Types of Umbilini (Intuition) in the *"ukunyanga"* (Xhosa Divination) Tradition

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The study sought to characterize types of *umbilini*, a therapeutic skill in *amagqirha* divination system. Qualitative data on *umbilini* experiences were collected from 115 participants with self-reported *umbilini* experience and supplemented with 25 consultation session observations between *amagqirha* and their clients. Results indicate four types of *umbilini*: *uthuku*, *uvalo*, *ulwazi/ukubona*; internal organs of an animal, person and status of the person's womb. Findings suggest *umbilini* to be rooted in complex biopsychosocial processes worth of further study.

Keywords: amagqirha; amaXhosa; intuition; psychotherapeutic; ukunyanga¹; umbilini

In South Africa, *amagqirha* (Traditional Health Practitioners) are frequently the first ports of call for many people should illness or misfortune befalls them. Despite this, the actual practice of the traditional healing process or *ukunyanga* (divination system), still lack high profile recognition as a practice as no Health Professions Council has been specifically associated with the practice (Mlisa, 2013). For *ama*Xhosa *amagqirha*, *umbilini* is a key therapeutic skill used in their *ukunyanga* or ancestral guided healing force. Through *umbilini*, they are in contact with the cosmic world and are therefore able to sense their clients functioning levels. U*mbilini* as a psychotherapeutic tool is used in *ukuthwasa*² (initiation) process among amaXhosa women in the Eastern Cape Province (Mlisa, 2009). However, the actual role played by intuition in healing is not clearly articulated or attended to (see Edwards this Issue).

Intuition as a Therapeutic Tool

The advancement in intuition research seems to be progressively conducted in the realm of management (Sinclair, 2010), psychology and neuroscience (Dijksterhuis, 2004). For instance, Sinclair (2010) reports results of advanced intuition research conducted in business decision making processes. Three types of intuition have been identified: intuitive expertise, intuitive creation and intuitive foresight. The former type is perceived to be knowledge drawn from already stored schemas that are used in the same way as before and would rely on affect to a lesser degree; thus information processing will be more on experience and expertise. The second grouping relates to the point of time when information was accumulated which is often in aha moments, dream states, vision and walking. Intuition often draws from past and present stimuli. The third grouping involves future events. It is ability to sense opportunities or challenges 'hidden' to others. It matches the foreseen patterns to those from the past and present. Combined, all these groupings could be called holistic intuiting processing rather to be viewed separately.

Intuition involves all aspects of consciousness, as might be the case between *amaggirha* and their clients. The high level of consciousness involved becomes critical as well as the presence of ancestral consciousness as the guiding force to ensure effective management and results of the session. At the end *amagqirha* often utter the expectations and demands of the ancestors or the Creator without conscious effort. Hebert Simon (1987), Mintzberg (1989) and Barnard (1938) maintain that individuals tend to process intuitive knowledge without conscious effort and are unable to determine how the process evolved.

One critical observation in the current debate is that intuition is seen as non-conscious process that occurs without any deliberate intervention from the person intuiting, the person is just a provider (Strick & Dijksterhuis, 2013). In other words the process suggests involvement of the neurological and spiritual activities of which again humans have no control.

It would seem that the intuition process can be triggered consciously (Orlof, 2001; Schulz, 1998). This perception resonates with what Cumes (2001) and Erdtsieck (2003) argue about certain traditional healers having to invoke their intuition by use of herbs to experience trance before consulting with their clients. Others involve drumming and fierce dancing to reach the trance so that they can start intuiting (Freidson, 1996). All this is done purposely to arrive at a decision or judgement at the end. Meanwhile the Xhosa amagqirha would invoke presence of ancestors by burning impepho (incense) with no effort to lose consciousness. Intuitive knowledge is used being fully conscious of what is happening with knowledge automatically flowing in. These two views share one thing in common, that even if a healer can be aware of invoking the flow of knowledge she or he can still not be able to discuss how the information was processed, sifted through and why certain specific knowledge is highlighted and others not.

The differentiation and separation of thinking, feelings and sensations from intuition as it stands warrants a further debate and enquiry.

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Goals of the Study

The study sought to identify and describe types of *umbilini* intuitive experiences by *amagqirha* in the isiXhosa divination tradition.

Method

Thus the study was based on qualitative design using a grounded theory approach due to the complex nature of the process of ukuthwasa which needed a triangulated research approach (Charmaz, 2013). The design and approach allowed the participants to narrate and discuss their phenomenological, existential and evidence based experiences including their perceptions to be narrated. That allowed personal interpretations and reflections including those of the researcher as an insider and full participate. Thus the methodological process followed allowed a social construction of knowledge on umbilini and its use as a therapeutic skill in divination tradition. Case studies as presented in sessions that were attended and focus groups created a platform for the confirmation, verification as well as validation of information as a reliable database. Use of other participants either that healers provided the authenticity of data presented and controlled the possibility of the insider biases.

Participants, Settings and Procedure

Participants were three senior amagqirha, amagqirha (n=31), abakhwetha (n=24), pastors (n=5), key community members such as chiefs and headmen (n=5), participating community members and family members who attended rituals (n=25); educated elite Christian groups who were Xhosa-speaking and living in the Eastern Cape Province (n=16) and professional psychologists (n=4) and villages nurses (2). Participants were made aware of how the information would be used and the anonymous use of their real names. Twenty five (25) consultation sessions were observed and the researcher always participated both as a consultant, observer or as verifying the trainees report.

Data Collection

Data were collected using individual interviews, focus group discussions and participatory observations. Individual interviews were used mainly to the three senior *amagqirha* trainers, pastors (n=5); community leaders (n=5); and professional group (n=6). The rest of *amagqirha* and *abakhwetha* (n=55), community members and families were always in groups including the two church focus groups (n=16). A participatory observation was mainly used during the 25 consultation sessions that the researcher attended. An interview guide with both structured and unstructured questions was used during interviews and focus groups, whilst consultation sessions provided evi-

dence based experiences showcasing the use of *umbilini* in divination tradition.

The guide covered various broad themes: definition of *umbilini?* How it is experienced; the type of *umbilini* used to divine and how it is acquired or sensed; use of this *umbilini* in divination tradition; sustainability or awakening or nurturing of *umbilini*; ways to validate effectiveness of *umbilini* in divination tradition.

Data Analysis, Interpretation and verification

Bigus (1994) and Charmaz, (2003) suggest that data analysis starts from the point of view of the experiencing person. It aims to capture the world views of people by describing their situations, thoughts, feelings and actions and by relying on portraying the research participants' lives and voices. As data were collected, it was easy to jot down, transcribe and analyse it, as the interview conducted and scenario attended were still clear in the researcher's mind. Data was then coded and categorized according to various themes allowing possible forth coming processes (Charmaz, 2003). Data from observations were first recorded in the researcher's fieldwork diary and then typed to be stored electronically according to relevant themes. Where verification was still needed, such information was marked for verification later. Thematic analysis and interpretation was used by identifying relevant perceptions, ideas, views and observations made, statements, terminology and certain key themes on types of umbilini. In that way it was easy to make subsequent associate and processes which allowed reaching to reflected results. Verification of data was then conducted in two interchangeable processes using individual and focus groups with different participants. Reflections and further interpretations were made after verification. Feedback was then given to the respondents to validate data and interpretations made before a final product was documented.

Results

AmaXhosa recognise four types of *umbilini* (see Table 2 for descriptions).

Firstly they refer to *uthuku* (a hunch, hypothesis, etc.). *Uthuku* is closely associated with the definition of 'intuition', which is defined as the ability to know something by using your feelings rather than considering the facts. It is an idea or a strong feeling that something is true although you cannot explain why (Oxford dictionary). Through this a person has the gift of sensing when something is going to happen or feel when something is wrong or going to be wrong. A person does not know exactly what form it will take, but senses it.

A second type of *umbilini* is *uvalo*, which is experienced in the form of palpitations. *Uvalo* foresee the following: a person is going to hear bad news, or that something unfortunate will hap-

Table 1
Participants Involved in the Study

Amagqirha	35 (including 2 white amagqirha)
Trainees/abakhwetha	24
Christians and Pastors	10
Community members and family members	25
Professional group (psychologists and nurses	6
Focus church groups (Methodist Church and Faith healing Church)	2 x 8 = 16
Total	115

Types of Umbilini	
Types	Description
Uthuku	Hunch, hypothesis; ability to feel or sense something wrong or to happen, strong inclination
Uvalo	Fast heart beat (palpitations); personal feeling relating to personal possible bad luck or news closely associated with the person herself/himself.
Animal/human internal organs	At times called "afala" when referring to the animals and at times referring to the status of a person's womb (cleanliness and ability to conceive successfully to deliver live children).

what human eye can see. Others call it a spiritual eye.

pen to the person, or someone close to him/her. The person does not know what form it will be. AmaXhosa define *uthuku* and *uvalo* as, "something moving fast inside a person; or something that wants me to cry and if I cry it will vanish); or "feeling like pain inside but I do not know what causes the pain" (Boniswa, 2008; Zanemvula, 2007; Matogu, 2004). At times these terms are used interchangeably.

Table 2

Umbilini as gift for healing

The third type is the literal translation of *umbilini* that denotes internal organs, and specifically the intestines of a slaughtered animal or of a person (Mlisa, 2010). When the term *umbilini* refers to the internal organs of a living person it defines the status of the heart and the womb of the person. This term would be used when referring to attitude or status of the heart, for example, "*umbilini* ka Nina *umdaka*" (Nina's heart or attitude – is dirty or not clean; is negative). This means that Nina has a bad attitude towards other people or certain people, and that her heart is not clean or good. When *umbilini* is associated with the womb it refers to a person's childbearing status. For example, a clean *umbilini* means that a person gives birth to live babies and when it is referred as bad, it means the person often conceives babies who die or tend to be often sick.

The fourth type is umbilini that allows a person to see beyond what a normal person sees; an ability to see, sense and feel the past, present, current and future of other people's lifestyles, illness and problems. The person can even interpret the meaning of certain incidents happening in others' lives (Mlisa, 2009). It is this umbilini that this article addresses. This is often called ulwazi (knowledge) or ukubona (seeing). Not everybody has this gift. This is a special intuition that only a few chosen people have. It has similar features to uthuku, but it is stronger. It allows a person to be able to assess, diagnose and treat other people's illnesses and problems with their physical, emotional, spiritual, social, and cultural wellbeing, as well as many others relating to their lifestyles. This umbilini does not only allow the person to sense vibes around her/him, but also to know what is happening. In certain specific instances a person can even be able to specify exactly when something will happen.

The four types of *umbilini* described by *amagqirha* are closely associated with Jung's four psychic functions already discussed. However, *amagqirha* do not view those functions as being separate functions outside the intuiting process. To them they are elements of such functioning. Similarly, Sinclair et at., (2010) also concludes that intuiting involves affect and the positive affect is the more reliable the intuitive knowledge will be.

Again, this view resonates with amaggirha's perception that, for a person to be able to use umbilini positively and effectively she must be free of stress and the head must be clear (intloko fanele ivuleke). The involvement of affect and ability to sense emotional stimuli before it happens resonates well with Sinclair et al., (2010). Their intriguing possibility was that entrepreneurs reported responding to an emotional stimulus before it actually occurs. While also several studies of heart- brain interactions found that respondents reacted 4-7 seconds before the stimulus was selected, with heart responding even before the brain. According to amaXhosa culture feelings and thinking are always associated with the heart and head constructing the meanings attached. Intuiting is more placed at the lower part of the abdomen and strongly linked with inkaba - umbilical cord/region and head is also viewed to be where the information is constructed and the ifokotho - fontanelle seen as the key area in transmitting ancestral guidance.

Inborn gift to know, see, predict things positively. Is always associated with the strong senses of healers or psychic persons. What is sensed is actually real but can only be detected by a person with such special inborn gift of *umbilini*. It is a gift to see beyond

Discussion

The description of *umbilini* by *amagqirha* also goes beyond the boundaries of any current theory or approach as it does not only rely on process and outcome of *umbilini*. This is because *amagqirha* do not seem to base their knowledge on any defined theory or approach except describing their spirituality according to natural universal laws that are difficult to be interpreted so far by any understandable theory or approach. Hence, irrespective of wide research conducted on the phenomenon and psychology of *ukuthwasa* and its aspects including role of *umbilini* there is still need for further research (Sinclair, 2013).

Umbilini is informed by the spiritual presence of ancestors, and the body of the healer becomes a physical barometer of that spiritual presence as well as the positive or negative energies of the patient. It is almost as if senses are experienced from below – from the sense that the spatial content becomes pregnant with energy to which intuitive feeling is the natural response. Umbilini is not "tapped" from a cognitive belief that the ancestors would assist with knowledge from above. Umbilini is immediately and directly informed by the bodily presence manifested in igqirha from below. The information comes spontaneously and amagqirha believe that they have used all five senses: 1) smell, (to smell umhlola; 2) sight (a vision/dream about umhlola; 3) touch ("ukubamba umhlola" (touches the problem); 4) hearing (receive spontaneous information about the client through umbilini; and 5) taste (interpret and translate

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the information from the supernatural and to the client) (Mlisa 2009). In most instances the sense of smell is likened to that of sight, for example, if *igqirha* dreams about a client coming for assessment and the client actually arrive, then that *igqirha* has smelled and sensed *umhlola*. This resonates with Sinclair et al., (2010) argument based on the confirmation of intuition by use of sensory channels as well as that of non affective confirmation. She also adds that there could be more widespread other confirmation forms that research could reveal.

The experience and strength of "umbilini" is continuously grounded from the ritual space or the sacred space of healing when ancestors are invoked. Umbilini then "ascends" the awareness in the bodies present. That is why amaggirha are able to inform a client of her problems without questioning the client. The effectiveness of umbilini can also be related to Turner's (1969) explanation of linking the transference of information from ancestors to iggirha's body. This explanation in turn links with Carl Jung's (1990275) concept of collective unconsciousness. According to him, the collective unconscious is the repository of human experiences that contains the 'archetypes' (the basic images that are universal in that they recur regardless of culture). The archetypes are responsible for the transmission of the information. The images of the archetypes are projected through the conscious level, often in dreams, visions, and symbolic structures and at times by means of instinctual behaviour.

This study like all studies has some limitations. The issue of defining *umbilini* and aligning it with intuition maybe a limitation since it cannot be certain that the two actually mean one and the same thing. Africanshaman (2013) argues that ancestral consciousness, "real" sense connection to or experience of ancestral spirits is made possible because of the means of manifestation or evidences which seem to suggest that ancestors are obvious and or real. This definition in a sense can be attributed to a lack of 'real word or term' to express the spiritual presence of ancestors or their 'consciousness' to support the healer's consciousness. He further argues that some of these means of manifestation are in forms of tangible or material evidences which can be seen or felt while some are those held in the minds or mental psyches of people.

The lack of a clear term or phrase to express 'this presence can be limiting and currently researchers try to use the best terms or phrases they have. It could be argued whether we need specific terms or just acknowledgement and understanding of how the knowledge is constructed and made available to us. The status of intuiting being a non-conscious process is limiting on its own since reliance is still on speculating. As much as literature review supports the role and use of intuition, the lack of a multi-dimensional model or approach to articulate it fully around all cultures and issues raised about intuition, remains a limitation that led to use of various approaches in this article.

Conclusion

Umbilini stands to be highly valued, acknowledged and considered as in deed a critical psychotherapeutic skill used by amagqirha in their ukunyanga as revealed by number of people consulting with amagqirha. Umbilini is closely associated with all bodily senses and is felt differently for different reasons as clearly demonstrated by amagqirha's classification into five types. The critical type of umbilini is the fifth type denoting ulwazi and as name denotes its critical role is important in divination tradition. Amagqirha classification of umbilini shows common elements with modern umbilini in a sense but they give

broader contextualized interpretation to each type. On the whole *umbilini* is real and its value in life needs acknowledgement and embracing. Future dialogues are to continue to place the discussion central to academic discourse.

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Endnotes

¹ *Ukunyanga* means the traditional way of divining, which includes: assessment, diagnosis and treatment of illness and other problems affecting their clients or patients.

² To be initiated to be an *igqirha*

Author Notes

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