection and healing.

#### 4.5. Conclusion

How do we reconcile the similarities and differences in the binary constructions, and how do we understand the binaries themselves? In order to understand the binaries, it may be useful to ask how they can be conceived to work in their context. In answering this question, it would be easy enough to argue that they represent irreconcilable, completely opposed ideas, but there is a different path to understanding them. The way of approaching the binaries comes from two sources. The first source is an idea best expressed by E, that

*ububi* is a thing which exists, and we may never end it, it will never finish, but we should not say that *ububi* is a thing of Satan. Because this Satan - we have never seen him. *ububi* is a thing which is created so that life is not boring, you see? Life is constantly surprising - you see this and you see that and you see that. These are ways of living - because all cannot ever be *hle* - we cannot all be doctors!<sup>250</sup>

The second source of a conceptual tool for understanding the binaries comes from their situation in a context of healing, and specifically the medical idea of homeostasis. In both cultures, the idea of balance between the various elements of the body was and is well-entrenched.<sup>251</sup> If we use these two tools, we can view the binaries not as 'sickness' and 'health,' but rather as extremes which need to be balanced, rather than eradicated or negated. The balancing of or negotiation between the apparent binaries is not, therefore, a simple antidote-type relationship, but rather a harmonisation of opposites to create a balance or wellness. Generally, what can be proposed is that the healing or protection offered, whether in the amulets or in the Zulu conceptions, is actually cosmogenic or cosmoiatic, and that the offer is one of re-working identity and bodily cohesion or harmony in response to the stark binaries appearing in the phenomena of sickness and misfortune. The positive side of the binary is only positive when conceived in relation to the negative. After all, what use is full bright light without shadows, bluntness without sharpness, and the benefits of reconnection and mutual beneficence without the negative opposites of disconnection and mutual

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<sup>250</sup> E-3-2.

<sup>251</sup> See Lambert 1995 for a comparative discussion.

maleficence. Perhaps what should rather be focussed on is not the boundary of Evil, but rather the diplomacy and relationship that constantly exists between the two supposedly oppositional forces of Good and Evil.

Moving on to look at the issue of similarities and differences in broad conceptions of binary relationships in the two *comparanda*, what can basically be suggested is that similar binary relationships may be the product of similar environments, similar social stresses, a common linguistic or cultural source, or direct contact. There is definitely an argument to be made for similarities in the environments or contexts of the ancient Mediterranean and modern South Africa, as well as for similarities in social stresses, particularly given the correlations in terms of conversion to Christianity, linguistic fusion, and political uncertainty. Only the most tenuous of arguments may, in my opinion, be proposed regarding commonalities in linguistic or cultural ancestry – although the spectre of diffusionist theory still lingers – and the same is true for theories about direct contact. The argument for similar responses to similar social stresses forms the basis for the discussion in the next chapter.

## Chapter 5 – Conclusions

### 5.1. Grand Narratives and Popular Discourses

The amulets and the interviews are artefacts of a greater socio-religious context, popular discourses which construct, and are in turn constructed by, the grand narratives which make up the fabric of everyday existence. In order to understand them in their context, it is necessary to move beyond the intense focus of individual voices or texts, towards the greater text of which they are a part. To begin with, it is necessary to look at the context of the amulets as a whole in their religious milieu, focusing most specifically on those elements which pertain most closely to the apparent discourses of the amulets. Having done that, this chapter will outline some of the factors in the contemporary Zulu context, highlighting some of the intersections between the grand narratives of these two apparently disparate worlds.

The socio-religious context of the third and fourth centuries CE in the eastern Mediterranean is one of conflict, compromise, and codification. The systems of religious thought which arose in these two centuries offer a glimpse of the struggles faced by a world in flux, a world that was battling to come to terms with change.<sup>252</sup> In the end, the victor in these struggles was Christianity, orthodox and codified by the Council of Nicaea (325 CE). In addition to this theological change, control of the church in both East and West was enforced by a powerful adaptation of the existing imperial bureaucracy to the task of catering to the needs of the many different peoples occupying this vast expanse of territory. But to tell the story of the triumph of Christianity is to forget the many more localised ‘heresies’ subsequently rejected by the victorious orthodoxy. Until fairly recently, with the discovery of the Qumran and Nag Hammadi codices, “our knowledge of early Christian heresies depend[ed] almost wholly on the writings of their self-appointed orthodox enemies”.<sup>253</sup> With the discovery of these libraries of heretical writings, modern scholarship is able to interact with and analyse the writings and beliefs of heretical groups without the polemical bias of their opponents.<sup>254</sup> These heresies, more than the orthodoxy established in the third and fourth centuries of the Common Era, seem to offer an understanding of the world-views prevalent in the amulets.

For this dissertation, the first of these ‘heresies’ is that of Gnosticism, a formulation predominately Christian but different in areas which offered a very real challenge to

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<sup>252</sup> See Gager 1975 for a fuller discussion of the context of early Christianity.

<sup>253</sup> Humphries 2006: 160.

<sup>254</sup> See Klauck 2000; Luttikhuisen 2003; Humphries 2006.

canonical Christianity. At its heart, Gnostic belief centred on a problem which Burkitt elucidates as follows:

If there be one God, the ultimate Source of everything, how does this variegated and partly evil world come about? How can One become Two, and part at least of the Two be in opposition to its original?

(1939a: 469)

This formulation of Gnosticism's questioning of the very fabric of an emerging Christian world-view seems to square with the over-arching question of this thesis – what is evil, and how do we go about protecting ourselves from it? Does it come from God, and, if it does, then to whom do we turn to negate it? Overall, as Humphries (2006: 173) suggests, “in the various Nag Hammadi versions [of the world's creation] it is not the supreme pre-existing deity but a lesser and imperfect creator god who [creates the universe]”. Looking more specifically at the evolution of this idea, the question of the origin of evil was first answered by Valentinus, in his dizzyingly complex conception of the universe proceeding from the original Forefather, leading to the creation of a heavenly hierarchy or *Pleroma*, ultimately involving the creations of antithetical pairs of Aeons (ibid.: 478-9). The last pair created was that of Design and *Sophia*, and it was this *Sophia* that complicated the scheme created by the original Forefather, as her

unauthorized passion [to have direct intercourse with the original Forefather] somehow made her fecund with a formless monster... [and] her monstrous offspring... fell outside the heavenly Society (the *Pleroma*), and became the cause of this sensible and material world.

(ibid.: 470-471)

As Burkitt proceeds to point out, Valentinus' system to account for the existence of the world and the presence of Good and Evil is similar to the account of the Fall in Catholic doctrine, but it still fails to answer many questions and can really be dismissed as 'erratic', especially since there is 'no intellectual necessity for the fall of Sophia' (ibid.: 471, 472). Valentinus also held the prevalent Gnostic belief of *soma-sema*, that the body is a tomb imprisoning a

divine essence which yearns to be reunited with the original Forefather.<sup>255</sup> Valentinus' successor, Basilides, conceived of a world composed of an intensely complex system of 365 'heavens', devolving into nothingness, which Burkitt dismisses as "nothing more than an attempt to acquit the Heavenly Power of responsibility for letting this material concrete world come into existence" (ibid.: 473). Burkitt's comment on this, relying as it does on the polemical views offered by the Christian orthodoxy, is nonetheless fairly persuasive, and it is small wonder that neither of these theories, broadly representative as they are of Gnostic thought, were sufficient to the task of answering the problem of the existence of evil and the sensible world posed by society at the time, as they are an intellectual response grounded in Greco-Roman philosophy.

The answer which proved the most compelling was to arise in the vibrant context of Syriac Christianity, centring in the city of Edessa, as a development of the teachings of Bardaisan, who believed that

God is not the sole *Ithya*, the sole self-existent Being or Entity, besides God there are the four pure substances of Light, Wind, Fire and Water, and the foul Dark substance... Originally these Entities were in a happy state of equilibrium: then something occurred whereby they were hurled together and mixed, but God sent His Word and cut off the Dark from contact with the pure substances, and from that mixture which came into being from the pure substances and the Dark, their enemy, He constituted this World and set it in the midst, that no further mixture might be made from them.

(1939b: 497)

As with the Gnostic interpretation of reality, Bardaisan's conception has at its heart a pre-creation Fall from a state of harmony or equilibrium, which is something that Mani incorporated far more successfully into what Burkitt calls "the strangest of all Christian heresies" (ibid.: 504). Strange it may have been, but it was an intensely attractive option for the inhabitants of the Mediterranean world, with traces of its influence spreading as far afield as China, India, and North Africa. Mani's cult, Manichaeism, became for a time the greatest

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<sup>255</sup> See Klauck 2000: 468 for a fuller discussion of this.

rival to Christianity, and the struggle between the two continued well into the fifth century CE (ibid.: 504).

What was it about Manichaeism that proved so attractive to its context? In contrast to the philosophical or intellectual options offered by the Gnostics and Bardaisan, Manichaeism had at its heart a simple idea – the ‘Two Principles’ and the ‘Three Moments,’ which Burkitt describes as follows:

the Two Principles, or Roots, are the Light and the Dark. The contrast between the Light and the Dark is the fundamental distinction for Manichee thought, more fundamental than that between Good and Bad, or God and Man. The Three Moments are the Past, the Present, and the Future. Light and Dark are two absolutely different eternal Existences. In the beginning they were separate, as they should be. But in the Past the Dark made an incursion on the Light and some of the Light became mingled with the Dark, as it is still in the Present, in this world around us; nevertheless a means of refining this Light from the Dark has been called into being, and of protecting the whole realm of Light from any further invasion, so that in the Future Light and Dark will be happily separated. Light and Dark are the proper designations of the two Principles, but to Mani with the idea of Light was conjoined everything that was orderly, peaceful, intelligent, clear, while with that of Dark was conjoined everything that was anarchic, turbulent, material, muddy.

(ibid.: 505)

Thus the attraction of Manichaeism was that it “merged Christian ideas and narratives with Near Eastern traditions of a cosmic conflict between good and evil, and light and darkness”.<sup>256</sup> What should become immediately apparent upon reading both Burkitt’s and Humphries’ explanation of Manichaean thought is how much of it intersects with the ideas encountered in the amulets, not to mention the Zulu material. The use of the image and invocation of Horus in the Athribis amulet, and the solar deities invoked in the Fayum amulet, seem to key in quite directly with an idea of cosmic conflict between light and dark, and the many different binary relationships discussed in Chapter 4 also offer strong correlations to Manichaean thought. The intersections between Zulu thought and Manichaean

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<sup>256</sup> Humphries 2006: 163.

principles will be discussed shortly, but first of all it is necessary to tease out the reasons for the occurrence of this type of concept of reality.

As Burkitt suggests, Manichaean thought is “a serious attempt to explain the presence of evil in the world we live in” (1939: 514), which is at the heart of this dissertation. The amulets are, like Manichaeism, products of a society in which the old established ways of thinking were in a state of flux, which Smith (2003: 21-38) characterises as the material manifestations of the three major changes that occurred in Late Antiquity – the new Geography, the new Cosmography, and the new Polity. Each of these changes – relocation and emigration from ancestral homes, renegotiation of ideas of the Cosmos made necessary by new religious thought, and shifts in government and political allegiance occasioned by conquest and revolution – is a product of, and in turn produces, the context of the amulets. These conflicts and changes lie at the heart of many of the features of the amulets – such as the appropriation of religious symbolism from many different traditions (for example the use of the planet Zeta in the same amulet as the Hebrew YHWH in the Fayum amulet), as well as the use of a multitude of languages (for example the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Coptic words on the Athribis amulet). It is possible that the solutions to these challenging shifts in reality offered by the Gnostics, Bardaisan, Heretical Christianity and Manichaeism, are intellectual interpretations of a popular discourse around the nature of the world. What is particularly intriguing is how a strikingly similar philosophical interpretation of reality is offered by such temporally disparate cultures – the intellectual and popular conceptions of the Greek-speaking amulet-users and the popular voices from contemporary *isiZulu*-speaking South Africans. This informs the discussion in the next section.

The context of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first century *amaZulu* is also a context of a change in Geography, Cosmography and Polity. The first Christian European missionaries arrived in Natal in the early 19th century, and began to convert large sections of the population,<sup>257</sup> a conversion from a socio-religious context based in ancestor veneration to one that is essentially monotheistic and alien – in that it was imported *in toto* from a Western context, in a different language, by a culture that was technologically more advanced. It is from this point that we have the first written accounts of Zulu culture, as has been mentioned previously. This contact was by no means a sensitive one, resulting in varying degrees of

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<sup>257</sup> Cf. Green (2008); Of interest here is also the different missionary discourses offered by the Protestant missionaries in the Eastern Cape and the largely Catholic missionary presence in Natal.

contamination of the indigenous discourses about spirituality and identity. The inherent power dynamics of the relationship meant that the traditions of the *amaZulu* were often regarded as superstition, and that the *amaZulu* were encouraged to gain the power of the invading culture through a rejection of those superstitions and an adoption of the missionaries' religious and social norms. In particular, the influence of the prevailing doctrine of some of the missionaries had a profound and long-lasting impact on Zulu identity. As de Kock puts it, referring to Lovedale Mission in the Eastern Cape as a case in point, but still applicable to the context of Zululand in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,

barring minor or major shifts in attitude and strategy among Lovedale missionaries during the nineteenth century, the dualistically conceived prefiguration of the world as a (metaphorical) battleground of good and evil, and the many subsidiary metaphors attendant upon this Manichean prefiguration, remain consistently evident.

(1996: 82)

The fact that de Kock refers specifically to the Manichaeian influences on nineteenth century missionaries in South Africa offers a tantalising connection between the contexts of the amulets and the interview respondents. Is it possible that the binary oppositions so apparent in the respondents' discussions are the result of contamination with a form of missionary Christianity grounded in a "dyadic cognitive frame" (ibid.: 88) that pervaded every aspect of early interactions between European settlers and the *amaZulu*? It is highly possible, especially given the number of *amaZulu* who converted to Christianity in the nineteenth century (cf. Laband 2008: 87-96). However, there are aspects of *isiZulu* which are not the product of missionary influence, such as the vocabulary of sharpness-bluntness discussed in Chapter 4, as well as the conception of skill and knowledge discussed in the same chapter. What can be acknowledged here is that there is a definite intersection between the colonial missionary discourse of dualism and the indigenous discourses of the *amaZulu*. Whether this dualism was perceived by the missionaries or imposed by them remains an area of research, which cannot be dealt with in more detail here.

In addition to the religious contamination, and its related uprooting of traditional Zulu religious practice, the political order of the *amaZulu* was subsequently completely overturned in a disastrous war with the British Empire in 1879, after which all autonomy was stripped from them (Laband 2008: 87-96). In 1906 the *amaZulu* were further crushed in a rebellion led

by one of their chiefs, Bambatha, who was protesting the oppressive laws imposed upon the amaZulu by the British colonial government (Lambert 2008b: 221; la Hausse de Lalouvière 2008: 256). After this, industrialisation led to a further breakdown in the social fabric of the amaZulu, and its attendant cultural and religious integrity (la Hausse de Lalouvière 2008: 258). Thus, in the short span of one hundred years of contact, the same context of religious, political and geographical upheaval evident in the provenance of the amulets can be observed very clearly. But these hundred years only contribute partially to the picture of similar social pressures, in much the same way as a chronological survey of the years 200 to 300 CE would only tell half the story of third and fourth centuries chosen as a selection criterion for the amulets.

In the years between the Bambatha rebellion and the victory of the National Party in 1948 which signifies the beginning of *Apartheid* proper, the fortunes of the amaZulu were mixed. Among the amaZulu who migrated to the urban centres of Durban and Johannesburg, there was a degree of cosmopolitanism which developed, leading to contact with new social frameworks and theories (la Hausse de Lalouvière 2008: 256-272), but for those who remained in the rural heartland of Zululand, privation and increasing lack of autonomy made life progressively more difficult (Lambert 2008b: 214-221; McClendon 2008: 281-290). In this context of both migration, with its attendant cosmopolitanism, and isolation, with its attendant conservatism, the tensions between traditional and adapted responses to social stresses begin to grow. Unlike the previous century of contact, these years give rise to discourses which are at times at great variance with each other – much like the discussions offered by the Zulu participants, who condemn Western influences on ‘traditional’ Zulu culture while adapting their traditional techniques to serve non-Zulu clientèle.

During *Apartheid* the amaZulu, like all of the indigenous cultures of South Africa, were oppressed politically, and the practice of their belief-system, Sintu, was if not actively discouraged definitely not encouraged, in favour of Christian conversion (Sithole 2008: 331-340; Waetjen & Maré 2008: 352-362). *isiZulu*, their language, was promoted, but only as a means to indoctrinate the amaZulu into a state of subservience and later, the ‘separate but equal’ doctrine of the *Apartheid* regime, while the resurgence of Zulu nationalism under the Inkatha Freedom Party complicated matters further (Sithole 2008: 331-340; Waetjen & Maré 2008: 352-362). The resurgence of nationalism brought with it an attendant emphasis on tradition, which was used as a kind of prop to the ambitions of various political leaders

(Sithole 2008: 331-340; Waetjen & Marè 2008: 352-362; Piper 2008: 395-406). In fact, it is entirely possible that much of what is considered ‘traditional’ among the *amaZulu* today is in fact an invention of the nationalism of such organisations as the Inkatha Freedom Party. This remains to be researched, but should be kept in mind as one evaluates the concept of ‘traditional’ medicine.

It was only in 1994, after nearly two centuries of oppression, that the *amaZulu* were recognized – both in their freedom to practice their religion and in the recognition of their language as one of the eleven official languages of South Africa. This new freedom was complicated by the various political dynamics offered by enfranchisement, which enabled the *amaZulu* to choose not simply to go along with the localised nationalist party that had been the dominant entity in the Bantustan of KwaZulu during *Apartheid* – the Inkatha Freedom Party (Piper 2008: 395-406). However, this choice was complicated by the implication of the traditional leaders of the *amaZulu* in various political organisations, and the further use of ‘tradition’ as a prop for political agendas.

But how does all of this affect the way that the *amaZulu* might conceive of evil? The present-day *amaZulu* are also in a state of religious, political and, as a result of forced removals and other human rights violations, geographical upheaval, as the amulet-users were. They are also trying to find their way through a maze of differing discourses – simultaneously being offered a ‘return to tradition’ (Marcus 2008: 536-544; Lambert 2008a: 545-553) and the promise of a fully detribalised existence as part of a global community. They too, much like the amulet-users, are finding themselves constrained by the political landscape, which at once enables and disables their cultural freedom through the sometimes contradictory Constitution of South Africa (Lambert 2008a: 551).

And so, if the argument for common responses to a similar context or similar stresses is valid, a possible application of the perceived correlations between Ancient Greek and contemporary Zulu conceptions of evil is to propose further theories, or else adjust existing ones, about common human responses to all stresses, and particularly to the stress of religious change and political upheaval. However, this research and its results cannot claim to be fully generalizable, and any theories based upon it, therefore, would be unlikely to remain unquestioned. Rather, what this research may point to is a growing understanding of the utility of our own context for the clarification of the numerous puzzles with which we are

faced in our interaction with the ancient world. Where the majority of classical research seeks to understand the ancient world from the perspective of a world which is largely based in a rationalist, scientific, capitalist, and predominantly Christian paradigm, our context, and the potency of the comparative endeavour, is to allow us to view the ancient world with eyes that see the world in a way not entirely dissimilar from those through which its inhabitants may have viewed themselves. This research does not entirely allow for a full and unobstructed view of the world beyond the boundaries of the predominant Western paradigm, but if it is taken together with other research already undertaken by my colleagues at UKZN, as well as others as UCT, what is rapidly becoming possibly is a South African, and more generally an African, response to the ancient world.<sup>258</sup> This response is one which offers a view that is situated in a world where magic, animal sacrifice, divination, and orality are the norm, rather than the exception. Therefore, this research not only offers a greater insight into the concept of evil in late antiquity in a small selection of magical artefacts, but also strengthens the case for studying Zulu religion, language, and societal organisation in order to understand the ancient world more fully.

## **5.2. The Comparative Endeavour**

What has to be acknowledged is that there are limitations to this research, either on its own or as part of a genre of comparison. Every act of comparison, and in actual fact every piece of research, runs the risk of either being too objective or too subjective. While I speak *isiZulu* and can translate ancient Greek, I am neither a modern Zulu nor an ancient Greek. I can never say for certain what their conceptions or thoughts are, but what I can do is observe, deconstruct, question, and offer considered opinions on those things. Some may see my status as an outsider to both groups as a disadvantage, and others might see it as an advantage, in that I can possibly offer a different perspective on something which they, inside their own paradigm, may not be able to see.

The comparative method serves not to fabricate relationships, nor to create structures, but to highlight those already existing structures and relationships that may not have been apparent. Some may argue that this is an artifice, that it is superimposing unnatural or biased perspectives onto material. The response of this research to that sort of criticism is to point out that at every turn an effort has been made to use the words (whether written or spoken) of

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<sup>258</sup> Scholars in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa are also engaged in this endeavour (cf. Hardwick 2007).

the original texts or people in order to analyse, group, and understand the material. Also, another point to make in this regard is that sometimes all that one can do is acknowledge one's limitations and proceed regardless. So, if we move past the criticism and look at these revealed structures, in doing so, we see that what the Zulu material has done is that it has facilitated the crossing of a boundary – the boundary or limit of our Western understanding of the ancient world. We cannot simply be a colony of Western thought. We need to cross the boundary, cross the threshold of which we are so terrified, or which comforts us so much, ever aware of the necessary *pedis offensio* committed in any act of comparison or translation, but nevertheless brave enough to venture into the other country on the other side of the boundary. To answer the challenge posed by Scourfield, we have to set aside our “cultural jealousies and suspicions” (1992: 54) in order to embark on this journey. Hopefully, this dissertation has managed to accomplish this, at least in part.

### **5.3. Gains and Future Research**

This dissertation set out to compare two cultures separated by vast expanses of time, language, and geographical distance. The main questions of this research focused on three areas - the nature of evil as constructed by the amulet-users of the third and fourth centuries CE, then the construction of evil by contemporary *amaZulu*, and finally a comparison of the two cultures' constructions, highlighting similarities and differences. In terms of specific gains, this research has elucidated a number of key structural intersections between the two cultures, in the dualistic construction of evil, and has hopefully made some headway into understanding both the amulets' and the *amaZulu*'s constructions of evil. The dissertation has also begun to extrapolate causes for these intersections, in theorising that they are part of a common 'popular' response to a number of societal stresses and changes. Focusing more closely on the amulets, the analysis of them has led to a conception of them as valid expressions of the 'voiceless' in Late Antiquity, but this analysis needs to be enlarged to include a greater span of time. If a greater number of amulets were to be analysed in the same way as those included here, then what might be possible is a more detailed and nuanced understanding of the idea of evil as it changed over time. Looking at the interviews, one area in which this research needs to be expanded is also in terms of a larger selection of respondents. Another would be a closer examination of the conceptions of evil over a greater time period, possibly from first contact with European settlers right down to the present day. This is a massive undertaking, but it would help to gain a greater and more nuanced understanding of the way in which societal changes affect socio-religious thought and

identity among the *amaZulu*, a point which might indeed be extended to fill in the *lacuna* offered by the amulets. In undertaking this daunting endeavour, Africa and African scholarship would be able to offer their own unique interpretation of the Classical world – perhaps an interpretation which would revolutionise our understanding of Late Antiquity.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A – Interview Schedules and Informed Consent

#### 1. Interview Schedule for ‘Patients’:

(Orthography and use of vocabulary, as well as terms of formal address and hlonipha (respect) will differ or will be adhered to depending on the context)

Possible Questions to be asked:

##### 1. Personal Details:

Uhlalaphi? / Uwakhephi?

(Where do you live?)

Wenza muphi umsebenzi khona?

(What sort of work do you do there?)

##### 2. Causes of Illness:

Umuntu uguliswa yini?

(What causes a person to become ill?)

Kuqamukaphi ukubaneshwa?

(Where does misfortune/bad luck come from?)

##### 3. Medical/ Methods of Cure:

Uma ugula, uwenzani?

(If you are ill, what do you do?)

Uma uneshwa, wenzani?

(If you have bad luck, what do you do?)

Muthi muni owusebenzisayo?

(What sort of medicines do you use?)

##### 4. Methods of Prevention:

Umuntu nomabani engenzani ukuzivikela ishwa?

(What can you or anyone do to protect themselves from misfortune?)

Zisebenza inhloboni lezinyathelo ezokuvikela nezokulapha nezokucima ishwa?

(How do these methods of protection or healing or removing misfortune work?)

Nombono wakho, amakhambi awomvikelo asebenza inhloboni?

(In your opinion, how do protective medicines work?)

##### 5. Rationale underlying the use of Protective methods:

Ubani noma kuwiyini okunamandla awokulapha noma awokuvikela ishwa?

(Who or what has the power to heal or to protect a person from misfortune?)

Nombono wakho, ‘ububi’ buyini?

(In your opinion, what is ‘evil’?)

The rest of the questions will be contingent on what is said in the interview. The interviews are open-ended and flexible, and are meant to allow the interviewee to speak for herself.

## 2. Interview Schedule for Professionals (izinyanga or izangoma)

(Orthography and use of vocabulary, as well as terms of formal address and hlonipha (respect) will differ or will be adhered to depending on the context)

Possible Questions to be asked:

### 1. Profession:

Umsebenzi wakho imuphi?

(What work do you do?)

Wenzani umsebenzi onjani? / Ngaphakathi kwokusebenza, wenzani?

(What do you do in the course of your work?)

Ukhethe nini ukuqubekha nalenhlobo yomsebenzi? / Uqale nini ukusebenza ngalenhlobo yomsebenzi?

(When did you begin to follow this type of employment?)

### 2. Causes of Illness:

Kuwiyini okubanga isifo kumuntu?

(What causes a person to become ill?)

Ukuvelelwa ingozi eyakabantu kuqamukaphi?

(Where does people's misfortune come from?)

### 3. Methods of Cure:

Ulandela yiphi indlela yokwelapha umuntu noma ukubuyisa inhlanhla yakhe?

(What method do you use to heal a person or to return his/her fortune?)

Zisiza kanjani noma ngobani lezinqumo ezokulapha nokubuyisa inhlanhla?

(How or why do these methods of healing or of returning fortune work?)

### 4. Methods of Protection:

Umuntu engazivikela nhloboni izifo noma amashwa?

(How should a person who is ill or who has bad luck protect him/herself?)

Usebenzisa inhloboni yemithi uma uvikela umuntu kwizifo noma kwamashwa?

(What methods or what medicines do you use to heal people or to return good fortune to them?)

### 5. Rationale underlying the use of Protective methods:

Kuwiyini noma kungabani ophiwe amandla awokulapha umuntu noma awokumvikela obubi?

(Who or what has the power to heal or to protect a person from evil?)

The rest of the questions will be contingent on what is said in the interview. The interviews are open-ended and flexible, and are meant to allow the interviewee to speak for herself.

### 3. Interview Schedule for ‘Patients’ Modified for Nt’s interview

#### 1. Personal Details:

Iminingwane

Uhlalaphi? / Uwakhephi?

Wenza muphi umsebenzi khona?

#### 2. Causes of Illness:

Ukubangwa kwesifo

Umuntu uguliswa yini?

Kuqamukaphi ukubaneshwa?

#### 3. Medical/ Methods of Cure:

izindlela zokwelapha/ zokukhipha ibhadi

Uma ulandela amasiko, uma ugula, uwenzani?

Uma uneshwa, wenzani?

umuthi muni owusebenzisayo?

#### 4. Methods of Prevention:

Izindlela zokuzivikela

Umuntu nomabani engenzani ukuzivikela noma ishwa noma ububi?

Zisebenza kanjani lezinyathelo ezokuvikela nezokwelapha nezokucima ishwa?

Nombono wakho, amakhambi awomvikelo asebenza kanjani?

#### 5. Rationale underlying the use of Protective methods:

Ubani noma kuwiyini okunamandla awokwelapha noma awokuvikela ishwa?

Nombono wakho, ‘ububi’ buyini?

#### **4. Interview Schedule for Professionals Modified for No's interview**

Possible Questions to be asked:

##### 1. Profession:

Umsebenzi wakho imuphi?

Wenzani, umsebenzi onjani? / Ngaphakathi kwokusebenza, wenzani?

Ukhethe nini ukuqubekha nalenhlobo yomsebenzi? / Uqale nini ukusebenza ngalenhlobo yomsebenzi?

##### 2. Causes of Illness:

Kuwiyini okubanga isifo kumuntu?

Ukuvelelwa ingozi eyakabantu kuqamukaphi?

##### 3. Methods of Cure:

Noma wena noma omunye ungalandela yiphi indlela yokwelapha umuntu noma ukubuyisa inhlanhla yakhe?

Zisiza kanjani noma ngobani lezinqumo ezokwelapha nokubuyisa inhlanhla?

##### 4. Methods of Protection:

Umuntu engazivikela nhloboni izifo noma amashwa?

Usebenzisa inhloboni yemithi / yini uma uvikela umuntu kwizifo noma kwamashwa?

##### 5. Rationale underlying the use of Protective methods:

Kuwiyini noma kungabani ophiwe amandla awokulapha umuntu noma awokumvikela obubi?

## 5. Interview Schedule for Professionals Modified for E's Interview

### 1. Profession:

Umsebenzi wakho imuphi?

Wenzani umsebenzi onjani? / Ngaphakathi kwokusebenza, wenzani?

Ukhethe nini ukuqubekha nalenhlobo yomsebenzi? / Uqale nini ukusebenza ngalenhlobo yomsebenzi?

### 2. Causes of Illness:

Kuwiyini okubanga isifo kumuntu?

Ukuvelelwa noma ingozi noma ishwa eyakabantu kuqamukaphi?

### 3. Methods of Cure:

Ulandela yiphi indlela yokwelapha umuntu?

Ulandela yiphi indlela ukubuyisa inhlanhla?

Zisiza ngobani lezinqumo ezokulapha nokubuyisa inhlanhla?

### 4. Methods of Protection:

Umuntu engazivikela nhloboni izifo?

Umuntu engazivikela nhloboni amashwa?

Usebenzisa inhloboni yemithi uma uvikela umuntu kwizifo?

Usebenzisa inhloboni yemithi uma uvikela umuntu kwamashwa?

### 5. Rationale underlying the use of Protective methods:

Kuyini noma kubani ophiwe amandla awokulapha umuntu noma awokumvikela obubi?

Nombono wakho, ububi buyini?

## 6. INFORMED CONSENT FORM (English)

The title of my research is: Against Evil – A study comparing Ancient Greek and modern Zulu ways of protecting themselves against evil by using magic. I want to find out the different ways of protecting against evil that you use, and the ways in which that evil is described and thought of by you. I am also going to compare the ways that you protect yourselves against evil with the way that the ancient Greeks did this, to see if there is any way that your information can help us understand what they thought back then.

I am a Masters student at the University of KwaZulu – Natal in Pietermaritzburg, working in the department of Classics there. I have a BA and Honours from the same University. You can contact me on this number: 033 2605 5834, or by e-mail at mackenzie@ukzn.ac.za, or you can contact me through the Classics Department at the University in Pietermaritzburg. My supervisor is Mr. Michael Lambert, a lecturer in the department of Classics at the University of KwaZulu- Natal. You can contact him for further information on (033) 260 5556 or by e-mail at lambert@ukzn.ac.za .

You have been identified as someone I would like to interview because you practice as an inyanga/ you practice as an isangoma/ you have been a patient of a Zulu traditional healer/ you use traditional Zulu medicine. (Contingent on how the interview was organized). If you agree to participate in this interview, all I will require of you is a small amount of your time on this one occasion only, in order to conduct an interview with you, to ask you a few questions. I will willingly cover any justifiable expense incurred by you in order to get to this interview, if you so wish.

I will be recording these interviews using a tape recorder, but this is only for my own records, so that I can get an accurate picture of what is said. I will only use the tape recordings to transcribe our interview, and I will neither distribute nor display any segment of the tape recording. I will be the only one who keeps the recording for my research. Your confidentiality is assured, and if you wish to be anonymous then that is what will be done. Your name will not be used in any way in my research unless you want me to use it.

If you choose not to participate in this research, you will not be disadvantaged in any way, and you are entirely within your rights to withdraw from the interview at any stage that you wish. You are under no obligation to participate in this study.

### DECLARATION

I, ..... (full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project. I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

## 7. INCWADI YOKUVUMELA OKUKWAZISWA (isiZulu)

Igama lophenyo lwami ngu: Ukuphikisana nobubi – ukucwaninga ukuthi iziphi izindlela ezisetshenziswa zokuzivikela nobubi kwamaGiliki wasendulo namaZulu awanamuhla. Ngifuna ukuthola izindlela ezahlukene ezisetshenziswa nguwe zokuzivikela nobubi, futhi ukuthola ukuthi wena uchazisa futhi ucabanga ngobubi ngezindlela ziphi. Futhi, ngizoqhathanisa lezindlela, ezisetshenziswa nguwe ukuzivikela nobubi, nezindlela zamaGiliki wasendulo, ukubona ukuthi lezozinto ezitholwa ngokukhuluma nawe zizosiza thina kanjani ukuqonda ukuthi bacabangani laba abantu basendulo.

Ngingumfundisi eNyuvesi yaseKwaZulu-Natali eMgungundlovu, futhi ngiyafunda ngoMasters khona, ngapakathi kwomnyango we-Classics. Ngine-BA ne-Honours engitholile khona. Ungangithintha ngocingo ulu: 033 2605 5834, noma ungangithintha nge-email ngo: mackenzie@ukzn.ac.za, noma ungangithintha ngomnyango we-Classics eNyuvesi eMgungundlovu. Umhloli wami nguMnumzane Michael Lambert, umfundisi ngaphakathi womnyango we-Classics eNyuvesi yase-KwaZulu-Natali eMgungundlovu. Ungamthatha ngocingo ulu: 033 260 5556 noma nge-email ngo: lambert@ukzn.ac.za .

Uwe owakhonjwa ukuthi ungumuntu engifuna ukuxoxana naye ngoba uwiinyanga osebenzisa imithi esiko wamaZulu. Uma uvumela ukuxoxana nami, ngifuna nje isikhashana esincane sakho ngalesosikhathi kuphela, ukuthi singaxoxana, futhi ukuthi ngingakubuza imibuzo.

Ngizorikhoda amazwi akho waloku ukuxoxana kwethu ngerikhoda, kodwa yimi kuphela ozosebenzisa lokho okucoshiwe, ukuthi ngingathola isiqiniso sokuthi sitheni ngaphakathi kwokuxoxana. Ngizosebenzisa loku okucoshiwe, ngizokubhala phansi ukuxoxana kwethu. Angizusakaza futhi angizuveza noma isiqephu sezinto ezicoshiwe ngomshini noma ezibhaliwe. Ngizoba umuntu yedwa ozobenako lokhu okubhaliwe, ukuthi ngingacwaninga nako. Ukufihlwa kwezinto ezakho kuthenjisiwe, futhi uma ufuna ukuzifihla wena, lokhu kungenzeka. Igama lakho alizusetshenziswa ngokucwaninga kwami, ngaphandle ngokuthi uyavuma.

Uma awufuni ukuxoxana nokusebenzisana nami ngalolucwaningo, ungaziphathi kabi noma kanjani, usengaphakathi kwemithetho wakho ukuphuma noma ukuqeda ngokuxoxana noma nini. Asikho isibopho esikugcindezela wena ukuqubheka naloluphenyo.

### UKUSHO

Mina, ..... (Amagama wonke womuntu ozosebenzisa) ngithi ngiqonda kahle naleminingwane yalencwadi, futhi ukuthi ngiyavuma ukusebenzisana ngaphakathi kwalolucwaningo. Ngiqonda kahle ukuthi ngingaphuma noma ngingaqeda ukusebenzisana nalolucwaningo noma nini, uma ngingasafuni ukuqubeka.

UKUSAYINA KWOMUNTU OZOSEBENZISANA

USUKU

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## Appendix B – Zulu Source Material

### E-1-1

now there are some people who are saved “I don’t touch {imithi}” do you see? so for this reason I say that education I’m here and I’m telling you that {education and the Christianity for today is like an evil thing} {because} people are overturning/changing their traditions education is a way to live better it is the same as the way to criminality and thuggery so that you live better on this earth <sup>259</sup>

### E-1-2

change of {environment} this causes sickness change of if I talk about {environment} and how it causes sickness let me explain that it is {pollution} it is just this it ‘makes’ sickness if when we {pollute} the {environment} it causes sickness concurrently with the way in which {if} there are many {factories} that dirty the {environment} you end up with weather/climate which doesn’t stay the same way you find that we make a {drought} often these sorts of things {so} there are many things that occur we end up with the fact that the air we breathe is of a kind which is not as it should be {so} {seasons} too they cause sickness <sup>260</sup>

### E-1-3

and another way the abandonment of {cultures} these things ‘make’ sickness because the creator gave us a way to be healthy/to live now we if we change it we leave this way of living/being healthy I can draw a comparison like this to say that people {like African people} used to eat {vegetables} do you see? {vegetables like wild vegetable which is a arum lilies} and {stinging nettle} {whatever} {so} people now no longer eat them if you look at diabetes we are amazed at a thing which did not exist if you look at {asthma} it is a thing which attacks small children if you look many people that disease of the chest {which is TB} TB is made by that thing that I was talking about it is made by {the environment} and {pollution} there is perhaps a female person she has a {period} a {menstruation period} it is necessary in this way {traditionally} that a person at the time when it is finished performs {rituals} which {cleanse} that there may be a way to heal herself through this when it has passed because this thing of the blood here when you sleep with her you {cause something} now boys don’t do [the rituals] they go and sleep with women and when they sleep with a woman if she is closed with her periods they sleep with her then she causes TB in him it is therefore because of this today that there are so many misfortunes so much bad luck today. {if} this thing of change of living/health the life/health change is {fast} do you see? but it may be said that a {fast} change of life/health is the cause of misfortune let us follow up on the fact that there are people who say “no” “the {ancestors} are the same as {demons}” {if} when you possibly lose a person who is near to you they are still alive {let’s say your father} {when he passed away} when they have died {is a demon} we did not call him that when he was alive because now he is over

<sup>259</sup> manje bakhona abanye abantu abasindisiwe “angithinthi imithi” uyabona? njengoba ngisho ngithi imfundo ngihlala ngikutshela wena ukuthi education and the Christianity for today is like an evil thing because abantu baguqula amasiko abo imfundo indlela yokuphila kangcono iyafana nendlela yobugebengu nobutsotsi ukuthi uphila kangcono ngalomhlaba

<sup>260</sup> ukushintsha kwe-environment kuyasibanga isifo-ke ukushintsha kwe:::::e ’ma ngikhuluma nge-environment kuyasibanga isifo awungichaza ukuthi kuyi-pollution kuyilokho-ke uyasikhanda isifo ’ma uma siyasi-pollute-a i-environment kuyasibanga isifo njengokulinganisa nokuthi if kunawama-factory amaningi angcolisa i-environment ugcine izulu lingasali ngendlela uthola ukuthi sikwenzela i-drought-I isikhathi esiningi zonke lezinto so ziningi izinto ezenzakalayo sigcine ukukhona imimoya ’ma uphefumula ngendlela engafanelekile so we-season futhi kuyasikhanda isifo

there he now sees better his {spirit} is nearer to Nkulunkulu {why} are you calling him {demon}? {why}? because a person if you believe in that you believe that he is wanted {ja} by Nkulunkulu ]<sup>261</sup>

#### E-1-4

[the ways to cause luck to return there are people who are born with luck ]<sup>262</sup>

#### E-1-5

[there are those who are born you see that when {Nkulunkulu} created us we are not the same it is not the same it does not match {so} not all of us ever match when you are created you have luck you have luck when he created me that my luck takes a long time to arrive things just like that it is the case that a person was created so that my luck will {open up – be lucky} a little this is right among the {amadlozi} do you see? we believe in this way that the {amadlozi} will {open up – be lucky} all things {so} it will be like this you will {be lucky – open up} ]<sup>263</sup>

#### E-1-6

[luck is just luck {uNkulunkulu} when he forges a person but not in the way that we forge something because today a person who is wealthy they don't have people who harass them {so} luck and misfortune are things with which you are born you do not make it for yourself when you are born when you are born the hands are closed like this .... it can never be taken by another person it can never change it is a thing which is given by {uNkulunkulu} ]<sup>264</sup>

#### E-1-7

[it is done like this {let's say I've got} {hundred cattles} here are cattle go and hoard them and you you rear them so that you are a man do you see? this is luck perhaps {I've got}

<sup>261</sup> okunye futhi ukubalekela-ke ama-culture lezozinto ziyazikhanda izifo ngoba umdali wasidelela indlela yokuphila manje thina masisishintsha siyayeka indlela yokuphila ngingalinganisa kanje ukuthi abantu like African people ebedla ama::vegetables uyabona? ama-vegetables like wild vegetable which is a arum lilies no-stinging nettle whatever so abantu abasawadli manje 'ma ubheka isifo sashukela simanga into engathi ingekho 'ma ubheke i-asthma into engathi ingekho ihlasela i'ingane e'incane 'ma ubheke abantu abaningi lawo isifo sofuba which is TB i-TB ikhandwa yena into engathi ikhandwa i-environment ne-pollution kukhona ukuthi mhlawumbe umuntu wesifazane ine i-period i-menstruation period kufanele ngalendlela traditionally ukuthi umuntu ngesikhathi eqeda enza ama-rituals a-cleanse-a kubekhona indlela azozilapha ngayo 'me sedlulile ngoba lento leligazi la 'ma ulala naye uya cause something manje abafana abawenzi bayo kulala nabantu abesifazane okanye ma belele naye umuntu wesifazane me bevalile nama-period alele naye bese umkhande i-TB njengoba ingakho namuhlanje ukuthi amashwa engaka amabhadi namuhlanje if into-ke ukuthi ukushintsha kwempilo impilo isishintsho si-fast uyabona? kodwa akusho ukuthi isishintsho si-fast nempilo sithi ukuthi ivele inamashwa asilande ukuthi bakhona abantu abathi "hhayi" "ama-ancestors afana nama-demon" if 'ma ungalahla umuntu okuyena basaphila let's say your father when he passed away ngoba sebefile is a demon asimbizanga 'ma sephile ngoba manje usengale usebona kangcono i-spirit sakhe sesondelene noNkulunkulu why umbize nge-demon? why? ngoba umuntu 'me ukholwa lapho ukholwa ukuthi uyafunwa-ke ja uNkulunkulu

<sup>262</sup> i'indlela zokubuyisa inhlanhla bakhona abantu abazalwa nenhlanhla

<sup>263</sup> bakhona ukuthi bazalwa uyabona ukuthi uNkulunkulu masidale asifani ayifani ayilingani so ngeke silingana sonke uma udala unenhlanhla unenhlanhla uma ungidale ukuthi inhlanhla yami ithatha isikhathi eside sokuthi sifika izinto ezikanjalo-nje kukhona ukuthi umuntu udalilwe ukuthi inhlanhla yami izovuleka kancane kulungile lokhu emadlozini uyabona? sikhola-ke kanjalo ukuthi amadlozi azovuleka zonke izinto so kube kanjalo-ke sekuyavuleka

<sup>264</sup> inhlanhla kuyinhlanhla uNkulunkulu 'ma ukhanda umuntu kodwa hhayi ngalendlela esikhanda ngayo ngoba namuhlanje umuntu onothile abanabantu abahluphekayo so inhlanhla neshwa ukuthi i'into ozalwa naye awuzakhekhi ngesikhathi ozalwa uzalwa izandla fumbethe kanje .... ongekhe othatha kumunye umuntu ongekhe ushintsha into ophiwa uNkulunkulu

{three hundred goats} you have {ten} {goats} you – go and take one and rear it attempt to be a man if you observe in Africa long ago we grew this seed that if you have many cattle [and] a person arrives who is traveling who has nothing that you give him maybe five cattle so that he may rear them so that you too may become a man an umnumzane that he has reared and he also milked and ate amasi do you see? today {education} has arrived it has ended all of this a poor man must stay a poor man a rich man must stay a rich man do you see? now do you see all of this? now you have {street children} people that live in the {streets} these people were not in existence before where were they? these people were not in existence but they were brought into existence it was done by money do you see? is it not so that now we are {closing – see dictionary entry} we say that poverty {check dictionary entry} comes from whom ... what will it do to teach these person about the Koran to teach them about/make them read the Bible? this person [who does this] is leading him astray/making him get lost it is also better that a person has assistance because I teach him so that he can assist someone in their own way do you see? not to teach them about something with which they have no acquaintance and something which they do not know because we end up thinking about what it is that eats/consumes a person it is money ???? ]<sup>265</sup>

### E-1-8

[[amashwa} are almost the same as {izifo} because {amashwa} is a thing which is similar to {izifo} it is just one thing this it just is almost the same because of the fact that {amashwa} it is that which is to do with respecting oneself so that you are healthy on the day when you are healthy so that you {hlonipha} your health/life so that a person who is entering many girls do you see? if you have many girls you will end up dying let me leave this alone/stop this {ukuphathe izinto ezingasile} let me never wish bad things for people I don't like people a person who {abahandanisa} and who do not find fortune/luck let me never have jealousy and other things like this let me respect my father and mother if I say it is necessary that I respect my father and mother I am saying that I should {respect} the {ancestors} and things like this to respect the {amadlozi} so that {you} you can {gweba} {amashwa} in this way because often times {amashwa} we make it for ourselves it is a thing which is created/made by us <sup>266</sup>

### E-1-9

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<sup>265</sup> kwenze kanje let's say I've got hundred cattles nazinkomo hamba uzigubisa nawe ufuye ukuba indoda uyabona? inhlanhla leyo mhlawumbe I've got three hundred goats unezi-ama-goats awu-ten hamba ofuya elodwa nawe uzama ukuba indoda uma ubheke eAfrika kade sikhula lombila ukuthi 'ma une'inkomo e'iningi ufika umuntu ohamba engenalutho ukuthi umnikeze mhlawumbe i'inkomo enhlanu ukuthi mangefuya nawe makube indoda uyimnumzane ufuyile naye senga zidla amasi uyabona? namuhlanje kufikile u-education eqeda konke lokhu isichaka kufanele ukuba isichaka isigwili ukuba isigwili uyabona? manje uyayibona yonke leyonto? namuhlanje unama-street children abantu abahlale ema-street-ini babengekho lababantu k'qala babephi? babengekho labantu kodwa baseqhamukwa isetshenziswa imali uyabona? angithi manje siyavala sithi isichaka sivela kubani .... kuzokwenzani ukufunda lababantu neKoran ukufundisa nebhayibheli? lomuntu uyamdukisa kungcono futhi ukuthi umuntu anomso ukuthi ngimfundisa ukuthi akamsiza ngendlela yakubo uyabona hhayi ukufundisa ngento engahlangene nento engayazi ngoba sigcina ukucabanga ukuthi yini oyidla umuntu kuyimali uyadla lapha ??

<sup>266</sup> amashwa acishe afana nakhona izifo ngoba amashwa into efana nezifo into eyodwa le nje cishe iyafana njengoba amashwa yiyo okuzihlonipha ukuthi uphile ngesuku lempilo uhloniphe impilo yakho ukuthi umuntu angenwa nentombi e'iningi uyabona 'ma une'intombo e'iningi ugcine usufa angiyeke u:/ ukuphathe izinto ezingasile angeke ngibafisela abantu izinto ezimbi angibathandi abantu umuntu abahandanisa abatholi inhlanhla angeke ngibanomona nezinye izinto ezikanjalo angihlophe ubaba noma 'ma ngithe kufanele ngihlonipha ubaba no ma ngisho ukuthi anga-respect-a ama-ancestors nezinto ezikanjalo ukuhlonipha amadlozi sokuthi you ungagweba kanjalo amashwa ngoba amashwa ngesikhathi esiningi siyazikhandela into ekhandiwe kithina

like with {committing} yourself to your {amadlozi} Every time - you see – to {khuleka them} that if you are travelling you are taking a path you are placed in the hands of your forefathers “I request that you {guard} me on the road and you watch over my house and see how it is while I’m travelling it is better that you {guide} me while I am travelling on this long path that I travel safely {so} you go you will return {now} today a person goes out and on the road he rolls his car observe this all of you {so} I am coming to the point I am saying the ways to protect oneself from {izifo} are numerous you see they are numerous to {hlonipha} oneself in the way to {hlonipha} {usuko} of health so that it is {okay} so that I am healthy it is necessary that I live like this a person who doesn’t smoke or drink lives for a long time but a person who is smoking and drinking does not live for a long time furthermore a person who doesn’t smoke or drink may live and may be [unintelligible] this smoking and drinking stays/belongs in a life which is {ebhazene} you know all of this thing {so} these are all things which are ways of warding it off <sup>267</sup>

### E-1-10

because there is this this that is termed perhaps the {negative energies and spirit} do you see? if perhaps you start to see {a lot of negativities} then they trouble you and perhaps you enter into being {negative} in yourself find {intelezi} that will help you so that perhaps you cleanse perhaps you {cleanse} you remove all these {negativities} do you so things like this {ja} ] [R: when you are still alive ] {ja} there are ways to give someone luck when he is still alive just {like} {let’s say} you have a {Granny} when you help {Granny} she will say that “child when you grow up you will walk stooping” she says “when you grow up you will walk stooping” this is the giving of luck ]<sup>268</sup>

### E-2-1

R: when you are still alive {ja} there are ways to give someone luck when he is still alive just {like} {let’s say} you have a {Granny} when you help {Granny} she will say that “child when you grow up you will walk stooping” she says “when you grow up you will walk stooping” this is the giving of luck ]<sup>269</sup>

### E-2-2

[it is done like this {let’s say I’ve got} {hundred cattles} here are cattle go and hoard them and you you rear them so that you are a man do you see? this is luck perhaps {I’ve got} {three hundred goats} you have {ten} {goats} you – go and take one and rear it attempt to be a man if you observe in Africa long ago we grew this seed that if you have many cattle [and] a person arrives who is traveling who has nothing that you give him maybe five cattle

<sup>267</sup> nokuthi uzi-commit-a emadlozini akho ngaso sonke isikhathi uyabona lokumkhuleka ukuthi uma uhambe uthathe indlela ubhekela ngababomkhulu bakho “ngicela ningi-guard-a endleleni inina ma ngihambe nibona ukuthi indlu yami izobenjani kungcono ningi-guide-a sengihambe nendlela ekude ngihambe ngiphephile so uhamba uzobuya now namuhlanje umuntu uphuma uhamba uzothi endleleni ugingqe imoto bheka nonke loyo so fika ngithi i’indlela zokuzivikela ezifweni ziningi uyabona ziningi ukuzihlonipha nendlela ukuhlonipha usuko lempilo ukuthi okay uze ngiphile kufanele ngiphile kanje umuntu ongabhemi ongaphuzi uhlala esikhathi eside kodwa umuntu obhemayo ophuzayo akahlali iskhathi eside futhi umuntu ongabhemi ongaphuzi ibe hlala unga[unintelligible] lokhu obhema ophuza uhlala epilweni ebhazene uyazi yonke leyonto so yiko zonke izinto ongazivikela kuyona

<sup>268</sup> ngoba kukhona lokhu esithiwa mhlawumbe ama-negative energies and spirit uyabona? uma mhlawumbe abazubheka a lot of negativities lapho ayakuhlupha mhlawumbe usungena kube-negative wawena thola intelezi ekuyakusiza ukuthi mhlawumbe ugeze mhlawumbe u-cleanse-e ukhipha wonke lawama-negativities uyabona ezikanjalo ja

<sup>269</sup> R: ‘ma usaphila ja zikhona i’indlela zokumupha umuntu inhlanhla ‘ma ephila like-ke let’s say uno-Granny ‘ma usiza u-Granny uzothi “mntwana ‘ma ukhule uzokhokhobe wathi ‘ma ukhule uzokhokhobe ukupha inhlanhla lokhu

so that he may rear them so that you too may become a man an umnumzane that he has reared and he also milked and ate amasi do you see? today {education} has arrived it has ended all of this a poor man must stay a poor man a rich man must stay a rich man do you see? now do you see all of this? now you have {street children} people that live in the {streets} these people were not in existence before where were they? these people were not in existence but they were brought into existence it was done by money do you see? is it not so that now we are {closing – see dictionary entry} we say that poverty {check dictionary entry} comes from whom ... what will it do to teach these person about the Koran to teach them about/make them read the Bible? this person [who does this] is leading him astray/making him get lost it is also better that a person has assistance because I teach him so that he can assist someone in their own way do you see? not to teach them about something with which they have no acquaintance and something which they do not know because we end up thinking about what it is that eats/consumes a person it is money ????

] <sup>270</sup>

### E-2-3

[I said that I heal/cure with my {amadlozi} I heal/cure I am told by them they tell me what I can do do you see? there is no other way in which I do this that is without them for example it will be said by other people that they heal/cure with {parts} of other people do you see things like this {so} I don't do this I don't do it because {if} an {idlozi} tells me that I should take these {imithi} here that I should mix this together “you take these and you must mix this a person will be assisted because it is the environment through which we become healthy ] <sup>271</sup>

### E-2-4

[you see now if I {fica} sickness I say your name is Cullen? if I say “Cullen you will be better” you will become healthy but this is {hope} that I place in these words that you will become healthy they spoke the truth when they were saying that words heal {hundred percent right} there but me I don't like it just because I say it may be that if others say “hey protect this person ” they put {something} on {paper} there really this person because this person it is a method of assistance which is criminal do you see? ] <sup>272</sup>

<sup>270</sup> kwenze kanje let's say I've got hundred cattles nazinkomo hamba uzigubisa nawe ufuye ukuba indoda uyabona? inhlanhla leyo mhlawumbe I've got three hundred goats unezi-ama-goats awu-ten hamba ofuya elodwa nawe uzama ukuba indoda uma ubheke eAfrika kade sikhula lombila ukuthi 'ma une'inkomo e'iningi ufika umuntu ohamba engenalutho ukuthi umnikeze mhlawumbe i'inkomo enhlanu ukuthi mangefuya nawe makube indoda uyimnumzane ufuyile naye senga zidla amasi uyabona? namuhlanje kufikile u-education eqeda konke lokhu isichaka kufanele ukuba isichaka isigwili ukuba isigwili uyabona? manje uyayibona yonke leyonto? namuhlanje unama-street children abantu abahlale ema-street-ini babengekho lababantu k'qala babephi? babengekho labantu kodwa baseqhamukwa isetshenziswa imali uyabona? angithi manje siyavala sithi isichaka sivela kubani .... kuzokwenzani ukufunda lababantu neKoran ukufundisa nebhayibheli? lomuntu uyamdukisa kungcono futhi ukuthi umuntu anomisizo ukuthi ngimfundisa ukuthi akamsiza ngendlela yakubo uyabona hhayi ukufundisa ngento engahlangene nento engayazi ngoba sigcina ukucabanga ukuthi yini oyidla umuntu kuyimali uyadla lapha ??

<sup>271</sup> ngisho ukuthi ngiyayelapha namadlozi ami ngilaphe ngitshelwa kuwona ayangitshela ukuthi ngingenzenjani uyabona? akukho okunye engiwenzayo okungale njengo kuzothi abanye abantu ukuthi bayalapha nama:::a-parts abanye abantu uyabona izinto kanjalo so angenzi mina lokhu angiyenzi ngoba if idlozi ingitshela ukuthi ngithathe leyomithi la ngihlanganise lona uthatha lona uhlanganise lona umuntu ozosizakala ngoba kuyimvelo sokuthi siyophila ngayo

<sup>272</sup> uyabona 'ma ngifce ukugula ngithi igama lakho ngu-Cullen? mangithi “uCullen uzobengcono” uzophileka kodwa le-hope engibheke kulamazwi ukuthi uzophila baqinisile 'me babethe ukuthi amazwi ayaphilisa hundred percent right lapho mina angakathandi-ke njengoba ngisho ngithi e::angabi uma abanye bethi “eh vikela lomuntu ” bafaka something e-paper lapho phela lomuntu ngoba lomuntu indlela yokusizakala zobugebengu uyabona?

**E-2-5**

[{well} there are many ways to ward off {izifo} because I say there are many [ways] um it can be warded off in ways like these [that follow] certain ways of {avoiding} all these things that are in conflict with the outcome of health like drinking smoking being there um {too much girlfriend} to 'go' all the time generally to behave yourself carelessly in your life do you see? {so} for example I say you can ward it off in many ways <sup>273</sup>

**E-2-6**

like with {committing} yourself to your {amadlozi} Every time - you see - to {khuleka them} that if you are travelling you are taking a path you are placed in the hands of your forefathers "I request that you {guard} me on the road and you watch over my house and see how it is while I'm travelling it is better that you {guide} me while I am travelling on this long path that I travel safely {so} you go you will return" {now} today a person goes out and on the road he rolls his car observe this all of you {so} I am coming to the point I am saying the ways to protect oneself from {izifo} are numerous you see they are numerous to {hlonipha} oneself in the way to {hlonipha} {usuko} of health so that it is {okay} so that I am healthy it is necessary that I live like this a person who doesn't smoke or drink lives for a long time but a person who is smoking and drinking does not live for a long time furthermore a person who doesn't smoke or drink may live and may be [unintelligible] this smoking and drinking stays/belongs in a life which is {ebhazene} you know all of this thing {so} these are all things which are ways of warding it off <sup>274</sup>

**E-2-7**

together with this also is this that if you are sick then they have a pot which is called 'isiphungo' you drink it for yourself and you will not die this 'isiphungo' removes all {izifo} so that even if it happens that you have {umkhuhlwane} or which kind of {isifo} which may enter easily because there is an {immune} which is created in the body that {if} an {umkhuhlwane} occurs {not} it comes it just comes the army which is in the body 'kicks it' nothing happens do you see? write things like this ]<sup>275</sup>

**E-2-8**

{so} {intelezi} of {ukuchela} this wards off {abathakathi} and spirits that are {bi} {bad spirit} do you see? that are created by a person so that these are warded off these things from a person so that people remain living well/ being healthy because there is this this that

<sup>273</sup> well ziningi i'indlela zokuvikela izifo ngoba ngithi ziningi-nje eh kungavikela ne'indlela enjenga nalezo okuthile uku-avoid-a zonke lezizinto eziphambene nesuko sempilo njenga nakukuphuza ukubhema ukuba la um too much girlfriend ukuya njalo ukuziphatha-nje nedengu empilweni yakho uyabona? so njengabe ngithi ungazivikela ne'indlela e'iningi

<sup>274</sup> nokuthi uzi-commit-a emadlozini akho ngaso sonke isikhathi uyabona lokumkhuleka ukuthi uma uhambe uthathe indlela ubhekelwa ngababomkhulu bakho "ngicela ningi-guard-a endleleni inina ma ngihambe nibona ukuthi indlu yami izobenjani kungcono ningi-guide-a sengihambe nendlela ekude ngihambe ngiphephile so uhamba uzobuya now namuhlanje umuntu uphuma uhamba uzothi endleleni ugingqe imoto bheka nonke loyo so fika ngithi i'indlela zokuzivikela ezifweni ziningi uyabona ziningi ukuzihlonipha nendlela ukuhlonipha usuko lempilo ukuthi okay uze ngiphile kufanele ngiphile kanje umuntu ongabhemi ongaphuzi uhlala esikhathi eside kodwa umuntu obhemayo ophuzayo akahlali iskhathi eside futhi umuntu ongabhemi ongaphuzi ibe hlala unga[unintelligible] lokhu obhema ophuza uhlala epilweni ebhazene uyazi yonke leyonto so yiko zonke izinto ongazivikela kuyona

<sup>275</sup> bekuthi uma bagule bese banembizo-nje bekuthiwa isiphungo uziphuzele yona ungazibhubhi losiphungo suse izifo zonke ukuthi noma kuthiwa uzophatha umkhuhlwane noma isiphi isifo singangena kalula ngoba kukhona i-immune esikhandekile emzimbeni ukuthi if kuvelelwa umkhuhlwane not uyafika uyafika nje lempu kusemzimbeni iyakhahlela iyaphila akuwenzeka lutho uyabona? bale izinto ezikanjalo

is termed perhaps the {negative energies and spirit} do you see? if perhaps you start to see {a lot of negativities} then they trouble you and perhaps you enter into being {negative} in yourself find {intelezi} that will help you so that perhaps you cleanse perhaps you {cleanse} you remove all these {negativities} do you so things like this {ja} ]<sup>276</sup>

### E-2-9

{so} if I wear a bottle perhaps there that has {umuthi} inside it this {umuthi} perhaps it will {vikela} also all things against enemies against {izifo} against spirits that are {bi} and things like this but then no there is not anything written ... you heard me say {if} there are things written that this {umuthi} may {vikela} is this not then perhaps a way to/to/to {vikela} a {terrorist} so that perhaps {okay} when we want to {terrorize} let us wear these things {then} let us {hide} the {bombs} do you see? then we say {okay} just {vikela} this person so that no one may know that this person has a {bomb} do you see<sup>277</sup>

### E-2-10

[um I told you before how {uNkulunkulu} said when he created {imithi} he created them for the specific purpose that we should heal with them because moving from there and moving on to there the doctors/hospitals {pharmacist} these {imithi} are made I healed [with them] they come from those farms those ones it comes from the forests for a person it comes forth thus all these things you see? now um it is not needed that there is another person because it is being done in a better way then they slander that of others do you see? because them they do not use the same method you see? 'pills' they see that now this is a better method it is better to construct them in that way but 'pills' end up being that same as {drugs} because a person when he has a headache he {drugs} it with 'pills' he swallows 'pills' today and now tomorrow [the headache] returns again but if I give him {umuthi} that I have found I ground it up until I got a {powder} then I say {okay} {sniff} this {umuthi} the headache will be helped when he {sniffs} the headache ceases and does not return which is better – to {drug} or to use {umuthi}? because with {drug}ing it will stay and return I find that people who use these {drugs} and I'm not placing {blame} here but I am comparing that one does not want to revile those who make use of those you see you find that there are other people who rush off [to take] 'pills' but when you will follow there with {imithi} you will never find a person who continually takes it here is {umuthi} (0.5 you never find a person who continually {sniff}s this {umuthi} you see? but you may find him when he is sick he is made better and returns to use {umuthi} (0;.5) because it is better he has been healed of this {isifo} now when it comes to 'pills' the 'pills' don't heal they {drug} you see? it intoxicates ]<sup>278</sup>

<sup>276</sup> so intelezi yokuchela uvikele abathakathi nemimoya emibi-nje bad spirit uyabona? engakhandiwe umuntu ukuthi ivikeleke lezinto kumuntu ukuthi abantu behlala bephile kahle ngoba kukhona lokhu esithiwa mhlawumbe ama-negative energies and spirit uyabona? uma mhlawumbe abazubheka a lot of negativities lapho ayakuhlupha mhlawumbe usungena kube-negative wawena thola intelezi ekuyakusiza ukuthi mhlawumbe ugeze mhlawumbe u-cleanse-e ukhipha wonke lawama-negativities uyabona ezikanjalo ja

<sup>277</sup> so 'ma ngifake ibhodlela mhlawumbe la elinomuthi phakathi lomuthi mhlawumbe uzovikela nazo zonke izinto ezitheni ezifeni em'moyeni emibi nezinto ezikanjalo kodwa-ke cha akukho okubalwayo ... ungezwa ngithi if bebalwa ukuthi lomuthi ungavikele-ke akuyona mhlawumbe indlela yo/yo/yokuvikela i-terrorist ukuthi mhlawumbe okay 'ma sifuna uku-terrorize-a asigqoke lezinto then asi-hide-a ama-bomb uyabona? bese sithi okay vikela-ke lomuntu ungazi ukuthi lomuntu ophethe i-bomb uyabona?

<sup>278</sup> e:h kade ngichazile ukuthi uNkulunkulu wathi 'me edala imithi wayedalela wona ukuthi sokwelapha ngayo ngoba suka lapho ushone lapho e::'bhedlela pharmacist imithi le ikhandwe ngawelapha iqhamuka kuwona ama/amapulasi lawa kuqhamuka e'hlahlani kumuntu kuqhamuka kuze zonke izinto uyabona? manje e:e akufunakala ukuthi ukhona omunye umuntu ngoba wenziwa ngendlela engcono bese hleba lokhu wabanye uyabona? ngoba laba indlela abasebenzi ngayo uyabona? ap/ amaphilisi babona ukuthi manje iyindlela engcono kungcono ukuwakheka ngaloyondlela kodwa lawamaphilisi agcine sifana nama-drugs ngoba umuntu

**E-3-1**

with {abantu} a person who is {isangoma} and {inyanga} is a person who is {chosen} [by] the {ancestors} they said that you have been chosen it is necessary that you help people he is the person who is given power and this power is needed I may be inoculated by it so that then the people come and {hlonipha} it is necessary that those who are given power {hlonipha} other people and {hlonipha} the creator because this power is a thing that can disappear one day {so} it is necessary that he {hlonipha} his power also and that he stay for example we are healing a person that he {khuleka} {uNkulunkulu} the almighty for those things?? and say “here is an {isiguli} whom I will heal who has asked me to heal him” you see just like with me all the {iziguli} are uncured I may not heal unless I connect with {uNkulunkulu} and my {amadlozi} to say that “here is an {isiguli} whom I will heal I ask also the forefathers of his that they help me and they heal this person and they save him they will help him there isn’t an {isiguli} whom I heal who is not still saved I have healed {iziguli} with me asking their forefathers I said that where is it I was absent these people perhaps when they die do you see? {so} I do not have the voice of {uNku}/ the name of {uNkulunkulu} to say that I saved this many people do you see?

I: {okay} [so] {uNkulunkulu} and the {amadlozi}

R: and the {amadlozi} and the angels

I: {okay} and the angels too <sup>279</sup>

**E-3-2**

{ububi} is a way of living on earth because {ububi} {it’s negative} do you see? not so? things can never be {positive} all the time it is necessary that there is {positive} and {negative} so that one is healthy here on earth

I: a {balance}?

R: a {balance} {ja} so that there is health because let me say it like this if we could all be {rich} it would never work it is necessary that some are troubled do you see? so that you know there is a state of {balance} now {ububi} is the thing which I am always healing

’me ephethwa ikhanda uyali-drug-a nephilisi uphuze iphilisi namuhlanje manje kusasa liyabuya futhi kodwa ’ma ngimnikeze umuthi engitholile ngawugaya ngithole i-powder bese ngithi okay sniff-a lomuthi kuzokusizeka lelikhanda ngesikhathi u-sniff-e liyaphela ikhanda aliphinde libuye ikuphi okungcono noku-drug-a nokusebenzisa umuthi? ngoba uno-drug-a uzohlala libuye ngithola ukuthi abantu abasebenzisa ama-drugs hhayi ukuthi ngiya-blame-a kodwa sengiqhathanyisa ukuthi awulifuna-ke ukuligxeba okupha nokusebensiza lona uyabona uthola ukuthi bakhona abanye abantu ebesejahela ngamaphilisi kodwa ’me uzolanda lapho em’thini lezo ngeke uthole umuntu ongahlale ephuze nakhu umuthi ngeke uthole umuntu ohlala e-sniff-a lomuthi uyabona? kodwa umthole ngalesosikhathi egule asinde angcono aphinde ukuwusebenzise ngoba sekungcono uwelashiwe lososifo manje ephilisini amaphilisi ayelaphi kuya-drug-a uyabona? kuyaqhubisa

<sup>279</sup> lapho kubantu umuntu oyisangoma nenyanga umuntu o-chosen ama-ancestors athile ukuthi ukhethekile kufanele ubasiza abantu uyena umuntu onikezwa amandla futhi lawamandla afuna angazigcatshwe ngawo ukuthi i::: bese abantu bafike bahlonipha kufanele ukuthi labo abaphiwa amandla ahlonipha abanye abantu ahlonipha nomdali ngoba lowamandla into engashabalala ngelinye ilanga so kufanele a::hlonipha amandla akhe futhi ahlale noma siyelapha umuntu akukhuleka kuNkulunkulu usomandla zona ukuthi nansi isiguli engizoselapha engicela ukuthi ngimelapha uyabona njenganami iziguli zonke enza akaphili angizelaphe ngixhumana-ke noNkulunkulu namadlozi ami ukuthi nansi isiguli engizoselapha ngicela nokubaba wayekhona bangisiza bayelapha lomuntu bamsinda bazomlekelela asikho isiguli engaselapha esangasisinda sengizilaphile iziguli engicela kubaba mkhulu engingithi ukuthi kuphi ngangekho lababantu mhlawumbe ’ma bafa uyabona? so anginalizwi kaNku/ igama likaNkulunkulu ukuthi ngasindisa abantu abangaki uyabona?

I: okay so uNkulunkulu namadlozi

R: namadlozi-ke nengilosi

I: okay nengilosi futhi

because it is a way of living/being healthy it is necessary to live/be healthy in this way furthermore some people may say that a thing which is to do with {ububi} is a thing of {Satan} {Satan} I do not know who can point out for me and say “here is {Satan}” do you see? because {uNkulunkulu} created this thing so that there may exist that which is {hle} and that which is {bi} he never said that while we are alive everything should be good we are mortal do you see? because it is necessary that life is surprising you see when it is the case that life is surprising it is necessary that you see something {hle} today now it does this you are surprised and things such as these you have health but when you are {positive} constantly now they may see that {okay} so that let me {boost} my life having not been troubled 90.5) I shall use {drugs} {ja} there is something like this you do not see I may never set off because I might fall down because a {heart attack} will occur you see I think about this a lot {so} we shall obtain and take {drugs} do you see?

I: {okay} {so} {ububi} is/

R: {ububi} is a thing which exists and we may never end it it will never finish but we should not say that {ububi} is a thing of {Satan} because this {Satan} we have never seen him {ububi} is a thing which is created so that life is not {bedlela??} you see? life is constantly surprising you see this and you see that and you see that you see? these are ways of living because all cannot ever be {hle} we cannot all be doctors <sup>280</sup>

### M-1-1

R: oh:::h sickness this it {depends} [ja] on the fact that you live in what sort of place m::m perhaps you are staying in a place which is cold which places upon you a specific sickness perhaps you are staying in a place which is hot [yes] which places upon you a specific sickness [mmhm] or it could be maybe that there is a specific sickness with which you meet maybe just in your eating [yes] or there is some kind of food which you like [yes] perhaps it is the food which sickens you [yes] it is sickness [I: it is a sickness yes ] with death you never know in what way/from what direction it is going to appear not just one way ]<sup>281</sup>

<sup>280</sup> Ububi buyindlela yokuphila emhlabeni ngoba ububi it's negative uyabona? angithi? ngeke izinto zibe-positive njalo kufanele ukuba i-positive ne-negative ukuze uphile le emhlabeni

I: i-balance?

R: i-balance ja kuze kuphile ngoba mangisho njalo uma singaba-rich-i sonke ngeke kulunge kufanele abanye bahlupheke uyabona? kuze kwaze uku-balance-eka manje ububi into engasoziyaphela ngoba kuyindlela yokuphila kufanele ukuphila ngaleyondlela futhi abanye bangashe bathi u/u/u/u into eyobubi ento kaSatan uSatan angazi ukuthi ubani ungangikhomba ukuthi “nankhu uSatan” uyabona? ngoba uNkulunkulu wayedala lento ukuthi kube khona okuhle nokubi ngeke ngathi 'ma siphila yonke into ingahlala inhle singafa uyabona? ngoba kufanele impilo ihlala ibethuka uyabona 'ma kuhlala kuwethuka impilo kufanele ukubona okuhle namuhlanje manje uthi usithe le uthuke nezinto ezikanjalo unezimpilo kodwa 'ma uhlala u-positive ngasonke isikhathi ingakho namuhlanje uthola abantu angithi abantu aba-rich bagcina sebeyidla i'idakamizwi ngoba impilo yakhe ifunwa ukube-positive ngesonke isikhathi manje besebona ukuthi okay ukuze impilo yami i-boost-eke ingashayeki ngizosebenzisa ama-drugs ja kukhona enjenga awuboni lutho ngeke ngiqhubeke ngiwe ngoba i-heart attack izoba khona uyabona ngicabangela kakhulu so sizowathola siwayedla ama-drugs uyabona?

I: okay so ububi bu/

R: ububi buyinto ekhona engeke futhi siphile ngeke iziphela kodwa asingashi ububi into kaSatan ngoba lo uSatan ngeke simbheke ububi buyinto edalwa ukuthi akubedlela ukuphila uyabona? impilo ihlale ethuka ubona lo ubona lo ubona lo uyabona? i'indlela zokuphila lezo ngoba ngeke kubekuhle konke ngeke sibadokotela sonke

<sup>281</sup> R: oh:::h isifo lesi si-depends [ja] ukuthi uhlala endaweni enjani m::m mhlawumbe uhlala endaweni enamakhaza ekufakele isifo esithize mhlawumbe uhlala endaweni eshisayo [yebo] ekufakele isifo esithize [mmhm] wokube noma kukhona isifo esithize uhlangabezwa naso noma ngobudla nje [yebo] noma kukhona ukudla okuthize okuthandayo [yebo] mhlawumbe kwilikudla okugulisa [yebo] kwiyisifo [I: kwiyisifo yebo ] ukufa ngeke uwazi ukuthi kuqhamukaphi endleleni hhayi ngendlela eyodwa

**M-1-2**

R: it is the case that a person placed something there for you [I: Ja ] in the doorway [a person] sprayed {umuthi} it conquers you [I: yes ] it makes you stick fast when you cross with your feet listen to this it is called a {speed trap} [I: a {speed trap} ] maybe they take hold of the door of your car and he places {umuthi} for you do you see? [I: {okay} there will be an accident there ] yes a potion causes it so that you become exhausted or you become {paralysed} [I: {okay} ]

R: Do you see?

I: Yes I see

R: death comes in ways which are similar to these [{okay}] you see is it not so now you see that a person if he hates you [yebo ] you you go there he says “o:h he’s going there {okay}” perhaps he looks at his watch {Monday} on Monday on Tuesday on Wednesday on Thursday [he says] “oh he’s always going at this time” [mmhm] “oh he’s returning at this time” you hear? [mmhm] it is the case that bad people that {thakatha} are corrupted [yes] they do not think / people know an evil thing [but when it comes to] a good thing people have not learnt about it [yes] they want something that will kill [yes] people don’t know a good thing do you see blood from the nose and you die do you see ]<sup>282</sup>

**M-1-3**

I: but i::: is there um [carry on] but where does it come from? either ]

P: {okay} us us people [ja] {ibhadi} is done/happens {ishwa} is done/happens [ja] perhaps your father Mackenzie [yebo] he has {four years} that he has departed this world [yes] you have not slaughtered a cow [yes] you did not perform the {ukubuyisa} [Mm] perhaps your mother [Ja] perhaps your {grandfather} he wants you to give him food [yes] you couldn’t care less you do not perform the rituals [{O::kay} {okay}] perhaps it is this perhaps and {ishwa} just appears there are people who do not understand this that we are talking about [mmhm] but they are still alive/healthy they have not looked after the traditions [mmhm] they are believers {i.e. they are Christians} but they are still alive/healthy they do not have these {amashwa} [ja] do you see? [yes i see] there are people who have not eaten {umuthi} [yes] (0.50 but they are alive/healthy but they do not eat {umuthi} they eat just pills [they eat pills] but they believe that pills are not {umuthi} [okay] they do not know this fact that they take {umuthi} and make pills [they just make pills] ]<sup>283</sup>

<sup>282</sup> R: kukhona ukuthi umuntu wakubhekele la [I: Ja ] emnyango ovuvuzele umuthi uweqa wena [I: yebo ] ugcinisa (?) uwela i’inyawo yizwa lo kuthiwa kwiyi-speed-trap

[I: i-speed-trap lo? ] noma abambe isicabha semoto yakho ekubhekelwe umuthi uyabona? [I: okay kuzobeyingozi la ] e e idliso kuze ukhathala noma ube-paralysed [I: Okay ]

R: Uyabona?

I: Yebo ngiyabona

R: ukufa kuqhamuka nge’ndlela enjenga lezo [okay] uyabona angithi manje uyabona ukuthi umuntu mekuzonda [I: yebo ] wena uyahamba uya le wathi o:h uya le okay mhlawumbe abhek’ iwashi Monday ngomsombuluko ngolwesibili ngolwesithathu nangolwesihlanu oh nja::lo uhambe ngalesikhathi [mmhm] oh uyabuya ngalesikhathi yizwa-ke [mmhm] akase(?) abant’ ababi abathakatha bakhohlakelwe [yebo] abacabangi/ abantu bayayazi into embi into enhle abayifundanga abantu [yebo] bafuna into yokubulala [yebo] enhle abayazi abantu uyabona igazi ngamakhala ufa uyezwa-ka

<sup>283</sup> I: but i::: is there um [carry on] but where does it come from? either ]

R: {okay} us us people [ja] {ibhadi} is done/happens {ishwa} is done/happens [ja] perhaps your father Mackenzie [yebo] he has {four years} that he has departed this world [yes] you have not slaughtered a cow [yes] you did not perform the {ukubuyisa} [Mm] perhaps your mother [Ja] perhaps your {grandfather} he

**M-2-1**

R: we make us of 'inhlanhla' there are {imithi} which I use called 'inhlanhla' [{Okay}] just like {umuthi} called 'white inhlanhla' [I: {Okay} 'white inhlanhla'] Yes {umuthi} that is termed 'inhlanhla' {umuthi} of which the name is 'inhlanhla' [mmhm] do you see? {umuthi} of luck [I: 'white inhlanhla' though] there is {umuthi} to return luck it is termed 'umkhanyakude'

I: oh 'Umkhanyakude' just like the {umuthi} there [the tree] yes the tree of that place

R: Yes it [the tree] gives luck just like 'ulosilina' do you see that 'umkhanyakude' is just like 'ulosilina'? {imithi} that make luck/fortune

I: Ja those that make luck/fortune

R: um {umuthi} that is called 'umphumeleli' do you know this one?

I: Ja 'umphumeleli' ['umphumeleli'] {success} not so? [ja] 'umphumeleli' [ja] <sup>284</sup>

**M-2-2**

he wants {umuthi} (1.5) {intelezi} [Ja] that is for {ukuchela} [{chela}] that is to {vika} something that is {bi}

I: Ja that is what I want [Ja you want to talk about the matter of them wanting to heal themselves] yes

R: {so} when it comes to {izintelezi} I have purchased something there that they chopped up they chopped up for me do you see now they will go {ezibeni} they will chop it up so that it is like this [oh {okay}] do you see [Ja] {it's a mix} [yes]

I: They will chop it for you so that it is it is like this

R: Ja they will chop it you see I take it and I {lulama} it is it not so that you see this? [I: Ja {okay}] Then I give it to him [I: {Alright}] then it will {vika} enemies [Ja] and people that want to kill [you] <sup>285</sup>

wants you to give him food [yes] you couldn't care less you do not perform the rituals [{O:kay} {okay}] perhaps it is this perhaps and {ishwa} just appears there are people who do not understand this that we are talking about [mmhm] but they are still alive/healthy they have not looked after the traditions [mmhm] they are believers {i.e. they are Christians} but they are still alive/healthy they do not have these {amashwa} [ja] do you see? [yes i see] there are people who have not eaten {umuthi} [yes] (0.50 but they are alive/healthy but they do not eat {umuthi} they eat just pills [they eat pills] but they believe that pills are not {umuthi} [okay] they do not know this fact that they take {umuthi} and make pills [they just make pills])

<sup>284</sup> R: we make us of 'inhlanhla' there are {imithi} which I use called 'inhlanhla' [{Okay}] just like {umuthi} called 'white inhlanhla' [I: {Okay} 'white inhlanhla'] Yes {umuthi} that is termed 'inhlanhla' {umuthi} of which the name is 'inhlanhla' [mmhm] do you see? {umuthi} of luck [I: 'white inhlanhla' though] there is {umuthi} to return luck it is termed 'umkhanyakude'

I: oh 'Umkhanyakude' just like the {umuthi} there [the tree] yes the tree of that place

R: Yes it [the tree] gives luck just like 'ulosilina' do you see that 'umkhanyakude' is just like 'ulosilina'? {imithi} that make luck/fortune

I: Ja those that make luck/fortune

R: um {umuthi} that is called 'umphumeleli' do you know this one?

I: Ja 'umphumeleli' ['umphumeleli'] {success} not so? [ja] 'umphumeleli' [ja]

<sup>285</sup> he wants {umuthi} (1.5) {intelezi} [Ja] that is for {ukuchela} [{chela}] that is to {vika} something that is {bi}

I: Ja that is what I want [Ja you want to talk about the matter of them wanting to heal themselves] yes

R: {so} when it comes to {izintelezi} I have purchased something there that they chopped up they chopped up for me do you see now they will go {ezibeni} they will chop it up so that it is like this [oh {okay}] do you see [Ja] {it's a mix} [yes]

I: They will chop it for you so that it is it is like this

R: Ja they will chop it you see I take it and I {lulama} it is it not so that you see this? [I: Ja {okay}] Then I give it to him [I: {Alright}] then it will {vika} enemies [Ja] and people that want to kill [you]

**M-2-3**

R: yes he can protect himself

I: but how?

R: with {imithi} we make {imithi}

I: {okay} we make {imithi} that are similar to the {imithi} which return luck or

R: no we cannot make the {imithi} to return luck we make [imithi] to {vikela} a thing which is {bi} in the homestead

I: oh {okay} like {intelezi}

R: {intelezi} we mix together {intelezi}

I: the {intelezi} it has um {sorry} I want to ask it has um it has what sort of nature

R: {intelezi} I showed this thing here [ja] this is {intelezi} when you use {intelezi} you steam with it you 'steam' with it you wash with it {intelezi} it is not easy that a thing which is {bi} approaches you <sup>286</sup>

**M-2-4**

R: or like that there is a bottle

I: yes a bottle

R: Ja do you see the bottle that is there on the shield

I: Oh {okay}

R: do you see it?

I: yes I see it

R: it is a [unintelligible] do you see it?

I: oh {okay} the amaZulu also do this thing?

R: they do this they put {umuthi} there they pack it inside

I: in the bottle?

R: a thing is hidden in it <sup>287</sup>

**M-2-5**

R: {okay} {iselekelelo}

I: {iselekelelo} {okay} {right}

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<sup>286</sup> R: yes he can protect himself

I: but how?

R: with {imithi} we make {imithi}

I: {okay} we make {imithi} that are similar to the {imithi} which return luck or

R: no we cannot make the {imithi} to return luck we make [imithi] to {vikela} a thing which is {bi} in the homestead

I: oh {okay} like {intelezi}

R: {intelezi} we mix together {intelezi}

I: the {intelezi} it has um {sorry} I want to ask it has um it has what sort of nature

R: {intelezi} I showed this thing here [ja] this is {intelezi} when you use {intelezi} you steam with it you 'steam' with it you wash with it {intelezi} it is not easy that a thing which is {bi} approaches you

<sup>287</sup> R: or like that there is a bottle

I: yes a bottle

R: Ja do you see the bottle that is there on the shield

I: Oh {okay}

R: do you see it?

I: yes I see it

R: it is a [unintelligible] do you see it?

I: oh {okay} the amaZulu also do this thing?

R: they do this they put {umuthi} there they pack it inside

I: in the bottle?

R: a thing is hidden in it

R: let me say there [mmhm] if you place your {imithi} a certain {intelezi} you know of [mmhm] it {vikela}'s people who approach you so that they weaken they arrive and they so 'oh' they have guns they come up to you and they arrive and they are weakened [{okay} {okay} ] do you hear this

I: yes I hear this

R: there will come a person who asks and says hhawu! how were you saved there you know these are criminals? you say 'no I was saved' 'because we saw they had guns' [ja] you say no I'm saved 'what died they say when they came up to you?' 'no they say they are asking for directions because they are just going to there [laughter]

I: but um it it helps how? this bottle? (0.4) how does this help this {iselekelelo}

R: this {iselekelelo} it {depends} on how it is made how it is made

I: {okay} ]<sup>288</sup>

### M-2-6

I: but this this power comes from where though? is it inside the {imithi} or where does it come from?

R: this power comes from the {imithi} because it is a gift from {uNkulunkulu} for us because it is just choice you know if I take {uMeleni} and {uMkhanyakude} [{ja}] and {inhlanhla emhlophe} it will be like this you see it is just choice [{ja}] you this is the power of {uNkulunkulu} this [{ja}] I didn't go to school I have not learnt/studied [{ja}] here my child has studied [{ja}] at school my child at school

I: but you found your knowledge from {uNkulunkulu}?

R: {uNkulunkulu} gave it to me

I: {Okay} ]<sup>289</sup>

### M-2-7

R: a doctor has power [{okay} and the {amadlozi} in their way have their power in a the way that is to assist that it is said that that people kill in order to ask them [{okay}] and this it has its own way and that has its own way [{okay}]

I: {so} they have their ways then

R: [ways] to to help [to help] so that when you leave here it is the {7th floor} here but perhaps your {uNkulunkulu} perhaps he doesn't like you perhaps you are sickened by your

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<sup>288</sup> R: Okay iselekelelo

I: Iselekelelo okay right

R: Angithi laphaya [mmhm] uma ufake imithi yakho inthelezi ethize uyaziyo [mmhm] uyavikela abantu bafika bakhathala sebefikile bathi oh baphethe i'bhamu bafika k'wena bafika bakhathaza [okay okay ] uyizwa lokhu

I: Yebo ngiyezwa lokhu

R: Uze umuntu obuza uthi hhawu! usinde kanjane la uzazi izigebengu lezi? uthi hhayi ngisindile ngoba sibonile bepethe i'bhamu [ja] uthi hhayi ngisindile bafika bathini k'wena? cha bathi babuza indlela nje ngoba baya le [laughter]

I: kodwa um iya iyasinda kanjane? lebhodlela? uyasinda kanjani lesi isilekelelo?

R: lesilekelelo kuya-depend ukuthi sakhe kanjani sakhiwe kanjane

I: Okay

<sup>289</sup> I: kodwa la lawamandla avelaphi kodwa? ngaphakathi wemithi noma avela kuphi?

R: lamandla avela em'thini ngoba sisapho Unkulunkulu kwenu (?) ngoba ukukhetha nje ukuthi uyazi mangithathe umeleni no mkhanyakude [ja] nenhlanhla emhlophe kuzoba nje uyabona ukukhetha nje [Ja] uyabona amandla kaNkulunkulu lawa [Ja] mina angiyi esikoleni angifundanga [ja] la ingane yami efundile [ja] e:::sikoleni ingane yami esikoleni

I: kodwa utholile ulwazi kuNkulunkulu?

R: Unkulunkulu mina wanginike

I: Okay

mother's father [yes] perhaps your father's father doesn't want you to die it will be said to him {uncertain who?} that he should help and make it so that you go

I: {Okay} {so} we can we can ask {or} we can request that the {amadlozi} [help us] protect us {okay} we can we can request from {uNkulunkulu} whom can we ask?

R: Yes you do nothing without {uNkulunkulu} [{Okay} {yeah} ] you ask {uNkulunkulu} [{okay} now] but you can never speak with {uNkulunkulu} having not spoken to his {amadlozi}

I: {Okay} {so} they are the same as the {Saints} of the {Roman Catholics}?

R: No let me say when it is this thing you see if you go to a {police station}?

I: {Ja}

R: Or to the court do you know the court? [yes the court] do you know the court? there where there are cases and {magistrates} there? [yes] you have no right to arrive and go to speak directly with the magistrate [laughter] you should start at the police station

I: you start at the police station yes

R: the policeman then says o:h he passes it on to the {umshushisi} [discussion of chain of command, eventually going to magistrate] not so do you see this?

I: yes

R: it is just like this both on earth and in heaven.<sup>290</sup>

### M-3-1

see M-2-5

### M-3-2

see M-2-6

### M-3-3

R: not so {ububi} is that {last month} {I said about} {there was an accident} [I: yes it is {ububi} ] yes {after two months} again you have an {accident} [I: where does this come from? ] people say who is that he has {ibhadi} he has {ishwa} {ibhadi} he has {ishwa} [I: {ishwa} ] {same} this name [I: {ja} {ishwa} ] {ja} {ishwa} [I: {ibhadi} is the same ] Ja

I: mmhm {okay}

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<sup>290</sup> R: unamandla udokotela [okay] namadlozi ngendlela yawo nawa namandla awo ngaye endlela ukuthi yakuphelezela ukuthi kuthiwa babulala abantu bababuzele [okay] nalo::o unendlela yakhe nal unendlela yakhe [okay]

I: so banendlela nje

R: uku ukusiza [ukusiza] ukuthi uma uphuma la sekuyi 7th floor la kodwa mhlawumbe unkulunkulu wakho mhlawumbe akathandi mhlawumbe udiniswa ubaba kaMa wakho [yebo] mhlawumbe ubaba kaBaba wakho akafuni ukufa kuzothiwa k'yena awusize yeze ukuthi uhambe

I: Okay so singa singabuza or singacela amadlozi ukuthi [asisize] asivikela okay singa singacela Unkulunkulu singacela ubani?

R: Ehe akwenzi lutho ngaphandle kwoNkulunkulu [Okay yeah] wena cela Nkulunkulu [okay manje] kodwa ngeke ukwaze ukukhuluma noNkulunkulu ungakhulumanga namadlozi akho

I: Okay so ayafana namaSaints wamaRomeni?

R: Cha angithi uma ulento enje uyabona uma uye le e-police station?

I: Ja

R: Noma enkantolo uyayazi inkantolo? [yebo inkantolo] inkantolo uyayazi? khona amacala namamagistrate khona? [yebo] awunanelungelo ukufika ukuhamba ukukhuluma nemanji [laughter] uqale ephoyiseni

I: uqala ephoyiseni yebo

R: iphoyisa bese lithi o:h livusele umshushisi [discussion of chain of command, eventually going to magistrate] angithi uyabona lokhu?

I: Yebo

R: kunjalo nje nangasemhlabeni nangasezulwini

R: we don't know where this thing comes from [I: you don't know? ] you see we don't know because it happens to whomever and appears to whomever [I: {ja} it just comes ] {ja} you haven't drunk alcohol you aren't drunk [ja] an accident happens and you are struck it is not someone is hit because you were drunk [ja] the accident happens to you

I: {Okay} {so} {ishwa} just comes

R: {ishwa} comes no matter how no matter when in the morning mid day evening {ishwa} comes

I: {Okay} {so} what can we do to ward off this {ishwa}

R: {well} we can try we are trying [I: we can try ] yes we shall try

I: we can ask the {amadlozi} we can ask {uNkulunkulu}

R: {ja} {uNkulunkulu} he helps us <sup>291</sup>

### No-1-1

they have {challenges} many of them people do {they are westernized} with {the religion Christianity} which {imposed} and which killed their traditions belief is concomitant with traditions as well as with traditional healing {it is just a holistic approach} it is concomitant uMvelinqangi {which is God in your context} uMvelinqangi Nomkhubulwane and the ancestors {this trinity} didn't arrive with the white people first not with white people and {Christianity} {so} this thing many black people are in a difficult situation because they don't know how to join up their life because {they are} they/they/they/they are torn apart the {environment} the {religion} and the {civilization} of here {and then} they do/ they don't find they haven't/ they don't succeed {because} their {identity} is absent there {ja} {they are just torn apart} {but} just the in traditional beliefs which I have performed {over the years} people are just still going/ just {because} {experience} {you learn by experience} {it's bitter} {because} with a child because I am talking about {spirits} when you heal a person it is necessary that you start by examining him first because some diseases are 'built' by {spirits} {rather than} those that are {physical} {if} there is a {clash} of {spirits within one's body} particularly perhaps the mother has not married the father they conceive a child outside of wedlock the child then is in difficulty because he is {torn apart either} he is {rude} he doesn't hear he doesn't listen there are many many many. These diseases are created by by/by/by {conflict} among the {spirits} {from mother and from father} {because} when you {conceive} a person {these two spirits come together} it is not something that you can prevent {you can't} {it's natural} {so} {you inherit from your father you inherit from your father} {it just happens from the womb} if it is {out of the wedlock} the/the/the/the/the child is conceived like an illegitimate child it causes problems {so that's why} my spirit {buyisa}'s so that children may grow up well those ones who are

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<sup>291</sup> R: Angithi ububi ukuthi last month I said about there was an accident [I: yebo ububi ] yebo after two months futhi une-accident [I: ivelaphi lokhu? ] abantu bathi ubani lo unebhadi yena uneshwa ibhadi uneshwa [I: Ishwa ] same leligama [I: Ja Ishwa ] Ja ishwa [I: Ibhadi iyafana ] Ja

I: mmhm okay

R: Asazi lento ukuthi iqhamukaphi [I: awusazi? ] uyabona asisazi ngoba ihlela nomubani ivela noma kubani [I: Ja iyafika nje ] Ja ungaphuzile ungadakiwe wena [ja] uvelwa ingozi ushayiswa awumuntu oshayiswa ngoba udakiwe [ja] uwena ovelwa ingozi

I: Okay so ishwa iyafika nje

R: ishwa iyafika nomakanjani noma nini ekuseni kusemini ntambama liyafika ishwa

I: Okay so singayenzani ukuvikela ngaleshwa

R: Well siyayozama siyazama [I: Singazama ] Eh siyozama

I: Singacela amadlozi singacela uNkulunkulu

R: ja uNkulunkulu uyasisiza

conceived outside of marriage to protect the {street kids} those ones {no wonder} {HIV AIDS} enters through {sex prematurely} <sup>292</sup>

### No-1-2

{but if} an accident for us {if you sit down} it is cause by spirits {if} there are {rituals} which haven't been performed {so you become a victim of everything} ... the ancestors – you haven't been able to perform rituals for them <sup>293</sup>

### No-1-3

many things that are done at home have not been done {so} {spirits} they are the ones they {push} at you {everywhere} they also are hit by a car you whom they hit with a car not them {we are protected by those} {from evil} they can possibly be they usually they {attack} they are {right} they are a father at home do you see? {so it's more than that} a {spiritual}/ a {spiritual cohesion} {within one's body} {can make a lot of harm} <sup>294</sup>

### No-1-4

{because there are those things that are made by} {abathakathi} that are {spiritual but that can do you harm} {people have died} {you understand?} the {resistance} {intelezi} is purchased against animals there at home animals those that are sent {abafana} [and] {izimfene} {izimfene} that are sent by {abathakathi} <sup>295</sup>

### No-1-5

[those who have passed away they want that you should set all their things right that they have left behind {because} we have {families} {we've got families over there} {when you die} {to my} {religion} {you join your family} {clan} {over there} {now} if it happens that you are naughty {they are} {they don't accept you} {just} {you are just away from your family} {you will look at them they will tell you "why did you do a b c?" because}

<sup>292</sup> inama-challenges amaningi abantu they are westernized ne-religion Christianity e/e/e-impose--e ebulala amasiko phela inkolo iyahambisana namasiko nokwelapha kwamasiko kuhambisana it is just a holistic approach kuyahambisana u/u/Mvelinqangi which is God in your context uMvelinqangi uNomkhubulwane namathongo this i-trinity akuyona iyafika nabelungu k'qala hhayi ngabelungu ne-Christianity so lento abantu abamnyama abaningi basenkingeni ukuthi abakwazi ukuxhuma impilo yabo ngoba they are ba/ba/ba/badatshulwa i-environment i-religion ne-civilization kala and i then baya/abayizitholi benga/abayiphumeleli because i-identity yabo ayikho lapho ja they are just torn apart but-i –ke ngalenkolo yesintu-ke engenzile over the years abantu-ke sebeya/ and-i-ke i-experience you learn by experience i/i/i/I it's bitter because ngengane njengoba ngikhuluma ngama-spirits 'ma ulapha umuntu kufuneka uqale umhlolele k'qala ukuthi izifo ezinye zakhiwe ama-spirits rather than ezi-physical if kune-clash ye-spirits within one's body kakhulukazi mhlawumbe umama akashadanga nobaba bazala ingane ngaphandle kwomshado ingane-ke isenkingeni-ke ukuthi u-torn apart either u-rude alizwa ayilaleli kuningi k'ningi k'ningi k'ningi. lezizifo zidalwa na/na/ne-conflict yama-spirits from mother and from father because 'ma u-conceive-a-ke umuntu these two spirits come together hhayi ukuthi ungalivimba you can't it's natural so you inherit from your father you inherit from your father it just happens from the womb 'ma kuyi-out of the wedlock i/i/i/i/ingane ezalwa njengomlanjwana kuyahlupheka so that's why-ke idlozi lami ibuyisa ukuthi abantwana abakhule kahle abazali ngaphandle kwomshado ukuvikela ama-street kids lawo no wonder i-HIV AIDS izongena kuyi sex prematurely.

<sup>293</sup> but if ingozi kithina if you sit down lakhiwa imimoya if kukhona ama-rituals engenziwanga so you become a victim of everything ... amadlozi awuzanga ukwenzela umsebenzi kuwona

<sup>294</sup> izinto eziningi ezenziwa ikhaya azenziwanga so ama-spirits bakuwona ba-druk-ela everywhere bashayiswa futhi imoto wena obashayisa imoto hhayi bona we are protected by those from evil angabe afanele ba-attack-elishiwe baba-right baba ubaba ekhaya uyabona? so it's more than that i-spiritual/ i-spiritual cohesion within one's body can make a lot of harm

<sup>295</sup> because there are those things that are made by abathakathi ezi-spiritual but that can do you harm people have died you understand? i-resistance intelezi iyothengelwa ngenye izilwane la ekhaya izilwane izithunywa abafana i'imfene izimfene ezithunywa abathakathi

{you should have done ‘a’ {we have shown you by these} {but you didn’t do it}.... they make it so that {you are in crisis so that they make an apology on his or her behalf} {so that} you enter into your family

I: {so} when you forget the {amadlozi} these things appear?

R: many indeed many indeed - our life is just there} {there is} Mvelinqangi {who gave us these} {amadlozi} {to be mediators} {you know?} {and} Nomkhubulwane {when} {when we don’t respect nature} {because she’s the princess of rain rather than the goddess} [10.0] {so} {there’s a lot incurable diseases when I was doing that research} {which is true} {there is droughts} {infest} (?) {you know} {there is a lot} {but unless people go to the mountain} {and} {ask for apology} it will end all diseases {and it happens} {the dedicated you are} {the results will be there} {very easy and very quick} {rather than God hears and he doesn’t respond easily - it’s what the Christians say. They don’t believe in it.<sup>296</sup>

### No-2-1

[my work] is to heal/cure with {umuthi} to heal/cure um in a way which is like that which is called {ukululeka} furthermore to heal/cure {spiritually} with the {indefinite concord} of the {amadlozi} with Nomkhubulwane<sup>297</sup>

### No-2-2

there are many ways many to return luck there is this one which is called {ukulungisa umsamo} {ukulungisa umsamo} {is to make peace with the spirits} {these are rituals} {there are rituals}<sup>298</sup>

### No-2-3

so that he may {lunga umsamo} {the spirits must be in good} {because the more you are being a target} {it is because of them if they are not} {united with you} {they make you a main target}<sup>299</sup>

### No-2-4

{then} with one who is {buthakathile} we we use {imithi}<sup>300</sup>

<sup>296</sup> abashonile bafuna ukuthi ulungise izinto zakhe ezishiywa because sinawama-family we’ve got families over there when you die to my religion you join your family clan over there now ’ma ngabe uganga they are they don’t accept you just you are just away from the family you will look at them they will tell you “why did you do a b c?” because you should have done a we have shown you by these but you didn’t do it .... benze ukuthi you are in crisis so that they make an apology on his or her behalf so that uyangena emndenini

I: so ’ma ukhohlwa amadlozi ziyafika izifo?

R: ziningi kakhulu ziningi kakhulu our life us just there there is Mvelinqangi who gave us these amadlozi to be mediators you know? and Nomkhubulwane when when we don’t respect nature because she’s the princess of rain rather than the goddess [10.0] so there’s a lot incurable diseases when I was doing that research which is true there is droughts infest (?) you know there is a lot but unless people go to the mountain and ask for apology kuzophela zonke izifo and it happens the dedicated you are the results will be there very easy and very quick rather than God hears and he doesn’t respond easily it’s what the Christians say they don’t believe in it

<sup>297</sup> [umsebenzi wami] wokulapha ngomuthi wokulapha um onjengalokhu okuthiwa ‘ukululeka’ uphinde wokulapha spiritually ngowamadlozi ngoNomkhubulwane

<sup>298</sup> ziningi indlela ziningi ukubuyisa inhlanhla iyona okuthiwa ‘ukulungisa umsamo’ ukulungisa msamo is to make peace with the spirits these are rituals there are rituals

<sup>299</sup> ukuthi angalunge umsamo the spirits must be in good because the more you are being a target it is because of them if they are not united with you they make you a main target

**No-2-5**

to not do things which are good {they just draw every dirty thing to you because you don't care about them} {so that it's a point of awareness but if you don't take care even of it} {you become miserable} {because} they bring it all {but if you are on good terms} hey! {you've got a lot of luck} {even things that you don't like they just come your way} {everything} {everything everything} <sup>301</sup>

**No-2-6**

{so} there are {imithi} which can protect against these things if it {ubuthakathaki} strikes we give him this thing {same time} {you are cured} it's not the case that it's {next week} {now now} it is quick {that's why} {we always argue about Western medicine} {it take too long} {it takes too long} {and it's got its own side effects} {to us} {we've got our own medicine that works right now} {and it cause harm to the one that sent harm} {without knowing who is he} {immediately when you say [spitting noise] it must go back} {it must go back when it belongs} {same time it goes back} it just goes back there so that it does not return {cos he feels the pain the same} ... if you cast a spell at a person there is {imithi} that sends it back <sup>302</sup>

**No-3-1**

I: {so} the {amadlozi} have power?

R: they have power

I: [them] only?

R: they make use of me <sup>303</sup>

**Nt-1-1**

[secondly a person is sickened because he ate food or or a type of food entered his mouth {orally} or entered his rear {anally} {anally} or it intered his body {through injection} {a poisonous substance} poison a person may also become ill because in his body there is poison which appears from outside of his body it entered him something that shouldn't have and this poison makes him ill may give sickness to a person um::::m a person may become ill in this way ] <sup>304</sup>

<sup>300</sup> then obuthakathile si sebenzisa imithi

<sup>301</sup> ukungenzi kahle they just draw every dirty thing to you because you don't care about them so that it's a point of awareness but if you don't take care even of it you become miserable because baletha konke but if you are in good terms wo::o you've got a lot of luck even things that you don't like they just come your way everything everything everything

<sup>302</sup> so kunemithi-ke vikela lezozinto 'ma bushaye leyonto simnikeze same time you are cured hhayi ukuthi next week now now kuyashesha that's why we always argue about Western medicine it take too long it takes too long and it's got its own side-effects to us we've got our own medicine that works right now and it cause harm to the one that sent harm without knowing who is he immediately when you say [spitting noise] it must go back it must go back where it belongs same time it goes back iyabuya-ke khona angabe aseqhubeka cos he feels the pain the same mangabe uphonsa umuntu ngomuthi uyikhona imithi-ke ephindisele emuva

<sup>303</sup> I: so amadlozi awanamandla?

R: anamandla

I: kuphela?

R: asebenzisa mina

<sup>304</sup> okwesibili-ke eguliswa ukuthi udle ukudla noma noma ngewona ukudla ungenis' emlonyeni wakhe orally noma ungenis' e::muva kwakhe anally anally noma ungenise emzimbeni through injection a poisonous substance ubuthi angagula futhi umuntu ngoba emzimbeni kukhona ubuthi obuqhamuka ngaphandle kwomzimba wakhe wangena kuyena obungefanele futhi lobubuthi buyagulisa bungagulel' umuntu um::::m angagula-ke kanjalo umuntu

**Nt-1-2**

[if i may continue a person may also become ill because because now for example something {external} {external poisonous substances} this enters a person and this act is committed by a person {deliberately} {like} a person if there is {poison} put in their tea or if one <thakatha>'s him are you still hearing this? {so it's a man-made} with this deed the act of getting ill and a person may become ill in this way<sup>305</sup>

**Nt-1-3**

I am almost there I'm just at the end another thing which can sicken a person I'm saying now me the way a person grows up in the time when a person is growing he is like a car and its {wear and tear} a person will become sick his knees will not 'comply' some day and his body will not 'comply' well because {this person is ageing} a person grows old/wears out and these then are just things which may commonly sicken a person.<sup>306</sup>

**Nt-1-4**

it is also the same with {ishwa} there is {ishwa} which we call 'natural' {natural} it is not apparent that there is a person who it is who is making it so that you have {ishwa} {in this case} for instance you just have {ibhadi} there is not a person who it is who makes this {ibhadi} or {ishwa} occur for you you met with it there are many {amashwa} with which we meet.<sup>307</sup>

**Nt-1-5**

just like if {here is} an {example} which is very clear when you go her and then you trip {if you trip over something} you see here that there is not a person who put a stone there there is not a person who also put {ishwa} there {ibhadi} {ibhadi} just exists but with this {ishwa} it is not necessary that a person should get up and do something specific it will happen no matter what maybe if you are walking and you fall it's just like this.<sup>308</sup>

**Nt-1-6**

but you see in the traditions of the people if {ishwa} occurs the {pattern} of it is apparent this {ishwa} has a {pattern} now it has a way in which it is done that is [unintelligible] a person starts to look and say "no" "there is something whcih isn't right" with this {ishwa} if this / if this {pattern} of it is apparent it is said that there is something that isn't right for example "what might it be that is doing this"? because in the beliefs of the people (0.4) the beliefs of black people it says that perhaps there is something that you need to do with/in the beliefs that is in accordance with the beliefs perhaps you do this thing {with} you 'send off

<sup>305</sup> angaphinde futhi umuntu ogule ngoba ngoba manje kusho ukuthi external external poisonous substances iyona ungena kumuntu lokhu kungenziwa umuntu deliberately like umuntu 'ma kufakele i-poison ethiyeni noma 'ma umthakatha usayizwa leyonto? so it's a man-made ngalokhu ukuyenza lokhu ukugula futhi umuntu ungagula kanjalo

<sup>306</sup> sengizofika ngisegcineni-ke okunye okungagulisa umuntu ngithi-ke mina ukukhula kwakhe umuntu ngesikhathi ekhula umuntu ufana nemoto i-wear and tear yakhe uzogula umuntu amadololo awazovuma ngelinye ilanga nomzimba awuzovuma kahle ngoba this person is ageing uyaguga umuntu nazo-ke izinto-ke ngokujwayelekile ezingagulisa umuntu

<sup>307</sup> kanjalo futhi neshwa kukhona ishwa esithi lendalo natural akubonakala ukuthi ukhona umuntu unguyena owenza ukuthi wena ubeneshwa in this case kusho ukuthi nje unebhadi-nje akekho muntu okuyena owenzela ukuthi obhadi ishwa leli ulehlela kuwena uhlanganile nalo amashwa maningi esihamba kuwona

<sup>308</sup> njengani-nje here is i-example elisobala kakhulu 'ma uhamba la bese ukhuzuka if you trip over something uyabona lapho ukuthi akekho umuntu obheke itshe lapho akhekho umuntu ubheke ne ishwa nje ibhadi kukhona njalo-ke ibhadi lelo kodwa akudinga ukuthi umuntu asukhuma enze okuthile lingenzeka noma ubani ungathi uyahamba uwe kunjalo-ke

[a message]’ you pacify/express regret with the {amadlozi} the {amadlozi} are those who pass this on to Nkulunkulu for example you have something that you haven’t done perhaps you didn’t say thank you there is a thing that was done in the family or regarding you {and} you didn’t say thank you {you didn’t say thank you} {so} it is just the doing of this things {ishwa} may appear like this {this is a religious} {belief} a belief which says a belief of black people a belief of Mvelinqangi it says everything done in your life like with a person/child everything done in the family {family} it may be be very beautiful/good/positive {it’s exciting} {positive} {if it is significant it’s important} {you must} {you do a report} to Mvelinqangi to Nkulunkulu [I: to thank] to thank {thanksgiving} they say it like this in English but with us it is just that {you must acknowledge} this thing saying “here’s a thing that has been found” you {appreciate} it just to give thanks {right}. To continue again I am still talking about misfortune it is said that {in this case} you didn’t give thanks {then} it just appears there will be someone who will be vexed of the {amadlozi} one will be vexed that this is done then they bring a bit/ then they relax a bit you meet with these misfortunes because in the beliefs of a person of black people we don’t meet with misfortunes {because} {we are protected} do you see? {if you are not protected} {seriously} {then} you just meet with misfortunes this is {it’s not true} that an {idlozi} {idlozi} does not have power to take a switch and beat a person but it has the power to relax its {protection} a little a little if they’ve relaxed it a little you see that many misfortunes will appear you will break your arm perhaps perhaps you may break your arm perhaps you are fired from work perhaps a person tells lies about you you start to see that many misfortunes approach you not just one {not one time} {a variety} but they now have a {pattern} {three months ago} it happened that now it happens that now there is another thing that you meet with this {pattern} there that now misfortunes are numerous {then} you will observe that what is it that hasn’t been done well it can be this then.<sup>309</sup>

### Nt-2-1

{if} there is the sickness because perhaps you have something which has not been done which you ought to have done or there is the sickness because {you are} just her you have a {spirit} that enters you do you still see this? you will also need a person who will know how

<sup>309</sup> kodwa-ke-ke uyabona ngamasiko esintu-nje uma ngabe ishwa libonakala i-pattern yakhe lelishwa line-pattern manje linendlela elenzeka ngayo kuya[unintelligible] umuntu uyaqala ukubheka uthi hhayi kukhona ongalungile ngalelishwa uma seli / selibonakala i-pattern yakhe kusho ukuthi kukhona ongalungile njengani ngabe yini-ke enza lokhu ngokwenkhohlo-ke yabantu inkolo yabantu abamnyama ethi mhlawumbe kukhona into fanele ukuyayenza ngo/enkolo ebhekene nenkolo mhlawumbe uyayenza lento with uyihambisa u::xolisa emadlozini amadlozi wona edlulisela ekaNkulunkulu kusho ukuthi kunento ongayenzile wena mhlawumbe awubonganga kukhona into eyenzekile emndenini noma kuwena and awuzanga ukubonga you didn’t say thank you so-ke ileyo into-ke enzekayo ishwa ingaqhamuka kanjalo-ke this is a religious belief inkolo ithi inkolo yabantu abamnyama inkolo yikaMvelinqangi ithi yonke into enzile empilo yakho njengomuntu yonke into enzile emndenini family kungaba yi yinhle kakhule it’s exciting positive if it is significant it’s important you must you do a report kuMvelinqangi kuNkulunkulu [I: ukubonga] ukubonga thanksgiving basho njalo ngesiNgisi kodwa kithina ukuthi-nje you must acknowledge lento ukuthi nansi into etholile uya-appreciate-a ukubonga-ke right. siphinde-ke futhi ngisakhuluma ngeshwa kusho ukuthi in this case awuzanga ukubongeka then siyaqhamuka-ke khona ozodinwa amadlozi omunye ozodinwa ukuthi le/lo awenzile ebese letho ka/ ebese bededela kancane uhlangana nale namashwa ngoba enkolweni yomuntu yabantu abamnyama asihlangani namashwa because we are protected uyabona? if you are not protected seriously then-ke uyahlangana-ke naye namashwa yiko it’s not true ukuthi idlozi idlozi alinawo amandla ukuthatha uswazi ushaye umuntu kodwa linawamandla wokuyekisa kancane i-protection yawo kancane ’ma sekuyekile kancane-ke uyabona ukuthi amashwa azoqhamuka maningi uzophuka ingalo mhlawumbe mhlawumbe ungaphuka ingalo mhlawumbe uxoshwe emsebenzini mhlawumbe umuntu ukuqambela amanga usuyabona ukuthi maningi amashwa eze kuwena hhayi elodwa not one time a variety kodwa ane-pattern manje three months ago kwenzekile ukuthi manje kwenzekile ukuthi manje nankho futhi sekuhlangana nokuthi i-pattern le ukuthi manje amashwa maningi then ukuthi uzobheka ukuthi yini ongenzanga kahle kungaba ilokho-ke

to heal/cure who will know that this {spirit} that is entering that is making you sick, we can remove from you how we have these things like this<sup>310</sup>

### Nt-2-2

furthermore when there is sickness which is {mysterious} you do not see where it has come from in the Zulu culture you will go to a {diviner} {isangoma} he will know how to see where this sickness comes from and what sort of {isimangaliso} it is that {isangoma} if he is not able to heal/cure we will come to an {inyanga} {originally} {izangoma} their power to heal/cure is minimal the person who cures/heals is the {inyanga} but an {isangoma} will tell you where this sickness comes from together with/ and the {formula} of it when there is a {formula if it's a man-made illness} {then} then he just {refers} you to the {inyanga} {with this} {history} {so} we may just go the {inyanga} because we know what it is that he is able to cure/heal it is necessary that it just be like this this then is the path by which he heals/cures {ambiguous concord – could be referring to “us” or “sickness”}<sup>311</sup>

### Nt-2-3

it is also like that with {ishwa} you will observe the {pattern} of {ishwa} that this {ishwa} here it has a {pattern} {that is a worrying thing} if it has a {pattern} {that's a worrying thing} {then} you will just get up and go to a person who will know how to {address} this {pattern} he who will know how to stop it people who will know how to stop a thing like this they are the people who have power {spiritually} just like just like {abathandazi} and just like those {izangoma} too and those {izinyanga} they know how to stop {ishwa} a doctor does know how to stop death I mean {ishwa} but the {pattern} of {ishwa} we um it is said that {culturally} if {if it is culturally} {inclined} when it is done like this {culturally this is what you must do} you will do like this in other words {ishwa} there are numerous {ishwa} which may appear it may be perhaps that you take {isifo} I forgot to say in the beginning {isifo} is taken like a {curse} {a curse} isifo {if} {if there is a death in the family} {that means} {the curse has struck the family} {so that now we must do the cleansing} one way is that to remove {ishwa} [a way] {ukuvika} {ishwa} so that it does not occur when it is present it occurs in such a way that it is concomitant with {isifo} you did not perform the {cleansing} that is {proper} {then} you will just perform the {cleansing} that is {proper} you look at the {pattern} of the {ishwa} that the {pattern} of this {ishwa} – how does it speak about that {ishwa} that is what will tell you as to what you need to do.<sup>312</sup>

<sup>310</sup> if kukugula ngoba mhlawumbe kunento ongayenzanga befanele ukuyenza noma ukugula ngoba you are-ke lana kune-spirit ongena kuwena usayibona? uzodinga umuntu futhi ozokwaza ukulapha kanjani ozokwaza ukuthi le-spirit esingena esigulisayo singasikhipha kuwena sinazo-ke lezozinto ezinjalo

<sup>311</sup> futhi 'ma kukhona ukugula oku-mysterious anibona ukuthi kuqhamukaphi ngowesiZulu-ke nizohamba niye kwi-diviner isangoma sizokwaza ukubona ukuthi lokhu ukugula kuqhamukaphi futhi kuyisimangaliso kanjani isangoma sona 'ma singakwazi ukulapha sizofika enyangeni originally izangoma amandla azo eyokwelapha mancane umuntu olaphayo uyinyanga kodwa sizokutshela isangoma sizokutshela ukuthi lokhu ukugula kuqhamukaphi noku/ne formula nayeko-ke 'ma kukhona i-formula if it's a man-made illness then bese-ke siyaku-refer--a-ke enyangeni with this history so singahamba-ke enyanga ngoba siyazi kuyini engalapheka kufanele-ke ukube kanjalo-ke yona-ke indlela yeyo-ke esilapha ngayo

<sup>312</sup> kanjalo futhi 'ma uneshwa uzobheka i-pattern yeshwa ukuthi lishwa le line-pattern that is a worrying thing uma ngabe line-pattern that's a worrying thing then uzosukuma-ke uye kumuntu ozokwaza uku-address-a le/le-pattern lelo ozokwaza ukulimisa abantu abazokwaza ukulimisa into enjalo kungababantu abanamandla spiritually njenga njengabathandazi njenganazi izangoma futhi nazizinyanga ziyakwaza ukumisa ishwa udokotela akakwazi ukumisa ifa ishwa-ke kodwa i-pattern ye/yeshwa thina e:::e kusho ukuthi culturally uma if it is culturally inclined 'ma lenzeka kanje culturally this is what you must do uzokwenza kanjalo ngamanye amagama ishwa liningi ishwa ingaqhamuka kungabe mhlawumbe uthatha isifo ngikhohliwe ukusho ekuqaleni isifo esithathwa njenge-curse a curse isifo if if there is a death in the family that means the curse has struck the family so now we must do the cleansing enye indlela leyo lokukhipha ishwa-ke yokuvika ishwa ukuthi

**Nt-2-4**

you see a person a person was was just made like this in the beginning let us talk about a mature person now who now knows {this is a fully matured person} who knows {reasonably} how to differentiate between {ububi} and {ubuhle} start there then first a person then it is necessary that we [unintelligible] him personally he is the person {uNkulunkulu} created a person and gave him a mind he created him also so that [with] this mind it is necessary that he makes use of his mind he created him also he gave him the {senses} he/ either he may take all the {senses} he placed in us a {sixth sense} do you see this {is called sixth sense if you like} he gave him all these {senses} {so} then but {above all} the mind has power for a person especially with his mind then a person it is necessary that he knows how to differentiate between {ubuhle} and {ububi} all the time {ubuntu} states that a person must choose that which is {ubuhle} [but] that which is {ububi} let him {vika} it or let him prevent it let him {vika} it or let him prevent it or let him {destroy} it that which is evil it depends on the {degree} of {ububi} how big the thing is {so} then a person will protect himself firstly with his mind he will not do things {physically} that will harass another person {unjustifiably} he will not do this to a person so for instance when I am talking with you now you will not strike me with your hand because if you do I will say to you ‘why are you striking me with your hand?’ you will say ‘no I like this striking/hitting’ {that is unjustified} {so} then {ubuntu} just says {you will not do anything that is unjustifiable to another person} {in other words} {when it comes to} perhaps to the feeling of pain {physically} or {spiritually} are you still seeing this? it is not necessary to/you must not do this to another person but {ubuntu} um {ubuntu} states you will work so that there may be {harmony} between you and another person this is the way this one to ward off/prevent {ububi} are you still understanding this? {ububi} {if there’s a harmony within the family} let me start like that {a harmony within an individual} {himself} so to speak {internally} for him only {internal conflicts} of his he himself everything {he must sort that} {so that there’s harmony in him} {then there must be harmony between} {that particular individual} and {and the second} {or third} {or} {any other individuals} {there must be harmony} let’s say that it is {within the family now} there should be {ukuthula} there {ukuthula} do you see? I am not talking about {uxolo} {uxolo} {is the absence of war} {or the absence of conflict} {absence of conflict} this is {ukuthula} there should also be {tranquility} in a person do you see this then? um::m in the {family} it should also be like this {if} there is a thing which upsets this {ukuthula} a person must hurry to end this {address} this thing this is the [way of] preventing all {ububi} I am still telling you just {generally} it moves out into the {community} it moves on into the {society} it moves on into the {nation} {so} {ububi} is prevented in this way but then the {problem} is this a person goes through all the {categories} I have said it is not said that a person may stay successful like this with the prevention of {ububi} {sometimes} {ububi} has much power a person may take a gun and shut a person do you see? he is {diniwe} you take the case of a person finding of a person finding finding a man finding another man sleeping with his wife this is {bi} this but he must not enter there and take a gun and shoot him do you see? [with regard to] this thing {ubuntu} just states “no don’t do it like this” to prevent {ububi} talk {address} this thing you cannot kill a person you cannot strike a person either are you still hearing this thing? you prevent it like this then {ububi} when we are talking just {culturally} {individually} {and so forth} Let me move on now I come to a person just on his own I began I just said a person who is mature knows {good morals} and {bad morals}

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kungenzeki `ma likhona liqhamuka ukuthi lihambisana nesifo awuzange niyenze i-cleansing le-proper then uzoyenza-ke i-cleansing e-proper ubheka kuyi-pattern yeshwa wena ukuthi i-pattern yalelishwa ukhuluma ngalo kanjani iyona ezokutshela ukuthi udinga ukwenzenjani

do you see? for example now I am maturing I to behave oneself well and to behave oneself badly it is prevented in this way then – {ububi} {generally} there is not one single way though on top of this all we have done all this you heard that I said there are things which a person ought to {acknowledge} there are [things] which are good one must be thankful for them another way then to prevent {ububi} is that if it happens that there is a thing or that a person gives you a thing which you need {you must give thanks} {to any} {to any valuable} do you see? {any valuable} {any creditable} um {gift} {in any of its form} {if you know where that comes from} {you must give thanks from the source} let us start there then a child to his parent a child is taught to be very thankful a child that does not thank his parent will not/will not give him as much always needed/what is needed because it does not thank so for example with you too then I am working with you if this thing which I give is {valuable} to you I wait for you to thank me if it happens that you do not thank [and] you return again on another day it is apparent that that is where {ububi} begins there you did not do that which you ought to have done are you still seeing this thing? {evil} – this is just one way in which it is done like this that {you address} {you prevent this or you encourage} good things {the more you encourage} things which are good which are {positive} {the more automatically} things which are {bi} will {reduce} they will reduce this then is also a way here to prevent {ububi} <sup>313</sup>

<sup>313</sup> uyabona umuntu umuntu wa/ wakhe-ke kanje okuqala asikhuluma ngomuntu omdala la osekwazi this is a fully matured person okwazi reasonably ukwehlukana ububi nobuhle qala lapho-ke kuqala umuntu yena kufana si[unintelligible] yena qobo lwakhe uyena umuntu uNkulunkulu umdalile umuntu wamupha unomgqondo wamdala futhi umgqondo lowo fanele umsebenza umgqondo wamdala futhi wamupha ama-senses wa/ noma unga/ thatha wonke ama-senses usifakile i-sixth sense uyabona leso is called sixth sense if you like umnikeze wonke lawama-senses so-ke kodwa above all umgqondo unamandla kumuntu kakhulu ngomgqondo wakhe-ke umuntu kufanele ekwaza ukwehlukana ubuhle nobubi ngaso sonke isikhathi ubuntu buthi umuntu ufane akhethe obuhle obubi akuvike noma akuvimbe akuvike noma akuvimbe noma akudestroy-a okubi uye ukuthi i-degree yobubi into engakanani so-ke umuntu ozozivikela k'qala nomgqondo wakhe awuzuzenza izinto physically ezizohlupha omunye umuntu unjustifiably awuzukwenza lokhu kumuntu njengoba ngikhuluma nawe nje la awuzungishaye ngemphamu makaze ngizokuthi 'ungishayelani ngemphamu?' uzothi 'hhayi ngiyathanda lokhu ukushaya that is unjustified so-ke ubuntu-ke buthi you will not do anything that is unjustifiable to another person in other words when it comes to mhlawumbe ukuzuzwa ubuhlungu physically noma spiritually usabona lokhu akufanele ukwenza lokhu kumunye umuntu kodwa ubuntu e::e u/u/ubuntu buthi wena uzosebenzela ukuthi kubekhona i-harmony kuwena nomunye umuntu yiyona indlela leyo yokuvimba ububi usayizwa lento? ububi if there's a harmony within the family angiqale kanje a harmony within an individual himself kusho ukuthi internally kuyengayedwa internal conflicts akhe yena yonke into he must sort that so that there's harmony in him then there must be harmony between that particular individual ne/ and the second or third or any other individuals there must be harmony kusho ukuthi kungaba within the family now kube khona ukuthula ukuthula uyabona? angikhulumi ngoxolo uxolo is the absence of war or the absence of conflict absence of conflict ukuthula lokhu ngabe khona i-quietness kumuntu uyabona lokho-ke um::m kwi-family kungabe kanjalo if kukhona into ephazamisa lokhukuthula umuntu kufanele asheshayo acishe lo address leyonto ukuvimba bonke ububi loyo ngisakutshela-nje generally kudlule kuye ku-community kudlule ukuye kwi-society kudlule ukuye kwi-nation so ububi buvinjwa kanjalo. kodwa-ke i-problem ila umuntu kuye wonke ama-category engishile akushwa ukuthi umuntu angahlale ephumelele kanjani nokuvimba ububi sometimes ububi bunamandla kakhulu athathe isibhamu umuntu odubula umuntu uyabona udiniwe uthatha icala ufica umuntu omuntu efica efica indoda efica enye indoda elele nonkosikazi waye kubi lokhu kodwa akufanele ukungena lo uthathe isibhamu umbulala uyabona? leyoyinto ubuntu buthi-ke "cha musa ukuwenza kanjalo-ke" ukuvimba ububi khuluma address lento awungabalali muntu ungashayi muntu futhi usayizwa leyonto? uvimba kanjalo-ke ububi 'ma sikhuluma-ke-ke culturally individually and so forth. Ngidlule-ke manje ngize-ke kumuntu oyedwa-ke ngiqalile-ke ngathi umuntu-ke osekhulile uyawazi ama-good morals nama-bad morals uyabona? kusho ukuthi manje ngiyakhula nga ukuziphatha kahle nokuziphatha kabi kuvinjelwa kanjalo-ke ububi generally ayikho enye indlela-ke ngokuphezu kwakho konke-ke sesikwenzile konke lokhu uzwile ukuthi ngithe zikhona izinto ukuthi kufanele umuntu azi/ azi-acknowledge-a khona ezinhle azibonge enye indlela-ke yokuvimba ububi ukuthi mangabe kwenzeka ukuthi yinto noma umuntu unike into edingayo you must give thanks to any to any valuable uyabona? any valuable any creditable eh gift in any of its form if you know where that comes from you

**Nt-2-5**

then to continue again that a person began to speak saying {umuthi} has the power to {communicate} <sup>314</sup>

**Nt-2-6**

{if} you then want to take that {power} that is to {communicate} you take it at that time then you arrive and make an {intelezi} {now you are telling it} that {any person} who comes here to you {you must ward off that particular person} this is then how it works are you still hearing this? <sup>315</sup>

**Nt-2-7**

{so} people just take {that} {spiritual power if you like} they took it and with it then they will strengthen another person because the {level} decreases so that {you don't have to come physically} with this person you will just strengthen him perhaps you make incisions in/inoculate him you make incisions in him is concomitant with what you are strengthening him against maybe {you are warding off evil spirits} you made incisions in him or {you are protecting this person from the acts of a witch} {umthakathi} you strengthened this person this then is the thing about which we are talking {you are warding off} perhaps {amabhadi} {too} all such things you just strengthen then the {protection} goes like this then. <sup>316</sup>

**Nt-3-1**

when you talk of {imithi} {amakhambi} {as you put it} a black person believes that {amakhambi} have power {trees and environment} {imithi} {or} other things {waters soils and so forth} {the ingredients that are used when one is making} {umuthi} a person believes that this thing has power it is not that {alright} there is power that is the {chemicals} for example when you look at a tree there is a {chemical} there in that tree [that tree] may help a person if you place it in the body of a person or perhaps it may injure a person I am still talking on that topic when you take these {amakhambi} that are just like this you place them into a person {it's obvious} that {it's} [unintelligible] there or you are strengthening him {ukuqinisa} {immunization} are you still hearing this? let his move on then to that {level} there because {it's a physical appliance} <sup>317</sup>

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must give thanks from the source asiqale lana-ke ingane ngumzali ingane ifundiswa ukubonga kakhulu ingane ingabongi umzalo akazu/akazumnike njalo kakhulu funa/ekufunayo ngoba ayibongi le njengoba nawe-nje ngisebenza nawe uma lento enginikayo yona i-valuable kuwena ngilinde kuzongibonga mangabe ungabonganga uphinde ubuye ngelinye ilanga sekuyabona sekuyaqala-ke ububi lapho wena akazange uwenze ekufanele ukwenza usabona leyonto? ububi-ke-ke enye indlela-ke kwenzeka kanjalo-ke ukuthi you address you prevent this or you encourage izinto ezinhle the more you encourage izinto ezinhle ezi-positive the more automatically izinto ezimbi zizo-reduce zizowehla yiwona naye indlela leyo yokuvinjwa ngayo ububi

<sup>314</sup> bese phinde futhi ukuthi umuntu uqale ukukhuluma ukuthi umuthi unawamandla uku-communicate-a

<sup>315</sup> if ufuna-ke ukuthatha lelo-power yoku-communicate-a uthatha ngalesosikhathi-ke usuyafika-ke uwenze intelezi now you are telling it ukuthi any person eza la wena you must ward off that particular person kusebenza kanjalo-ke usayizwa leyonto?

<sup>316</sup> so (0.5) abantu bayathatha-ke-ke (0.5) that (0.5) spiritual power if you like (0.5) bathathe ngakho-ke bazoqinisa omunye umuntu (0.5) ngoba i-level lehla ukuthi you don't have to come physically (1.0) nomuntu loyo (0.5) uzomqinisa-nje (.) mhlawumbe (.) umgcabe (0.5) umgcaba ukuya kuyimqinise kuweyini (0.5) mhlawumbe you are warding off evil spirits (0.5) um/umgcabile (0.5) noma you are protecting this person from the acts of a witch (1.0) umthakathi (0.5) umqinisele umuntu (0.5) ileyo into-ke esikhuluma ngayo (2.0) you are warding off mhlawumbe amabhadi too (0.5) zonke lezinto ezinjalo-ke (2.0) uqinisa-ke-ke (0.5) i-protection ihamba kanjalo-ke (0.5)

<sup>317</sup> ma ukhuluma ngemithi amakhambi as you put it umuntu omnyama uyakholwa ukuthi amakhambi anawo amandla trees and the environment imithi or nezinye izinto waters soils and so forth the ingredients that are used when one is making umuthi umuntu uyakholwa ukuthi lento inawamandla akuwona alright akhona

**Nt-3-2**

then to continue again that a person began to speak saying {umuthi} has the power to {communicate} when you observe an indigenous forest {an indigenous forest} {an indigenous forest is not done by mistake} {it's there} {because it's supposed to be there} are you still hearing this thing? I observe that when a person arrives {alien trees} also arrive {black wattle} {then it's no longer indigenous} because this this is an {alien} this thing but then remove these {aliens} so that there is an {indigenous forest} that is also like a {community} {these trees or vegetations that you see there} {they communicate} {okay} how? you see when perhaps um perhaps a person arrives think about any person a person maybe you personally you go to a place which is called there a {hair dressing salon} it will be sheared not so? it is necessary that you shear/cut now are you still hearing this? you will not go to be sheared if it is not necessary for you to be sheared are you still hearing this? Let us take this by analogy perhaps with a {certain shrub} {or certain shrubs} {yes that's right} {certain grass} this is a time when they too need to be sheared but they are incapable of shearing themselves by themselves are you still hearing this? now what are they sheared by? they are sheared by animals that eat this grass are you still hearing this? when an animal arrives and eats this grass and the grass wants to be sheared this grass will release {palatable} it will be eaten by the animal it will eat and eat and eat when it no longer wants to be sheared it will release a thing [unpalatable] the animal will leave it are you still seeing this? {so} then you will find that then then {let's say here is just a shrub a patch of shrub} {or patch of certain grass} {species} buck will arrive they start to eat because they are / this grass wants to be sheared at this time it will know how to communicate with that [grass] over there so say 'hey! there are those who are arriving there it's time for shearing now release that {chemical} that they like there then' they [the buck] will arrive there and eat and eat and eat and eat and eat and they pass here when they perhaps no longer want this they eat and they continue that grass tells itself that 'it's enough {now}' 'release another {chemical now}' so that they will say 'no it's sour now {let me try another one}' when [the grass] does this then the grass will be sheared well you see? this is the {simple} way that I am telling you about you will go then eating eating eating eating when it no longer wants to be eaten it releases this {chemical} here that will say that it is not palatable then it is because of this that animals don't eat {anything that is green} {any green grass} because when it doesn't want to be eaten it will never be eaten or perhaps it may be eaten it [the animal] knows that this grass is being eaten but is it [the grass] doesn't want to be eaten it will not be eaten {this is not applicable to all grass} perhaps I will think about something like {foliage} {foliage} was made to be eaten by a cow do you see? it is eaten there is another kind of grass that says 'me I'm {evergreen}' do you see let us leave and go to trees then {trees} {right} it is like this also with trees {if} there is this thing that arrives it will a person who will do this specific thing to it {cross pollination} it [the tree] will release {certain chemicals} that are palatable to a bird or to a butterfly {butterfly} {a bee} {or any other flying insect} because it wants it to happen the {cross pollination} it will just arrive this creature when it is eating it eats and eats and eats and then goes away so that there is {cross pollination} it enters the air it goes there do you still see? {so} {the trees} know how to {communicate} these trees {that is at a simple level that can be sci/ that has been scientifically approved} I am talking about this so that you may allow me to go to another then now {along those lines} black people

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amandla ukuthi ama-chemicals njengoba-nje 'ma ubona isihlahla likhona i-chemical khona kulesosihlahla esingamsiza umuntu 'ma ufake emzimbeni womuntu noma mhlawumbe sim/simlimaze umuntu ngisakhuluma lapho-ke 'ma uthatha lawamakhambi anjalo-ke uwafaka kumuntu it's obvious ukuthi it's [unintelligible] lapho noma uyamqinisa immunization usayizwa leyonto. asidlule-ke kuloyo-level lapho ngoba it's a physical appliance.

they just know {izinyanga} they know that certain trees {like a fig tree} a fig tree begins to {communicate} {almost midnight} {half past twelve} or at {half past eleven} or at {half past} {twelve} it is {communicating} with other trees it has power at that point to {communicate} {if} you then want to take that {power} that is to {communicate} you take it at that time then you arrive and make an {intelezi} {now you are telling it} that {any person} who comes here to you {you must ward off that particular person} this is then how it works are you still hearing this? another {level} is this one {a/ it's it's not any tree} when you will know that this this {umuthi} has power to {communicate} it does this and this and this and this take that and take than and take that and then when it is done like this please turn off briefly there there is something I want to show to you.<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> bese phinde futhi ukuthi umuntu uqale ukukhuluma ukuthi umuthi unawamandla uku-communicate-a uma ubona ihlathi lemvelo an indigenous forest an indigenous forest is not done by mistake it's there because it's supposed to be there uyayizwa leyonto? ngiyabona 'ma kufika umuntu ifika ne-alien trees black wattle then it's no longer indigenous ngoba lento kuyi-alien lento kodwa-ke susa lawama-aliens ukuthi nansi indigenous forest injengi-community naye these trees or vegetations that you see there they communicate okay kanjani? uyabona uma ngabe e::e mhlawumbe kufika umuntu cabanga ngomuntu umuntu wena nawe qobo uyaye la kuthiwa khona i-hair dressing salon iyogundwa angithi? kufanele ugunde manje usayizwa loyinto? awuye ukugunda 'ma ungafanele ukugunda usayizwa leyonto? asithathe kanjalo-ke-ke mhlawumbe ne-certain shrub or certain shrubs yes that's right certain grass kukhona isikhathi lakufanele nabo bugundwe kodwa abukwazi bwona ukuzigundwa bwona usayizwa loyinto? manje bugundwa yini? bugundwa izilwane ezidla lobutshani usayizwa lo? 'ma sifika isilwane sidla lobutshani and utshani buyafuna ukugundwa bu/utshani bona buzokhipha palatable izodlwa isilwane sidle sidle sidle 'ma singasafuni ukuthi singundwe buzokhipha into unpalatable siyeke isilwane usabona leyonto? so-ke uzothole ukuthi-ke-ke let's say here is just a shrub a patch of shrub or patch of certain grass species zizofika-ke iz/izinyamazane ziqale zidle ngoba ziya/ lobutshani buyafuna ukugundwa ngalesosikhathi buzokwaza ukukhuluma nalobu bulaphaya ukuthi 'yeyi! nabe befike lapho isikhathi sokugunda manje khipani i-chemical abayithandayo lapho-ke' zizofika-ke badle badle badle badle badlule la 'ma ngabe abasafuni le badle baqubheka utshani bona bazitshela ukuthi 'kwanele now' 'khipha enye i-chemical now kwaze wathi hhayi muncu let me try another one ngesikhathi benze njalo-ke buzogundwa kahle utshani usayibona indlela le-simple engikutshela ngayo uzohamba-ke edle edle edle edle 'ma ingasafuni futhi ukudliwa ukhipha le-chemical le lozoyithi ayimnandi-ke ingakho izilwane zingadli anything that is green any green grass ngoba 'ma akafuni ukudliwa ngeke ebedliwa noma ngabe kuyadliwa singazi ukuthi lobutshani buyadliwa kodwa 'ma kungafuni lobu ukudliwa akuzudliwa this is not applicable to all grass mhlawumbe ngizozocabanga njenge i-foliage i-foliage lakhelwe lona ukudliwa yinkomo uyabona lidliwa kukhona-ke obunye ubutshani obuthi 'mina ngi-evergreen' uyabona. asiyeke manje esihlahleni-ke trees right kanjalo-ke ne'hlaha if kuyinto le efikayo izo umunto ozokwenza into ethile-ke kuyona cross pollination sizokhipha ama-certain chemicals amnandi kwinyoni noma kwimvemvane butterfly a bee or any other flying insect ngoba sifuna ukwenzeke i-cross pollination uzofika-ke lona ngesikhathi yena ukuthi uyadla uyadla uyadla uyadla kuphuma-ke kwenzeka i-cross pollination kungene emoyeni kuya la usabona? so ziya/ziyakwaza uku-communicate-a zona izihlahla that is at a simple level that can be sci/ this has been scientifically approved ngikhuluma kanje kuze uze ngiyekwenye-ke manje along those lines abantu-ke abamnyama-ke bayazi-ke izinyanga bayazi ukuthi izihlahla ezithile like a fig tree umkhiwane usuka u-communicate-a almost midnight half past twelve noma no-half past eleven no-half past twelve uya-communicate-a nezinye i'hlaha unamandla lapho uku-communicate-a if ufuna-ke ukuthatha lelo-power yoku-communicate-a uthatha ngalesosikhathi-ke usuyafika-ke uwenze intelezi now you are telling it ukuthi any person eza la wena you must ward off that particular person kusebenza kanjalo-ke usayizwa leyonto? enye i-level ilena a/ it's it's not any tree 'ma uzokwaza ukuthi lo lomuthi unamandla woku-communicate-a wenza ukuthi nokuthi nokuthi nokuthi athathe wona athathe wona athathe wona bese-ke-ke 'ma yenzeka kanjalo-ke awuvale kancane lapho kukhona into engifuna ukukhombisa kuwena...