



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The things in between: photographs from the Mariannhill Mission in KwaZulu-Natal and other objects in situations of intermediality
Rippe, C.

Citation

Rippe, C. (2021, July 1). *The things in between: photographs from the Mariannhill Mission in KwaZulu-Natal and other objects in situations of intermediality*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3193884>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3193884>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3193884> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Rippe, C.

Title: The things in between: photographs from the Mariannhill Mission in KwaZulu-Natal and other objects in situations of intermediality

Issue Date: 2021-07-01

thatch or shingles; it is a high-pitched gable, and does not rest on the walls, but on a central ridge-pole, supported by three vertical poles. One characteristic feature of the houses is that the timbers of the gable-ends continue upward beyond the ridge, and the projecting ends are carved or decorated by wooden figures. The length of the "house-horns" varies from about 1 foot up to 10 or 12 feet in some of the old palaces.

All the tribes are agriculturists, and most of them have cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. The main food of the Eastern Malagasi is rice, which is grown by the aid of extensive irrigation. Amongst other points in which the Sakalava approach nearer to the East Africans than do the Hova is that the sweet potato and cassava replace rice as the national food.

The chief industries are weaving, especially grass mats, basket-making, and metal-working, which includes the manufacture of filigree ornaments. Bamboo is largely used for domestic vessels and appliances.

The system of internal communications is more organised than on the mainland. People of any importance travel in a palanquin, or *pitanjana*, borne

by four porters, who, on level ground, trot at the rate of six miles an hour. Luggage is carried by porters, but not on the head, as is usual in East Africa, but on the ends of a pole resting on the shoulder, as in Abyssinia. The larger rivers are navigated by canoes made from hollowed tree trunks. On the coast the people use boats made of planks sewn together with palm fibre, or canoes which, as in Malaysia, are balanced by outriggers.

The original religion of Madagascar was idolatry and ancestor-worship. Traces of both remain, especially of the latter, in the elaborate funeral rites. The simplest type of burial is met with among the Tanala, who wrap the corpse in matting and throw it into a large pit. Coffins, made either from planks or from a section of a canoe, are used by some tribes, such as the Sakalava, whose customs are especially remarkable, owing to the direct worship of the former kings. The Sakalava funerals used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, the victims being buried in the grave with the corpse, some small relics of which, placed in the hollow tooth of a crocodile, are preserved in a sacred house at Mojanga, on the north-west coast.



Photo by the Trappist Monastery

[Marianne Hill, Natal.

A KAFFIR INDUNA.

The Things in Between

**Photographs from the Mariannhill Mission in KwaZulu-Natal
and other Objects in Situations of Intermediality**

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 1 juli 2021
klokke 15.00 uur

door
Christoph Rippe
geboren te München, Duitsland in 1978

Promotoren

Prof. dr. Peter J. Pels

Prof. dr. Pieter J. Ter Keurs

Promotiecommissie

Prof. dr. Patricia Hayes (University of the Western Cape)

Prof. dr. Jan-Bart Gewald

Dr. Mark R. Westmoreland

The “Open Competition” grant of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) is herewith gratefully acknowledged for financing the research for this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

GLOSSARY

INTRODUCTION

Image Circuits	2
Photographs as/in History	10
Missionaries and Photographs between Europe and Natal	21
A Brief Historiography of Mariannhill, and the Changing Use of Photographs	30
Photography and “Zooluology”	35
The Limits of Creating Ethical Spaces for Photographs	44

APPROACHING SOURCES AND THEIR ARCHIVES

My Shadow Archive: Fieldwork in the Archive and the Archive of Fieldwork	52
“The Second Pulpit”: An Overview of Mariannhill’s Periodicals and Publications	57
The Condition of the Archive and the Archival Condition	61
The Archives of Mariannhill	65
The (Im-)Possibilities of Reassembling a Photographic Oeuvre	70

PART ONE - FAITH IN IMAGES

CHAPTER ONE - Trust in Images

Introduction: Photography as Practice, Image, and Narrative	82
“ <i>Südafrikanisches Rassengemisch</i> ”: Objectivity and the Subjectivity of Race	90
Photographic Authorship and Self-Fashioning at Mariannhill	104
The Six Photographers of Mariannhill	114
Between Pictorialism and Propaganda	126
Photographic “Character” as a “Problem of Resemblance”	135
“A Picture as well as a Photograph”: Africanising Genre Photographs	145
Exposure of “the Most Original Reality”	164
Conclusion	174

CHAPTER TWO - Images of Faith

Introduction: Faith and Intermediality	178
Photographing Photographic Representation	184
Staging Faith: “Histrionic Zulus”	197
Confronting Faith	206
Ventriloquizing Faith	213
Retouching Faith: Signs in/of Transition	224
Filming Faith: Photographs as Filmic Devices	232
Equalising Faith: Individual and Ideal Resemblance	238
Conclusion	246

PART TWO - PHOTOGRAPHS AND HISTORICAL SPACES

CHAPTER THREE - The Guided Tour at Mariannhill Monastery

Introduction: Making Space	252
The Monastery: Naming the Land and Creating the Mission	256
The Missions: Centocow and Beyond	263
A Stopover on “Route XVII”	270
“Our Visitors”	282
“The Photographic Studio Mariannhill near Pinetown—Portraits and Photos of every Kind and Size”	290
Conclusion	302

CHAPTER FOUR - African Histories, Photographic Occasions, and Material Encounters

Introduction: Photographs and their Occasions	306
Mariannhill’s African Historiography	311
A Crisis of Identity: Umpathwa or Umdamane—Amakholwa or Amanganga?	321
Snuffing with Lokothwayo	336
The Performance of Colonial Power at Centocow Mission	345
A Photographic Studio and its “Backdrops”	359
Conclusion	375

PART THREE - PHOTOGRAPHS AND OBJECTS

CHAPTER FIVE - Curating Relationships

Introduction: Entangled (in) Images	380
Umdamane's Choker	387
Collecting Things "Worthy of Exhibition"	394
Collected, Traded, Gifted, Stolen: Curiosities and Commonalities	401
Mariannhill's Museum and its Categorisations	407
Mariannhill's "African Museum" as Frontstage	415
Curating Objects and Photographs in South Africa	427
Curating for and at Home	434
Conclusion	448

CHAPTER SIX - Circulating Images

Introduction: Circulating and Certifying Knowledge	452
Instructing Allies	457
Missionaries' Objects and Photographs in Auxiliary Ethnography	464
New Source Criticism between South Africa and Europe	472
Working Objects	480
Photographic Traditions and Transformations	488
Losing and Reclaiming the Control over Images	498
Conclusion	507

PART FOUR - IMAGES AND SUBJECTS

CHAPTER SEVEN - The Art of Segregation, or "[...] no European can draw what is in a native's mind"

Introduction: From "Disappearance" to "Creativity"	514
Approaching Gerard Bhengu	520
The Artist and his Patron—The Ethnographer and his Amanuensis	528
Reestablishing the "Native Mind"	541
"Ethnographically Reliable Culture Documents"	549
Re-tracing the <i>Ingcubhe</i> : From "Actual Life" to "Four-Eyed Sight"	555
"Drawing Things Together": "Four-Eyed-Sight" and the Process of Post-Production	566

Bhengu's " <i>Selbstportrait</i> "	573
Kohler's " <i>Exlibris</i> "	583
Conclusion	597

CHAPTER EIGHT - Photographs, Personhood and Power

Introduction: The Missionary, the Diviner, and the Chief	602
Image and Body of the First Missionary	610
Photographs as Reliquaries	619
Photographing the Diviner	626
Divining the Photograph	637
Re-connections	646
Re-collections	659
Conclusion	671

EPILOGUE	677
-----------------	-----

COLOUR REPRODUCTIONS	682
-----------------------------	-----

CONSULTED ARCHIVES	696
---------------------------	-----

BIBLIOGRAPHY	697
---------------------	-----

SUMMARY	
----------------	--

SAMENVATTING	
---------------------	--

CURRICULUM VITAE	
-------------------------	--

List of Figures

Covers: unidentified sitter in the Mariannhill Studio, approx. 1905 (Linden-Museum Stuttgart). P. 287 in Volume One of *The Living Races of Mankind* (Hutchinson 1901).

Figures 1 and 2: front and verso of a postcard titled “ <i>Mariannhill—Am Umhlatusaneriver</i> ”	10
Figure 3: one of the first photographs ever taken in Natal of the Trappist community	23
Figure 4: drawings showing a Trappist typology	24
Figure 5: page from a photographic album, approx. 1905	44
Figure 6: photograph of the location at the Umhlatuzane River from the same vantage point as Figure 5	45
Figure 7: photograph of archive room No. 3, Mariannhill Monastery	68
Figure 8: photograph of cupboard in the archive of Mariannhill Monastery	71
Figure 9: photograph of an original cardboard box holding photographic negatives	75
Figure 10: frontispiece, <i>Mariannhill-Kalender für das Jahr 1906</i>	83
Figure 11: collage showing all 13 photographs illustrating Müller’s article (1909)	90
Figure 12: portrait of a family in the Mariannhill studio, approx. 1905	96
Figure 13: digitally inverted glass plate negative of image 3 in Figure 12	99
Figure 14: cropped portrait of three men, as published in Müller (1909:180)	101
Figure 15: portrait of Br. Aegidius Müller, approx. 1900	106
Figure 16: photograph of Br. Aegidius Müller, Anton Schmidt, an unidentified boy, and a dog	116
Figure 17: photograph of Br. Otto Mäder with two apprentices, approx. 1900	124
Figure 18: page from the journal <i>Das Atelier des Photographen</i> (1904:143)	129
Figure 19: photograph of several women contemplating a photograph	140
Figure 20: group portrait of seven unidentified females in the Mariannhill Studio, approx. 1905	143
Figure 21: photograph titled “The Naiads of Natal. By Josef Müller” as published in <i>The State</i> (1909)	146
Figure 22: photograph of toddlers riding butterflies, approx. 1900-1908	152
Figure 23: photograph of Br. Aegidius Müller, approx. 1910	153
Figure 24: print of a painting by Pietro Torrini	154
Figure 25: group portrait of Mariannhill Priests	154
Figure 26: photograph of Fr. Odo Ripp with school children	156
Figure 27: photograph of two children	156
Figure 28: photograph of a boy and his mother	157
Figure 29: photograph of school children near Mariannhill, 1909	158
Figure 30: photograph showing Br. Aegidius Müller with a group of unidentified Africans	159
Figure 31: photograph of “photographers while crossing a river”, approx. 1890	164
Figure 32: engraving of a photograph as published in <i>Mariannhill Kalender</i> (1896:46)	167
Figure 33: photograph of a first-fruits ceremony, series “605”	176
Figure 34: photograph of a first-fruits ceremony, series “274”	176
Figure 35: photograph of Fr. Isembard Leyendecker taking a photograph	185
Figure 36: photograph of Fr. Isembard Leyendecker with a group of unidentified Africans	186
Figure 37: photograph of Br. Aegidius Müller with a group of unidentified Africans	187
Figure 38: postcard titled “A native photographer”	192
Figure 39: photograph of a theatre performance in the Mariannhill Studio	198
Figure 40: biblical illustration as published in <i>Vergißmeinnicht</i> (1913:230)	204
Figure 41: photograph of Fr. Solanus Peterek with parishioners at St. Bernhard Mission	206
Figure 42: photograph of Fr. Angelicus Konieczka with parishioners at Kvelaer Mission	208
Figures 43 and 44: front and verso of a propaganda card	212
Figure 45: portrait of children in the Mariannhill Studio	214
Figure 46: autograph and photograph of Melchior Nkandi as published in <i>Vergißmeinnicht</i> (1911:4)	219
Figure 47: photograph of Fr. Isembard Leyendecker performing an “emergency baptism”	224
Figures 48 and 49: details of Figure 49	225
Figure 50: group portrait of priests at Mariannhill, 1906	227
Figure 51: manipulated version of Figure 50	227
Figure 52: group portrait of novices at Mariannhill, approx. 1905	228
Figures 53 and 54: still images of the opening lines of the propaganda film <i>Mariannhill Ruft!</i> (1957)	230
Figures 55 and 56: still images of two boys approaching Mariannhill’s boarding school “Aloysianum”	231

Figures 57 and 58: still image of priest showing a photographic album; still image of a close-up	232
Figures 59 and 60: still image of a zoological display; still image of a group of priest novices	233
Figures 61 and 62: still image of a homestead, including plaster-modelled inhabitants	233
Figure 63: still image of one the film's final scene	234
Figure 64: photograph of the stained glass window at Centocow Mission	236
Figure 65: photograph of Fr. Emanuel Hanisch with parishioners, approx. 1910	242
Figure 66: original sketch for the stained glass window for Centocow Mission	243
Figure 67: map of Mariannhill's farms <i>Seekoegat</i> and <i>Klaarwater</i>	254
Figure 68: map of Mariannhill's mission stations as active in 1907	260
Figure 69: map of Mariannhill, 1883	267
Figure 70: photograph of Mariannhill Monastery, approx. 1895	268
Figure 71: site plan of Mariannhill, 1901	269
Figure 72: photograph of a note on a tree, Mariannhill Mission	275
Figure 73: photograph of the print-workshop at Mariannhill	276
Figure 74: group portrait with the Governor of Natal and his entourage at Mariannhill Studio	287
Figure 75: chart of the photography studio's income and expenses	289
Figure 76: verso of a cabinet card, as sold at Mariannhill Studio, approx. 1905	292
Figure 77: unidentified Indian family with unidentified priest in the Mariannhill Studio	297
Figure 78: detail of Figure 77	298
Figure 79: portrait of Umdamane	317
Figure 80: the inscribed side of the glass plate negative of Figure 79	319
Figure 81: arrangement of portraits showing Abbot Franz Pfanner and "Mpathwa Phewa"	321
Figure 82: photograph of Umdamane's homestead, approx. 1891	327
Figure 83: detail of Figure 82	328
Figure 84: detail of Figure 82	329
Figure 85: photograph of Lokothwayo and <i>izinduna</i> with Trappists	332
Figure 86: detail of Figure 85	334
Figure 87: detail of Figure 85	337
Figure 88: detail of Figure 85	338
Figure 89: detail of Figure 85	339
Figure 90: photograph of court case at Centocow Mission as published in <i>Vergißmeinnicht</i> (1913:12)	343
Figure 91: photograph of court case at Centocow Mission, unpublished	344
Figure 92: group portrait of missionaries and magistrates at Centocow Mission	348
Figure 93: detail of figure 92. The "fly whisk" held by trooper Terblanche	349
Figure 94: photograph of Mariannhill Studio	355
Figure 95: floor plan of the Mariannhill Studio	358
Figure 96: portrait of Bulawayo	360
Figure 97: group portrait of five African men at Mariannhill Studio	362
Figure 98: photograph of Br. Otto Mäder working on a backdrop	364
Figure 99: group portrait of Mariannhill priests	365
Figure 100: group portrait in the Mariannhill Studio as published in <i>Mariannhiller Kalender</i> (1899:42)	367
Figure 101: group portrait in the Mariannhill Studio	370
Figure 102: portrait of Umdamane as published in <i>Mariannhiller Kalender</i> (1893:96)	375
Figure 103: header of <i>Vergißmeinnicht</i> 1890	396
Figure 104: photograph showing Br. Aegidius inspecting beadwork, approx 1905	399
Figure 105: portrait of P. Alexander Hanisch, approx. 1898	410
Figure 106: layout of Mariannhill Monastery in 1894	412
Figure 107: Mariannhill museum interior, approx. 1900-1910	416
Figure 108: photograph of booth by Mariannhill at a mission exhibition at Durban	424
Figure 109: photograph of Mariannhill's shoemaker's workshop	427
Figure 110: portrait of employees of Mariannhill's wagon building workshop	427
Figure 111: photograph of object display, approx. 1896	429
Figure 112: photograph of object display in the Mariannhill studio, 1906	431
Figure 113: detail of Figure 112	432
Figure 114: photograph of object display at Mariannhill Studio, 1906	433
Figure 115: detail of Figure 114	434

Figure 116: booth of Mariannhill at mission exhibition, Trier 1927	436
Figure 117: booth of CPS at mission exhibition, Trier 1927	436
Figure 118: photograph of an object arrangement at Mariannhill Studio	439
Figure 119: photograph of display of Mariannhill's collection at the Vatican Mission Exhibition in 1925	440
Figure 120: photograph of two brothers of Lokothwayo	480
Figure 121: the label attached to a beadwork necklace, Linden Museum Stuttgart	490
Figure 122: frontispiece, part IX (of XVIII), <i>The Living Races of Mankind</i> (Hutchinson 1901a)	493
Figures 123 and 124: two portraits of unidentified sitters at the Mariannhill Studio	498
Figure 125: copyright sign on a Mariannhill Photograph	500
Figure 126: postcard showing the Kohlers after arrival at Centocow	524
Figure 127: various photographs showing Kohler's office at Centocow	526
Figure 128: photograph of Max Kohler and his staff	527
Figure 129: painting by Gerard Bhengu, as published in Berman (1993:245)	529
Figure 130: photograph by Br. Aegidius Müller showing a beer drink	529
Figure 131: painting by Gerard Bhengu, as published in Kohler (1928:19)	531
Figure 132: painting by Gerard Bhengu, as published in Kohler (1941:74-75)	544
Figures 133 and 134: two drawings by Gerard Bhengu as published in Kohler (1931a:15 and 17)	545
Figure 135: page from the " <i>Hausbuch</i> " of the Kohler family	549
Figure 136: painting by Gerard Bhengu (KCAL-wcp-2854)	555
Figure 137: painting by Gerard Bhengu as published in Kohler 1931b:113)	556
Figure 138: painting by Gerard Bhengu (KCAL-wcp-2857)	557
Figure 139: painting by Gerard Bhengu as published in Kohler (1931b:116)	558
Figure 140: photograph of Bhengu's finger print	564
Figure 141: Bhengu's signature, " <i>Gerard Bhenger</i> ". Detail from lower left corner of WCP 2853 (KCAL)	564
Figure 142: painted self-portrait by Gerard Bhengu	569
Figure 143: photograph of Gerard Bhengu	573
Figure 144: photograph of Bhengu and Kohler in front of an esel	574
Figure 145: four photographs showing Max Kohler posing in the garb of Chief Nyongwane	577
Figure 146: one of four versions showing a "court hearing"/"tax collection" by Gerard Bhengu	579
Figure 147: book card designed by Gerard Bhengu	582
Figures 148 and 149: two photographs of Max Kohler	584
Figure 150: monochrome photograph of an untitled painting by Gerard Bhengu	590
Figures 151 and 152: photograph of Abbot Franz Pfanner; painting of the photograph by Gerard Bhengu	598
Figures 153 and 154: photograph of Abbot Franz Pfanner, 1880s; statue of Abbot Franz Pfanner	605
Figure 155 and Figure 156: <i>carte de visite</i> of Abbot Franz Pfanner; reproduction of Figure 155	607
Figure 157: photograph of the artist Willy Jakob while restoring the painting of Pfanner as "Turkish Beg"	608
Figure 158: photograph of memorabilia of Abbot Franz Pfanner	610
Figures 159 and 160: front and verso of a devotional card of Abbot Franz Pfanner	614
Figure 161: the relic triptych in the altar of the CPS Convent Church at Castle Wernberg	616
Figure 162: portrait of Ugitschigitschi, as published in (Müller 1906)	622
Figure 163: portrait of Ugitschigitschi, as published in Müller (1907b)	623
Figure 164: portrait of Lokothwayo "403"	641
Figure 165: portrait of Lokothwayo, home of <i>Inkhosi</i> E.B. Shoji	642
Figure 166: drawing of "H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, à la 'Knobkerrie'"	644
Figure 167: portrait of Uviana and Bulawayo while fencing "402"	646
Figure 168: portrait of Lokothwayo "1175"	647
Figure 169: original caption on photographic print: "406. Mariannhill"	648
Figure 170: photograph of object display, as published in Müller (1917/18)	650
Figure 171: photograph of Lokothwayo at the Mariannhill Museum	655
Figure 172: photograph of "witch doctors" at the Mariannhill Museum	656
Figure 173: photograph of "The museum of Rev. Fr. G.[regory] Zier. [...]"	657
Figures 174, 175 and 176: three photographs from Mariannhill at the KZNM	660
Figure 177: a display of the <i>Sisonke</i> exhibition at the KZNM	177

Acknowledgements.

Many interlocutors, colleagues, and friends, who share my fascination for photographs, have contributed to the completion of this study. My gratitude goes to all of them.

Archival images are published with the kind permission of the Linden Museum Stuttgart, the Museum Volkenkunde Leiden (Dutch National Museum of World Cultures), the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban, the Missionsärztliches Institut in Würzburg, and the Archives of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill (CMM).

A concise Orthography and Glossary.

In this study I use Zulu terms as they were spelled at the respective time. This relates, for example, to the inclusion of an “h” in more recent spelling conventions. For example, Bryant (1905) spells “*isi-tunzi*” without an “h”, which is introduced by later dictionaries as “*isi-thunzi*”. Also the proper name “Lokothwayo” was spelled “Lokotwayo” around 1900.

assegai	Spear.
Bantustan	African “homeland” as administrative territory to enforce segregation and apartheid.
<i>i-dlozi</i> (pl.: <i>ama-dlozi</i>)	Ancestor, ancestral spirit or soul.
<i>um-fanekiso</i> (pl.: <i>imi-fanekiso</i>)	Picture, photograph, painting, likeness (historically a two-dimensional image).
<i>Ingcubhe</i>	First-fruits ceremony (<i>isibhaca</i>) as celebrated on both sides of the historical Natal/Eastern Cape border.
kafir (also: kaffir, Ger.: <i>Kaffer</i>) Africans	Arabic for unbeliever or infidel. Even though it was commonly used for Black South in the 19. century, including Zulu-speakers, the name was already considered as offensive at the time, and even more so today.
Knobkerrie	A stick with a round knob at one end.
<i>i-k(h)olwa</i> (pl.: <i>ama-k[h]olwa</i>)	Member of an African Christian community (literally: “believer”). Also used historically as a administrative “tribal” denomination.
<i>in-k(h)osi</i> (pl.: <i>ama-k[h]osi</i>)	Chief (colonial title within the British system of indirect rule; Afrikaans equivalent: “ <i>kaptein</i> ”).
<i>um-k(h)osi</i> (pl.: <i>imi-k[h]osi</i>)	First-fruits ceremony in the historical Natal area.
<i>um-khovu</i> (<i>imi-khovu</i>)	Familiar of a wizard or <i>umthakathi</i> ; A human corpse exhumed and reanimated by an <i>umthakathi</i> to be used for evil purposes.
<i>i-nduna</i> (pl.: <i>izi-nduna</i>)	Advisor and representative of a chief (also foreman at a workshop or mission).
<i>isa-ngoma</i> (pl.: <i>iza-ngoma</i>)	Diviner; witch doctor.
<i>i-nyanga</i> (pl.: <i>izi-nyanga</i>)	Commonly translated as healer, doctor (actually a “specialist” in any particular trade).
<i>i-roma</i> (pl.: <i>ama-roma</i>)	A Roman Catholic.
<i>um-t[h]akathi</i> (pl.: <i>aba-t[h]akathi</i>)	Evil witch or wizard, warlock (also an aching tooth).
<i>isi-t(h)ombe</i> (pl.: <i>izi-t[h]ombe</i>)	Image, statue, doll, picture, photograph (historically a three-dimensional image).
<i>isi-t(h)unzi</i> (pl.: <i>izi-t[h]unzi</i>)	Shadow, personality, soul, photograph.
<i>umu-tsha</i> (pl.: <i>imi-tsha</i>)	Loin cover as used by men or women.
<i>ma-t(h)webula</i> (also <i>madwebula</i>)	Photographer, or one who “conjures” a person’s <i>isithunzi</i> (“Madwebula” was in idiosyncratic use by Br. Aegidius Müller around 1905).
<i>uku-t(h)webula</i>	To spirit or conjure away etc.
<i>i-shoba</i> (pl.: <i>ama-shoba</i>)	Bushy tail, body ornament, fly whisk (in the Natal-context historically employed as paraphernalia by <i>izangoma</i>).

