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The realm of the supernatural among the South-Eastern Bantu: a study of the practical working of religions and magic

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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 him 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."[1] 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,[2] 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; Isaacs says Zulu from all parts of the country meet at the King's umzi to plant two immense fields for his use,[3] and/....

1. Op.cit., P. 102.
2. Loc.cit., at pp.361 & 2.
3. Op. cit., Vol.II, p.291.

and Bryant that all the national troops were called up.[1] Nevertheless, even if Lugg's record 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 has, in addition, other functions.

Professor Lestrade suggests that this ceremony induced the tribesmen to move in a mass, which primitive peoples always prefer to do.[2] This suggestion I have fully elaborated in my other thesis[3] and there does seem some support for it. The Thonga[3] and the Zulu[4] 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 seems to provide an incentive to work".[5] The joint labour is not absolutely dependent on the ukukot' igeja, but it is

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1. MSS. cita.
2. Interview at Pretoria, 24/9/1933.
3. MSS.cita.
4. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, p.23.
5. Krige, MSS. cita, p.109.
6. Op. cit., p. 103.

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".[1] 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 them 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/....

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1. Op. cit., p.88.
2. MSS. cit, pp. 76-77.

This hypothesis is substantiated in that the Zulu and Natal tribes had a ceremony (umkosi omncane) preliminary to the first fruits (umkosi 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".[1] 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."[2] And the Zulu cultivate special fields (izife) at the beginning of the season to supplement the crops of the fields proper which are tilled afterwards.[3] 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".[4]

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 such/.....

1. Lugg, loc.cit., at pp.362, 371, 380.
2. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.22-3.
3. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Isifé", p.140.
4. Op.cit., p.102.

such matters", who advised the King; the fact that the Zulu had an inyanga particularly for horticultural 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 regiments 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[1] 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",[1] but this is not the usual way. It is customary to stab the sacrificed animal in the side.[2] 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 ukumkomela imiti emnyama 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 imiti with hoeculture and food, and the use of sea-water is obviously a rain charm. The King is restored to his normal state with imiti emhlope.

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 thus planted".[3] 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.[4] The owner of a field giving poor crops does exactly what his more fortunate neighbour, 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 fertilising power resides.

The/....

1. Lugg, loc. cit., at p.301.
2. Holden, "Past and Present of the Kaffir Races" (1866) p. 302.
3. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., pp.394-5.
4. They do, of course, recognise differences in soils.

The first specific given by Soga is black sand (intlabati emnyama). "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 Brown [2] and Fortune have recorded the importance of heat in ceremonial among the Andamanese and Dobuans 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

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1. Soga, ibid., p. 395.
2. Op.cit., pp.266 seq.
3. Fortune, R.E., "Sorcerers of Dobu" (1932) pp.295,seq.

from an inyanga) "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."[1] 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"[2]. 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-Nyaluti, the (Kaffir) corn of the Lusutu, with small seeds, makes a garden fruitful.[3] 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,[4] and the Pondo, says Miss Hunter, like a

black/.....

1. Soga, Ibid., p.395.
2. Ibid., pp.396-7.
3. Op.cit., p.285.
4. Stayt, op.cit., p.314.

~~Replaced text~~ Our task is not, however, to determine the original content of the Nomkubulwana 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 Nomkubulwana, the "Princess of Heaven". She is said to be enshrouded in the valley mists of spring. According to S. O. Samuelson "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."[1] Bryant says that her ceremonies are performed in December: she is said to have first given man 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.[2] ~~The~~ The rainbow is regarded as the arc of the queen, and it is looked upon as a beautiful emanation of her glory.[3]

According/.....

1. H. C. Samuelson, op. cit., p.303.
2. Bryant, MSS.cita. Vide Bryant.Dict., op.cit., "Nomkubulwana" (p.439)"Phuzula" (p.513).
3. H.C. Samuelson, op.cit., p.304 (quoting S.O.Samuelson)

black man to puff miti over the fields.

According to Kropf, "Leopards' and other animals' bones are used in this garden-magic, ukusukula,[1] and apparently amagqira or amagqwira can fertilise through their familiars.[2]

The process known as ukusukula is represented among the Xosa for "the generic term for all plants used as field charms is isi-Sukulo. This is the nominal form of the verb uku-Sukula - to sharpen, to urge, etc.,"[3] 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.[4] Here again we have an obviously magical act: the fact that the performers are pregnant women must be that they may 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 to my elaborating them here.[5]

(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.

Our/.....

1. Kropf, "ukuSukula", p.376.
2. Ibid., "ukuSukelela", p.485.
3. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., p.888.
4. Dict., op.cit., p.600.
5. Vide Krige, MSS. 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."[1] That is, from this Nomkubulwana dwells in the sky and is connected with rain. Callaway's inkosazana, "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 Nomkubulwana, for though she is described as a little animal with black and white stripes, "on one side there grew 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 hoeculture is that she may appear to a man in his garden and promise him a large harvest. Inkosazana introduces many laws and she may order beer to be poured out on the mountains to her.[2]

Authorities differ somewhat in describing the Nomkubulwana ceremonies or uNomdede as Bryant says they are called.[3] The latest, and best, description we have is from Bryant,[4] so I propose to make this the basis for my analysis and show where other accounts differ. He records three distinct ceremonies connected with Nomkubulwana.

The first, he writes, is performed in December. (S.O. Samuelson says October,[5] 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

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1. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.112.
2. "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.253 seq.
3. Dict., "Tukula", loc.cit.
4. MSS. cita.
5. R.C. Samuelson, op.cit., p.303.

and beg gifts of corn as an offering to Nomkubulwana. They go round the imizi and, on being greeted by the inhabitants, pout their lips (ukupukula umlomo[1]) 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 (umutsha) 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 unomdede, 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 unomdede 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 ubendle 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/....

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1. vide, Bryant, "pukula", loc.cit.

milking 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. D. Samuelson 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 umzi, 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 secure 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 thenceforth 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] H. L. Samuelson describes the girls herding the cattle, the burying of the children

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1. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., pp.112-3.
2. R. C. Samuelson, op.cit., p.303.

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".[1] 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"[2] 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 umshopi rites to banish fever from the land. As the umshopi occurs in December, like the Nomdede, assuming S.O. Samuelson wrong in placing the latter in ~~October~~ November, she could easily have confused the two on the reasoning simul duae, igitur duae una. Moreover, it is curious that she should not have distinguished between when the girls wear grass, when their brothers' imitsha. Once these umshopi rites are elimimated, the core of the descriptions is the same, and the essential parts of the ceremony emerge as: (i) the dominance/....

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1. Op. cit., p.164.
2. Dict., "pukula", loc.cit.

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[1] 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 how cite[2] the other rites connected with her. When the seeds have sprouted and the plants are about two feet high, says Bryant, 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-kalela amabele[3]): "Teti amabele! Si-yaku-dla-ni? Maye!" ("Grant us corn! What shall we eat ? Oh what!") Sometimes, too, small gourds of Nomdede 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. H.L. Samuelson's description of the "uku-alel' 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.
3. Vide, Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Kala", p.288.

description elements from the initial Nomdede ceremony.

The third round[1] of the Nomkubulwana 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 Nomkubulwana's aid, all further havoc. Just as before they pass through all the fields, crying, "Ma ! ngamabele etu", ("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 or a maize-cob for themselves. When they arrive at the field furthest from their homes, off they go, 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 lewd 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, acoprding to him, goes through the mealies and casts sand on them with a prayer that Nomkubulwana 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.[2] Neither Bryant nor Lugg, it should be noted, mentions Nomkubulwana's special garden.

The three Nomkubulwana ceremonies are then: (i) apparently after sowing time, for good harvest; (ii) when the crops are a little grown, to the same end; and/.....

1. Bryant, MSS. cita.
2. MSS. cita.

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, Nomkubulwana. 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; Nomkubulwana appears. She moves with the mists, she is robed in light, and many-facetted - on one side a human being, on another a river, she is covered with verdant forests, 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 customs.[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;/.....

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1. Dict., op.cit., "Nomkubulwana", p.439.
2. MSS. cita.

anti-socially; it must be transformed to something of social value. This power is ~~in the main~~ mainly, I 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 note here particularly that the girls wear imitsha, 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 or season of the year is set apart for this custom. It is merely enacted when diseases are known to be prevalent,"[1] and therefore Mrs. Krige concludes that it is not an essential part of the Nomdede,[2] with which Bryant's description of the pukula agrees.[3] Colenso gives it as part of the umshopi,[4] but Bryant does not describe it in this ceremony in his latest manuscript. It may be a part of the umshopi but in view of S.O. and H.L. Samuelson's, Kidd's, Lugg's and Bryant's information I take it that the ukwalusa izinkomo is an essential rite in the first Nomkubulwana ceremony. And secondly, while in the ukukot' igeja it is regiments of men that hoe the chief's field, while it was the Gaika indunas who ploughed for Sandili, 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

imingoma/.....

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1. "South African Folklore Journal", Vol.II,(1880) p.12.
2. MSS. cita, p.115.
3. Dict., loc.cit., Bryant's latest MSS. was not available (for Mrs. Krige)
4. Dict.

imingoma (divinera) are married women,[1] 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 rarana 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"[2]); the cattle, those insignia of status, are taboo to them; even in the ceremonies connected with hoeculture, 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 deep-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 umungoma. And it is, according to Bryant, the married women, who are removed from their own ancestors and doubly circumscribed by ukuhlonipha, who usually have these visions. That is woman's catharsis, and it is socialised. But we have in Nomkubulwana 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 umzi. If the women do,

as/.....

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1. Bryant, "Zulu Cult of the Dead", Man, loc.cit.
2. Junod, Op. cit., Vol.I, p.228.

as some authorities say, also herd the cattle to exorcise disease the reason to the native mind may be as Mrs. Krige suggests,[1] 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[2]), and she appears dressed in white, the colour of the umangoma; she gives new laws to them who cannot make new laws; she is patron of hoeculture 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.[3] In her all that woman is denied, is represented; and she appears when women have to embark on the hard toil of hoeculture, 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 top-grub 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 eating, though they may not taste of them till the ceremony is over. Finally, the festivities, songs and dances, in her honour, are a tribute to women in general.

And/....

1. MSS. cita, p.115.
2. Callaway, loc.cit.
3. Bryant., MSS. cita.

And this tentative hypothesis has, in some senses, comparative confirmation within our area. The Thonga are far less patriarchal,[1] 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 intonjane, when they may seize the cattle, slaughter animals, and break out in an orgy of lewdness and alcoholism.

The Nomkubulwana 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 women'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, Nomkubulwana 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 uleti, or the sand mentioned by Lugg, in the latter two ceremonies. The use of water to destroy the grub is a usual method of cleansing.

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1. Junod states (Vol.II,p.411) that "there is no anti-feminism in Thonga religion."

(d) Protection of, and Tendence on, the Growing Crops.

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.,[1] but when they are exhausted by their efforts they call in an inyanga 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[4] the Zulu umnumzana (headman) 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, isinana. 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 isinana 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,

the/.....

1. Grout, L. "Zulu-land", (1864) p.111.
2. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.111.V.q.Shooter, op.cit., p.22.
3. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II pp. 444-5.
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 thlokothloko".

(Bryant defines the mbalane as the "golden rumped canary, a troublesome visitor in corn-fields".[1] 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 to them 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 iselesele (frog) and isinana, I cannot say, though Bryant says that the isinana toad is "often found embedded in the soil".[2] 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.879.
2. Ibid., p.402. c.f. Junod, op.cit, Vol. II, pp 220 seq.

about four feet long, which lives among rocks.[1] Perhaps it has a predilection for birds. The taboo on sexual intercourse could also only be interpreted by reference to native ideas; but if the Zulu believe, as the Thonga 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 diseases. There are certain taboos in anticipation of this. Thus, among the Zulu, a fowl must not be carried thorugh a field of tasselling corn lest the crop be blighted,[4] and a menstruating girl should not go through a field of ground-nuts lest the nuts go rotten.[5] Crops should be pointed at with the knuckles of the hand,[6] Junod gives a number of Thonga agricultural taboos.[7] These need not be elaborated here, as the whoe function of taboo will be considered in a subsequent chapter.

Macdonald has an interesting paragraph which shows the dominance of magic, among the Kafirs, at this stage of hoeculture. "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/....

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1. Op. cit., p.405.
2. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, p.359.
3. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Um-Fazazana", p.140.
4. Tyler, op.cit., p.104.
5. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "isi-Dhlubu", p.105.
6. H.L. Samuelson, op.cit., p.
7. Op.cit., Vol.II, pp.28, seq.

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 exorcise 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."[1] 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,[2] which corresponds largely in procedure to the Nomkubulwana 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 bead aprons). They rub themselves with the clay, and one girl carries a pile on her head, as they march through the lands. They scatter the clay and sing: "eyo Xoshombo, pume Xoshombo, uzunga 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/.....

1. Op.cit., Vol.XIX, p.282.
2. Hunter, MSS. cita. Kropf, op.cit., p.451, defines it as iKoshombo blight in maize.

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 dikazi (unmarried women, or widows who have returned to their father's umzi).

The performers in these rites, as largely in the Zulu Nomkubulwana ceremonies, are the girls, and married women, widows, and girls who have borne illegitimate children are specifically excluded. The performers in the ixoshombo have all their fertility power unsmirched and unexpended. This all their strength is brought into action against the ixshombo, 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 Nomkubulwana 'top-grub' ceremony, Zulu gardens are treated in other ways...For example should 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.[1] This is a magical act, as the power resides in the saltiness of the fish skin.

The Thonga connect[2] 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 women 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 mealies!" 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

other/....

1. Tyler, op.cit., p.106
2. Junod, op.cit., Vol. II, pp.440 seq.

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 nunu. (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 nunu with Heaven the ceremony may be mainly magical. It is impossible to analyse the record as given, and the song, "Nunu, go away!", could be an imperative command or a supplication. Certainly the drowning of some of the nunu 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 Nomkubulwana rites. They maltreat any man they may meet, they sing their impure songs - these elements of the ceremony indicate an emotional carthasis within the woman, which cleansing they project to the fields.

In the Malukeke 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.[1] Here they cure 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 the/....

1. Ibid., Vol.II, p.404.

the mealies are ripe, as this would call the baloyi and endanger the harvest.[1] 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-nuts of their contents. The magicians have a kind of medicine with which they plaster the mealie cobs in the gardens, and the noyi 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 fields are ascribed.[2] Thus those anti-social beings, the baloyi, may protect their neighbours against other baloyi.

The Thonga protect crops against thieves with the rihehlo, "a kind of mysterious influence exerted on the thief by throwing a magical powder into his foot-prints 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 seized 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 nervules of the leaves of the Hyphaene palm tree (tinhlamalala); these nervules are like little snakes, very slender and flexible. The knot represents the head of the snake.

The.....

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1. Ibid., Vol.II, p.22.
2. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.20-1.

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 mealie stems in his garden. When the thief enters the field, the tinhlamalala/at once transform themselves into small snakes, which are also called tinhlamalala. 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 Nkuna named Nwadjokwane and the people of his village used to inoculate themselves with the drug; in this way they had nothing to fear from the snakes.[1] This is a magical rite; the tinhlamalala nervules are turned into the similar tinhlamalala snakes by the virtue of the powder, which is apparently prepared by only one man.

Intimately bound up with hoecultural 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 hoecultural activities.

(c) 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 inyanga runs out with weapons and rain-shield and shouts to counteract the lightning. He whistles and says, "Tshi-i-i. Depart, and go yonder; do not come here again".[2] Kidd's description[3] of the performance shows/....

1. Ibid., Vol.II,pp.30-1
2. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.384.
3. "Essential Kafirs", op.cit., pp.121-4.

shows the tremendous concentration of power in the 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 fitful blasts through the pattering 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 livid 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, eating 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![1] 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) The religious rites connected with the ancestor-cult; (ii) Rites of purification of the land which are derived from the mysterious relation existing between the power of Heaven/.....

1. Op. cit., Vol.XIX, p. 295.

Heaven and abnormal births; and (iii) magical rites, in which sea charms play the most important part. [1]

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 beat the graves with sticks.[2] 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 brought 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 plints. 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.[3]

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.[4] In any event, it must be to draw their attention to the lack of rain, and the power is still

concentrated /.....

1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, p.323.
2. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.316 seq.
3. Ibid., Vol.II, p.404.
4. Ibid., Vol II, p.405.

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 psanyi) 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 Malangotiba in Nondwane and that in Nsime near Morakwen, 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 (ntimu)." Junod suggests that the spirits of the deceased, which were certainly "gods of bitterness" (elsewhere he classes men killed in battle as "gods of assegaais"[2]) were supposed to prevent the/.....

1. Ibid., Vol. II, p.410.
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 assegaai.

the rain, and the ideas either appeased them or made them powerless.[1] 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 foetus has not been dealt with according to rule, the birth of twins, the death of children not yet received into the tribe by the ceremony of koha puri 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 mbendula and Nyangale, 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.[2] The sprinkling of the grave, and the throwing of ground from it into the river, are clearly to cool the uncleanness so that the heavens may be cooled; and the mbendula and nyangale 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.[3]

1. Ibid., Vol.II., P.323 and Vol.II., P.86.
2. Ibid., Vol.II., P.317.
3. Ibid., Vol.II., P.318.

In other clans it is twins who are especially connected with rain. In the section on birth ceremonies I have quoted the customs at the birth of twins, which are devised to prevent drought. Among the Ronga/mbelele the procession is led by the mother of twins and water is poured on the graves of twins to secure rain. Wells are cleaned and the bodies of twins buried in dry ground may be dug up and buried near the river to influence heaven.[1] Twins are children of Heaven, and their mother may be placed in a hole in the Libombo ntimu and have water poured over her, so that rain will fall. "The woman of Heaven being wet", says Junod, "Heaven itself will be wet."[2]

We pass now to the third type of rain-making, rain-magic. Here, among the Thonga,[3] 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 Sutho-Pedis of Spelonken (the Kwebo section of the Thonga) who are descendants of a fabulous rain-maker, Luvimbi.[4] The ingredients come from the sea, and consist of sea-urchins, sea-weed, etc. These are roasted and then sea-water is poured on them to cool them. They are pulverised and "salted" with another drug called shinyuke, something black which Junod was unable to identify. The powder so obtained is put into goat's horns; one in two of these are dipped in sheep's fat and so become female drugs. The medicine can be renewed by grinding some of the magical drugs with fresh marine products. "The virtues/..

1. Ibid., p.319.
2. Ibid., p.428.
3. Ibid., pp. 320 seq.
4. Probably connected with the Venda deity Raluvhimba, who has a cave at Luvhimbi and who is connected with rain. (Stayt, op. cit., pp. 230-1., 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 psanyi. He then made fire with his fire-sticks. In the meantime Mankhelu prayed: "Here are the drugs, Rivimbi of Tsome![1] 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 mhamba. After a while the wood began to burn; leaves of the nembe-nembe bush were placed on it and a black smoke rose and ascended to heaven. A feather of the ndlati 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 mhamba'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

to/.....

1. Tsome was Rivimbi's father. (Junod, 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 psanyi 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 smelt 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 ays 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 inyanga. 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-East n Bantu tri e, 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/....

1. Ibid., Vol.II., P.316.
2. This supports Schapera and Hunter's contention that all the magician, or wizard, needs is knowledge and possession muti, and has no magical power inherent in himself.

operates at the instance of the chief only. [1] 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 abatakati..

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 ancester of theirs, is buried.[2] 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 keep up a dismal howl for a long time, is to obtain rain, for the heavens are supposed to melt with tenderness.[3] This apparently is a religious ceremony of propitiation, for they say that the call to "the lord above" for rain and if it comes they declare that "usondo rains". If an insingizi bird (the grand hornbill[4]) is killed and thrown into a pool of water it will rain,[5] and also if an ingqungqulu bird (Bateleur Eagle[6]) is killed[7]. These birds have some connection with iqulu, heaven, but these seem to be magical acts. The same interpretation applies to the throwing of an amified beetle into a river in times of drought[8] and the burning of porpoise (a sea-creature) skin.[9]

Certain...

1. "Ama-Xosa; op. cit., p.175.
2. Kidd, "Essential Kafir" op. cit., p.115.
3. Ibid., p.p. 117-8.
4. R.C. Samuelson, op. cit., p.407.
5. Callaway, "Religious Systems", pp.407-8.
6. R.C.Samuelson, op.cit., p.408.
7. Callaway, Ibid., p.408.
8. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.297.
9. Callaway, "Religious Systems" op.cit., pp.409 seq.
   Ibid, "Im Bila", 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.[1] The chief's song would be a way of invoking the chief's ancestors. One of Callaway's informants described[2] 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[3] in the ceremony described in the preceding paragraph, and may well be the same. The cattle used were the Izinkomo zemizimu (the cattle of the tribal gods) used in national sacrifices at the graves of the tribal ancestors.[4] Callaway does not say where the izinkomo were sacrificed. 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 man 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/...

1. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op. cit. pp.409 seq.,
2. Ibid., pp.92 seq.,
3. Vide Ibid. p.413.
4. Vide Bryant, Olden Times cita.

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 Unkulunkulu, it seems to me that it is essentially a sacrifice to the amatongo, as the use of the izinkomo zemzimu 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 amatongo 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 ebatakati can prevent the rain from falling. The evildoer puts pegs 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 umzi to it was fined or killed.[1] This apparently lifts the evil.

The descriptions of Transkeian rain ceremonies are very poor, but I presume that they are generally/...

1. H.L.Samuelson, op.cit., p.

generally the same as among the Zulu. Certainly they are always the business of the chief.[1] Kropf, however, records an interesting Kafir belief, under which rain-makers sometimes ordered a great hunt when rain was needed.[2] Here the flowing of blood might bring the rain, or the energetic catharsis of the hunt might be projected by the participators 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.[3] Why this utterance should have such disastrous effects it 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 Palazo 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 psyches 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. But in the event of the

drought/.....

1. Soga, as cited Soyra, Macdonald, Vol.XLX,p.295;Hunter MSS., cita.
2. Op.cit., i Palazo, pp. 303-4.
3. Ibid., "um Ntuntloni", pp.277-8; i Qoyi, p.341.

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 magician 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, bare rump;" adding, perhaps, "I am the last born of our family."[2] Here the bare buttocks of the children may represent the clear sky. The veld-daisy, uHlambiklosane, may be placed upside down on a path during rain to make the sky clear up;[3] 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 ulubani, but "owing to the dislike of the Natives for calling awful thing by their proper names, the word in most common use for 'lightning' is merely i(li)-Zulu (the heavens)."[4] 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 thus/....

1. Bryant Dict., op.,cit., "im Bila" p.37.
2. Ibid., "Dumisela", p.128.
3. Ibid., p.239.
4. Ibid., pp. 22-3.
5. "Religious Systems" op.,cit., pp.401-2.

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.[1] 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.[2] Soga, writing on the Xosa, refers to Kropf[3] and Cook describes the same belief among the Bomvana.[4] Miss Hunter says that the Pondo 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"[5] The Pondo belief, according to Kidd, is that it is brown and spits down fire on the earth.[6] According to Macdonald, who does not specify for what tribe he is writing, "thunder is caused by a very large mythical bird clapping its wings, and lightning is its excrement when purged. When lightning strikes any object, such as a dwelling, cattle-fold, or tree, the bird itself has descended, and again reascends 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."[7] 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-Chevana associate this bird with, I believe, sea-gulls. I have been unable to identify it among the Zulu-Xosa, nor does Goodwin, S.A.J.S. "The Lightning-Bird of South Africa", of ...
2. Op.,cit., p.324.
3. "Ama-Xosa", op.,cit., p.213.
4. Op.,cit., p.124.
5. MSS. cited.
6. "Essential Kafir", op.,cit.,p.120.
7. Op.,cit., Vol. II 129.

of its wings.[1] Some Zulu believe that if the spot where the lightning struck is examined the shaft of an assegai will be found, writes Kidd,[2] probably copying Callaway[3]; but the Zulu also have the idea of a lightning-bird, which many of them, indeed, claim to have seen it, for it remains where the ground has been struck. It is very fat, and its feathers glisten peculiarly, so that it changes between red and green in colour.[4] The Thonga call this bird ndlati, or the cock of hen of heaven. In the Northern clans the magicians know more about it: the ndlati is a bird of four colours, green, red, black and white, which lives in the mountains, preferably at the confluence of rivers. Its eggs apparently float in a nest on the water. When a thunderstorm breaks the ndlati 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 bark and its wood, and throwing it down; or it falls on a hut and burns it, 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 lightning flash, and flies back to the mountains.[5]

It is easy to understand how the lightning bolt was looked on as a hurled assegai,[6] 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 is, Callaway does not say; probably the Zulu have never attempted to make any connection between the two.

The/.....

1. "Essential Kafir" Op., cit., p.120.
2. Ibid., p.120.
3. "Religious Systems"; op., cit., p.281.
4. Ibid, pp.282-4.
5. Junod, op.,cit., Vol.II pp.313-4.
6. Vide Junod's description of fulgurites, op.cit., Vol.II., 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.[1] The specialisation among this kind of izinyanga is extreme; there are izinyanga or the lightning and izinyanga of the hail who are employed on different occasions.[2] Among the Thonga there are also magicians who understand the "treatment of Heaven",[3] and the Transkeian tribes recognise special [illegible] doctors.[4] But among the Xosa it appears that the umntu na could intervene with the heavens as well as the inyanga, spitting medicine and stabbing his assegai at the lightning flashes, and placing assegaais round the kraal to ward off the lightning.[5] But certain charms can be used by any man who knows them.[6]

The Zulu heaven-herds have to observe special rules of living.[7] They have a common feeling with the heavens, and are not so much its opposers as mediators with it. (p.377, footnote 27). The doctor must always fast (p.377 & 387); he must carry his body and rub in medicines mixed with the flesh of a lightning-bird, or with a thunder-bolt (p.388, footnote 30); he must only drink beer from a full pot, eat maize 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.388-9). By these practices "they are brought into sympathy with the heaven, [illegible]

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1. Callaway, "Religious Systems", p.374.
2. Ibid., p.373.
3. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, p.314.
4. Opera cita, Macdonald, Vol.XX, p.218; Cook, p.135; Hunter, MSS; [illegible] p.185. [illegible] p.216 opera.
5. Cook, op.cit., p.135.
6. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.384. In this paragraph references in brackets are to this work.

heaven, - feel with it, know when it is going to thunder, and are able to counteract it". (p.38c,footnote3c).

Among the Thonga[1] and Pondo[2] 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 isintelezi, medicines which are sprinkled.[3] (Soga, on the Xosa, describes the intelezi as a plant, bulbine asphodaloides, which is grown at the top of a hut to ward off lightning.[4]) Callaway gives a number of the medicines used, such as the umabope plant, whose red roots are used.[5] Bryant says the umabope is used as an intelezi,[6] but according to Callaway it is burnt in the isolo, a special fire-place outside the umsi used for this purpose.[7] Callaway also mentions ubokqo and umthlonyane as being burnt in the isolo. Umkatazo is a medicine which the doctor keeps by him that he may puff it at the lightning if it enters the house. He also gives as a heaven medicine isibetelelo,[8] which, however, is described by Bryant as a love-medicine.[9]

Bryant gives a number of lightning medicines in his dictionary, as does Kropf for the Kafirs. 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/.....

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1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.438-9.
2. Hunter, MSS. cita.
3. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.620
4. Bryant, op.cit., p.216.
5. 'Kma-Xosa", op.cit., p.216.
6. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.405-6.
7. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.272.
8. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.276.
9. "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.405-6.
   Ibid., loc.cit., pp.405-6.
   Dict., op.cit., p.38

drive away and ward off the storm, and (ii) he[1] 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 an animal that is struck is usually not eaten but burnt,[2] though it may be eaten if the doctor so orders, and then only with special precautions, including washing and the taking of emetics.[3] A hut, even a whole kraal, is destroyed if struck by lightning, and a tree that is struck cannot be used.[4] 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".[5]

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.[6] When it does come the doctor runs out with shield, medicines and stick; he shouts and whistles and strikes on his shield[7]; he may shoot arrows tipped with medicine towards the sky,[8] or wave a torch to scare away the lightning,[9] or if it enters the house, puff (as stated above) umkataze at it; or if it enters the house, puff (as stated above) umkataze at it. The Kafir doctor fills his mouth with own medicine at it.

urine/.....

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1. ~~Ibid., loc.cit., pp.405-6.~~
2. ~~Ibid., op.cit., p.28.~~
1. I assume that the same lightning doctor fulfils both functions.
2. R. C. Samuelson, op.cit., p.307.
3. R. C. Samuelson, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.402 -3.
4. Callaway, "Religious System", op.cit., p.307. (1) Callaway, Ibid, p.334
5. R. C. Samuelson, op.cit., p.295.
6. Op.cit., Vol.XIX, p.295. (2) Callaway, "Religious System", op.cit. p.336
7. Bryant, Dict. of Zulu, p.28; Callaway, "Religious System", op.cit., p.307. (3) R.C. Samuelson, op.cit., p.307
8. Bryant, Dict. of Zulu, p.28.
9. Bryant, Dict. of Zulu, p.28.

urine and spit it at the storm.[1] 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!"[2] All these processes are obviously magical.

Charms are hung about the huts or buried to ward off lightning, and the Zulu make common use of medicated stakes. Sayce has described[3] 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. (Lugg 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.[4]) To this bark-medicine is added the fat of the ngqungqulu 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 and/....

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1. Macdonald, op. cit., Vol. XIX, p. 295.
2. Junod, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 314-5.
3. "Lightning Charms from Natal", Man., Vol. 26 (1926) p. 69.
4. MSS., cits.,

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 cuprite) 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."[1]

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."[2] The Inyanga yezulu frowns when the heaven is overcast, for his heart too is of 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.[3] The profession must be kept clear of impostors, and therefore one doctor may send lightning to another doctor to see whether he is powerful/....

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1. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.,cit., p.406.
2. Ibid., p.375, footnote 21.
3. Ibid., pp.378-9.

powerful or not, if he does not know where the latter obtained his skill.[1] The power of the inyanga yezulu comes from his "common feeling with heaven"; the Kafir doctor uses his own urine against it, while other medicines include as important elements the thunderbolt itself, fat of the lightning-bird or its urine, and so on. The power over heaven comes from heaven itself, but the doctor wields it in threatening manner and with imperial commands, bidding the heavens depart.[2] ✓There are certain observances practised against storms. The name of lightning, ulubeni is tabooed (the Pondo call it inkosi[3]) and, among the Zulu, 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.[4]

The process of cleansing from the effects of the lightning is very necessary, so much so that when Macdonald bought 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.[5] The Thonga village which has been struck is cleansed if the doctor can exhume the urine of the ndlati bird, if not the village must be moved.[6] 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.[7] The lightning tends to follow

where/.....

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1. Ibid., P.386.
2. Ibid., P.380.
3. Hunter, MSS., cita.
4. H.L.Samuelson, op.,cit., p ; Bryant,Dict.,op.,cit., "Zuma"p.120
5. Op.,cit., Vol.XX, pp.121-2.
6. Junod, op.,cit., Vol.I., p.319.
7. Macdonald, op.,cit., Vol.XIX, p.295.

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.[1] 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.[2] 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.[3] 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 scarified 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.[4] 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.[5]

It seems that the people have to be protected from future onslaughts of lighting as well as purified. They are ritually unclean 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.

Charms made of the flesh, feathers and urine of ndlati bird are, among the Thonga, powerful in tracing thieves/....

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1. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., pp.214 Seq.
2. Shooter, op.cit., p.216.
3. Calleway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.382. I may be misinterpreting the natives' meaning of "no longer afraid".
4. Ibid., p.p. 404-5.
5. H.L.Samuelson, op.cit., p.

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 it is 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 inmate, terrified by the thunder, may throw out the stolen articles." In the Nkuna region the powder of a lightning-scarred tree is used, or its branches are burnt, to protect a garden against thieves.[1] 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 that are associated with it are used.

Finally it should be noted that in some tribes the wizards use lightning against their victims (e.g., the Pondo)[2] 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 casualities. It is easy, therefore, to understand this clustering of ideas round lightning,

which/.....

1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II., pp. 442 Seq.;
2. Hunter, MSS., cita.
3. Cook, op.,cit., p.134.

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 depredations, and purify from the power and evil it carries.

(f) First Fruits Ceremonies.

The regular national offering of the Thonga[1] 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, then 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 Kafir corn or bukanye[2] in certain clans, and also to sorghum, pumpkin leaves and beer, 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

the/.....

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 luma seems to have applied to all kinds of food in former times." There is also a "less ritualistic kind of luma, the luma of the mafureira 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 nyokwekulu (Junod 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.395-6).

Among the Ronga the great, official luma is that of the Kafir corn, mabele. (I.,pp.396-397) The great wife of the chief grinds the first grains of mabele reaped. She cooks the flour in a pot and pours into it some of the royal powder kept in the calabash,[1] so as to make a shimhimbi.[2] 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! Precede us you, you gods, and luma, so that, for us also Kafir corn shall help our body, that

we/.....

1. See section on the Chief's Sacred Regalia, infra.
2. A shimhimbi 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 iiizi. Should a headman be prevented by illness from coming to the capital, his younger brother will not precede him, but will bring him the shimbimbi 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. (f 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 makanye are gathered and pressed at the capital; the sour liquid obtained is poured out on the tombs of the deceased chiefs in the ntima; they are invoked to bless the new year and the feast which is about to be celebrated, with some prayer such as: "This is the new year. Let us not kill each other! Let us eat peacefully!" ; or, "May this bukanyi 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 boners 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/.....

start out early in the morning, striking their lips to sound bu-bu-bu, and gathering the bukanye fruit. The beer is brewed on the bubo 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 bʉ.ungu bya miluru) is thrown into a cask of beer. (Miluru is the mysterious influence which a man or a beast killed by assegai exerts on the slayer, making him go mad or have red eyes; bʉlungu 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 bukanye. 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 tau and says: 'Father and mother! May I hold the calabash! Even to-morrow! For ever!' Others sing: 'We drink the bukanye 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 bukanye by transfixing his brother with his assegai. Go and drink in your villages. Do not pick quarrels with strangers passing through the country." The gathering then disperses.

The/.....

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 places, which is taboo under ordinary circumstances: 'the law is no longer in force.' " This is curious, for Junod says elsewhere ~~that~~ (II., p.404) that "the sexual taboo is also enforced. Those who contravene this are said to 'destroy the efficacity 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 féted 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.404). "All these luma rites of first fruits seem to have primarily a religious origin. The Bantus do not feel that they dare enjoy the products of the soil unless they have first given a portion of them to their gods.[1] Is it not these gods who made the cereals[2] grow? Have they not the power of even/....

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.[1] 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 (Ronga) or mwaka (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/.....

1. But we don't see this. These words indicate, however, that the Thonga have sowing rites.

space, but I feel that is necessary. The ceremony is known as the umkosi. Its true meaning, writes R.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. amadlozi) 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 omncane (little) and umkosi omkulu (big). The umkosi omncane is also known as "the ukuvyatela unyaka, or 'the stepping into the new year', and incidentally infers[3] 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 ukuvyatela 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.[4] It must also be noted that, according to R. C. Samuelson this ceremony was known as the umkosi wegade because a clod of earth (igade) was the chief ingredient in the concoctions used at the ceremony.[5] Bryant mentions/....

1. op.,cit., p.380.
2. Dict., op.,cit., p.260.
3. Meaning, of course, implies.
4. Lugg, H.S., op.,cit., p.382.
5. op.,cit., p.381.

mentions this clod of earth,[1] and it seems clear to me that Samuelson's umkoei wegade is the ukunyatela of other writers a conclusion with which Mrs. Krige apparently agrees though she discusses it with the ukukota igeja.[2]

According to Samuelson this ceremony is performed at the King's chief umzi, and only the males of that umzi and the neighbourhood attended.[3] Lugg mentions the attendance of regiments at the umzi, but he does not specify which or how many;[4] Bryant, says that only the principal headmen, certain selected regiments or selected companies of them, and an army of carrier boys (izidibi) are needed.[5] Kidd states that only "the great men of the nation are called to this festival."[6] 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.[7] 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 lwen_kosi, the King's gourd[8]) and sea-water;[9] Kidd

notes/.....

1. MSS., cita.
2. MSS., cita. p.123.
3. op.,cit., p.381.
4. P.S. op.,cit., 363.
5. MSS., cita.
6. "Essential Kafir", op.,cit., p.269.
7. op.,cit., 381.
8. Ibid., p.283.
9. Bryant, MSS., cita.

notes only the sea-water.[1] 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.[2] This is not mentioned by other writers but it is found, as will be seen, among the Swazi and the Ngoni of Gungunyana, both of which tribes are kindred to the Zulu.

A black bull, taken from the King's own herds, 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[3] 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.[4] Lugg confirms Bryant's information to the extent that he writes: "I understand that a further fierce black bull[5] 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."[6]

The next step is apparently (the order of events is very confused in the records, and probably in fact

the /.....

1. "Essential Kafir", op.,cit., p.269.
2. MSS., op.,cit.,
3. i.e., magical.
4. Bryant, MSS., cita.
5. In addition to the killed in the ukukota igeja.
6. H.S. op.,cit., p.363.

the ncinda of medicine by the King. "The King was doctored", says Lugg, "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 omkulu.[1] They are prepared, according to R.C. Samuelson, by the isinyanga 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.[2] 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, umanaye and other plants.[3] (He does not define the plants in his dictionary.) Kuck says that the King's doctor washed the King's body with a mixture of uswele (a plant like an onion) crushed in sea-water to make him powerful to conquer other chiefs.[4] Kidd records the same custom.[5]

Samuelson's description of the King's partaking of this medicine fits in, more or less, with Lugg's descriptions for Natal, a further reason for taking the umkosi wegade as the ukunyatela. 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 concoction. 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.

On.....

1. Ibid., p.363. (2) MSS. cita.
2. op.,cit., p.381.
3. Kuck, H. "Annual Festival of the Zulus", Folk-lore Journal, Vol.I., part 6, p.134.
4. "Essential Kafir", op.,cit., p.262.

On his arrival all rise to their feet and salute him three times with "Bayede!" Then, as the sun rises, the King thrice ncinda's - sucks off his fingers - the concoction and each time chinse's (squirts) 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 "bayede."[1] Bryant reports the ncinda 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 ukuginga igade (to swallow the earth-clod) and it was but one dose in the general treatment for ukumisa inkosi (to make firm the King). Finally the King was washed clean (ukupotula) from the effects of the black medicine (imiti emnyama) by a dose of white ones (imiti emhlope) in which apparently was a copious draught of the water fetched from the sea as an emetic."[2]

This, in Bryant's description (which he does not name but must be the umkosi omncane) concludes the ceremony, but he later describes an elaborate ceremony and sacrifice (the ukutatwas' or ukubuyiselwa kwamakosi) which I think from the details is part of the umkosi omkulu.

But both Lugg and Samuelson describe a sacrifice at the omncane. 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, Senzengakona, Jama, Punga, Mageba, 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 Mahlabatini/.....

1. Op.,cit., p.381.
2. MSS. cita.

Mahlabatini district, near the white Umfolozi, and are known as Emakosini.[1]

"The graves were surrounded, and each regiment would in turn approach within a respectful distance and appeal to the shades with the shout of 'Woza-ke, Woza-lapa' (Come therefore, Come hither) shouted many times."[2]

According to Samuelson, the cattle sacrificed were taken from the sacred herds, the izinkomo zemzimu, and slaughtered that the people might feast. "This part of the Umkhosi[3] 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 Chinsa ceremony." After this, apparently, the people could eat of the new crops.[4] Bryant also says that the people could do so, but apparently there was first a small ceremony at each kraal.[5] According to Kuck, however, while Mpande allowed the Zulu to do this,[6] Cetewayo made them wait till the Great Festival was over.

This ceremony is also known by the Zulu as eshwama, because it involved the purification of the people and the King, as a preparation for the umkosi omkulu. The umkosi omkulu was held a month after the ukunyatela. 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 in the chief's amabele gardens, preparing their dress and in learning new dances and songs for the occasion."[7] According to/.....

1. Locative of Amakosi.
2. B.S., op.,cit., p.363.
3. The umkosi wegade.
4. ~~Eshwama~~ Bryant, op.,cit.,p.381
5. Mss. cit.; Dict.,op.,cit., "Eshwama", p.135.
6. Loc.,cit.;
7. Vijn, "Cateshwayo's Dutchman" (1880) p.191.

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.[1] Attendance was compulsory on pain of death.[2] 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,[3] 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 (Inyonikayiphumuli) at the amakhanda, and each ikhanda had to bring up sufficient for its needs.[5] It is clear that the King ultimately provided a large amount of the food used at the feast.

Preparations of medicine were very complicated. According to Lugg, 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 indlunkulu (house of the king's mother) where they were made up by the izinyanga who added their own powerful black medicines, ~~of their own.~~ The ingredients included samples of all known native crops; the uselwa, a species/.....

1. Op.,cit., P.382.
2. Bryant, Mss., cita; Kidd,"Essential Kafir",op.,cit.,P.270.
3. "Religious Systems", op.,cit., P.389.
4. Op.,cit., P.
5. Op.,cit., P.382.

species of wild water-melon, very bitter and of an objectionable odour; the itanga le inyoka, the fruit of a creeper; sea-water and water from the great rivers, such as the Tugela, Umfolozi and Mhlatuze.[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 Uselwa Lwenkosi, 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 Umklosi wegade.

"The Uselwa 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 umkosi omkulu[3]; but Lugg says that "apparently the bull sacrificed at ukunyatela was the one which the King himself used for purposes of ukweshama, but a second one was killed at the umkosi and used in a similar manner".[4]) Bryant states that the decoctions contained "curious odments 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."[5] 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."[6]

Lugg/.....

1. B.S., op.cit., p.364.
2. op.cit., p.382.
3. Op.cit., p.382.
4. B.S. op.cit., p.365.
5. MSS. cita.
6. B.S., op.cit., p.365.

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."[1] 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 induli[2] rushes (a species of river-grass or -rush used for mat-making).[3] 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".[4] Bryant agrees with Lugg: "With the ashes and other grimy 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 ncinda'd 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]

This/.....

1. Loc.cit.
2. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.120
3. Bryant, MSS. cita.
4. Bryant, MSS., op.cit., p.365.
5. Lugg,H.S., op.cit., "ukutonya", MSS.cita. Vide quoque Bryant, Dict., op.cit., p.643.

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.,"[1] or "to become darkened or disturbed by a general stirring up of occult powers from within".[2] While the King is being treated he remains alone in a particular hut, used for this purpose every year, and called eyas'emsizini[3]. (Umsizi is any medicine burnt and ground to black ash,[4] 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).[5] With her, if he desires, he has intercourse. A child born of such a union is called owas' emsizini. (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' emsizini had an inferior position though both Mpande and Dinizulu were rumoured to have been conceived in this way.)[6] During the period of his seclusion the King had to abstain (ukuzila) from food for a day - perhaps, suggests Bryant, "to keep him in a suitable angry frame of mind."[7]

After the ukutonya and ukuqunga, according to Bryant, the King donned a special temporary costume. "This was constructed after the pattern of the umQubula[8] 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/.....

1. Idem., (Dict.) p.549.
2. Idem., MSS.cita.
3. Idem., Dict., op.cit., "umsizi", p.593.
4. Idem., loc.cit.
5. Idem., Dict., op.cit., p.187.
6. Idem., MSS.cita.
7. Idem., MSS. cita.
8. Vide,Bryant,Dict.,op.cit.p.646

similar fringe which hid the face".[1] Kidd says that on the fourth day of the ceremony (this would be just about after the ukutonya)" the king is clad in grass, leaves, corn-sheaths and herbs";[2] Isaacs that the King is "decorated with herbs and corn leaves and bedizened 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. Samuelson graphically describes this: "The Zulu nation moved up to the Cradle of the Zulu Kings, Emakhosini, in the Amahlabatini District, and encamped near the Nodwengu kraal, the head kraal of King Mpande, 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 (izinyandezulu)."[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 (izinkomo zemzimu). They walked round the ancient land and with very savoury sacrifices enticed the scattered, ancestral

snakes/.....

1. "Essential Kafir", op.cit., p.270. (A. Bryant, Mss. cit.)
2. Op.cit., Vol.II,p.292.
3. B.S., op.cit., pp.385-6.
4. Op.cit., p.382.
5. Vide section on death ceremonies.

snakes each back to its own sepulchral home." Bryant describes this ceremony in his manuscript after the umkosi owncane and before the omkulu, apparently as an intermediate ceremony, ukubuyisela kwemakosi (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 "Bayede!" and they sang the imbo, the sacred tribal song. As they sang the snakes vanished, no one seeing when or whither. On the next day two bullocks were sacrificed in their honour and the rest driven back to the Nobamba and esi-Klebeni kraals.[1] 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 monach to presume to celebrate this solemnest of festivals[2] 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 imizi were placed, like Mpande's Nodwengu, near Emakhosini, 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.[4] No other writer mentions this washing, and the suggestion is that the King is secluded at this time. His first appearance is when he comes out in his dress of plants. It is difficult

to/.....

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1. I have been unable to identify these kraals. vide R. C. Samuelson, op.,cit., pp. 246-9.
2. The umkosi omkulu.
3. Bryant MSS. cits.
4. "Essential Kafir" op.,cit., p.270.

to describe when exactly he did this, or when the warriors, without weapons, killed the bull. R. C. Samuelson puts this killing before the doctoring of the King,[1] Lugg[2] and Shooter[3] after the King had been treated but before he emerged dressed in grass and skins. Bryant[4] and Kidd[5] both place it after the King's appearance in his weird 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." Isaacs 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 as indicative of his command for them to garner and eat the new food."[6] (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 (umkumbi) 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 isihlalo (matting seat) with the white regiments (veteran forces) nearby and the black

regiments/.....

1. op.,cit., p.382.
2. B.S. op.,cit., p.365.
3. op., cit., pp.26-27.
4. MSS. cita.
5. "Essential Kafir", op.,cit., p.270.
6. op.,cit., Vol.II., p.292.

regiments (the recruits) at the lower end. He rises and strides into the centre of the arena, where he struts about brandishing his war-shield in his left hand and his sceptre or stick of state (said to be a discoloured brass rod) 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 kraal, strike up the royal dance song (ingoma)[1]; it is taken up by the deep basses 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 Punga and Mageba."

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 so 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.

Samuelson 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 inyanga 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 was 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 spilt 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[1] and Kidd[2]) and all the parts of the bull were incinerated. The inyanga 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 Samuelson, "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."[3] The distinction between the purity of boys over puberty and that of unmarried men must have been very fine. Most writers[4] agree that the bull is disposed of in this way, but Lugg says[5] that its flesh was roasted in strips which were thrown to the assembled warriors to eat.[6] I am inclined to accept its consumption by immature boys as more suitable in view of their part in the/ .....

1. B.S. op.cit., p.365.
2. "Essential Kafir" op.cit., p.270.
3. op.cit., pp.382-3.
4. e.g., Bryant, MSS. cit; Kidd, "Essential Kafir", p.270.
5. B.S. op.cit., p.365.
6. Lugg may be confusing this with a strengthening of the army. (Vide infra.)

the ukunyatela 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 izinyanga. 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.[2] This was the night, from Bryant's information, that the King began the ows[illegible] emsizini.[3] Early the next morning I would place the "Chinsa" ceremony. Bryant describes it picturesquely: Hardly had it dawned before the whole kraal was filled with a universal cry. The whole mass of umNdlunkulu girls emerged from the royal enclosure with lusty shouts of, "Woza-ke, Woza-lapa", 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[4] with his wives and girls of the isigodlo. Alone he entered the calf-fold where were the izinyanga and kraal-guards. With these he proceeded into the isibaya. Then from a basket of utangazana 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/....

1. Mss. cita.
2. "Essential Kafir", op.,cit., p.271.
3. MSS. cita.
4. Bryant in his latest manuscript is the only authority for this second appearance of the chief in his grass costume; according to Lugg and other writers he wears only the umutsha at this stage.

another gourd representing his bitterest enemy; he stamped on it, while the army shouted, "Wu, wu, wu, wu,"[1] and he himself cried out, with vicious exultation, the name of the enemy. From a potsherd already placed there he ncinda'd new medicine, took a mouthful of uselwa gourd mush and spurted it out towards the just then rising sun - or, some say, in the direction of his enemy - and, perhaps, he may might have cleave the air towards the sun with the ceremonial war hatchet (im Bemba[2]). The King now ceremonially doffed his green dress, and appeared before the crowd in an ancient umutsha. His rush dress was donned by an attentant who headed the King and izinyanga back to the calf-fold where the King was cleansed with imiti emhlope to free him from all the umnyama(blackness or disagreeableness)which had gathered in him from his treatment with imitiy emnyama. 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.[3] 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.[4]

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.[5] The assembled army greeted the King's arrival with three "Bayede;" Samuelson does not mention the dashing of the uselwa to the ground, and says that the King chinsa'd at the sun three times, "as an expression that the nation and himself might have health, prosperity/.....

1. The roaring of a lion. (R.C.Samuelson, op.,cit.,p.384).
2. Vide Bryant, ~~Zuluspy~~ Dict., op.,cit., p.31.
3. MSS. cita.
4. op. cit., p.27.
5. As most royal entrances faced east these are not contradictory descriptions,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 chinsa'd the army shouted, "U, U, U." The doctors then lit a fire of wormwood and the King squirted three mouthfuls of the uselwa 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."[1] Lugg describes the crushing of the uselwa gourd which on the occasion he describes represented Mswazi, son of the Swazi king Sobuza, with whom the Zulu King was at war. This was done at the kraal gate, where the king ncinda'd and cinsha'd. Sometimes the King says, "Yayi hlabe eli shoba eli bomvu." (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 imiti emhlope to enable him to resume normal intercourse with his people."[2] 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.[3] Robertson states that this gourd (collected in fragments by the guards, according to Bryant) was cooked with medicinal herbs and administered to the King,[4] but in Shooter's account these fragments are burnt with the rush dress and trodden into the isibaya.[5]

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1. Op.,cit., pp.383-4.
2. Kidd says ("Essential Kafir", op.,cit.,p.270) that two bulls may be made to fight before the men themselves fight with a bull.
3. B.S., op.,cit., P.366.
4. "Essential Kafir" op.,cit., p.271.
5. Robertson, "Mission Life among the Zulu Kaffirs"(1866) p.297.
6. op.,cit., P. 27.

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 assegaai, and the men ncinda its gall 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, tosses it with his mouth, and tosses it to the next man. It must not fall on the ground.[1] H. L. Samuelson describes the very same ceremony,[2] so there was probably a doctoring of them which I think took place after the King's ukuchinsa. A warrior who has killed enemies is specially medicated.[3]

Bryant and Lugg have been quoted as referring to the doctoring of the King with imiti emhlope in the calf-fold, and at the same time, in Lugg's words, "the assembled multitude made for the river for a ritual bathe."[4] 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.[5] H. C. Samuelson's account of the purifications of King and army is fuller, and he connects the two. After the ukuchinsa 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

meanwhile/.....

1. Ibid., pp.26-7.
2. Op.,cit., p.142.
3. Bryant, Dict., op.,cit., "uku Qunga", pp.549-50.
4. H. S., op.,cit., p.366.
5. MSS., ~~pp.28-43~~ cits.

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 garbands 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.[1] The umkosi concluded with a great dance and feast, the army parading and dancing before the King who also participated.[2] 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.[3] On this occasion the izinduna were allowed considerable freedom of speech and spoke to the King without reserve.[4] Delergorgue writes "there were free interrogations to which the King is bound to reply. Sometimes they denounce him in the presence of all, blame his acts, stigmatize 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 comtempt." 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.[5] 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 iliQwaningi 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 harvested fields to eat off the stubble. If this precaution were not/.....

1. c , cit., pp.384-5.
2. B. ant, MSS., cita.
3. Kidd, "Essential Kafir", op., cit., p.271; R.C.Samuelson, op., cit., pp.385-6.
4. Isaacs, op., cit., Vol.II., p.292.
5. cited Bird, op., cit., Vol.I., p.280. Vide quoque, Bird, Vol.II., p.237.

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, barehanded, a fierce bull; then comes the ukuchinsa and uselwa 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 promulgated. In short, "the whole Nation assembled at the Great Place in full festal 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 ukuryatela and eaten by the old women. Lugg says (p.369) that the reason advanced for the.....

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1. Bryant, Dict., op.,cit., p.553.
2. Ibid., "umkosi", p.319.
3. H.E., op.,cit., pp.369 seq., 376 seq., Succeeding references in brackets are to this authority.

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2. Ibid., "umkosi", p.319.
3. H.S., op.,cit., pp.369 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, Lugg mentions (p.373) that when the chief, Langalake Ngcobo, washes in the calf-fold at the close of the umkosi, 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 assegaai, 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 cauls, a portion of the livers, lungs, etc., are taken and roasted in a special sherd at the emsamo (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 earthenware 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 ukunyatela 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 hearthstones. This is the medicine which

the/.....

the chief chinsa'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 imiti emhlope, 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, Kafir corn, kept in a special earthenware pot, is treated with black medicines. This grain is kept for sowing over the people at the umkosi. Another lot of corn, kept in corn baskets, is similarly treated. This corn (i.e. 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 umkosi omkulu 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 umzi: it receives no further treatment.

On the morning of the umkosi omkulu the chief is smeared with powerful black medicines which include the remains of "several human races", and he ncinda's medicine from a potsherd in which an ancient prepuce cover is balanced on a stick. If he upsets the cover it is a bad omen and the umkosi is cancelled for the year. The chief chinsa's at the setting sun, and the warriors sing the special umkosi songs. The ceremony proceeds as among the Funze 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 bull on its side. This bull has previously been qunga'd with black medicines. The chief's

brother/.....

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. No assegaai 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, "thereafter "[1] mixed with the seed that is 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 isalwa gourds 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 Ngoni ceremonies, especially as these are described in short papers. I shall only note one or two details from each. The Swazi[2] have an inqwala elincane and inqwala elikhulu, corresponding to the two imikhosi. The ceremony is performed under the direction of one

Vanyane/.....

1. When ? I take it at sowing, though Lugg does not mention this seed in sowing rites.
2. Cook, E.A.W. "The Inqwala Ceremony of the Swazis," Bantu Studies, Vol.4 (1930) pp.205-10. This ceremony is also described by Schoeman, S.A.J.S., and Coetzer, Stellenbosch University Annals.

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1. When ? I take it at sowing, though Lugg does not mention the seed in the sowing rites.
2. Cook, P.A.W. "The Inqwala Ceremony of the Swazis," Bantu Studies, Vol.4 (1930) Pp.305-10. This ceremony is also described by Schoeman, S.A.J.S., and Coetzer, Stellenbosch University Annals.

Vanyana, a descendant of Dhludhlume who brought the ceremony to the Swazi at the request of the Swazi chief Somhlolo. Vanyana 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, intlembelo, in 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 inqwala elikhulu 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 symbolical 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 ukuncinda and ukuchinga. 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 elikhulu is over.) At midday the inqwala dances and songs are performed, (they are taboo at all times except between the two umsanqwalu) and then the Chief in the isibeya is gungaid with black medicines 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 (ukutila, to do nothing) and each may only cohabit with his isula maiti wife, who is the chief wife but does not provide the heir. They wash on coming out of ukutila. 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.

Contd/

Liengme [1] 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 hlambelo for purification. The whole nation attends. Unarmed warriors have to kill a bull in the hlambelo, but here, it seems, the medicated flesh, together with that of a chasta 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 (inxwala) 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. Umziligazi, the King, used to offer sacrifices and prays to his ancestors, and provide a feast of slaughtered oxen for the people of most of the large towns and villages, who danced and sang praises to him and the spirits of his forefathers. The King had to luma first, and then local rites took place. [2]

In 1904, according to Kidd, there was no tribal first-fruits among the Tembu, Gaika or Gcaleka. [3] Of these tribes Macdonald wrote in 1889 that they "may eat of the new crop before the feast of the first-fruits.... there/.....

1. Liengme, C.D. "The Last South African Potentate: Gungunhana's Court and National Rites", S.A.J.S., Vol.III, 1905, p.300.
2. Willoughby, W.C. "The Soul of the Bantu" (1928) pp.230-41, citing Thomas, "Eleven Years in Central Africa" and Carnegie, "Among the Matabele"
3. "Essential Kafir" op.cit., p.269.

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[1]. He says, however, that this used to be taboo in the Pondo tribe till the chief held the feast of the first-fruits, an ordinary social gathering, which the tribal bard 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.[2]

These records are very curious, for Soga records a Gcaleka ceremony, and Cook one among the Bomvana, while Kropf defines Uku-Shwama as "to give orders about the time when the first fruit is to be eaten,"[3] though he does not say who gives the orders.

The Xosa (Gcaleka) ceremony is held when the early crops are ripening. It is known as ukushwama, 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, pumpkins, 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

spit/.....

1. Hunter (MSS. cita) reports that the ceremony is no longer performed in this tribe.
2. Macdonald, op. cit., Vol.XIX pp.232-3.
3. Op.,cit., p.367.

spit them out to east and west, exclaiming "zila ngolunzayo" (abstain, when next year comes round) in declaration that the custom will be continued the following year.[1]

The tribal rite among the Bomvana, says Cook,[2] is a thing of the past, and each umzi now acts on its own. Cook obtained, however, a description of the national rite (ulibo) from a Tshezi[3] 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 army being doctored the men, led by the chief, all dipped their spears and bullets into the ashes of the instommyama 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 kraal. The characteristic feature was the spitting 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 mealies a tall thin pole, taken from the cattle-kraal fence, is planted some ten yards in front of the cattle-kraal 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-kraal gate/.....

1. "Ama-Xosa", op.,cit., pp.153-4.
2. "Bomvana", op.,cit., pp.141-6.
3. A branch of the Bomvana.

gate. The headman calls out his father's isibongo, 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 include crops, but not mealies. In this umzi, 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 Kafir-Zulu tribes might have amalgamated n 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 Langalake'a Ngcobo'a tribe[1], a bull is beaten with stalks of sweet sorghum and maize to impart strength to it, the ceremony may be pastoral, in that the animal represents the tribal herds, 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 umkosi ommcane to sink into the floor of the calf-fold to give strength to the calves; among the Baso 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/.....

1. op.,cit., p.236.

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 carcase 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[1] 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 on the Bomvana 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 sacrificed bull's blood with medicated seed which will(probably) be used, the next season, to plant the chief's main field; these clearly attach 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/.....

1. Frazer, 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 Lugg 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."[1] But generally, I should say, an annual strengthening of the army has, among the South-Eastern Bantu, become attached to ukudlala umkosi[2] (making merry with the chief), essentially a first fruits rites. Among the inland tribes the luma is 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 luma before the latter. But in the centre of the sub-continent, according to Livingstone, where an original tribe broke up into the Bamangwato, Bangwaketse, and Bakwains, the Bakwains retained the hereditary chieftainship; so their chief, Sechele, possesses certain advantages over Sekomi, the chief of the Bamangwato." But there are evidences "besides of very ancient partitions..." The other tribes will not begin to eat the early pumpkins of a new crop until they hear that the Bahurutse have 'bitten' it."[3] Khama's description of the Mangwato luma to Willoughby[4] shows clearly that it was ancestral status that counted there. Now we have seen that among the Thonga, as among the Zulu and their kindred tribes, the warriors ate in order of status or of regiments, and among these latter tribes there is the race to luma. The military bias to their culture which was initiated by Tshaka, adopted by his successors and spread by Mzilikazi, Umsilikazi and other generals, has destroyed what was probably the same order

of .....

1. Lugg, H.S., op.,cit., P. 60.
2. Vide Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.,cit.,p.339, footnote 42.
3. Livingstone, D., "Travels and Researches in South Africa" 1856, Harmsworth Library Edition (1908)pp.36-7.
4. op.,cit., P.229.

of eating as among the Sotho-Chwvena, viz., a hierarchical order. And indeed remnants of this order still exist among the Zulu-Xosa, and especially in the least warlike tribe, the Thonga. Yet though the Swazi chief had to get the ceremony introduced by Dhludhlumane, a skilled inyanga, he can celebrate at his own pleasure, unlike the bigger chiefs of the a-Kolepolole Kwena, who have to wait on the chief of a small sacrosanct clan, called Mlocdibe, which has sunk into numerical insignificance and poverty, and which now carries no weight in the political councils of the tribe.[1]

One can almost visualise the process by which the military bias was given to the Zulu umkosi. The first-fruits rites - and this is an aspect of the umkosi 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 imizi; when Tshaka collected the men in amakhanda, 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 doctored 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.[2] 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 [illegible]kosi and the treatment for war/.....

1. Ibid., P.228.
2. Isaacs, op.,cit., Vol.II., P.247.

war remain distinct. It seems almost certain that the part of the army in umkosi must have come 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 "Tshaka added to it certain military rites, and gave it much more the aspect of a war-feast."[1] One presumes that the custom spread to surrounding tribes, especially a sections of the Zulu nation, such as the Ngoni and Swazi, carried 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."[2] This is the occasion for the promulgation of laws, this the gathering of the whole people, both those above and those below the ground. Willoughby in his comprehensive survey of the Bantu ancestor-cult has pointed out that they have no particular festival (such as the Trobrianders have [3]) when the spirits of the dead foregather 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 presume to celebrate without their presence. There is the ceremony ukutatwasa or ukubuyisela kwamakosi, the coming out at or causing to return to the umzi 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 Lugg has already been quoted as saying that the *omocane* 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/.....

1. op.,cit., p.25 & p.332, note 3.
2. op.,cit., p.102.
3. The *mlamila*, also at harvest. Malinowski, "Baloma" op.,cit., p.370.

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 intlambelo with the dying moon, 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 marginal period during which the chief, who represents the tribe, continually undergoes treatment. The people, as well as the chief, are doctored and at the end of the period have to be cleansed before they can return to normal life. The ukuchinsa 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 umkosi, 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 hoecultural work is over, dearth 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 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 umkosi. 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 bukanye drinking, they must also be conscious that their emotional state threatens to lead to dissensions, for the warriors were particularly exhorted not to spoil the luma by killing their brethren. One of the main functions of the umkosi 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 bukanye 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

feasts/.....

1. While all wait for the chief to luma the crops, in the dry South African autumn, rain come to no harm. (N.E.C., U.G.22/1932, p.m. 28).

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, Langalaka, 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 Mpande 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 sacrosanctity 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 councillors, and the family heads would be invested with the power generated by these forces. This would tend to stabilise 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, in most of the tribes, on the order in which the fruits should

be/.....

1. op.,cit., p.158.

be eaten, the fact the younger people must wait on elder, 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 emphasising of the social hierarchy is, then, a marked feature of the umkosi. A Thonga, Zulu or Natal transgressor of the taboo endangered those in authority,[1] 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 tribesmen could apparently sneak in before the chief, without suffering any harm, and Kafir women[2] seem to have done this regularly. A special object of the umkosi ompane 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 stabi 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 imizi) must wait on the royal

clans/.....

1. Pedi subjects, but not the chief, could eat before the loma; Harries, op.cit., p.60.
2. Kropf, op.cit., "Life", p.305.

clans, though they always have their own ceremonies. Thus among the Thonga, the four consecutive ceremonies emphasise firstly the importance of the ancestors and the chiefs, 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, districts and imizi 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 Zulu men's energy and ebullience must have been released in their preparations for the festival, in the stealing and killing of the bull, the great 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 backed by the ancestors so that the full round has to be observed. At Gungunhana's umzi, the Ngoni 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 omcane and omkulu, 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 umzi, and family. "It is obvious also," according to Miss Richards, "that these great gatherings,[1] 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."[2] 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 some of it, as well as power evoked by the gathering itself, is retransferred to concentrate in hoscultural 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 Tokula gives you a blessing; the blessing comes from the gathering itself." Among the Lobedu the gathering is of 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 bonds of kinship holding them together."[3] 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

guarded/.....

1. Others besides the umkosi.
2. op.,cit., p.108.
3. Krige,E., "Agricultural Ceremonies and Practices of the Balobedu ", Bantu Studies, Vol.4.,No.3., p.234.

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