proceed with it till the rites at the King's place have been performed. A large amount of the emotional power within all the members of the tribe is therefore concentrated in the ancestors, for it is they who have ordained the ceremony and the success of the crops will depend largely on them. This power is, of course, first transmuted, and positively toned, to optimism and gratitude. And, of course, the power of the crops, i.e., "of nature," is also concentrated in the ancestors. The existence of the amatongo is then the first fact of social value, the sentiment about which is enhanced in strength in these ceremonies. The King, however, who represents the tribe, also gains in power. The people hoe fields for his and must wait on his word before they can work their own lands; he alone can appeal on their behalf, to his powerful ancestors; so that the sentiment about the chief must be expressed and strengthened in these ceremonies. The tribe's importance, like the King's, is emphasised. "It is obvious also that these great gatherings," writes Miss Richards, "were occasions of tremendous tribal excitement, feasting and dancing, and that in this way agricultural activities became associated with the sense of social cohesion, and the fellowship of the biggest group to which the native belongs." It is true that Lugg says that this particular ceremony was the occasion neither of a great gathering of the people nor of great festivities, and what Dr. Richards writes applies with greatest force to the first fruits rites. Yet against Lugg's statement there are records by older authorities; Isaac says Zulu from all parts of the country meet at the King's umni to plant two immense fields for his use.
and Bryant that all the national troops were called up. Nevertheless, even if Lugg's records is correct today, the people must sense that the whole tribe is waiting on the King's word, and thus the existence and value of this "biggest group to which the native belongs" is driven home. Then, finally, the value of the crops is also realised, for they are associated with the ancestors, the King and the tribe, and their being taken under the protection of these spirits, the chief and the nation emphasises their social value.

In short, in the translation of emotional power, socially toned, from the tribesmen and of the power of the crops to the chief, the tribe, the amatongo and food, this ceremony is clearly religious. It helps in addition, other functions.

Professor Lestradé suggests that this ceremony induced the tribesmen to move in a mass, which primitive peoples always prefer to do. This suggestion I have fully elaborated in my other thesis and there does seem some support for it. The Thonga and the Zulu prefer to work in parties, and attract neighbours by the offer of beer. The Ronga woman who picks up her hoe and starts for the hills or marshes seems far lonelier than when she works, singing and dancing, with her fellows. This working in competitive, festive company is a definite social gain; as Miss Richards says, "besides the stimulus of the religious festival, joint labour and singing seem to provide an incentive to work". The joint labour is not absolutely dependent on the ukukot' igaja, but it is facilitated...
facilitated by the ceremony, for the people are busy at the same work at the same time.

There is yet another way in which this ceremony is religious, in that it protects the community from certain disruptive forces. Harries writes, where the Pedi have a similar custom, "that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the chief for the crops of any of his followers to ripen before his own." Therefore, obviously, he must plant his crops first. Harries may be correct, and in this way the chief may acquire a further accession of power, but I think the principal merit of Harries' suggestion is that it points to a further function of the ceremony. And that is, by ensuring that all the people plant at the same time it renders possible an almost contemporaneous ripening of the tribe's crops. The harvest and first fruits rites have also to be initiated by the chief, and if a headman, in a favourable situation, planted and obtained his crops early one of the values of the first fruits rites would be negated and, moreover, dissension would threaten to break out in the tribe. For, if I may take the liberty of quoting myself, the harvest and the great first fruits ceremonies must be held shortly after the crops ripen, and dissensions would break out if a section of the people had their crops standing ripe in the fields or gathered in the bins while they stood hungrily by, unable to touch then till the chief's own crops were ready for the ceremony. These dissensions would be accentuated if one's family's crops were ripe, another's still green, so that one lived in plenty, the other meagrely.
This hypothesis is substantiated in that the Zulu and Natal tribes had a ceremony (unkosi omncane) preliminary to the first fruits (unkosi omkulu) whose main object was "to protect the King from the harm which might result from his coming into contact with those who might have partaken of the new season's crops without purification. That there would be transgressors was realised, especially in times of famine." Moreover, among the Thonga marshland is planted and cultivated when the hill-gardens are being cleared, so that in early November the mistress of the garden is thus provided "with a good vegetable until the first-fruits themselves ripen and furnish a more substantial food." And the Zulu cultivate special fields (isifa) at the beginning of the season to supplement the crops of the fields proper which are tilled afterwards. Here the ceremony, in short, acts as a means of protecting the tribe from potentially disruptive forces.

To sum up, this ceremony protects society from internecine dissension, makes the tribesmen feel that the unseen powers are working for them, and concentrates in things of social value (by strengthening the sentiments about them) the translated power of the crops and of the individual members of the tribe. As Dr. Richards says, "the arduous and tedious agricultural operations could not be carried through without the stimulus of the religious rite to encourage renewed effort and to provide solution for emotional conflict." An analysis of the means by which this translation of power is carried out, is extremely difficult, because Lugg's description of the ceremony is very meagre.

As regards the performers, we notice that it is "the special inyanga", who was specially skilled in

3. Bryant, Dict., op. cit.; Entry, p. 140.
such matters", who advised the King; the fact that the Zulu had an incanga particularly for house-cultural ritual shows its importance to the people. The leading role played by the King is necessary because it is to him, as an object of social value, that much of the power is translated. The part played by the regiment is very curious. Writers on these tribes have frequently insisted that the women do the work in the fields, yet it is always the men who carry out the ceremonies connected with them. It is understandable that special men would be selected to steal the bull and the igade, but why the regiments attend I cannot say, for Lugg does not describe anything that they do, besides planting the chief's field, which is a means of glorifying him and providing him with many crops. The eating of the flesh of the sacrificed animal by youths who had not attained the age of puberty is best explained on the thesis that they, who have not yet commenced their sexual lives in which expend strength, should best be able to assist the tribe by consuming this important sacrifice.

The sacrifice itself is curious. Why, in the first place, should the Zulu here sacrifice a bull stolen from a foreign tribe, instead of, as usual, one of the tribal cattle? Lugg gives absolutely no information on this point at all. I suggested that the answer would, if the information be sought, lie along one of the following lines. The bull is obtained with difficulty; by an audacious raid, and hence is doubly acceptable to the ancestors, or else the Swazi bull is regarded as carrying some of the power which causes the Swazi crops to grow. (This last is, probably, the reason for using the igade in medicines. Incidentally, I would also note here that the insistence that the Zulu King must perform his rites before any other chief seems to indicate that they regard

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1. Other tribes besides the Swazi are victimised. Bryant, as stated, says Amagade are stolen from all the neighbouring lands.
the power which produces the crops as limited - he must get in first). Secondly, Lugg writes that the bull was "sacrificed in the usual way by having its neck twisted", but this is not the usual way. It is customary to stab the sacrificed animal in the side. Why the bull should be killed in this unusual way I am unable to say. But the whole sacrifice is unusual; in the animal used, the killing, and the people who consume it.

The King immediately initi amyzwa off his fingers, and this fills him with supernatural power; it is the symbol of his accession of power from the crops and the tribesman. The roasting of the concoction in the sacred potsherd and hoe show the connection of the ritual with boviculture and food, and the use of sea-water is obviously a rain charm. The King is restored to his normal state with initi embembe.

This analysis is incomplete owing to the meagreness of Lugg's information.

In addition to the religious ceremony the Bantu "doctor" the crops in various ways. The Xosa "owner of a land or field which has been treated by a doctor" is confirmed in his belief of a bumper harvest. Fields giving poor crops only are "hus planted". Among a people who know nothing of the way in which plants absorb minerals and convert them into tissue, varying fertility is largely inexplicable save on magical grounds. The owner of a field giving poor crops does exactly what his more fortunate neighbours, with fertile land, does. Yet his crops are poorer. The fault must lie either in his ancestors or his own power, and it ill becomes a man to doubt his ancestors so that he supplements his work by the use of medicines in which fertilizing power resides.

The/....

2. Holdich, "Past and Present of the Kaffir Races" (1866) p. 302.
4. They do, of course, recognise differences in soils,
The first specific given by Soga is black sand (intlabati eayana). "A fair quantity of black sand, which is to be found wherever there is an outcrop of iron stone, is collected and mixed with earth by the doctor. The person who is to doctor (uku-nyanga) the field walks round it from a given point, scattering handfuls of this substance into the land. He does not, however, complete the circle, but stops some paces from his starting point. The object of this is to keep a space open, so as to allow air to penetrate to the growing crops through this passage, and thus prevent the crop from being burnt up." ¹

The first thing one notes in this ceremony is that the power believed to be inherent in a specific material is here used to fertilise the crops, i.e., it is an act with a specific purpose in which the power is concentrated in a certain medicine prepared by a specialist, the inyanga, but scattered, apparently, by the owner of the field. As regards the actual substance used I am unable to say why there should be this belief in its potency; but the gap left for air seems to show that they believe it to possess stores of heat. (Ironstone does get very hot in the sun and attracts lightning). Radcliffe Brown² and Fortune have recorded the importance of heat in ceremonial among the Andamanese and Dobu respectively. Fortune, in fact, has a special appendix on "Heat and the Black Art".³ This is all I can infer about the medicine from Soga's description.

Soga describes ant-bear skin as a powerful charm for producing a good crop. A man who is lucky enough to secure a bit of skin (apparently it need not be

¹. Soga, ibid., p. 395.
from an iyanga) "goes to his field, lights a fire to windward, and burns his piece of skin on the fire. The smoke passing over the field is a sure harbinger of a heavy crop." Again we have power which is believed to be concentrated in a certain substance converted for a particular end, but here any person can use it, not necessarily an iyanga. Why the ant-bear should be thus singled out I cannot say, unless it be because it is an animal that lives and hunts under the ground. The virtue of the muti is carried over the field by the smoke.

The owner of a field may himself plant a small shrub, i-Todlwane, in his field, "for it is supposed to possess the power of conveying growth and abundance to crops." Instead of i-Todlwane the planter may use Indian Canna, of which Soga writes: "Its unusual seed, carried in a capsule and resembling black shot, seems to make a special appeal to the credulity of some individuals." One can understand the ascription of this power to Indian Canna, whose seeds resemble kaffir-corn, perhaps the crop it is used to fructify, and whose seed-pod is like the scrotum. (This last suggestion presumes, of course, that the Xosa have connected the scrotum and testicles with virility). The first hypothesis agrees with Kropf's note that the Fingo believe that i-Myaluli, the (Kaffir) corn of the Lusantu, with small seeds makes a garden fruitful. And the colour black is generally considered by the Southern Bantu to imply luck in harvests. Thus the Venda fertilised their fields with parts of the bodies of very black men, and the Pondo, says Miss Hunter, like a

\[1\] Soga, ibid., p.385.
\[2\] Ibid., pp.386-7.
\[4\] Sturt, op.cit., p.314.
Our task is not, however, to determine the original content of the Nkombulwana belief, but to analyse its present function. For, since the ceremonies are still observed, they must satisfy some need of the Zulu.

First there is the nature of Nkombulwana, the "Princess of Heaven". She is said to be enshrouded in the valley mists of spring. According to S. O. Samuelsom she is described as being robed with light as a garment and having come down from heaven to teach people to make beer, to plant, to harvest, and all the useful arts... She is a maiden, and she made her visit to the earth in the spring of the year. She is also described as presenting the appearance of a beautiful landscape with verdant forests on some parts of her body, grass covered slopes on others, and cultivated fields on others. She is said to be the maker of rain. The time of her visit is annually celebrated by the Zulu tribes in or about the month of October, the girls being the principal actors. Bryant says that her ceremonies are performed in December; she is said to have first given men form, she moves with the mist, on one side a human being, on one side a river, on one side overgrown with grass. Should her rites be neglected then she would be deeply offended, and in revenge cause all the corn to die of blight. From time to time she appeared, dressed in white, to women who were hoeing, her purpose being to give them some new law or tell them what will happen. She dwells up above for she comes with the mist. The rainbow is regarded as the arch of the queen, and it is looked upon as a beautiful emanation of her glory.

2. Bryant, MSS., and P. 439, "Nkombulwana" (P. 303) "Pumla" (P. 313).
black men to puff miti over the fields.

According to Kroepf, leopards' and other animals' bones are used in this garden-magic, ukusukula, and apparently amagwira or amagwira can fertilise through their familiars.

The process known as ukusukula is represented among the Xosa for "the generic term for all plants used as field charms is isi-Sukilo. This is the nominal form of the verb uku-Sukula - to sharpen, to urge, etc.," Under the heading "Sukula" Bryant describes the Zulu as doctoring the crops when they are still green by mixing certain medicines in corn ground by pregnant women, and then burning it in a field when a north-east or south-east wind is blowing. Here again we have an obviously magical act: the fact that the performers are pregnant women must be that they convey some of their power to the fields. The north-east and south-east winds come from the sea - they are the rainy winds.

The Zulu "doctor" all their fields, for they regard it as essential for the proper growth of the crops. They have many other ways of doing this, but there is little point in my elaborating them here.

(c) Nomkubulwana.

Apparently the beliefs about Nomkubulwana, and her ceremonies, are the remnants of a firmer system of ideas. The conception of her nature is, so to speak, shrouded in the mists in which she moves; and her ceremonies have become confused with ceremonies to ward off disease.

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2. Ibid., "Xusukela", p.486.
4. Dist., op.cit., p.600.
5. Vide Krige, op.cita, p. 108.
According to Kidd, the natives say "the rainbow is a sign that the weather is about to clear. The bow is declared to be some of the wattles of the hut of the Queen of Heaven or a queen in heaven. The wattles of a hut are bent in a similar curve during building operations, and a half-finished hut shows this structure to perfection. That is, from this Nokwulwana dwells in the sky and is connected with rain. Callaway's inkozaana, "who came out on the same day that men came out of the earth," and whose name means "Princess", seems to have some affinity with Nokwulwana, for though she is described as a little animal with black and white stripes, "on one side there grow a bed of reeds, a forest, and grass", by which his informant meant something like these; and on one side she is a man. But her buttocks (like Tikoloshe's) are red as fire. And apparently her only connection with hoesculture is that she may appear to a man in his garden and promise him a large harvest. Inkozaana introduces many laws and she may order beer to be poured out on the mountains to her.

Authorities differ somewhat in describing the Nokwulwana ceremonies or uHomede as Bryant says they are called. The latest, and best description we have is from Bryant, so I propose to make this the basis for my analysis and show where other accounts differ. He records three distinct ceremonies connected with Nokwulwana.

The first, he writes, is performed in December. (S.O. Samelson says October, which fits in better with her description as coming in the spring. I shall later consider this question of the time of her ceremonies more closely.) The girls arrange to turn out and...
and beg gifts of corn as an offering to Nombulwana. They go round the imizi and, on being greeted by the inhabitants, put their lips (ukupukula umloam) instead of replying. The women guess their errand and give them a small basketful of grain. When they have collected enough grain they brew the ceremonial millet beer. On an appointed morning, after the brew is ready, each girl gets up, dons her brother's skin girdle (umtsha) and drives the family cattle to the veld. The boys are strictly confined to their homes. The girls of neighbouring imizi collect together and herd the cows till milking time. While they are doing this their mothers shoulder their hoes, and taking a mixed handful of field seed, and a small gourd of beer, go to a common rendezvous far out in the veld. There they hoe and sow a small garden for the princess and pour the beer (here known as umnqondele, not utshwala) as a libation upon the earth. Towards midday the girls bring home the cattle, and as soon as the cows have been milked they drive them out again to graze, for that day they are not allowed to eat at home. But they take out with them calabashes of the umnqondele beer as well as more substantial food, and feast and make merry at a selected spot. No man may approach them. At sunset the girls bring home the cattle, doff their male attire and put on their own ubendele girdles.

Kidd's description varies in details from Bryant's. He says that after the girls have dressed themselves in imitsha they rush into the isibaya, seize the oxen, and drive them out to graze, herding them all day and night. (According to Bryant they return at noon for milking/...)

1. vide, Bryant, "pukula", loc.cit.
milk and finally at sunset, Next morning the girls bring the cattle back and the men milk the cows. The girls then go to their own huts, prepare food and make beer. Then they, not their mothers, plant the field for Nomkubulwana, and place a pot of beer in a hole in the ground. "When the grain is grown it is considered sacred, and is left for the Queen of Heaven, who is supposed to come down in a mist to consume the food and beer". 1

S. O. Sammelson differs from Bryant firstly in that she places the ceremony in October, and says that these festivities generally last about three days. According to her the girls of a district "clothe themselves in dresses made of grass plaited together, and they cover their heads with flowers intertwined with foliage and grass". Some of the beer is apparently also consumed at the umxi, because everyone, even travellers may help themselves to it. After the girls, carrying sticks and small shields, have tended the herds, they dance and sing in honour of the princess. They must call at all the imizi and jump over all the small children so as to assure them against colds and sickness. All the women and girls plant the field consecrated to Nomkubulwana (potatoes are planted as well as cereals): a libation of beer is poured over the ground, and henceforth the field is left to itself. In some parts of the country men erect a fence round the garden. Women, she says, have been known during the observance of this custom to bury their children up to the neck in sand and go away mourning; they leave them there for a day before they release them. This is said to guard the children against sickness. 2 R. L. Sammelson describes the girls herding the cattle, the burying of the children.

in the sand and the making of the garden for Nomkubulwana all together under the title "ukualel amabele", because the girls go round the garden screaming to the heavenly princess to have pity on them and give them a good harvest. This author cites both Kidd's and Bryant's ways of offering beer to Nomkubulwana - "little pots of beer are put in it (the garden) for her to drink when she goes on her rounds, and sometimes the mealies and mabele are sprinkled with some of the beer for luck to the harvest". Bryant's earlier records only add to his manuscript that the girls sing the traditional songs in honour of Nomkubulwana, but as he writes "if the ukwalusa izinkomo portion of the ceremony is also to be performed" he seems at first to have regarded the herding of the cattle as optional in the observances.

In the light of all these records what are the essential elements of the ceremony? Bryant has been quoted as citing the girls' jumping over the children, their dressing in grass, and the mothers' burying the children, as part of the umshophi rites to banish fever from the land. As the umshophi occurs in December, like the Nomdebe, assuming S.O. Samuelson wrong in placing the latter in October, she could easily have confused the two on the reasoning simile dune, itur duna una. Moreover, it is curious that she should not have distinguished between when the girls wear grass, when their brothers' imitsha. Once these umshophi rites are eliminated, the core of the descriptions is the same, and the essential parts of the ceremony emerge as: (i) the dominance/...
dominance of women and girls in the ceremonies, (ii) the soliciting of a good harvest from the queen of Heaven; (iii) the festivities, songs and dances in her honour, (iv) the herding of the cattle by the girls who wear men's garments, and (v) the planting of the consecrated field and the pouring of a libation of beer over it and/or the burying of beer in it.

I propose to examine the nature of Nomkubulwana and her ceremonies in one so I shall now cite the other rites connected with her. When the seeds have sprouted and the plants are about two feet high, says Bryan, the girls again assemble at an appointed place in the fields nearest their homes. Each girl takes with her a little powdered red clay (ibomvu) and a sprig of the uleti bush. The crowd of girls enters one field after another. They scatter in each field, gently strike the young plants with the uleti sprig and sprinkle the ibomvu over the leaves. As they go they cry out for the corn (uku-kalele) amabele:

Ntei amabele! Si-yakulima-ni? Mave! ('Grant us corn! What shall we eat? Oh what!') Sometimes, too, small gourds of Nomkubu beer are placed here and there about the fields for the princess. Bryant does not say if Nomkubulwana's garden is thus treated; apparently not. The prayer and the offering of beer are the only indications of Nomkubulwana's presidency at the ceremony. R.L. Samuels's description of the "uku-kalele amabele", where the girls go round the gardens screaming to the heavenly princess to have pity on them and give them a good harvest, has been quoted above, for she obviously introduces into her description:

1. There is some disagreement on this point, which I shall consider later.
2. Still on the basis of Bryant's manuscript.
description elements from the initial Nomadde ceremony.

The third round of the Nomubulwana ceremonial occurs a couple of months later, when the corn is already in ear. Scattered about the fields there are usually many white-leaved, withered plants, blighted by the stalk grub, isihlava. The girls and mothers turn out again to prevent, with Nomubulwana’s aid, all further havoc. Just as before they pass through all the fields, crying: “Mi ngambele emu”, (“Alas! for our corn”). Here and there, as they pass, they root up a grub-eaten plant and pluck an ear of corn for the princess of a maize-cob for themselves. Then, when they arrive at the field furthest from their homes, the girls and women together, still further on, to a place far away from any field or habitation; there they solemnly bury the ears of corn for the princess, and cast the withered plants into the flowing torrent of the river, or in some far and solitary spot. They light a great fire and roast the maize-cobs for themselves. They bathe in the river and dance and sing loud songs (izibino). Then they eat their mealies and go home.

Lugg gives us the only other account of this ceremony: a party of young girls, according to him, goes through the mealies and casts sand on them with a prayer that Nomubulwana remove the ‘top-grub’ from them; and finally, when they reach a stream, the sand is cast into the water in the belief that the ‘top-grub’ will finally have his end there. Neither Bryant nor Lugg, it should be noted, mentions Nomubulwana’s special garden.

The three Nomubulwana ceremonies are

(1) apparently after sowing time, for good harvest;

(2) when the crops are a little grown, to the same end;

and/....

1. Bryant, MSS. cit.
2. MSS. cit.
and (iii) when the crops are attacked by pests, to rid them of the blight. One notices at once that she is not mentioned in the first fruits rites, nor is there any ceremony to her at harvest.

The records are inadequate, but I shall attempt to suggest several tendencies which are manifested in the beliefs about, and ceremonies to, Nokubulwana. First of all, I would again place her in the setting of the people's lives. Apparently, when the winter drought is over and the mists, harbingers of rain, rest on the valleys in the early morning; when the trees and bushes are covered with leaves, and the earth with grass; when the rivers begin to fill; when the light of spring spreads over the land; Nokubulwana appears. She moves with the mists, she is robed in light, and many-faceted—on one side a human being, on another a river, she is covered with verdant forest, with grass, and cultivated fields. She comes from above, and the rainbow is the framework of her hut. Bryant describes her as virtually a Zulu Ceres,1 and elsewhere links her with the Demeter-Persephone custom.2 But though she grants a bountiful harvest and destroys the top-grub, why is she not thanked at first fruits or harvest?

This, I think, can be understood in the light of her functions. Primarily, she is the personification of certain powers which must be translated by ritual into social values—should her rites be neglected she would be deeply offended and in revenge cause all the corn to die of blight. If this power, vaguely personified, is not used socially, it will work anti-socially;

2. MSS. cita.
anti-socially; it must be transformed to something of
social value. This power is mainly suggest from
the descriptions of the goddess, that of spring in
general, and it is as the spring that Nomkubulwana has
taken under her protection the corn.

And in the second place, it seems to
me that in this patriarchal society Nomkubulwana is a
patron deity of the women. In her ceremonies they are
predominant. I would not refer particularly that the
girls were umišaka, carry shields and sticks, herd the
cattle. All this is, of course, contrary to the tribal
routine. It is true, as regards the herding, that
Carbutt says that "no special time, season of the year is
set apart for this custom. It is merely enacted when
diseases are known to be prevalent," and therefore Mrs.
Krige concludes that it is not an essential part of the
nomde, with which Bryant's description of the pakula
agrees. Colenso gives it as part of the umesho, but
Bryant does not describe it in this ceremony in his latest
manuscript. It may be a part of the umesho but in view
of S.O., and H.L. Samuelson's, Kidd's, Lugg's and Bryant's
information; I take it that the umoshalaza izinkomo is an
essential rite in the first Nomkubulwana ceremony.

And secondly, while in the umkot' isicwe it is regiments
of men that hoe the chief's field, while it was the
Gaika indunas who ploughed for sakudhi, here it is the
women and girls who make the garden for Nomkubulwana and
pour libations for her. (The only mention of men in
the ceremonies is where S.O. Samuelson says that in some
parts of the country the men erect a fence round the
garden). Now Bryant says that 95 per cent. of the

\[\text{piringoma/}

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2. MSS. cit.; p.115
3. Dict., loc.cit.; Bryant's latest MSS. was not available
4. Ibid.
imingoma (diviners) are married women, and since these imingoma are clearly eccentric neurotics it shows that there is a greater tendency for women to succumb to religious neuroses than there is for men. In general, women do not take a leading part in the religious ritual (among the Thonga "the rara may be called on to officiate in a sacrifice on behalf of her nephews the children of her brothers, if the latter are all dead"); the cattle, those insignia of status, are taboo to them; even in the ceremonies connected with hoesculture, an activity in which they do the chief labour, they are not represented. They who have sweated to produce the crops get no praise, for this goes to dead men, as women are inferior among the amatongo. At the risk of derision from Freudian psycho-analysts, I would suggest that to a Bantu woman herding the cattle is something that is ardently desired, taking a prominent part in ritual is a deeply-grounded wish. An ambivalent attitude towards cattle, towards the crops, towards religion itself, is created in the women. A woman can rarely become a priest, but she communicates with the spirits in visions she becomes an imingoma. And it is, according to Bryant, the married women, who are removed from their own ancestors and doubly circumscribed by ukhlonipha, who usually have these visions. That is women's catharsis, and it is socialised. But we have in Nomalobwana and her ceremonies a further, more normal, catharsis. The girls become men by donning their brothers' clothing, they seize the cattle where ordinarily they may not come near them. Now it is the men who are repressed—they must not approach, and the boys are strictly confined to the umai. If the women do,

as some authorities say, also herd the cattle to exercise disease the reason to the active mind may be as Mrs. Krige suggests, that there seems to be some idea of compelling the assistance of the unseen powers by some flagrant outrage of decency. But deeper down, in my opinion, is the emotional catharsis which the women feel and which they take to be the lifting of the epidemic. Similarly, the planting of Nomkubulwana's garden, and the pouring of libations to her, a woman, regenerate the women and convert ambivalent emotions which might disrupt the community to an end of social value, viz., the welfare of the crops.

This hypothesis is tentatively postulated, for we have no information on the actual feelings of the women. But it is to women that Nomkubulwana appears (here she differs from Inkosazana, who appears to men), and she appears dressed in white, the colour of the umungoma; she gives new laws to them who cannot make new laws; she is patron of horticulture and taught its arts and the brewing of beer; she is a maker of rain, where sending of rain is a privilege of the male ancestors. In her all that woman is denied, is represented; and she appears when women have to embark on the hard toil of horticulture, for which they will never be thanked; in life or in death; she does not appear in the first fruits or harvest rites when that toil is over.

In the ceremony to get rid of the topgrub she eats the ears of corn, the girls and women eat the maize-cobs. In the first fruits rites, on the other hand, the women, as will be seen, are not considered in the actual order of serving, though they may get taste of them till the ceremony is over. Finally, the festivities, songs and dances, in her honour, are a tribute to women in general.

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1. MBS, loc. cit., p.115.
2. Callaway, loc. cit.
3. Bryant, MBS, loc. cit.
And this tentative hypothesis has, in some senses, comparative confirmation within our area. The Thonga are far less patriarchal, the maternal and female ancestors are of greater importance, while this tribe has much fewer cattle; therefore there is not so great a need for feminine catharsis. In the Transkeian tribes, "woman's day" is, as has been quoted, the day of a girl's inonjane, when they may seize the cattle, slaughter animals, and break out in an orgy of lewdness and alcoholism.

The Nsukubulivana ceremonies, are, then, essentially religious, for the translation and concentration of the supernatural power takes place outside of the ceremonies themselves. The power of resurgent spring and the conflicting emotions in the woman's psyche are made to concentrate, socially toned, in things of social value. The crops, society, the cattle and the women themselves are reclothed in the glory of religious ritual.

Fundamentally, I repeat, Nsukubulivana is a personification of the spring, and her ceremonies are to promote a bountiful harvest. Indirectly she stands for woman's desire to rise. She is prayed to for plenty when the corn is sown, and when it is growing; she can remove the blight of the top-grub.

It is impossible, on the information available, to interpret the use of the ibomvu, the ulebini, or the sand mentioned by Lagg, in the latter two ceremonies. The use of water to destroy the grub is a usual method of cleansing.

1. Juzod states (Vol.II,p.441) that "there is no antifeminism in Thonga religion."
The growing crops have to be protected against certain dangers, such as birds, animals, pests, wizards, thieves, hail and the breach of certain taboos. Zulu men, women and children work day and night to drive off the birds, the porcupine, hippopotamus, etc., but when they are exhausted by their efforts they call in an imanga to their aid. He, apparently, can use superior powers to get rid of the nuisance, unless it be locusts, against whom as they are a recent importation, he has no weapon. 2 (The Thonga connect locusts with the Heaven and take no steps against them. 3 )

When the birds get very troublesome the Zulu um-qumquina (headmen) sends, at the request of his people, for a doctor whom he knows is skilful to prevent birds from entering the garden, and the doctor boasts, when he performs his rites, "Watch the birds tomorrow and the day after, and see what they do, and then leave them alone. Then you will see that I am a doctor." He directs the women to leave the birds for a day so that they may eat freely and leave behind corn-chaff which he will use against them. The men get green firewood and a frog for him. He also uses a certain batrachian, isimana. In the afternoon the people collect the ears which the birds have left and the chaff which has recently fallen to the ground. This is ground and the frog and isimana are stuffed with it: then everything is buried in the ground. A fire is kindled on the spot where these are buried, and on this, apparently,

4. This description is from Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.445 seq.
the doctor burns an ukukoti snake and dried and green medicines which he brings with him. The fire is kept burning all night, and perhaps even longer. The people must drive away the birds and as they do so, say:

"Die, die Mbalane,
Die thlokthloko."

(Bryant defines the mbalane as the "golden-rumped canary, a troublesome visitor in corn-fields". He hasn't the word thlokthloko in his Dictionary, but it is probably the name of another bird.)

No man should cohabit with his wife during this time, till after the third day when they have washed in the river with intelezi medicine given by the doctor. Then they return to the fields and sing again the song above.

In this ceremony a specialist, renowned for his prowess, uses the powers inherent in certain medicines for social ends. The rites are clearly magical. It is here again difficult to analyse the elements of the rites owing to the deficiencies in Callaway's record. The song I take to be an imperative command, and not an appeal to the mbalane and thlokthloko to die. The use of the chaff left by the birds, and of the ears from which they have eaten, is an example of the belief that what they have touched can still affect them, i.e., of the law of participations. Why it should be fed to the iselele (frog) and isinana, I cannot say, though Bryant says that the isinana toad is "often found embedded in the soil". But their burying and the burning of a fire over the "grave" is obviously intended to kill the birds. I cannot interpret the use of the medicines, especially since Callaway's informant does not say of what kind they are, or of the ukukoti snake, which is described by R.C. Samuelson as a yellowish scaly snake, poisonous, and about/.....

1. Dict., op. cit., p. 323.
about your test long, which lives among rocks.¹ Perhaps it has a preference for birds. The taboo on sexual intercourse could also only be interpreted by reference to native ideas; but in the Zulu belief, as the things do,² that the excitement of the sexual act is communicated to the animals of the bush, it is easily explicable. I know of only one instance of protection against animals being sought by reference to supernatural forces. The porcupine is very difficult to exclude from the fields, and so it is never called by its own name, but 'Little woman', lest it be tempted to increase its depredations.³ But meantime the crops may be attacked by disease. There are certain taboos in anticipation of this. Thus, among the Zulu, a fowl must not be carried through a field of tasselling corn lest the crop be blighted, ¹ and a menstruating girl should not go through a field of ground-nuts lest the nuts go rotten.⁴ Crops should be pointed at with the knuckles of the hand. Junod gives a number of Thonga agricultural taboos.⁷ These need not be elaborated here, as the whole function of taboo will be considered in a subsequent chapter.

Macdonald has an interesting paragraph which shows the dominance of magic, among the Xhosa, at this stage of horticulture. "A magician is occasionally employed to exercise his arts in order to secure a rich harvest, and prevent the destruction of the growing crops by hail or blight. The ceremonies are not elaborate, nor do the people attach very much importance to this particular form/..."

⁴. Tyler, op.cit., p.104.
⁶. H.L. Samuelsch, op.cit., p.3.
form of magic. The usual custom is to kindle a fire, and as the dense smoke of green branches ascends, to cast charms—shells, bits of wood or bone, leopard teeth, horse or ox hair, or some other specially prepared substance—into the fire, and at the same time exercise the demon of blight, hail or whatever is feared, repeating at intervals a brief incantation for plenteous crops and successful harvesting. Sacrifice is not resorted to; in any case I have never heard of an instance in which this was done. Here are all the elements of the magical rite—a specialist, power which is inherent in certain substances being used for social ends, and a controlling spell.

The Pondo have a ceremony, the iXoshombo, which corresponds largely in procedure to the Xonkhubwana top-grub ceremony, though they have not, of course, any idea of a presiding deity. When the mealies are beginning to ripen the girls fix a day to begin iXoshombo. They meet one evening at a deposit of red clay and dig up some of it. Then they proceed to the lands. They leave all their clothes at the last umzi, and continued naked on their way. (They may wear three inch inciyo head aprons). They rub themselves with the clay, and one girl carries a pile on her head, as they march through the lands. The matter the clay and sing: "aye Xoshombo, pume Xoshombo, uzungu boli". (Go away Xoshombo; never go rotten, fields). They take from each corn- and mealie-field two cornstalks and two cobs respectively; these need not be ripe, for the crops may not yet have ripened. They are supreme; everyone must keep out of their way, and if a woman wants mealies while they are in her/......

her field she must get them elsewhere. In the evening the girls retire to a ridge where there are no villages; and small girl attendants (who dare not, by the way, follow their sisters through the fields) bring them their discarded clothes, their blankets and wood and water. They may eat only of what they have gathered and they must roast, not boil, the mealies. They sleep in the open, paired with the boys who come to them at dusk. The boys and girls dance on the hills for a few days or a week, according to the number of fields to be doctored. (Villages may club together to have their fields treated). The girls return home without ceremony.

This ceremony, says Miss Hunter, is an annual one to protect the fields from harm. The girls are given no medicine, and only scatter the clay, after the tradition, according to the older people, of Kama, a great locust doctor. The performers must be girls, not married women or dikani (unmarried women, or widows who have returned to their father's home).

The performers in these rites, as largely in the Zulu Nomkalulwana ceremonies, are the girls, and married women, widows, and girls who have borne illegitimate children are specifically excluded. The performers in the ixashembo have all their fertility power unrecorded and un-expended. This all their strength is brought into action against the ixashembo, and it is reinforced by the authority of Kama, a great locust doctor. The scattering of the red clay may be, as in the case of Nomkubulwana, because the common, healthy Kafir millet is red, while rusted millet is black, i.e., here an effect is produced by a similar cause. The clay seems to carry the power of the rite rather than the song banishing the blight and exhorting the fields to be healthy. As in the Nomkubulwana ceremony the mealies and corn/.....
corn are roasted, perhaps for fear lest boiling them
would, as by the action of water on grain, spoil the crop.
The girls are isolated from the community, but cohabit
with the boys—the negative rule is, I suggest, because
they are engaged in the community's special business, the
positive is a symbolising of fertility. The ancestors
are not involved, and the rite is magical to the core—
supernatural power is directly transferred through the
clay.

In addition to the Nomintulwana 'top-
grub' ceremony, Zulu gardens are treated in other ways. For
example, if they be in an unhealthy state, fish skin, the
saltier the better, is burned and the ashes are scattered
over the ground to cure the diseases which are supposed
to be hindering the crops. This is a magical act, as the
power resides in the saltiness of the fish skin.

The Thonga connect² the nunu, a coleoptera
which scourges the fields in December or January, with Tilo
(Heaven). When these insects begin to swarm the chief men
of the country order the diviners to throw the bones (why;
Junod does not say) and send the woman to pick the nunu off
the bean-stalks. Then they choose (probably by casting
lots, says Junod) a woman who has given birth to twins.
One of her daughters, who is one of the twins, is told to
throw the insects into the neighbouring lake. Accompanied
by a mature woman she must go straight to the lake, without
saying a word. Behind her marches the whole crowd of women,
arms, waists and legs covered with grass; they carry branches
of the big-leaved manioc, which they wave from side to side,
while they sing: 'Nunu, go away! That we may eat maize!'
She then throws the insects she carries in a calabash into
the water without turning round, for she must not look
behind. Then the women shout savagely and loudly and
sing their lewd songs which they would never dare utter on

1. Tyler, op.cit., p.108
other occasions. During this ceremony the men remain at home, under fear of the pitiless attack by the women.

This is not the only, though it is the best, method of conjuring away the numu. (Sometimes the insects may be thrown on to neighbouring lands). This pest is connected with Heaven, that mysterious power which presides over all unaccountable and unavoidable phenomena of the atmosphere, of the life of the fields, and of human existence. This connection is concretely shown by the role of the twin, for the birth of twins is also a manifestation of Tilo. But despite the connection of the numu with Heaven the ceremony may be mainly magical. It is impossible to analyse the record as given, and the song, "Numu, go away!", could be an imperative command or a supplication. Certainly the drowning of some of the numu implies the belief that if part is destroyed, all will be destroyed. The part played by the women is analogous to their part played in the Zulu Nkulu Nokubulwana rites. They maltreat any man they may meet, they sing their impure songs - these elements of the ceremony indicate an emotional catharsis within the woman, which cleansing they project to the fields.

In the Maluteke clan of the Thonga there is a clear religious ceremony to cleanse the crops; when the kaffircorn is threatened by vermin, a goat is sacrificed, at the chief's orders, to the ancestors. Here they purify the crops, and gain power from the crops. The crops must also be protected against sorcerers. For instance, the Thonga have a taboo against whistling in the fields after they have been sown and until

1. Ibid., Vol.II, p.404.
the mealies are ripe, as this would call the baloyi and endanger the harvest. Under the crimes of the baloyi Junod gives in the first place thieving. "They steal mostly mealies or the products of the fields. They empty the ground-mote of their contents. The magicians have a kind of medicine with which they plaster the mealie cobs in the gardens, and the boyi when he wants to tear them from the stalk, remains a prisoner, unable to withdraw his hand from the cob. The baloyi of the different regions are reputed to war with each other in stealing mealies, and to their varying success the various yields are ascribed. Thus those anti-social beings, the baloyi, may protect their neighbours against other baloyi.

The Thonga protect crops against thieves with the ribhink, "a kind of mysterious influence exerted on the thief by throwing a magical powder into his footprints or by taking a little of the earth found in these footprints and treating it with drugs. The inhabitants of the village where the thief lives will be ailed by disease; this will induce them to come to the owners of the garden to confess their fault and pay a fine. Then the magician who had furnished the drug will give them a counter-drug and they will be healed." This is an example of punitive magic, the magical sanction. It is more than probable that the thief does feel that the wise specialist, the inyanga, has thrown the power of the powder or drugs against him, and suffers accordingly till he is purified by confession and treatment.

Another Thonga way of keeping off thieves is to make a knot at the end of the central nerves of the leaves of the Hyphaene palm tree (timbussamali); these nerves are like little snakes, very slender and flexible. The knot represents the head of the snake.

1. Ibid., Vol.II, p.28.
2. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.80-1.
The owner then burns and powders to ashes the slough of a snake, and puts the ashes on the rods. He weaves the rods together to form a kind of crown and places this on one of the maize stems in his garden. When the thief enters the field, the timhlandala at once transform themselves into small snakes, which are also called timhlandala. These snakes rush towards the thief, who will run away. Should he take the stolen cobs with him instead of throwing them on to the ground, the snakes would follow him to his village. This dreadful powder was prepared by an Nkwa named Nwanjokwane and the people of his village used to inoculate themselves with the drug; in this way they had nothing to fear from the snakes. This is a magical rite; the timhlandala nerves are turned into the similar timhlandala snakes by the virtue of the powder, which is apparently prepared by only one man.

Intimately bound up with noecultural ritual at this stage are rain and lightning rites, and I shall consider these in the next section. But it will be necessary, for purposes of arrangement, here to analyse these rites in full, and not only in the context of noecultural activities.

(a) Rain and Lightning Ritual.

There is a special class of Zulu-izinyanga who are known as heaven-herds. One of their duties is to ward off hail or lightning when these threaten the crops. The izinyanga runs out with weapons and rain-shield and shouts to counteract the lightning. He whistles and says, "Tahali-lo! Depart, and go yonder; do not come here again". Kidd's description of the performance shows...
shows the tremendous concentration of power in the
tremendous heaven-herd against the lightning. When the storm is
brewing the doctor runs to his hut for his hail-shield.
He lights fires round the gardens, and burns medicine on
them; he cries against the storm, telling it to go away
and not injure the crops. He sprinkles the people and the
huts with medicine, and sends young men to blow horns on
the hilltops. The scene is a tribute to man's eternal
struggle against the cosmic powers: "Suddenly there is a
vivid flash of lightning in the distance, which shows up
the silhouette of the doctor athwart the sky; his naked
and skinny arms are raised in threatening gesture against
the clouds, which he is defying with all his energy.
Columns of smoke can be seen drifting in the gusts of
wind which eddy about and are but a prelude to a fresh
outburst of storm. There is suddenly a fearful crash
of thunder just overhead, and everyone feels as if the
whole heavens were about to fall and crush the earth; the
rain comes in torrents, and the children scream out in
terror; while the doctor yells at the vivid lightning.
Every now and then the noise of the horns pierces in ful-
ful blasts through the patter rain.

"The doctor gets into a frenzy and
screams out at the storm with fury......The hail begins to
patter on the ground, and flash after flash of lightning
defies the wise Man's magic, and soon the heavens seem to
be pouring out streams of water mixed with vivid fire.
Clap after clap of thunder rends the air, and the din is
continuous. The horn-blowers are beaten back, drenched,
to their huts; they are terrified by the deluge of fire
and water. The doctor alone stands out in the open air,
with his hail-shield held over his head. The lightning
seems to stream on his dripping but devoted brow......

The/........
The doctor sees that the whole sky is a mass of fire, and runs back drenched and baffled into the hut, terrified in his defeat and quaking in every limb on account of the enormous expenditure of nervous energy; he cries out that he is overcome and can no longer keep back the heavens. Man's magic has failed and he cannot control, directly by the use of supernatural power, the cosmic forces. In the person of the specialist who has fasted and abstained from work, who has collected lightning-bolts and birds, taking the latter to grow strong in power, he is defeated.

Macdonald gives a description of the procedure adopted by the Kafirs if too much rain falls. The rain-doctor, accompanied by a large crowd, proceeds to a house where there has been no death for a long time, and there burns the skin of a coney. He shouts, while it is burning, "The rabbit is burning." This cry is taken up, and the whole crowd continue shouting till all are exhausted. If this does not stop the rain it is given up as a hopeless case. The fundamental magical principles are clear; but it is impossible on the information given to analyse the rites in detail.

But in the meantime if rain does not fall the crops are doomed. I have tried, in my other thesis, to show that these coastal tribes, unlike the inland Bantu, do not have an annual rain-ceremony and only if the rains fail, or are late in coming, do they resort to supernatural means of obtaining relief. This resort among the Thonga is of three types, in the following order:

(i) Religious rites connected with the ancestor-spirits;
(ii) Sites of purification of the land which are derived from the mysterious relation existing between the power of Heaven...
Heaven and abnormal births; and (iii) magical rites, in which sea charms play the most important part.  

The general view in Thongaland is that "the spirits of the ancestors cause rain to fall." Therefore if the spring showers are late the first idea will be to offer sacrifice to the gods, especially if the bones consulted have revealed that the anger of the gods is the real cause. In the Nkuna clans men go to the sacred woods (the ntimu) and sing there an ancient mourning song. Some of them will scatter the graves with sticks. Among the Bilen clans a special pot, called Phokolo, is buried just below the surface of the ground, in the middle of a clean spot well hidden in a dense thicket of thorny shrubs. A black ram without any white spot is caught there, and killed in accordance with the ceremonial rites. The grass of the paunch is squeezed over the pot, so that the green liquid drips into it, and the blood is spread all over the ground. Four furrows have been dug in the form of a cross with the pot as centre, and pointing towards the four cardinal points. Little girls who are not yet informed in sex are sent to fetch water and fill the pot until it overflows into the furrows. After doing this, they go back to their mothers. In many sacred woods, it appears that a living human victim is offered to the gods. 

There are, then, two main ways of supplicating the ancestors. Junod says that he is unable to say whether the beating of the mounds is to awaken the ancestors or to show them the dissatisfaction of their descendants. In any event, it must be to draw their attention to the lack of rain; and the power is still

2. Ibid., Vol. II, pp.316 seq.
concentrated in their hands. This, as well as the phokolo sacrifice, is a national offering, so it is the ancestors of the chiefs who are involved. As regards the use of the black ram in the Phokolo, it is probably a symbolic representation of the black rain-clouds. The use of the stomach contents of the goat (the peany) is one of the essential elements of the Thonga sacrifice, and it is always used to consecrate the sacrifice to the ancestors. The pouring of the water into the pot and its flowing down the furrows I should think represents the flowing of water over all the land. Girls ignorant of sex pour the water, in all probability because they are regarded as pure from the burning passion of sex; abstinence from sexual intercourse is, for this reason, frequently enjoined in Thonga ceremonial. This rain-ceremony is fundamentally religious, in that the power which is to remove the drought resides in the ancestors, but it has many magical elements.

There is one other rain ceremony which is connected with the dead. This is the tjeba fishing and it is the only indication we have of an annual rain ceremony among the coastal tribes. When the whole clan has caught barbel in the drying ponds, a thunderstorm will come and rain will fall. This was especially the case with certain small lakes such as Melangotibe in Nondwane and that in Naima near Morokwen, because battles had taken place on their borders and the enemies' corpses had been thrown into the water. So these lakes had become great sacred woods (ntzim). Junod suggests that the spirits of the deceased, which were certainly "gods of bitterness" (elsewhere he classes men killed in battle as "gods of assegai") were supposed to prevent

2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 374. Perhaps they are gods of bitterness because they were enemies, and only clan members killed in battle become gods of the assegai.
the rain, and the latter either appeased them or made them powerless. I can add nothing to this, though I favour the latter hypothesis, for it seems to me that this is much more of a magical than a religious ceremony.

But as the rain comes from Heaven it has been brought into relation with certain physiological phenomena which are also connected with Heaven: the miscarriage of women when the feto is not handled according to rule, the birth of twins, the death of children not yet received into the tribe by the ceremony of Sesho pepe and not buried in wet ground — these are the great causes which prevent rain from falling. For example, if a woman has dealt incorrectly with her miscarriage the whole country is defiled and must be set right. Such a woman is discovered by enquiry by the chief and made to reveal the spot where she has hidden the miscarriage. The earth is dug up; the hole is sprinkled, and the woman washes her body with a decoction made of two drugs, the Mûndula and N'anganale, which is prepared in a special pot. A little earth from the hole is thrown into the river and water drawn from the river is thrown into the hole. Now the country will be well again and the rain will come. The sprinkling of the grave, the throwing of ground from it into the river, are clearly to cool the uncleanness so that the heavens may be cooled; and the Mûndula and N'anganale drugs are also probably cleansing. These are apparently magical rites but the ceremony is religious because the power to be touched is that of Heaven, and it transcends the officiants and their medicines. The enquiry is instigated by, and the ceremony performed at, the direction of the chief. Rites in other clans vary in detail. 1, 2, 3

1. Ibid., Vol. II., p. 223 and Vol. II., p. 96.
2. Ibid., Vol. II., p. 217.
3. Ibid., Vol. II., p. 218.
In other clans it is twins who are especially connected with rain. In the section on birth ceremonies I have quoted the customs of the birth of twins, which are devised to prevent drought. Among the Ronga/mbalele procession is led by the mother of twins and water is poured on the graves of twins to secure rain. Walls are cleaned and the bodies of twins buried in dry ground may be dug up and buried near the river to influence heaven. Twins are children of Heaven, and their mother may be placed in a hole in the Idombo ntimi and have water poured over her, so that rain will fall. "The woman of Heaven being wet", says Junod, "Heaven itself will be wet.

We pass now to the third type of rain-making, rain-magic. Here, among the Thonga, magic is the final, not the first, resort, which would be the case if Frazer's psychological analysis for the priority of magic to religion in cultural evolution were correct. The charms have to be obtained from the Satho-Pedis of Spelonken (the Kwelo section of the Thonga) who are descendants of a fabulous rain-maker, Luvihbi. The ingredients come from the sea and consist of sea-urchins, sea-weeds, etc. These are roasted and then sea-water is poured on them to cool them. They are pulverised and "salted" with another drug called shinglyke, something black which Junod was unable to identify. The powder so obtained is put into goats' horns; one in two of these are dipped in sheep's fat and so become females drugs. The medicine can be renewed by grinding some of the magical drugs with fresh marine products. The

1. Ibd., p.313.
2. Ibd., p.432.
3. Ibd., p.520 seq.
4. Probably connected with the witch deity Sultimbe, who has a cave at Luvihbi and who is connected with rain. (Staft, op. cit., p.7, 593-1, 310).
virtue of the drug is derived from two sources: the produce of the sea, and the power of the first inventor, Luvimbi." The charm is used by the specialist who has it at the request of any chief. For instance, Mankhelu, who was a famous magician, when called in told the chief to kill a black goat or sheep, male or female according to what the bones required. (The head at least had to be black.) The heart was pierced with a puncheon so that the blood flowed. He (probably Mankhelu, not the chief) carefully washed the horns (the medicine horns, I presume) with the blood, and then smeared (horola) them with the animal's paws. He then made fire with his fire-sticks. In the meantime Mankhelu prayed: "Here are the drugs, Rivimbi or Thome! Give us rain." Then he invoked his own ancestors, saying, "Go to Rivimbi for me and come along here all of you to make the rain fall." This was a kind of shamba. After a while the wood began to burn; leaves of the nomba-nomba bush were placed on it and a black smoke rose and ascended to heaven. A feather of the ndlali lightning-bird was placed among the leaves as a protection against lightning. What are the essential elements of these magical rites? In the first place, the ceremony is performed at the behest of the chief, and it is carried out by a specialist, the rain-maker. The medicines, which carry the supernatural power, are prepared from sea-products, and the sea is obviously connected with rain. These medicines also derive their power from antiquity, from Rivimbi, and he is shamba'd to preside over their use. The rain-maker also invokes his own ancestors to intercede with the great Rivimbi and to exert their own power to make the rain fall. The black ram (black to represent the storm clouds) seems

1. Thome was Rivimbi's father. (Kunzi, op. cit., Vol. II., p. 322);
seems to be sacrificed to the chief's ancestors — there is certainly a religious element in this ceremony — but the sacrifice is in some way connected with the medicines, for it must be on the medicine horns that the blood and pancrei are smeared. The black smoke from the fire clearly symbolises rain-clouds.

Among the Thonga a wizard, says Junod, 1 "endowed with magical power, or rather one possessing magical drugs", 2 may prevent the rain from falling through wickedness, or hatred of his countrymen. This is a rare occurrence. Junod nowhere describes what is done when this is the explanation of the drought, but the noyi is probably smeared out, made to remove his curse and killed; I am tempted to assume that it is a rare occurrence because it is only used in explanation when all other ways of rain-making have failed. When the Thonga despair of the drought's ever breaking, then in their desperation they fall back on the belief that a noyi has bound the heavens, the ancestors and the ilinyanga. A scapegoat for their doubts and fears is found, and his execution gives them a recrudescence of faith and optimism.

Except for the connection of twins and abnormal births with Heaven and the rain, rain-making among the other South-Eastern Bantu tribes, in general principles, the same as among the Thonga. The rain-maker is always a special nyanga who acts only when called on by the chief. Thus among the Xosa, according to Soga, "the rain-maker is tribal in operations; he is not free to answer the call of any individual. He operates by order of the chief of the tribe or of the king."

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1. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 326.
2. This supports Schapera and Hunter's contention that all the magician, or wizard, needs is knowledge and possession with, and has no magical power inherent in himself.
operates at the instance of the chief only. I take it that there would be first of all a sacrifice to the chief's ancestors; then perhaps an offering to Heaven; the use of rain-magic; and finally, I presume (the records are poor) the hunting out of abakatzi.

In Zululand girls are said to dance round and pour water on the roots of a certain tree under which a great rain-maker, an ancestor of theirs, is buried. This ceremony is a tribute (the dance) to this great rain-maker, and the pouring of water is probably to remind him of their need. It is essentially religious. Kidd says that the custom whereby Zulu women bury their children up to the neck in the ground, and then retire some distance and raise up a dismal howl for a long time, is to obtain rain, for the heavens are supposed to melt with tenderness. This apparently is a religious ceremony of propitiation, for they say that they call to "the Lord above" for rain and if it comes they declare that "usendo wena". If an inzingizi bird (the grand hornbill) is killed and thrown into a pool of water it will rain, and also if an ingqungqulu bird (Bateleur Eagle) is killed. All birds have some connection with heaven, but these seem to be magical acts. The same interpretation applies to the throwing of an amfesi beetle into a river in times of drought and the burning of porpoise (a sea-creature) skin.

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1. "Ana-Kosa; op. cit.; p.175.
3. Ibid., p.3. 117-8.
7. Callaway, Ibid., p.408.
10. Ibid, "In Bloom"; p.37.
Certain Zulu beliefs about rain and the ancestors vary from the routine method of approach. If there has been a drought before the feast of the first fruits, the singing of the chief's song (which is only sung on this occasion, at the first fruits itself, or to stop rain) will cause rain to fall, for then "the heaven rains with reason, for it is filling up the footprints of the chief, that they may no longer appear where he stood, but be obliterated by the rain." It appears from the record that the song had to be sung at the graves of the chief's ancestors. The chief's song would be a way of invoking the chief's ancestors. One of Callaway's informants describes a ceremony performed by Tshaka apparently to solicit rain from Unkulunkulu. He summoned a great assembly of the chiefs of villages. He collected black oxen, sheep and rams, prayed and sang to the Lord of Heaven, and asked his forefathers to pray to the Lord of Heaven. The song consisted merely of musical sounds, like the chief's song in the ceremony described in the preceding paragraph and may well be the same. The cattle used were the Iximnomo xesane: (the cattle of the tribal gods) used in national sacrifices at the graves of the tribal ancestors. Callaway does not say where the iximnomo were sacrificed. The song was the music of the tribal gods. When the animals had been killed the chief men donned the girdles of young girls. The sacrificial victims were skinned and carried to the chief village where they were placed in the huts of old women where no one used to come. In the morning the great xam who skinned them and his helper divided the meat, which was boiled in many pots. As the sun declined they took the meat out, placed it on feeding mats, and called to the great man to come/...
come up. All the people were made to sit down in order of their villages, meat was put in their hands and, when all had received their share, they simultaneously carried it to their mouths. They sang the meaningless song used on the first day and stamped their feet on the ground. Then they ate. Men who took a long time to eat the meat put it on the ground, and sang again when they had swallowed what was in their mouths. Though this ceremony is said to be an approach to umkulumku, it seems to me that it is essentially a sacrifice to ancestors, as the use of the izinkomo zemzima indicates. The chief's ancestors are besought for their aid and the chief directs the ceremony; probably it is his song that is used. The black animals are to stir up the black rain-clouds. Why the men should wear young girls' girdles or eat the meat in the way described I cannot say. The ceremony is clearly religious, for it is the supernatural power of the amatengo that will give rain, and the sentiments about them and the chief who presides, are strengthened as the emotions of doubt and despair in the tribesmen are translated to hope and certainty of the future; this point will be elaborated in a moment.

The Zulu also believe that the abakati can prevent the rain from falling. The evil deer puts eggs dipped in medicines in the ground or ties knots in the grass on the mountain tops and sprinkles them with medicine. In times of drought the king used to send messengers to find such witchcraft and the owner of the nearest umni to it fined or killed. This apparently lifts the evil.

The description of the rain ceremonies are very poor, but I presume that they are generally...

generally the same as among the Zulu. Certain tribes, however, record an interesting belief, under which rain-makers sometimes ordered a great hunt when rain was needed. Here the flow of blood might bring the rain, or the energetic catharsis of the hunt might be projected by the participants to "loosen the world" and cause rain to fall. Hunting is also connected with rain in that hunters must not utter the name I-Qoyi in a certain forest lest rain fall immediately and spoil the hunting. Why this utterance should have such disastrous effects is impossible to say, but the taboo on a name is common among the Bantu. It would be interesting to know if this belief was used to make rain, or only applied to a hunt, and if the latter is the case whether there is any connection between the i-Palaza and i-Qoyi.

Before passing on, I wish to point out here that rain-making ceremonies clearly show the translation of power, potentially good or evil, to positive power and its concentration in objects of social value. The psyche of the tribesmen, during a period of drought, must be torn by emotions of hope, fear, despair, etc., and these emotions, being ambivalent, generate power which must be transformed to social ends. The rain ceremony is performed at the behest of the chief only, so that this power is concentrated, in its positive aspect, in him, and in his ancestors who send the rain. Some of this power is also translated to the rain-doctor, and his prestige is tremendous—he is clearly of great social value, and even threatens to rival the chief. Yet in the event of the

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drought continuing the wrath of the people, which is anti-
social, falls on him; and not on the chief, who is of greater
social value. I have sketched this relationship of the
chief and the magicism in my other thesis, and will
elaborate it in a later chapter.

To drive away rain or thunder the Zulu burn the
skin of a cony,1 or the children may go out, turn up their
buttocks towards the sky, and say; "Let it clear up, here
rump!" adding, perhaps, "I am the last born of our family.

Here the bare buttocks of the children may represent the
clear sky. The vefl-daisy; whismiklosane, may be placed
upside down on a path during rain to make the sky clear up;
this plant perhaps opens its petals to a shower and the
Zulu may invert it to stop the rain. All these are
magical processes, the first using the power of a medicine;
the latter two more that of a rite.

Explanations of lightning vary somewhat, but
it is generally connected with Heaven. Thus the proper
Zulu word for Lightning is ulunzani, but "owing to the
dislike of the Natives for calling an evil thing by their
proper names, the word in most common use for lightning" is
merely i(li)-Zulu (the heavens).6 The Zulu, according to
Callaway's information, distinguish two kinds of heaven,
the male and female. The former thunders with a deep roar;
it is not dreadful, it does no harm; for although it
thunders, it causes nothing but rain." The thunder of the
female heaven, on the other hand, is attended with forked
lightning and hail; it thunders very shrilly, as though it
would split the head. The female heaven brings destruction
in its wake, of itself and through the intense heat which
follows it.5 Why these different types of storm should be,

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2. Ibid., "Dumula", p.128.
3. Ibid., p.238.
4. Ibid., pp. 22-3.
thus distinguished I cannot say unless it be that the deep
and shrill thunder are associated with the male and female
voice, respectively. The male heaven would be thunderstorms
attended by lightning, probably sheet lightning, and the
female heaven dry, forked lightning.

The chief association of heaven with lightning
is through the lightning-bird. The Kafirs, according to
Kropf, have a superstition of an im-pundulu bird which sets
its fat on fire and sends it down as lightning. Soga,
writing on the Xosa, refers to Kropf and Cock describes the
same belief among the Bovana. Miss Hunter says that the
Fonde believe the lightning to be the droppings of the
mpundulu, which has a red beak and a pure white body, but
sometimes appears blue and "all sorts of colours." The Fonde
belief, according to Kidd, is that it is brown and spits
down fire on the earth. According to Macdonald, who does
not specify for what tribe he is writing, "thunder is
caused by very large mythical bird clapping its wing, and
lightning is its excrement when purged. When lightning
strikes any object, such as a dwelling, cattle-yard, or
tree, the bird itself has descended, and again reason's
in an invisible mist. Its descent is for the purpose of
laying its eggs, and if these are not destroyed by the
magicians, they are hatched and breed more thunder birds.
The eggs like the bird are invisible." In Natal,
according to Kidd, the bird is described as white and of
enormous size, and the lightning is caused by the flapping

1. The Sotho-Chapana associate this bird with, I believe,
sea-gulls; I have been unable to identify it among
5. MSS. c.t.
6. "Essential Kafir," op. cit., p. 120.
of its wings. Some Zulu believe that if the spot where the
lightning struck is examined the shaft of an assegai will be
found, writes Kidd, probably copying Callaway; but the Zulu
also have the idea of a lightning-bird, which many or them,
indeed, claim to have seen, for it remains where the ground
has been struck. It is very fat, and its feathers glister
peculiarly, so that it changes between red and green in
colour. The Thonga call this bird molati, or the cock or
hen of heaven. In the Northern clans the magicians know
more about it; the molati is a bird of four colours, green,
red, black and white, which lives in the mountains, prefer-
ably at the confluence of rivers. Its eggs apparently
float in a nest on the water. When a thunderstorm breaks
the molati flies to heaven into the clouds; there may be
scores of the birds but only one is dangerous. It rushes
down to the ground, striking a tree on its way, tearing its
back and its wood, and throwing it down; or it falls on a
man and burns him, or on a man and kills him. At the
ground the bird either rests, more or less helpless, so that
it can be, and has been, caught, or else it enters the
ground and remains there, or deposits its urine which is the
cause of the lighting fire, and flies back to the mountains.

It is easy to understand how the lightning bolt
was looked on as a hurled assegai, and also the conception
of lightning as a bird, flying down from heaven. What the
relation of the bird to the Zulu male and female heavens
Callaway does not say; probably the Zulu have never attempted
to make any connection between the two.

1. "Essential Karin" Op. cit., p.120.
2. Ibid., p.125.
6. Vide, ibid., p.316.
The lightning is prevented from wreaking its havoc by special izinyanga known, among the Zulu, as sky-herds, because they herd the heavens as a boy herds the cattle, carrying shield and assegai, and whistling. The specialisation among this kind of izinyanga is extreme; there are izinyanga of the lightning and izinyanga of the hail who are employed on different occasions. Among the Thonga there are also magicians who understand the "treatment of Heaven," and the Transkeian tribes recognise special iMfengu doctors. But among the Kosa it appears that the usual way would intervene with the heavens, well as the izinyanga, spitting medicine and standing his spear in the lightning flashes, and placing assegais round the house to ward off the lightning. Among the various tribes it is believed by any man who knows them, the Zulu sky-herds have to observe special rules of living. The have a common feeling with the heavens, and are not so much physicians as mediators with it. (p.372, Footnote 27). The doctor must always fast (p.377 & 387): he must modify his body and rub in medicines mixed with the flesh of a lightning-bird, or with a thunder-bolt (p.381, Footnote 30): he must only drink beer from a full pot, eat mains from a pot and meat of a bullock after it has been opened up; he must not eat herbs before the feast of the first fruits (pp.382-3).

By these practices they are brought into sympathy with the heaven.

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2. Ibid., p.376.
7. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.384. In this paragraph references in brackets are to this work.
heaven, to feel with it, know when it is going to thunder, and are able to counteract it”. (p.380, footnote30).

Among the Thonga and Pondo twins especially have this common feeling with heaven and may walk in the storm, or shout at it, to drive it away.

The Zulu doctor uses various medicines to "herd" the heavens. These medicines are generally izintelezi, medicines which are sprinkled, (Soga, on the Xosa, describes the intelezi as a plant, bulbus asphodelaoides, which is grown at the top of a hut to ward off lightning.) Callaway gives a number of the medicines used, such as the umabope plant, whose red roots are used. Bryant says the umabope is used as an intelezi, but according to Callaway it is burnt in the isolo, a special fireplace outside the umzi used for this purpose. Callaway also mentions uboko and umthlomane as being burnt in the isolo. Umkatazo is a medicine which the doctor keeps by him that he may purify the lightning if it enters the house. He also gives as a heaven medicine isibetelelo, which, however, is described by Bryant as a love-medicine.

Bryant gives a number of lightning medicines in his dictionary, as does Kroepf for the Kafir. It is unnecessary for me to give them here — in every case they are employed in magical rites where their power is directly used to ward off, or cleanse from the effects of, lightning.

The Sky-herd has two functions: (i) he must drive/....

2. Hunter, Esq., cit.
drive away and ward off the storm, and (ii) he must purify those who have been attacked by the lightning. The thunderbolt, coming from Heaven, is charged with danger and impurity. As we have seen, a person killed by lightning is buried without ceremony outside the umzi. And the animal that is struck is usually not eaten but burnt, though it may be eaten if the doctor so orders, and then only with special precautions, including washing and the taking of emetics. A hut, even a whole kraal, is destroyed if struck by lightning, and a tree that is struck cannot be used. Macdonald says that when a man is killed by lightning all the village are unclean till the sacrifice at the end of the ceremony. They cannot visit their neighbours, nor can their neighbours come near them. The relatives of the dead must show no signs of mourning. It is said, 'Heaven has taken its own, and mourning would be to protest, and might bring punishment.'

As regards the first duty and the way it is performed, I have already described the doctor waving his arms, whistling, having horns blown, burning medicines, to drive away the storm. There are also other methods. When a storm is brewing, while it is yet far off, the Zulu doctor lights a fire in the isolo; this diminishes the power of the storm so that when it does come it may easily be made to depart. When it does come the doctor runs out with shield, medicines and stick; he shouts and whistles and strikes on his shield; he may shoot arrows tipped with medicine towards the sky, or wave a torch to scare away the lightning, or if it enters the house puff (as stated above) made of medicine at it. The Kafir doctor fills his mouth with own urine...
urine and spit it at the storm. The Thonga magicians forced Heaven, or the bird of Heaven, to spare them by playing on an enchanted flute, and shouting: "You! Heaven! Go further! I have nothing against you! I do not fight you!" They may add: "If you are sent by my enemies against me, I will cut you open with this knife of mine!"

All these processes are obviously magical.

Charsms are hung about the huts or buried to ward off lightning, and the Zulu make common use of medicated stakes. Sayce has described an annual "lightning-protection" rite among them. The doctor collects a number of wooden pegs and if possible one of stone (usually dolerite) struck by lightning. These pegs are dressed with medicines consisting of the barks of two trees, one of which is small and has long thorns and a red sap, said to resemble blood. (Lugs in a manuscript says this is the umviti tree, the thunder tree, of the Zulu, many of which stand in gardens to serve as a protection against lightning. It has a single stem with large umbrella-shaped head with switchy branches like the willow. When in bloom it has a most vile smell.) To this bark-medicine is added the fat of the ngunguqulu bird (used, as stated above, as a rain medicine) and perhaps the fat of a "peacock" which is said to cry and ruffle its feathers before thunder. The wooden pegs are driven into the ground round the village and the huts and also at the entrance of the isibaya. Some are fixed on the tops of the huts. The lightning-stone is placed just outside the hut (I take it the indlunkulu), at the foot of the right door-post as one enters in a specially-prepared hole lest it be knocked out by the lightning. Bark is ground

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4. MSS. cit.,
and mixed with a glistening ore resembling argentiferous galena, obtained from a spot on the Ingeli Mountains which is frequently struck by lightning. The stone is placed above the medicine in the hole, an inch of it is left projecting, and over it is spread a third mixture containing glistening red ore (like opal) and cow's milk. The doctor is paid for his work. Callaway gives a brief account of this ceremony, and concludes by saying that at the end of the year the rods are replaced by new ones, "it being known that the old heaven of the year which has passed away has passed away with the old year, but the present year has its own heaven."

What are the principles underlying these practices? In the first place, it is to be noted that the heaven-herd is a highly specialised inyanga, and only among the Xosa does the kraal-head, the priest, ward off the lightning; though Bomvana men may use charms themselves. The heaven-herd is closely associated with Heaven. Heaven-herds are said to herd the heaven, because when it is overcast, they at once see that the heaven is bad, and has ceased to be calm, and has gone out to do evil; and the hearts of the herds are kindled; they are no longer happy, are unable to swallow any food, and are struck with fear, as though an enemy was coming to kill them. At last they become brave when the lightning begins to flash. The inyanga yezulu froms when the heaven is overcast, for his heart too is gathering clouds; he is under heaven's protection, and maintains his association with it by special observances. The heaven obeys his behests to depart, and the mere presence of his blanket may be sufficient to drive away the storm. The profession must be kept clear of impostors, and therefore one doctor may send lightning to another doctor to see whether he is power-

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3. Ibid., p.375; footnote 21.
powerful or not, if he does not know where the latter obtained his skill. The power of the invanga results comes from his "common feeling with heaven"; the Kafir doctor uses his own urine against it, while other medicines include an important element the thunderbolt itself, fat of the lightening-bird or its urine, and so on. The power over heaven comes from heaven itself, but the doctor white it in threatening manner and with imperial commands, bidding the heavens depart. There are certain observances practised against storms. The name of lightning, ualibwe, is tabooed (the Xhosa call it Inkosi) and, among the Xhosa, anything that is white - beads, wood-parings, amasi, white kine - must be concealed or avoided. One should, during the storm, walk on the grass not in the path.

The process of cleansing from the effects of the lightning is very necessary, so much so that when Macdonald sought the timber of a struck cattle-fold from a native, the latter was easily persuaded that the evil had been transferred to the coin. He got a magician to doctor the coins and appease the spirits. The Thonga village which has been struck is cleansed if the doctor can exhume the urine of the lightning bird, if not the village must be moved. In the Transkei the doctor removes anyone who may have been killed and sprinkles the place and people with medicine; he orders a dance and sacrifice of cattle, the group being reintegrated, by a religious ceremony, against the mighty power of heaven. The lightning tends to follow...
where it has been before, and probably this is why things connected with, or struck by, it have power over it. The Xosa therefore doctor against its reappearance. The spot where the lightning struck the ground must be treated, and before the dead man can be buried the family and the grave-diggers must be specially protected. Among the Zulu, if a person is struck by lightning the whole umzi fast and do not even drink water until the doctor has treated them. And, on similar principles to the lightning being used against itself, a man who has been struck but still lives, no longer fears the lightning if he has been treated by the doctor. Cattle can only be, we have seen, eaten with special precautions if they were killed by lightning. If a hut is struck the whole umzi is treated. The inhabitants are sacrificed and take umsizi, and little medicated rods are driven into the ground all about the village. A black sheep is killed for the medicines, because its colour will obscure the sight of heaven so that it cannot see clearly and strike again. The whole umzi may be moved, or perhaps only the hut struck is abandoned. The inmates are always doctored; the cattle must be purified, and milk is abstained from.

It seems that the people have to be protected from future onslaughts of lightning as well as purified. They are ritually uncleen for they have been in contact with heaven, so they must not come into contact with their neighbours or drink milk. I hazard the theoretical suggestion that white medicines are used to cleanse and restore them to a normal state.

Chamuses made of the flesh, feathers and urine of the nilati bird are, among the Thonga, powerful in driving thieves.

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2. Shooter, op. cit., p. 216.
3. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op. cit., p. 382. I may be misinterpreting the natives' meaning of "no longer afraid".
4. Ibid., p. 404-5.
thieves. The victim of theft announces his intention of appealing to the doctor; if no one confesses to the theft the doctor goes to the chief, who again calls on the culprit to confess. If all deny guilt the doctor medicates the place where the theft was committed and addresses Heaven: "Oh Heaven, thou art who hast eyes which see as well by night as by day. . . . They have stolen my goods, and they deny it! Come and discover them, may they be consumed." That evening the thief will be struck by lightning, the articles will reappear. Or, according to another informant, the thief will be punished by a terrible attack of vermin, or beset by palm leaves which turn into snakes. In this connection there is a significant custom that those who have been robbed will stand at the door of a suspected thief's hut during a storm, "and it is quite possible that the tenant, terrified by the thunder, may throw out the stolen articles. 6 In the Nkuma region the powder of a lightning-scarred tree is used, or its branches are burnt, to protect a garden against thieves. 7 Here Heaven is on the side of society, and in its omniscience punishes the thieves; a direct religious sanction involving the intervention of an external power which, however, can be controlled by a special act in which things are associated with it. 8

Finally it should be noted that in some tribes the wizards use lightning against their victims (e.g., the Pondo) 9 and in others, such as the Bomvana, the ancestors can protect one against it. 3 In these tribes, when lightning strikes of itself, it is said that "the chief is playing." Miss Hunter says that in her two summer months in Pondoland she heard of six villages being struck in the neighbourhood, with several casualties. It is easy, therefore, to understand this clustering of ideas round lightning, which/****
which is a cosmic phenomenon that is awesome and terrible.

When the thunderstorm breaks lightning splits the sky and hail rolls across the lands. It is Heaven that speaks, with mighty tones, pregnant with death. The sudden flash of lightning is like the swift flight of an assegai or a bird; those who have been inoculated against it, who have a common feeling with Heaven, can guard against its deprivations, and purify from the power and evil it carries.

(f) First Fruits Ceremonies.

The regular national offering of the Thonga is the luma of the first fruits. (II, pp. 403 seq.; I, pp. 396-404) The tribal hierarchy is clearly illustrated in the ceremony: "the ancestral spirits must be the first to enjoy the produce of the new year, then the chief, the sub-chief, the counsellors, the herdmen, the younger brothers in order of age. There is a stringent taboo directed against the person who precedes his superiors in the enjoyment of the first fruits, this law being applicable to Kaffir corn or bukamy in certain clans, and also to sorghum, pumpkin leaves and beef, etc., in others. This quotation offers an introduction to the Thonga luma of the first fruits, which Junod has elsewhere described in detail.

These rites, he says, "are largely characteristic of the Bantu community, a community which is essentially agricultural in its pursuits, animistic in its beliefs and hierarchic as regards its social and national life." The name of the ceremony, luma, in its ritual sense always mean among the Thonga to "remove the injurious character of a given food by a certain ceremony." The ideas at the basis of the luma of the first fruits are, suggests Junod, (1) that to eat certain kinds of foods is dangerous for one's health, and

1. References in brackets in this section on the Thonga are to Junod, op. cit.
2. Fruit of a certain tree from which beer is made.
and the first mouthful taken must be seasoned with the royal drug; and (2) that the ancestor spirits, the chief and elder brothers, have a prior rite to enjoy the products of the soil, and to precede them in doing this is a sin which would bring them misfortune. Only certain foods are subject to this taboo, notably black Kafir corn, the oldest cereal, and bukanye, an indigenous tree, but "the law of lumo seems to have applied to all kinds of food in former times." There is also a "less ritualistic kind of lumo, the lumo of the masureira almond, for instance." This is also tending to become obsolete.

This last ceremony is practised in each sub-chief's village, in December. The almonds are dipped into a small calabash of water to soften them. Some of the powder of the nyokwekula (unmed nowhere says what this is) is added to them. The umumzana first takes some for himself and then distributes them to his people. They suck the almonds, take in their hands the part which is not eaten, and rub their faces with it. This is all there is to the ceremony. (I., pp. 295-6).

Among the Ronga the great, official lumo is that of Kafir corn, mable. (I., pp. 396-397) The great wife of the chief grinds the first grains of mable raised. She cooks the flour in a pot and pours into it some of the royal powder kept in the calabash, so as to make a shimbimbi. The chief takes a little of the food and offers it to the spirits of his ancestors, at the main entrance of the royal umzi. He prays to them. "Here has the new year come! Proceed us you, you gods, and lumo, so that, for us also Kafir corn shall help our body, that  

1. See section on the Chief's Sacred Regalia, infra.
2. A shimbimbi is used in birth ceremonies, to expel the mother's unclean blood and stimulate her production of milk. (I., p. 42).
we may become fat, not thin, that the witches may increase the corn, make it to be plentiful, so that, even if there is only a small field, big baskets may be filled!" After this religious ceremony everyone luma's in turn, the chief first, then the sub-chiefs, then the counsellors, then the warriors who have killed enemies in battle, then the headmen of the ilisi. Should a headman be prevented by illness from coming to the capital, his younger brother will not precede him, but will bring him the shishishi in a leaf.

The eldest must eat first. Women and strangers do not eat the magic powder.

The luma of the bukanye tree shows four consecutive ceremonies. (I pp. 317 seq., Junod does not say which clans have this luma.) It is performed in January. The first ceremony is the luma by the spirits and the chief. The first ripe bukanye are gathered and pressed at the capital; the sour liquid obtained is poured out on the tombs of the deceased chiefs in the ilisi; they are invoked to bless the new year and the feast which is about to be celebrated, with some prayer such as "This in the new year. Let us not kill each other! Let us eat peacefully!"; or, "May this bukanye do not harm! May we not slay each other under its influence. May it cause no serious quarrels." "They are afraid," writes Junod, "that, during the general intoxication which will shortly prevail, quarrels will arise, some of which may terminate fatally. "The gods having luma'd first, the bones are consulted, and, if the throw be propitious, the chief will luma next.

The second ceremony is the luma of the army. The young people are assembled to clean up the public square and all the roads. The women of the capital...
start out early in the morning, striking their lips together and gathering the bukanya fruit. The beer is brewed on the hobo and left to ferment for three days. The entire male population of the tribe is summoned to the capital, but the first to respond to the call are the warriors, decked with all their ornaments and carrying their small play shields. The great medicine of the land, a black powder (here called miluru bya miluru) is thrown into a cask of beer. (Miluru is the mystic lore influence which a man or a beast killed by assegai on the slayer, making him go mad or have red eyes; miluru is pain or venom. The name of the powder therefore probably is 'the killing of the miluru.') All those who are proudly conscious of having killed a man in war must first drink the new beer which has been medicated to keep them from killing any of their compatriots during the ensuing weeks of the bukanya. They approach one after the other, the chief also, if he be a man-slayer. Each of them receives a small calabash full of the fermented liquid. He jumps and runs in the direction of the entrance, drinks a mouthful, spits it out with tea and says: 'Father and mother! May I hold the calabash!' Even to-morrow! For ever! Others sing: 'We drink the bukanya anew! Who would have thought that we should drink again from this cup,' i.e., escape all the dangers of war. Warriors who have not killed a foe can drink beer to which no powder has been added. The war circle is formed and the principal counsellors harangue the warriors: 'Drink in peace. Let no one spoil this bukanya by transfixing his brother with his assegai. Go and drink in your own villages. Do not pick quarrels with strangers passing through the country.' The gathering then disperses.
The yila (ritual danger) has been removed, and now the third stage, the drinking in the villages, commences. The women, who all this time remain at home, have meantime gathered the makanye and prepared beer. Here also everything must be done in right order of precedence; the petty chief of the district must luma in the presence of his subjects, and not until after he has done so can the people drink freely in the villages. From this moment, however, there is no restriction, and the people plunge into an orgy of drinking. Many cases of adultery occur, for "men and women forget the elementary rules of conduct. They attend to the wants of nature in the same place, which is taboo under ordinary circumstances: "the law is no longer in force." This is curious, for Junod says elsewhere (II, p. 404) that "the sexual taboo is also enforced. Those who contravene this are said to 'destroy the efficacy of the offering,'" though nowhere in his actual description of the offering does he refer to this.

Jars of beer are taken as tribute to the chief who also visits the villages, where he is feasted. This is the fourth and final act of the bukanye luma. "Dancing and singing are in full swing. He is roused and acclaimed!"

I do not propose to analyse these rites till I have described the ceremonies of other tribes, but I quote here Junod's conclusion on the luma rite, (I, p. 403). "All these luma rites of first fruits seem to have primarily a religious origin. The Bantu do not feel that they dare enjoy the products of the soil unless they have first given a portion of them to their gods. Is it not these gods who made the cereals grow? Have they not the power of

1. i.e., Ancestral spirits.
2. The big luma is, however, for bukanye. But Junod's words suggest what I think is true: that the effects of the luma apply to the cereal first fruits.
even controlling the wizards who bewitch the fields? These rites are also evidently dictated by the sense of hierarchy. A subject must not precede his chief nor a younger brother the elder in the use of the new harvest, else they would kill those in authority. Such an act is against order. We shall see that, even when the seeds are sown, the elders must take precedence. But the custom seems also to have been actuated by the idea of passage. There is a passage from one year to another. For the Thongas, I think the new year begins twice every year, it begins when tilling recommences, in July, August, when the heat returns. This is the hlobo. It begins a second time at harvest, and there is passage from the food of last year to the food of this year. This is the nguba (Honga) or mwaia (Djonga). Though the luma rites do not bear all the characteristics of a true passage rite, like those of circumcision or moving, we may observe in the luma of bukanye a kind of marginal period of general licence, when the ordinary laws are more or less suspended. The taking of a first mouthful probably signifies the aggregation to the new period, the magical powder used on this occasion being a protective measure to shield them from the calamities of this unknown year... And after all, is it not that feeling of fear which so easily takes possession of the heart of man when entering on a new state and starting something fresh, which has led the savage to surround the use of the first fruit with so many ritual precautions?"

The Zulu ceremony has become in fact confused, and in recording in different places and at different times has been obscured. I shall try to straighten out the jumbled mass of information and set out the core of the rites. This will, I am afraid, require a large amount of space/........

* But we don't see this. These words indicate, however, that the Thonga have sewing rites.
space, but I feel that is necessary. The ceremony is
known as the umkosi. Its true meaning, writes H.C.
Samuelson, is the King's Mass, "for no one could perform
it except the King of the Zulus. The word comes from the
noun inkosi ('King')." 1 Bryant, however, derives the word
from amakosi, the ancestral spirits, "whence the umkosi in
Zulu would seem more correctly to be the great festival of
the chief ancestral spirits of the tribe or of its royal
house." He suggests, of course, that both inkosi and
amakosi (c.f. amalosi) come from the same root. 2 The
philological history of the word is outside my province as
an anthropologist, but I mention these theories here because
they both imply essential elements of the ceremony, the
power in it of the King and the ancestors.

The umkosi consists of two ceremonies,
separated from each other by a month and known respectively
as the umkosi omcane (little) and umkosi osakela (big). The
umkosi omcane is also known as "the umnyatela umyaka, or
'the stepping into the new year', and incidentally implies
the casting off of the old year with all its ills, and the
 ushering in of a new season with hope and anticipation for
better things." The main object of the umnyatela is "to
 protect the King from the harm which might result from his
 coming into contact with those who might have partaken of
 the new season's crops without purification." It is also the
 occasion of the first proclamation of new laws, of which
 regiments may marry, etc. 3 It must also be noted that
according to H. C. Samuelson this ceremony was known as the
umkosi wegebe because a clod of earth (igne) was the chief
ingredient in the concoctions used at the ceremony. 4 Bryant

mention. . .

1. op. cit., p. 359.
3. Meaning, of course, implies.
5. op. cit., p. 361.
mentions this clod of earth, and it seems clear to me that Samuelson's umkel wegade is the ukunyatela of other writers, a conclusion with which Mrs. Krige apparently agrees though she discusses it with the ukukota igaja.

According to Samuelson this ceremony is performed at the King's chief umzi, and only the males of that umzi and the neighbourhood attend. Lugg mentions the attendance of regiments at the umzi, but he does not specify which or how many. Bryant, says that only the principal headmen, certain selected regiments or selected companies of them, and an army of carrier boys (izididi) are needed. Kidd states that only "the great men of the nation are called to this festival." It is certain then that it is not a tribal gathering.

Samuelson describes a great hunt in which the King himself took part, to secure the fiercest and most powerful animals, some with the keenest sight, some with the greatest venom, and the most uncanny - such as the lion, the eagle, the mamba, the rhino, the buffalo, etc. No other authority records this hunt, and we are not told if the skins in which the King dresses in the omkulu are kept from year to year or annually obtained by a hunting expedition. Bryant says that at this time messengers are sent to the coast to fetch the wild uselwa gourds (uselwa lwakosii, the King's gourd) and sea-water. Kidd

notes/...
notes only the sea-water. Early on the morning of the ceremony, according to Bryant, troops proceeded to collect firewood and the izidibi boys to fetch green branches to build a cool shelter for the king in the calves' kraal. This is not mentioned by other writers but it is found, as will be seen, among the Swazi and the Igodi of Gungunhana, both of which tribes are kindred to the zulu.

A black bull, taken from the king's own herd, is placed in a great cattle-fold, and one of the regiments is directed to catch it with bare hands and kill it by twisting its neck; incidentally they break most of its limbs in the process. They skin it and carry the carcase into the small calf-fold where the king's doctor receives it. From the carcase the doctors collect the blood and excise certain parts for medical purposes. The remainder of the beast is burnt on a great fire, kindled and tended by the izidibi who have not yet attained puberty. They, and only they, are allowed to roast strips of the meat at the fire and eat of it; it is the only food they have that day, for once inside they are kept there till the morrow. All night they have to tend the fire till the whole beast is reduced to ashes. Lugg confirms Bryant's information to the extent that he writes: "I understand that a further fierce black bull was sacrificed and eaten by youths who had not attained puberty, but I have no definite information on the point, nor has it been possible to ascertain why its consumption was confined to such youths, unless it was to endow them with strength and courage."

The next step is apparently (the order of events is very confused in the records, and probably in fact...
the mind of medicine by the King. The King was doctored; says Lug, to prevent his being overshadowed by rival chiefs, but also, as has been seen, it must be to protect him against transgressors of the taboo on the crops. (The danger of a breach here lies, as among the Thonga, more against those in authority than against the transgressors themselves.) The medicines are probably also a preparation for the strong medicines of the umkosi oculu. They are prepared, according to R.C. Samuelson, by the izinyanga from various parts of the animals obtained in the great hunt, from various vegetables they themselves have collected, and a clod of earth. These are mixed and boiled together. Bryant writes that the clod of earth was dug up from the main road leading to the great place, and boiled with the blood of the bull, fragments of the new fruits and the bark or roots of the isengama, usamaye and other plants. (He does not define the plants in his dictionary.) Kidd says that the King’s doctor washed the King’s body with a mixture of uswela (a plant like an onion) crushed in sea-water to make him powerful to conquer other chiefs. Kidd records the same custom.

Samuelson’s description of the King’s partaking of this medicine fits in, more or less, with Lug’s descriptions for Natal; a further reason for taking the umkosi oculu as the ukunyakela. On the day of the ceremony the doctors proceed, before daybreak, to a selected spot on rising ground facing east. They have with them the pot containing the conception. All the men who participate in the ceremony also attend. The King follows, with his most trusted officials, so as to arrive before the sun rises.

1. Ibid., p. 383.
2. op., cit., p. 381. [MSS. cit.]
On his arrival all rise to their feet and salute him three times with "Bayeza." Then, as the sun rises, the King thrice noinda's - sucks off his fingers - the concoction and each time chinsa's (squirt) it towards the rising sun "as confusion to the nation's enemies, and blessing and health to his people." Each time he squirts, the people utter the sound of a roaring lion. The King moves off and is again saluted with "Bayeza." Bryant reports the noinda process, to produce "the magical result that he would be rendered beloved of his people, duly respected by surrounding monarchs, and so forth. This particular item on the programme was called umzinga igade (to swallow the earth-clod) and it was but one dose in the general treatment for ukundla inkosi (to make firm the King). Finally, the King was washed clean (ukobotula) from the effects of the black medicines (imiti sanyama) by a dose of white ones (imiti emhlopo) in which apparently was a copious draught of the water fetched from the sea as an emetic."

This, in Bryant's description (which he does not name but must be the umakosi omance) concludes the ceremony, but he later describes an elaborate ceremony and sacrifice (the ukutatwa) or ukubuyiselwa kwakosisa) which I think from the details is part of the omance. But both Lugg and Samuelson describe a sacrifice at the omance. According to Lugg, "the ceremony appears to have extended over several days, and included the sacrifice of specially selected oxen at each of the King's kraals to the great ancestral shades of the nation, Semangakoma, Zama, Panga, maizeba, etc." The King and his forefathers are praised, and "it was also the occasion for a visit to the sacred burial grounds of the former kings of the nation. These grounds are situated in the

2. MSS. cita.
Mahlabatini district, near the white Umfolosi, and are known as Emakosini.

The graves were surrounded, and each regiment would in turn approach within a respectful distance and appeal to the shades with the shout of "Wona-ke, Wona-lapa" (Come therefore, Come hither) shouted many times.

According to Samuelson, the cattle sacrificed were taken from the sacred herds, the izinkomo zenza, and slaughtered that the people might feast. "This part of the Umkhosi was held for the purpose of making it possible for the Zulu nation to commence partaking of the new crops, which no one was allowed to touch under the death penalty before the King had, as it were, tasted them for the people through the Chinas ceremony." After this, apparently, the people could eat of the new crops. Bryant also says that the people could do so, but apparently there was first a small ceremony at each kraal. According to Kuck, however, while Nkende allowed the Zulu to do this, Cetewayo made them wait till the Great Festival was over.

This ceremony is also known by the Zulu as aeshwama, because it involved the purification of the people and the King as a preparation for the umkosini amakulu. The umkosini amakulu was held a month after the ukuyatela. For the Great Festival all the regiments had to assemble at the King's kraal, and women, boys and girls gathered there as well. Vijn states that the regiments first gathered at the amakhanda, the military kraals, for about 20 days before the ceremony, "which time they spent in hoeing the chief's amasebe gardens, preparing their dress and in learning new dances and songs for the occasion." According
to R.C. Samuelson, these military kraals were "the centre for the preparations and arrangements for the celebrations. The various heads and leaders of the military kraals had to see that all the regiments that had had their training in these kraals were equipped, attired, and all their armour and uniform most carefully burnished and cleaned up for the great day; anyone who turned up at the great place - Komkhulu - untidy and not properly attired was set on to by the members of his regiment, thrashed with thin sticks, driven from home, and not allowed to take part in the celebrations." When they arrived at the Komkhulu they constructed grass huts for themselves, so that the place was surrounded by villages. Attendance was compulsory on pain of death. There is some disagreement as to how these regiments and people were fed. Callaway says that they brought beer with them, but that a lot of beer was also made at the chief's umzi, and according to H. L. Samuelson they had to bring sufficient food for a week. R. C. Samuelson states that the King had thousands of fattened cattle (InyoniKumhle) at the umkhanda, and each umxanda had to bring up sufficient for its needs. It is clear that the King ultimately provided a large amount of the food used at the feast.

Preparations of medicines were very complicated. According to Logg, the ingredients had to be secured with the utmost secrecy; otherwise their potency would be lost. Men of standing had to do this, and they took the ingredients to the Indumkhulu (house of the King's mother) where they were made up by the isinyanga who added their own powerful black medicines. The ingredients included samples of all known native crops; the uselwa, a

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species of wild water-melon, very bitter and of an objectionable odour; the itanga le ivyoka, the fruit of a creeper; sea-water and water from the great rivers, such as the Tugela, Umfolozi and Mulatze. 1. R. C. Samuelson's account of the medicines used differs somewhat; the doctors "collected dried wormwood branches and leaves and tied them up in a loose bunch, and also collected portions of various vegetables, including Usalwa amenkosi, which was a small striped gourd from a creeper growing on the sea coast, and which was the most important of the vegetables, as well as various parts of the animals required for the Umklozi wagde.

"The Usalwa Lwenkosi, the King's gourd, was prepared in a separate pot, while the other vegetables and parts of animals were boiled separately, and with these the gall of the black bull was mixed." 2. (According to Samuelson this bull was slaughtered earlier in the umklozi omulu); but Lugg says that "apparently the bull sacrificed at ukunyatela was the one which the King himself used for purposes of ukwesha, but a second one was killed at the umklozi and used in a similar manner". 3) Bryant states that the sacrifices contained "curious oddments purloined from the persons and places of neighbouring monarchs; roots and herbs possessing all manner of marvellous properties were either reduced to ashes on the fire or boiled thereon in potsherds." 4 These medicines were very powerful; "it is common belief", writes Lugg, "that only the King could take these powerful black medicines. A commoner would have died instantly." 5

Lugg/.....

1. B.S., op.cit., p.364.
2. op.cit., p.363.
3. op.cit., p.382.
5. B.S. cit.
Lugg proceeds; "The King was kept in seclusion undergoing treatment for two or three days, and from what I have been able to gather, there is good reason to believe that it was a gradual process to enable him to withstand the more potent medicines he was given at the final ceremony." According to Bryant, this process was carried out in the King's bathroom in the calf-fold where he regularly washed and had his magical treatment. He was seated on a big roll of indilu rushes (a species of river-grass or rush used for mat-making). The treatment was intended to make him "very fierce and terrifying. He was daubed all over the face, limbs and body with various coloured powders of the black variety." Bryant agrees with Lugg: "With the ashes and other grisy material His Majesty's countenance, already anything but genial - he was supposed to be in a chronic state of rage throughout this period - was smeared down both cheeks, down his forehead and nose, round the eyes, and some say about the body, in diverse patterns and varied colours, black white and red, until his aspect became fearsome or grotesque according to one's view." At this stage, he goes on to say, the King inflicted the decoctions in the potsherds and finally jumped over the potsherds themselves, to obtain and then to prove his present occult ascendancy (ukutonya) over all those royal enemies whose body particles were contained in the decoctions. This custom seems to be based on the habit dogs have of voiding their urine over that of another dog (this is also known as ukutonya) and gaining, the Zulu assume, a certain power over the latter, says Bryant. For this purpose earth moistened by royal urine was in great demand.5

1. Loc.cit.
2. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.120
3. Bryant, MSS. cit.
This process of fortification was called ukuqunga, to "go through the process of self-fortification against evil consequences or influences by smearing the body with charred medicaments, charms, etc., or "to become darkened or disturbed by a general stirring up of occult powers from within." While the King is being treated he remains alone in a particular hut, used for this purpose every year, and called uye emisini. (Emisini is any medicine burnt and ground to black ash, which makes this the hut of the medicines). At night he is attended by a selected wife or girl of the isigodlo (the upper reserved part of a royal kraal, where the King's women are kept and which is strictly private). With her, if he desires, he has intercourse. A child born of such a union is called owas emisini. (According to Bryant's later information, the King remained with the girl in the hut during the whole of this part of the ceremony; and an owas emisini had an inferior position though both uMpondo and Dinisulu were rumoured to have been conceived in this way.) During the period of his seclusion the King had to abstain (ukusulwa) from food for a day - perhaps suggests Bryant, to keep him in a suitable angry frame of mind.

After the ukutonya and ukuqunga, according to Bryant, the King donned a special temporary costume. "This was constructed after the pattern of the umushula dress of long, thin green rushes (imizi). These were strung together in several fringe girdles, each about two feet long, one of which was worn round the buttocks, another round the waist, a third round the chest, so that they overlapped each other to form a continuous cloak that concealed the whole body. Finally, the head was crowned with a shorter similar..."

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1. Tule, (Dict.) p.545.
2. Tule, MSS.cit.
3. Tule, MSS., cit., "umsiii", p.593.
4. Tule, MSS. cit.
6. Tule, MSS. cit.
7. Vide Bryant, Dict., op.cit. p.546
8. Vide Bryant, Dict., op.cit. p.546
similar fringe which hid the face".1 Kidd says that on
the fourth day of the ceremony (thus would be just about
after the ukutonya) the King is clad in grass, leaves,
corn-sheaths and herbs".2 Isaacs says the King is
"decorated with herbs and corn leaves and bedded with
beads and bangles".3 Lugg writes that at one stage of
the proceedings the King emerged dressed in skins, but
that according to old informants he used to have "leaves
of Kafir corn and maize hanging around him in addition to
the animal skins; and that stalks of sweet sorghum were
tied to his ankles and trailed along as he walked".4

While the King is secluded and before he
appears in this costume, the people have been assembling
for the festival. R. C. Samuelsen graphically describes
this: "The Zulu nation moved up to the Cradle of the
Zulu Kings, Usakhosini, in the amahlabatini District, and
encamped near the Ndzwengu kraal, the head kraal of King
Mphande, each regiment encamping by itself."5 The old
territory of the Zulu clan, according to Bryant, comprised
a small patch of country, within which "all the Zulu Kings
lay buried, and at the same time existed above in the form
of pretty green black-spotted snakes (izinyandzulu).6
These snakes are wont to stray so they were rounded up so
as to be ready for the festival. This was done by a
party of the higher members of the family, together with
some regiments of warriors and a herd of bullocks (izintom
zamzim). They walked round the ancient land and with
very savoury sacrifices enticed the scattered, ancestral
snakes/....

1. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.376; (J. B. H. F. R. C.
5. Vide section on death ceremonies.
snakes each back to its own sepulchral home." Bryant describes this ceremony in his manuscript after the umkosi omcane and before the omkulu, apparently as an intermediate ceremony, ulukuyisela kwamakosi (the causing to return to the place of the amakosi). He proceeds, without connecting it with the umkosi, to say that when they reach the spot they saluted the assembled kings by raising aloft both arms and shouting "Bayade!" and they sang the imibo, the sacred tribal song. As they sang the snakes vanished, no one seeing where or whither. On the next day two bullocks were sacrificed in their honour and the rest driven back to the Nobambo and esi-Klebeni kraals. This ceremony was apparently a preliminary to the umkosi proper, a rounding up of the great ancestral spirits of the tribe, for Bryant writes immediately before it, "it was deemed an impious act for the reigning monarch to presume to celebrate this solemnest of festivals without the presence and benevolence of the presiding gods who were the spirits of the tribal kings."^3

It is difficult to fix the scene of the ceremony unless all the great imli were placed, like Xanda's Nodwengu, near Bamkhosini, the place of the amadlozi.

As soon as the people have gathered at the chosen place, says Kidd, they wash in the river, calling to the King to come. Then they return to the kraal and sing and strike shields and assegais to salute him, as he looks on. No other writer mentions this washing, and the King is secluded at this time. His first appearance is when he comes out in his dress of plants. It is difficult 

1. I have been unable to identify these kraals, vide R. C. Samelson, op. cit., pp. 240-9.
2. Bryant MSS., cit.
to describe when exactly he did this, or when the warriors, without weapons, killed the bull. H. C. Samuelson puts this killing before the doctoring of the King, and Shooter after the King had been treated but before he emerged dressed in grass and skins. Bryant and Kidd both place it after the King's appearance in his waro garb, and I am inclined to accept their version as the usual routine. For it is clear that when the King came out of his seclusion, he performed a dance, according to Kidd, he stands at the head of the kraal, and dances backward and forward thrice: "He is accompanied by a band of boys who whistle as loudly as they can; the tune, apparently, being optional. When this part of the ceremony is over, the men fetch two bulls to fight. Sometimes they kill a single animal which, however, has to be killed without weapons." Isaac agrees with this to the extent that he writes, after describing the King's symbolical dress, that, "standing at the head of the kraal he runs backwards and forwards three times towards the warriors followed by the boys whistling as loudly as possible, each time throwing a calabash an indicative of his command for them to garner and eat the new food." (Usually the dashing of the calabash was later.) Bryant says that when the King comes out of the calf-fold, he proceeds to dance. The regiments have meanwhile marched over from their camps and drawn up in a great circle (umushumi) some within the isibaya (cattle kraal), the rest standing as spectators outside the palisade. From the calf-fold the King passes into this great arena and seats himself at the top on his isibila (sitting seat) with the white regiments (veteran forces) nearby and the black

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1. op.cit., p.382.
2. B.S. op.cit., p.386.
3. op.cit., p.356-357.
5. op.cit., Vol.II., p.249.
regiments (the recruits) at the lower end. He rises and
rides into the centre of the arena, where he struts about
brandishing his war-shield in his left hand and his sceptre
brass or stick of state (said to be a discoloured wood) in his
right hand. He shouts and gesticulates as he goes, to the
roaring plaudits of the crowd. Then the great captains,
sitting by the King at the top of the khan, strike up the
royal dance (zangom); it is taken up by the deep bêises
of the older men of the white regiments.

"They hate him, they hate the King, after
a moment the younger black regiments chime in, with their
higher shriller voices.

"They hate him, they hate Puma and Béchuan." 

The two choirs sing together, each its own part, dancing
at the same time in perfect harmony, with much barbaric
grace, moving bodies, legs, shields and sticks as as to
present a combination of harmonious sound and rhythmic
action most grateful to both ear and eye. Dancing ceases
soon after midday; the King withdraws to the royal reserve;
the warriors return to their camps. The same evening,
towards sundown, the great bull fight took place. Bryant
describes it as "the savage captured heart"; apparently,
then, this bull had also to be stolen from another tribe.
The regiment which killed it was chosen the previous year,
and it attacked the bull without weapons.

Samelson gives a fuller account of the
manner of the killing of the bull. He does not refer to
the fact that it should be captured, and describes it as
being pitch black, with very sharp horns and a very fierce
disposition, and as being specially chosen for the occasion.
A special regiment was chosen to deal with this bull, and
the warriors had to be unmarried men. They had to attack
it without weapons, catch it, and force it to the ground and

hold/....

1. Banned at other times; Bryant, Dict., op. cit., p.190.
hold it down so that the King's special invanga could
drive a sharp-pointed axe-shaped instrument into its vital
cord, in the neck, and so kill it. Many soldiers were
wounded and killed in the struggle.

When the bull would be killed the doctor would
take certain portions of it, especially the gall, for
medicines to be used later. Then only small boys of the
King's kraal, under the age of puberty, were permitted to
cut out pieces of the flesh, roast them (boiling was taboo)
and eat of them. That night the boys had to sleep in the
manure of the cattle kraal. All the remnants of the bull,
including the offal and blood, were gathered up. If
anything had been split on the ground, it was scraped up
with soil. Everything was placed on a large pile of wood
gathered by an unmarried regiment, the wood was lighted
(from fire made by the friction of two sacred sticks,
according to Lugg and Kidd) and all the parts of the
bull were incinerated. The invanga would then carefully
collect the ashes and soil on which they were, place them
in a pot and cover it over. No bone of the bull should
be broken. "Be it noted here," concludes Samiels, "that
unmarried men, and boys under the age of puberty were
utilized for these ceremonies, for the married men and boys
at puberty were considered impure." The distinction between
the purity of boys over puberty and that of unmarried men
must have been very fine. Most writers agree that the bull
is disposed of in this way, but Lugg says that its flesh
was roasted in strips which were thrown to the assembled
warriors to eat. I am inclined to accept its consumption
by immature boys as more defensible in view of their part in

1. B.S. op. cit., p. 365.
4. e.g., Bryant, p. 385.
5. B.S. op. cit., p. 365.
6. Lugg may be confusing this with strengthening of the
army. (Vide infra.)
the ukunyatsela and the circumstantial accounts of the other writers. According to Bryant the King was treated again, and the inkata was also doctored and re-bound by the isinyanga. This treatment of the King may be what Kidd refers to when he says that the doctor gives the King the gall of the ox to drink, that he may be strengthened to meet his enemies. Kidd also writes that other cattle were killed for a general feast. This was the night, from Bryant's information, that the King begs the umusha. Early the next morning I would place the "Chinen" ceremony. Bryant describes it picturesque: Hardly had it dawned before the whole kraal was filled with a universal cry. The whole mass of umDlunkulu girls emerged from the royal enclosure with lusty shouts of, "Woza-ka, Woza- Impa", in which the troops now joined, so that uproar could be heard at the distant camps - a general signal for the ceremony to begin. The regiments were drawn up in the isibaya with their shields in front of them so that they formed a massed wall. The King came out in his green rush costume with his wives and girls of the isigodlo. Alone he entered the calif-khal, where were the isinyanga and kraal-guards. With these he proceeded into the isibaya. Then from a basket of utangazane or uselwa gourds he took a gourd, and hurled it with all his force at the nearest warriors, upon whose shields it broke into fragments. The kraal-guards rushed to collect these and return them to the basket. In this way the King proceeded right round the isibaya until he had completed the circle of the stationary troops. Then he marched to the entrance. Here he broke on the ground another/...
another gourd representing his bitterest enemy; he stamped on it, while the army shouted, "Wu, mu, Wu," and he himself cried out, with vicious exultation, the name of the enemy. From a potsherd already placed there he made a new medicine, took a mouthful of uselwa gourd mush and spat it out towards the just then rising sun — or, some say, in the direction of his enemy — and, perhaps, he may chase the air towards the sun with the ceremonial war hatchet (Im Bemba). The King now ceremonially doffed his green dress, and appeared before the crowd in an ancient umutaha. His rush dress was donned by an attendant who headed the King and isinyanga back to the calf-fold where the King was cleansed with initi amiklo to free him from all the umyama (blackness or disagreeableness) which had gathered in him from his treatment with initi isinyanga. Finally the rush costume and the bedding used the previous night in the umaizi hut were burnt; and the King's part in the ceremony, says Bryant, was over. According to Shooter, the grass clothes of the King were burnt where the black bull had been roasted, the ashes were scattered in the isibaya and cattle brought into tread them into the ground.

Bryant's description is the most circumstantial we have of this ceremony, and it agrees in broad procedure with those of other writers. They differ, however, in detail. R. C. Samuel places the ceremony not in the isibaya but on rising ground, from where the sun could be seen as it was rising. The assembled army greeted the King's arrival with three "Bayeda!" Samuelson does not mention the dashing of the uselwa to the ground, and says that the King chanted at the sun three times, "as an expression that the nation and himself might have health, prosperity, ....

2. Vide Bryant, Etymology Dict., op. cit., p. 64.
4. op. cit., p. 27.
5. As most tribal entrances faced east these are not.
6. As most tribal entrances faced east these are not.
7. Contradictory observations; but Samuelson says nothing of the isibaya.
prosperity and success against the enemies of the country. The idea of squirting towards the rising sun was the wish that as the sun rose, set and rose again, so might the King and the nation continue to live and prosper. As the King rinsed the array shouted, "U, U, U." The doctors then lit a fire of wormwood and the King squirited three mouthfuls of the useelwa concoction (prepared separately from the other medicines) at this fire; the army each time roaring like a lion. This was for the purpose of exorcising all evil spirits, all pestilences, and all sickness and disease from the nation. Lugg describes the crushing of the useelwa gourd while on the occasion he describes represented Mawazi, son of the Swazi king Sobuza, with whom the Zulu king was at war. This was done at the kread gate, where the king rinsed and rinsed. Sometimes the King says, "Zazi hiwe eli shoba eli homu." (The chief stabbed the red tail.) "This has reference to a bull-fight in which the King is represented by the victorious bull." After this the King was probably doctored, says Lugg, with initi enklopi "to enable him to resume normal intercourse with his people." Kidd writes that the calabashes dashed to the ground are filled with samples of the new crops and that the King also sprinkles the people with cooked food. His ceremonial dress is burnt at the end of the festival. Robertson states that this gourd (collected in fragments by the guards, according to Bryant) was cooked with medicinal herbs and administered to the King, but in Shooter's account these fragments are burnt with the rush dress and trodden into the isibaya.

2. Kidd says ("Essential Kafir," op. cit., p. 27) that two bulls may be made to fight before the men themselves fight with a bull.
3. B.B.; op. cit., p. 36b.
I have criticised Lugg for writing that the bull killed by the warriors was eaten by them, and Shooter explicitly states that its meat was given to the boys. But, he goes on to say, another bull, of a different colour, is killed with an assegai, and the meat collected and boiled in a decoction of medicine. The doctor cooks the flesh with pounded medicine, and throws the pieces to the warriors. A man catches a piece, touches it with his mouth, and tosses it to the next man. It must not fall on the ground. H. L. Samielon describes the very same ceremony, so there was probably a doctoring of them which I think took place after the King's ukuchina. A warrior who has killed enemies is specially medicated.

Bryant and Lugg have been quoted as referring to the doctoring of the King with limpi exhalations in the calf-fold, and at the same time, in Lugg's words, "the assembled multitude made for the river for a ritual bath." According to Bryant, the troops washed away their "blackness" in the river, like the King squirting it out in mouthfuls of medicine into the rising sun. E. C. Samielon's account of the purifications of King and army is fuller, and he connects the two. After the ukuchina the King retired for a few days before the next ceremony which was virtually the washing away of the sins and weaknesses of the Nation by the King though it was not so specifically named. At early dawn the izinyanga wrapped the King in garlands of "suitable" runners, and accompanied him to a river nearby, carrying the sacred pot which contained the ashes of the black bull, which had been collected and kept for this ceremony. The army would

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1. ibid., pp. 287.
5. MSS., pp. 332-34, cita.
meanwhile enter the river below the place where the King would be. The king, followed by his izinyanga who carried the sacred ashes, went into the river. In the middle the izinyanga removed the King's garlands and poured the ashes into the water just above the King, who washed himself with the water and ashes as they floated by. The army washed in the sacred water and ashes which had passed by the King. The umkosini concluded with a great dance and feast; the army parading and dancing before the King who also participated. At the close of the dance the prime minister made various public announcements. The King proclaims new laws, authorises some regiments to put on the head-ring, others to marry, etc. On this occasion the izinduna were allowed considerable freedom of speech and spoke to the King without reserve. Delargue wrote "there were free interrogations to which the King is bound to reply. Sometimes they denounce him in the presence of all, blame his acts, stigmatise them as infamous and cowardly, oblige him to explain, destroy the reasoning in his answers, dissecting them and unmasking their falsehood, then threatening him proudly, and ending with a gesture of contempt." The King's party and the other party were burning to fight, but some force of this "kind of popular tribunal" kept them in check. After the law-giving the nation dispersed.

It is finally noted that the cattle had to be doctored against the new crops before they could eat of the stalks. The iliqweningi is a thorny plant, the leaves of which, mixed with other medicines, are burnt in the cattle-fold to "smoke" the cows before they go into harvest ed fields to eat off the stubble. If this precaution were
not taken, there would be danger of the cows calving prematurely. 1

To sum up briefly, the Zulu umkosi starts with the omncane as a preparation of the omkulu; the King is strengthened for the omkulu and against transgressors, the great ancestral spirits are shortly afterwards rounded up and ingredients for the omkulu medicines are obtained. The King is again strengthened for the umkosi proper while the nation assembles; he comes out dressed in grasses, herbs and cereals, he dances before his army, crushes his enemies, partakes of the new crops; the warriors demonstrate their strength and courage by killing, headhunted, a fierce bull; then comes the ukunhumsa and uma ceremony. The army is doctored, and then both it and the King are purified. There is a final dance, the misdeeds of the King are denounced and new laws and edicts are proclaimed. In short, "the whole Nation assembled at the Great Place in full festive panoply, the King was doctored, with manifold charms, the ancestral spirits praised, the allegiance of the people renewed, new laws were proclaimed, the enjoyment of the new fruits was formally initiated by the chief, the herd-boy's syrinx was heard again for the first time in the new year." 2 The umkosi, clearly, was far more than a first fruits sacrament; it was as well an assembling and strengthening of the nation and a military festival.

Lugg's descriptions of the umkosi of Natal tribes 3 adds little to the Zulu ceremony. In both the Funze and Baso tribes the chief, in the ukweshama, must eat of crops stolen from foreign sources, and in the former a sheep is sacrificed at the ukungkatsha and eaten by the old women. Lugg says (p. 369) that the reason advanced for

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1. Bryant, Dict., op. cit., p. 552.
2. Ibid., "umkosi," p. 368.
3. B.S., op. cit., PP. 369 seq., 376 seq., succeeding references in brackets are to this authority.
not taken, there would be danger of the cows calving prematurely.\footnote{1}

To sum up briefly, the Zulu umlou starts with the omunu as a preparation of the umfulu; the King is strengthened for the omfulu and against transgressors, the great ancestral spirits are shortly afterwards rounded up, and ingredients for the umfulu medicines are obtained. The King is again strengthened for the umfulu proper while the nation assemble; he comes out dressed in grasses, herbs, and cereals, he dances before his army, crushes his enemies, partakes of the new crops; the warriors demonstrate their strength and courage, by killing, hand-to-hand, a fierce bull; then comes the umfulu and umlou ceremony. The army is dressed, and then both it and the King are purified. There is a final dance; the misdeeds of the King are denounced and new laws and edicts are promulgated. In short, "the whole Nation assembled at the Great Place in full festive panoply, the King was 'doctored' with manifold charms, the ancestral spirits praised; the allegiance of the people renewed, new laws were proclaimed; the enjoyment of the new fruits was formally initiated by the chief, the bard-boy's aries was heard again for the first time in the new year."\footnote{2} The umlou, clearly, was far more than a first fruits sacrament; it was as well an assembling and strengthening of the nation and a military festival.

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\footnote{1}{Bryant, Dict. op. cit., p. 563.}
\footnote{2}{Ibid., "umlou", p. 310.}
\footnote{3}{E.S., op. cit., pp. 368 seq., 376 seq. Succeeding references in brackets are to this authority.}
the use of this unusual sacrificial victim is that, since
the sheep is a docile animal, the chief will be considerate
and merciful to his people. It is also an animal that
shows no sign of fear. In this tribe too, Legge mentions
(p.373) that when the chief, Langalale Nguobo, washes in the
calf-fold at the close of the umuosi, he is attended by
youths below the age of puberty and his wash is allowed to
sink into the floor of the calf-enclosure in order to give
strength to the calves. On this same day the people are
provided with boiled mealies and beer of the previous year's
crops; two days later they dance, drink beer and feast off
the crops of the new year. In the meantime a special bull
has been beaten with stalks of maize and sweet sorghum to
impart strength to it; then the maize and sorghum is eaten
by the youths. There is no sacrifice of this bull. On
the day of the feast an ox is stabbed in the breast by the
chief with an ancestral assegai, and offered with a prayer
to the spirits of former chiefs. The chief is clothed at
this stage, in a complicated dress of animal skins. Other
animals are slaughtered for a feast and the calves, a
portion of the livers, lungs, etc., are taken and roasted
in a special sherd at the umamsa (back) of the chief's hut
as an offering to the spirits. When the spirits are
considered to have had their fill, the meat is cooked and
general feasting follows. (p.374).

The Baso ceremony (pp.376 sqq.) illustrates the
use of the inkata, within the coil of which is a special
earthware pot, resting on an enemy's skull. The pot
contains the cooked remnants of past feasts, and in the
centre of this mixture is an uselwa gourd, which also
contains the powerful mixtures of past celebrations. At the
ukumyala the uselwa is removed, and a mixture of the old
and new crop samples are cooked in it, over a special fire,
on three sacred heathstones. This is the medicine which
the/........
the chief chinwala's. After this ceremony the chief is made to vomit into a dish, and this vomit is conveyed to the calf-fold and thrown there to be trodden underfoot by the calves to strengthen them. These emetics are initi emetics, and mixed with them is a black diamond brought from the Kimberley fields by a former chief. It is highly reverenced by the tribe. There is no sacrifice at the ukunyatela. During the early hours of one morning, Kaffir corn, kept in a special earthenware pot, is treated with black medicines. This grain is kept for sowing over the people at the ukosai. Another lot of corn, kept in corn baskets, is similarly treated. This corn (if it is not treated in this way) is of foreign origin, and is introduced to strengthen the national crop, for the ukunyatela has a twofold object — to strengthen the chief and the crops. After his purification the chief rejoins his family; but he continues till the ukosai ukulul to be treated and to vomit into the calf-fold. Meanwhile, on the day after the ukunyatela, the corn from the baskets is sown over ground broken up near the chief's dwelling; it receives no further treatment.

On the morning of the ukosai ukulu the chief is smeared with powerful black medicines which include the remains of "several human races," and he makes the medicine from a potsherd in which an ancient propum cover is balanced on a stick. If he upsets the cover it is a bad omen and the ukosai is cancelled for the year. The chief chinwala's at the setting sun, and the warriors sing the special ukosai songs. The ceremony proceeds as among the Fumbe and Zulu, save that here the chief again vomits in the calf-fold, and it is after the warriors have bathed that they throw the black on its side. This bull has previously been gungned with black medicines. The chief's brother/......
byothe* strikes it on the back of its head with the curved axe, and as it dies the chief sucks blood from the wound and spurts it at the sun, addressing the spirits thus: "No assegai may be used on this animal. It is immediately skinned and portions of it are reached over into the communal fold by the chief's brother as an offering to the spirits. The warriors consume the flesh, and in time of drought the inyanga burns the bones for rain. Immediately after the bull is killed the chief's brother sews corn over its carcass and the people. Some of the seed is mixed with the blood of the animal, and, "thereafter" mixed with the soil that is used to plant the chief's rain field. After the bull is consumed there is a general feast on other oxen, portions of which are offered to the spirits in the inclinabula. There is general roasting and dancing.

Throughout these ceremonies the chief carries a special small spear known as the umkonto wompi (spear of the army), which remains in the chief's keeping, is decorated with beads, and to which a number of small wicker gourds are firmly bound. These contain powerful medicines. As long as Lugd could gather this spear radiates the spiritual spirit of the people, and were he to come to it the tribe would disintegrate.

I do not think it is necessary for me, after elaborately describing the Zulu umkosi, to do the same with Swazi and Ngoni ceremonies, especially as these are described in short papers. I shall only note one or two details from each. The Swazi have an ingwala elinhulu and ingwala elikhulu, corresponding to the two umkosi. The ceremony is performed on the direction of the

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1. When I take it at spring, though Lugd does not mention these seed increasing rites.


This ceremony is also described by Schoeman, S.A.J.S.; and Coetzee, Stellenbosch University Annals.
brother strikes it on the back of its head with the sacred axe, and as it dies the chief sucks blood from the wound and spurts it at the sun, addressing the spirits the while. An assegai may be used on this animal. It is immediately skinned and portions of it are reached over into the calf-fold by the chief's brother as an offering to the spirits. The warriors consume the flesh, and in time of drought the inyanga burns the bones for rain. Immediately after the bull is killed the chief's brother sows corn over its carcass and the people. Some of the seed is mixed with the blood of the animal, and, speedily, is the seed then used to plant the chief's main field. After the bull is consumed there is a general feast on other oxen, portions of which are offered to the spirits in the indlunkulu. There is general feasting and dancing.

Throughout these ceremonies the chief carries a special small spear known as the umkonto wempi (spear of the army), which remains in the chief's keeping, is decorated with beads, and to which a number of small useless goads are firmly bound. These contain powerful medicines. As far as Lugg could gather this spear radiates the martial spirit of the people, and were harm to come to it the tribe would disintegrate.

I do not think it is necessary for me, after elaborately describing the Zulu umkosi, to do the same with Swazi and Xhosa ceremonies, especially as these are described in short papers. I shall only note one or two details from each. The Swazi have an ingwala alikane and ingwala alikulu, corresponding to the two imikhosi.

The ceremony is performed under the direction of the

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1. When I took it at spring, though Lugg does not mention these seeds involving rites.

This ceremony is also described by Schoeman, S.A.J.S., and Coetzer, Stellenbosch University Annals.
Vanyena, a descendant of Dluluhlume who brought the ceremony to the Swazi at the request of the Swazi chief Soshiko. Vanyena makes an annual pilgrimage to the sea to obtain sea-water for the medicines. At the small festival the Chief retires to a special hut, intimbale, on the cattle kraal. He must go in with the dying moon so that he can come out with the new moon. Generally the ceremony is the same as among the Zulu. The ingwala elihululwini is held at full moon, and it involves a gathering of the whole nation. It is spread over six days on the third of which the warriors pummel to death a black bull which is eaten by small boys after parts of it have been taken to treat the chief. "This ceremony is said to be symbolic of the valour of the young warriors, and also indicates the full authority of the Chief and the passing of the old year." The luma ceremony follows early on the fourth day and consists of both umuncinda and ukuthwini. It is performed first by the right Intsila (blood brother of the Chief), then the Paramount chief, then the left Intsila, and all male members of the royal family. (Commoners carry out this rite at home by themselves after the elihululwini is over.) At midday the impala dances and songs are performed. (They are taboo at all times except between the two esimangalile and then the Chief in the dress of an adult with black medicine) by Vanyana. It is smeared on his face and mouth. He eats of a specially prepared uselwa, and the remains and another uselwa are thrown to the regiments outside, who return them to the doctors. The fruits can now be eaten. Both the Chief and Vanyana go into seclusion (ukutula, to do nothing) and each may only cohabit with his inula ntithe, who is the chief wife but does not provide the heir. They wash on coming out of ukutula. On the last day the regiments collect firewood, and the bones of the bull and remains of the uselwa are burnt. The new year is opened with a dance.
Liangue does not describe the Ngoni festival as divided into two, but there is a date on which it is proclaimed abroad, and from that time only songs in the praise of the King could be sung. "Every part of the festival followed a preconceived plan," and it was signalised by the return of heralds with water of all the rivers of the country. Here also the King retires to the Blambelo for purification. The whole nation attends. Unarmed warriors have to kill a bull in the Blambelo, but here, it seems, the medicated flesh, together with that of a cheetah boy and girl, were eaten by the King and youths below the age of puberty. The Ngoni, like the Zulu, King dances in a cloak of green grass, and the genitals of the bull are attached to his right hand. There is the usual review of troops, and the King dances while his men pick up anything even to a piece of straw, that might wound their King, all are ceremonially cleansed.

Descriptions of the ceremony (inzwala) as performed among the Matabele, another tribe related to the Zulu, add little to the above facts, though among them the two festivals are not clearly distinguished. Umbaligazi, the King, used to offer sacrifices and pray to his ancestors, and provide a feast of slaughtered oxen for the people of most of the large towns and villages, who dined and sang praises to him and the spirits of his forefathers. The King had to huma first, and then local rites took place. In 1804, according to Kidd, there was no tribal first-fruits among the Tsamu, Gaka or Zialeka. Of these tribes McDonald wrote in 1889 that they "may eat of the new crop before the feast of the first-fruits:..."
There is nothing peculiar about the fire or the manner of cooking first-fruits among any of the tribes. The completion of harvest is an occasion of social festivity; but there are no tribal ceremonies, and each man suits his own convenience as to time. There is nothing peculiar in the custom, and its omission would not be regarded as entailing evil or affecting the next season's fruitfulness. He says, however, that this used to be taboo in the Fondo tribe till the chief held the feast of the first-fruits, an ordinary social gathering, which the tribal head attended, singing the praises of the year and of the chief. The court magician was thanked for his services in making possible a good crop; he took no active part in the celebration.

These records are very curious, for Soga records a Sodlaka ceremony, and Sogu among the Ruvuma, while Kropf defines Uku-Shwama as "to give a date about the time when the first fruit is to be eaten," though he does not say who gives the orders.

The Xosa (Sodlaka) ceremony is held when the early crops are ripening. It is known as uku-shwama, to proclaim, because a proclamation is made to the people to repair to the great place for the ceremony. No one may eat of the ripening grain and vegetables before the chief authorises it. Everyone is expected to attend, and each individual must bring a portion of the first fruits, pumpkin, beans, sugar-cane, and grain of all kinds. At the chief's place there is feasting on these fruits. After this all return home and early the next morning each family prepares the first fruits. These men who assemble in the cattle-kraal, eat them off the back of their hands, and

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1. Hunter (1882, cit.) reports that the ceremony is no longer performed in this tribe.
3. Op., cit., p.36?.
spit them out to east and west, exclaiming "silu
ugolunayo" (obtain, when next year comes round) in
declaration that the custom will be continued the follow-
ing year.¹

The tribal rite among the Bovana, says
Cook, 'is a thing of the past, and each unit now acts on
its own. Cook obtained, however, a description of the
national rite (sibho) from a Tscheni° chief. From this
description little can be added to our knowledge beyond
what has been recorded in other tribes. The chief, with
his inyanga, was the principal performer, and in addition
to the array being doctored the men, led by the chief, all
dipped their spears and bullets into the ashes of the
instomunzane of a slaughtered bull. The men were thrown
the doctored meat as among the Zulu, and the skin was
given to a woman who had failed to menstruate. These
feasts lasted two or three days and beer flowed freely.
After the ceremony at the chief's umzi each umzi head would
hold a little ceremony at his own kral. The characteristic
feature was the splitting of the new crops to east and west,
by the men in order of age.

A much more interesting ceremony is
described by Cook as peculiar to one family the head of
which - a doctor - performs the rites because his
ancestors started them. A month before the ripening of
the maize is a tall thin pole, taken from the cattle-
kral fence, is planted some ten yards in front of the
cattle-kral gate. It has a cross-piece from which a
number of sticks and weapons - ancestral heritages - are
hung in any order. After a day it is taken down and
replaced by a big pole, which lies near the cattle-kral

³ A branch of the Bovana.
gate. The headman calls out his father's isilango, and adds, "I am performing the custom of this place that food and the ancestors may bless us and be with us." Then there follows a pumpkin rite to enable them to eat the mealies, involving the spitting of imiti, which includes crops, but not mealies. In this way, too, there is after reaping, a sacrifice of a goat and praying to the ancestors. I think it is first necessary, before interpreting the functions of these ceremonies, to attempt to separate the different ideas that are represented in these complex rites. Willoughby was struck with the inspiration that the Zulu tribes might have amalgamated an agricultural and a pastoral spring festival, a very curious combination to produce an autumnal ceremony. Moreover there is very little ceremony relating to cattle in the sense of their value in pastoralism; they are used, as always, in sacrifice, and the doctoring of the new crops among the Zulu is part of an agricultural ceremony. But it must be admitted that where, in Langalakho's Ng civilized tribe, a bull is beaten with stalks of sweet corn and maize to impart strength to it, the ceremony may be pastoral, in that the animal represents the tribal heads, for clearly, since this bull is not sacrificed, the rite is not a preparation for a sacrifice. It is a translation of power, inherent in the new crops, to a bull representing the tribe's cattle; a magical act, where the power is transferred through the stalks. A similar ceremony in the same tribe is allowing the wash of the white medicines used in the umzukuni omuma to sink into the floor of the cell-fold to give strength to the calves; among the Zulu the vomit of the chief is used in the same way to the same end. The herb dress of the Zulu King is burnt and the ashes
trodden by the cattle into the floor of the isibaya, probably to strengthen the herd. It is more difficult to place the sowing of medicated seed over the carcass of a slaughtered bull among the Baso. I am inclined, in lieu of an analysis of the rite by Lagg, to treat this as an offering of the corn to the ancestors, even though the medicated seed is simultaneously sown over the people; it may be to give them the right to eat or to fill them with power. But I should certainly not call this part of a pastoral festival, and it seems to me that in the umkosi the rites connected with cattle have been introduced as extraneous magical acts.

Pre-eminently, perhaps, this is a first fruits sacrament. There are typical rites by which the people have to be protected against the power of the new crops, and this is done through the Chief, who is heavily medicated before he approaches the food. All the men (only Cook mentions the women) are also treated at home. This part of the ceremony needs, at present, no elaboration. But I would say, in addition, that in these rites there are many elements which are really, in theory, parts of a harvest festival. The thanking of the ancestors; the mixing, by the Baso, of the sacrificial bullock's blood with medicated seed which will (probably) be used, the next season, to plant the chief's main field; these clearly attack to harvest celebrations. These harvest rites only appear here and there - the Zulu have a separate harvesting ceremony - but nevertheless I feel that the ideas which have elsewhere found expression in harvest festivals have contributed to the welter of rites of the umkosi.2

Besides being an agricultural, and a little of a pastoral, ceremony, the umkosi is clearly a military celebration.

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1. Fraser, op. cit., Pp. 479 seq.
2. From here on I use "umkosi" generically to cover the ceremonies in all tribes.
celebration. The dominating part of the warriors, perhaps, in organised regiments, may be, as Lagg suggests, in order that the chief "should be capable of punishing all who may be working against him or the interests of the community. To do this he must have brave and fearless soldiers, and hence we find a military side to the celebration." But generally, I should say, an annual strengthening of the army has, among the South-Eastern Bantu, become attached to ukadlala umkosi (making merry with the chief), essentially a first fruits rite. Among the inland tribes the lumina by clans, not regiments. The break from the old obsolete order of precedence by priority of filiation to a far-off ancestor is clear. The chief must get in first. This implies that the Swazi, for instance, who are a younger branch of the Zulu, might lumina before the latter. In the centre of the sub-continent, according to Livingstone, where an original tribe broke up into the Ntsangwato, Bangwato, and Bhekwane, the Bhekwane retained the hereditary chieftainship as their chief, Sechari, possesses certain advantages over Sekoni, the 'chief of the Ntsangwato.' But there are evidences "besides of very ancient partition... The other tribes will not begin to set the early pumpkins of a new crop until they hear that the Bhekwane have 'bitten it.'" 

of eating as among the Sotho-Chavane, viz., a hierarchical order. And indeed remnants of this order still exist among the Zulu-Nse, and especially in the least warlike tribe, the Thonga. Yet though the Swazi chief had to get the ceremony introduced by Dludhulume, a skilled iinyanga, he can celebrate at his own pleasure, unlike the bigger chiefs of the o-Khopoele Xhosa, who have to wait on the chief of a small seixosan clan, called Ntloshiba, which has sunk into numerical insignificance and poverty, and which now carries no weight in the political council of the tribe. 

One can almost visualise the process by which the military bias was given to the Zulu people. The first purely rites — and this is an aspect of the umkosim when I shall later distinguish — were the occasion for the gathering of the whole tribe. The nation probably used to come up to the great place by clans or imxi, where Shaka collected the men in ukhamba; however, they naturally began to attend in regiments, and so it was as members of regiments, and not of particular clans, that they began to participate in the umkosi. This theoretical reconstruction is validated by the fact that none of these tribes had, or have besides the umkosi, an annual military festival; as will be shown in a later section, the army was declared just before setting out for war. Moreover, the time for campaigning among the Zulu was generally in winter after the crops had been harvested and very often it was decided at the umkosi to have war almost immediately. Then, despite the strengthening of the army at the umkosi, it would be treated again, in special rites and ceremonies, for the campaign, so that the treatment for

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1. Ibid., p. 225.
war remain distinct. It seems almost certain that the part of the army in umkosi must have some about in the way I have suggested, and not by the merging of two ceremonies, though Shooter writes of the feast of the first fruits that "Tsaka added to it certain military rites, and gave it much more the aspect of a war-feast."

One presumes that the custom spread to surrounding tribes, especially a section of the Zulu nation, such as the Ngoni and Swazi, carrying the principles of Zulu militarism across the land.

The fourth aspect of the umkosi to be analysed is that it is the great gathering of the whole tribe. "It is noteworthy," writes Dr. Richards, "that these rites take place on a tribal scale." This is the occasion for the promulgation of laws, the gathering of the whole people, both those above and those below the ground.

Willoughby in his comprehensive survey of the Zulu ancestor-cult has pointed out that they have no particular festival (such as the Trobrianders have) when the spirits of the dead regather with their descendants. But at the umkosi the chief had to round up his ancestors for the feasting; it was an impious act for him not to preside without their presence. There is the ceremony ukutshwama or ukuthi wasi kwakweleni, the coming out or causing to return to the world of the ancestors, in all the other tribes the spirits are present, presiding over the festival, represented by the chief, who has the dominant role. And in this tribal gathering the social hierarchy is, as well as the importance of the army, marked, especially as local rites are held subsequent to it.

Finally, I agree with Junod that this ceremony is a passage from one year to the next. Thus Lugn has already been quoted as saying that the ceremony is 'the stepping into the new year', implying "the casting off of the old year with all its ills, and the ushering in of a new season."

2. op.cit.; p.108.
3. The milamila, also at harvest. Malinowski, "Baloma" (op.cit., p.870).
season with hope and anticipation of better things." The rites clearly show the sloughing of the old year and its ills, the purification and preparation for the new year. The Swazi chief retires to the indlamu with the dying year; he emerges symbolically as it begins to wax anew. Among some of the Natal tribes as quoted, the people eat first of the old year's crops, then of the new year's. The month between the two ceremonies is a purgatorial period during which the chief, who represents the tribe, continually undergoes treatment. The people, as well as the chief, are tormented and at the end of the period have to be cleansed before they can return to normal life. The shekhina ceremony, according to R. C. Samuelson, is that chief and the tribe may be prosperous and victorious (another point to the tribal gathering). Other ceremonies were to exorcise evil spirits, pestilences and sickness from the tribe.

I have at this stage, I think, briefly disentangled the various threads which have been woven into the seemingly chaotic rites of the natal, in order to clear the way for an understanding of its functions.

To understand these we must again set the ceremony in the background of the people's life. From the earth and seed, fertilized with medicines, protected by the ancestors, have emerged the crops, filled with a power inherent in themselves and derived from the ancestors. The long and arduous round of horticultural work is over; death is ended and plenty is to begin. Man has triumphed — he has had the gods on his side and they have controlled the universe to suit his ends. Drought and blight have been conquered; every tribesman is in a resurgent and ebullient mood, filled with pride and anticipation, feelings that are potentially destructive for...
for the community. These powers - of the crops and tribesmen's emotions - have to be used for social ends, and this is done in the ukosi. The power is converted to social advantage and concentrated in things of social value: the ancestors, the chief, the tribe and its groups, the army and the crops.1

That the powers at work in the tribesmen were potentially destructive was realised by the Thonga. "They are afraid," I have quoted Junod as saying, "that during the general intoxication which will shortly prevail, quarrels will arise, some of which may terminate fatally." It seems to me that, in addition to fearing the results of the beer and eating, they must also be conscious that their emotional state threatens to lead to dissensions, for the warriors were particularly exhorted not to spoil the feast by killing their brethren. One of the main functions of the ukosi was to prevent this, and it did so in three ways all of which, as well, obviated great wasting of the crops.

The Thonga pray to the ancestors not to let the beer and eating lead to serious quarrels, and also to prevent them from killing each other. In other words, the ancestors are present at the ceremony, and especially, at the great ceremony in particular, the ancestors of the chief, and their presence is a safeguard against strife. It would be an act of desecration, a violation of their prestige, to quarrel before them. Moreover, these rites are performed before the chief who, clothed in all the authority of his prestige and regalia, surrounded by his headmen and izinyanga, presides over the festival. The Thonga chief

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1. While all wait for the chief to lack the crops, in the dry South African autum, can come to no harm.

feasts his people, especially the warriors; then he visits his subjects in each village. The Zulu chief is greeted by his warriors with acclamations, as he advances, accompanied by his principal wives and men of state. Similarly, Langelake, his near relatives and his warriors attend the ceremony in a body. The Swazi greeted and exhorted the chief with special songs of honour. In short, the chief is always present in person, usually dressed in, or carrying, the sacred regalia; his ancestors are thought to be hovering near; he is surrounded by the responsible old men of the tribe, who, among the Thonga, exhort the warriors not to quarrel. The forbidding, if friendly, eye of the chief is there to restrain the tribesmen, and the power of his and his ancestors' presence is no small power. When Zandes was denounced by some of his warriors and they and his party wished to fight, some force of this "kind of popular tribunal" kept them in check. That force must have been the ancestors and the sanctity of the King. This analysis applies, with almost equal strength, to the rites held by the sub-chiefs, then to those of each family, though the presiding spirits and chief performers are different. It is clear that by thus guarding against anti-social manifestations of these forces, the ancestors, the chief and his councilors, and the family heads would be invested with the power generated by these forces. This would tend to stabilize the social structure; for these rites as Dr. Richards, \(^1\) following Junod, concludes, are "the public and ritual exercise of prerogative throughout the community." The emphasis. Gain most of the tribes, on the order in which the fruits should

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1. op.cit., p.168.
be eaten, the fact the younger people must wait on older, commoners on aristocrats, and all on the ancestors; must invest those who come first with a new greatness in the eyes of their inferiors. Clearly we have evidenced here an exercise of precedence, a practical demonstration of status; the religio-economic ceremony is used to bolster and emphasize the position of the ancestors, the chief and the headmen. Incidentally it would be interesting to know how the Zulu regiments ate; if it was in any particular order, if the izinduna (officers) ate before the privates, etc. The emphasizing of the social hierarchy is, then, a marked feature of the umuso. A Zulu, Zulu or Natal transgressor of the taboo endangered those in authority, and not himself, and the fact that such an individual among the Zulu is killed by the chief seems to show that no ritual sanction attached to the breach. In these South-Eastern Bantu tribes the protection of the people against the crops is a secondary function, for the tritazed men could apparently sneak in before the chief, without suffering any harm; and Xhosa 

Kafir women seem to have done this regularly. A special object of the umuso ban was, we have seen, to protect the chief from his being harmed by contact with these transgressors, so that the main function of the order of eating, or rather the rules of that order, is to stand the social hierarchy. But the ceremony is also used to express the relation of tribe and royal clans to the other clans and each other, a point which Miss Richards overlooks. Thus all clans (or perhaps izini) must wait on the royal


\textit{Lomu; Herries, op. cit., p. 60.}
clans, though they always have their own ceremonies. They among the Thonga, the four consecutive ceremonies emphasise: firstly the importance of the ancestors and the chieftains; secondly that of the army; thirdly of the district sub-chiefs; and fourthly of the family heads; and in doing this they demonstrate the relation of tribe, army, district and imisi to each other. This concentration of potentially destructive power in objects of social value; in hierarchic order, is clearly religious in its processes.

The second way in which the umkosi guards against dissension is by the tremendous expenditure of energy which it requires. Much of the men's energy and abilities must have been released in their preparations for the festival; in the stealing and killing of the bull, the greater ceremonial hunt, the songs and dances. The same analysis applies, in varying degrees, to all the other tribes. They were kept so busy about the ceremony that they had no time for quarrelling; and when it was over were probably weary and ready to rest.

And thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, in all the tribes the ceremonies were spread over a number of days; every detail is strictly laid down by custom and lacked by the ancestors so that the full round has to be observed. At Chongwene's umisi, the Agond capital, "every part of the festival followed a preconceived plan." The social excitement is vented in a series of rites, taboos and liberations. The way in which these successive observances gradually let loose the emotions of the tribesmen needs no elaboration: the month between the umkhume and umkelwa, the successive dances, sacrifices, and medications speak for themselves.

These potentially destructive powers in addition to being socially conditioned and concentrated in the ancestors, chief, etc., were also concentrated in various/
various social groups, the tribe, clan or unit, and family. "It is obvious also," according to Miss Richards, "that these great gatherings, especially in highly organised society such as that of the Zulu, were occasions of tremendous tribal excitement, feasting and dancing, and that in this way agricultural activities become associated with the sense of social cohesion, and the fellowship of the biggest group to which the native belongs. In other words, we have here the circular religious process. Firstly, the power is transferred from the individual and the crops to the sentiments about tribe and family, and secondly sale of it, as well as power evoked by the gathering itself, is retransferred to concentrate in horticultural activities, which are clearly of social value. This first value of the ceremony is recognised by some natives themselves, for a Lobedu told Mrs. Krige of their rites: "The Tekula gives you a blessing; the blessing comes from the gathering itself." Among the Lobedu the gathering is lineages, the important group in that tribe, and Mrs. Krige concludes that "it is the occasion of a reunion of the lineage and the whole religious setting - the fact that they all pray to the same ancestors helps greatly to strengthen the idea of kingship holding them together." Now among the South-Eastern Bantu this would apply in the first place to the tribe as a whole, and indeed there are many rites, as we see especially from R. C. Samuelson's description, to unify and bless the tribe. Secondly, it would apply to the additional local gatherings. The umkosi, that is, emphasises tribal and local grouping and increases the communal sense of cohesion.

Another potential source of dissension is

1. Others besides the umkosi.
2. op. cit., p.102.
Author  Gluckman M M
Name of thesis  The Realm Of The Supernatural Among The South-eastern Bantu: A Study Of The Practical Working Of Religions And Magic.  1934

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