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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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than the Zulu, to blame disease on to the wizards. But Miss Hunter, as quoted above, and Macdonald [1] indicate that diviners try to find out the cause of the illness; Kropf also mentions a doctor who is presumably a diviner being walled in.[2] Soga states that, in serious illnesses, the Xosa always consult a diviner.[3]

From Kropf's description[4] of the idini sacrifice ("an animal sacrifice made to propitiate departed ancestors") it seems that it was offered when someone dreamt of the ancestors, for rain, and when illness was occasioned by the imisho. i (amatongo). (When causing illness the ancestors are known as iminyanya or abantu abanga sekoyo.) The animal is slaughtered in the afternoon in the centre of the cattle-fold, and the blood is carried in a basket to the back of the hut of the person for whom the sacrifice is offered, drops of blood being allowed to fall on the ground. All the bones and flesh are laid on laurel or sneezewood twigs in the same hut. The next day a fire of sneezewood is made on the spot where the animal was slaughtered. The flesh is brought out of the hut; all of it, except the women's portion, is carried back into the cattle-fold, and laid on sneezewood twigs near the fire or hung on the stakes of the fold. The women's portion is taken to a fire beside the calves' fold. The first part offered is the fat upon the liver, which is cast upon the fire and wholly burnt. After that pieces of meat may be roasted and eaten during the morning, but most of the animal is boiled,

partly/

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1. Op. cit., Vol XIX, pp.273-4.
2. Op. cit., "idini", p.76; "umsisa", p.146.
3. "Ama-Xosa", op. cit., p.146.
4. Op. cit., p.76.

partly on the fire in the centre of the cattle-fold, and partly on the fire beside the calves' fold. All the boiled meat is taken off the fire in the afternoon and eaten by both parties, men and women, at the same time. Next day all the fat, bone and meat left, and the twigs used, are burnt on the cattle-fold fire; the blood is either burnt on the fire or poured on the inside of the isibaya fence. On the day the sacrifice is eaten, people are posted at the cattle- and calf-fold gates, and everyone who partakes of the sacrifice must give them something, and say, "Camagu". All these articles are scattered in the cattle-fold, near the fence. 'Camagu' is evidently an exclamation invoking the spirits, for it is used by anyone entering a hut where lies one afflicted by the ancestors; the visitor invokes the spirits to care for the sufferer.[1] (A doctor entering a hut says, 'Tarumi', (be merciful) "addressing the ghosts of the ancestors and imploring them to be propitious, to have mercy on the sick person and withdraw their evil influence from him."[2]

Macdonald, describing the sacrifice on the occasion of an illness, says that the bones and fat are burnt, and the magician, "assuming the priestly character", (this is surely wrong) prays, "Ye who are above, who have gone before, look upon us in pity. Ye who see it is not the dead we offer, hear. It is blood. We repent. Will you not relent and be favourable to us who offer sacrifice to you?"[3] I am certain that Macdonald mistook the officiator at the sacrifice; Warner's description,[4] at any rate, coincides, more or less, with Kropf's.

Soga....

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1. Vide, "Makuba-Camagu", p. 63.
2. Ibid., Tarumi, p. 384.
3. op. cit., Vol. XIX pp. 273-4.
4. Maclean, op. cit., p. 87.

Soga points out the clear difference that exists between the diviner, who says that a sacrifice must be made, and the head of the family, the priest, who presides over the sacrifice. According to him, the sacrifice is prededed by the drinking of beer; then the ox is killed, either by making an incision in the belly, near the navel, through which incision the killer thrusts his arm and breaks the aorta, or by severing the spinal cord. The priest and the patient's family eat the right side, starting on the shoulder (intsonyama) and later the breastbone and ribs; the fat of the inteastines is burnt and the blood placed in the patient's hut for the delectation and the appeasement of the ancestors; relatives, friends and sympathisers eat the left side. The morning after the sacrifice the blood will have coagulated; it is broken up by hand, beated with gravy fat left over from the feast, and given to the dogs. If the sick person recovers, beer-drinking follows which "partakes of the nature of a thank-offering to the ancestral spirits, who are supposed to have graciously heard the prayers and accepted the sacrifice". The skull and horns of sacrificial animals are kept.[1]

When a Bomvana is sick the doctor (it must be the diviner) helps to choose the animal that must be sacrificed. The blood is offered to the ancestors in the patient's hut and he himself eats the intsonmyama, save that a mother eats it for a sick child. The sacrifice is performed by the eldest male member of the family who is present, in the cattle-kraal. The method of breaking the aorta is used. The purpose of the sacrifice is explained to the ancestors. The meat is divided, the stomach contents are scattered about the

kraal,/.....

1. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op. cit., pp. 146 seq.

kraal and the bones are collected and burnt.[1] If a member of the chief's family is ill one of the cattle of the sacred Bomvana herds is offered to the chief's ancestors. This is done at certain pools into which the meat is thrown.[2]

Miss Hunter gives a full description of the Pondo idini sacrifice. The sick person may himself dream of the beast to be slaughtered, or the diviner may point it out. The patient is washed at the kraal gate and his relatives are summoned; then he is again washed, while the officiant prays to the amatongo that the illness be cured. Some cattle are driven into the fold, the sacrificed victim is thrown, stabbed with the sacrificial spear and killed by having its aorta broken. It must bellow. The intestinal fat which first projects from the wound is burnt in the indlu enkulu; the instomnyama is given to the patient who must not eat the first pieces but touches them with his lips and then burns them. He eats the rest and tastes the other portions before his relatives eat of them. The jawbones are kept in the patient's hut and the horns are put in the thatch; the other bones are given to the dogs. The gall is poured on the entrails, but the bladder itself must be tied to the patient's wrist; the blood is left overnight for the ancestors. The officiant throws some of the umsweme (stomach contents) in the kraal, at the gate and the back, and prays that the kraal may be full of cattle and the spirits of the ancestors. The rest of the umsweme is used to cover the blood so as to prevent the other cattle from being frightened. Like the Zulu, the Pondo may promise a sacrifice.[3]

Kropf/.....

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1. Cook, op. cit., p. 115.
2. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op. cit., p. 391.
3. Hunter, MSS. "idini".

Kropf records another approach to the ancestors. The witchdoctor may strew dedicated corn in and around the hut or kraal, and boil some "in order to propitiate the imizinyanya and izishologu, and cause them to remove sickness and avert evil". The boiled corn or other food is eaten by adult men and aged women only.[1]

A third way in which the blessing of the ancestors is invoked in sickness is through the ubulunga beast which represents, as shown in the section on marriage ceremonies, the mother's ancestors. The tail hairs of this cow are used to make a necklace which wards off disease.[2]

Amagqwira may work in two ways, either through familiars or medicines. Miss Hunter describes[3] several of the former. The impundulu or izulu (lightning-bird) appears to his igqwira as a person, and becomes his or her lover. It is usually possessed by females who inherit it or take it over. The izulu is employed in causing sickness and death; a miscarriage, for example, is attributed to a kick from an izulu. The izulu may turn on its owner and demand the blood of her relatives. To dream of an izulu is a sign that one is acquiring an izulu, and treatment is only possible if immediate confession is made. An ixwele (igqira) takes the patient into the veld, washes himself and her with medicine and makes her inhale medicine. She drinks an emetic in beer, and must continue to drink, and wash with, medicines for some time. Miss Hunter does not say if there are any special practices in treating disease caused by an izulu.

Secondly, there is the icanti (mamlombo, ingoka yezulu) a snake which lives in the river and/.....

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1. op. cit., "iDwebeba", p. 88
2. Opera cita, Kropf, p. 212; Maclean, p.93; Cook, p.119; Soga, pp. 206, 249.
3. MSS. cite, "Medicine and Magic".

and takes many forms. It is the cause of severe illnesses such as leprosy, paralysis, apoplexy. The patient must not touch amasi and is cured by inhaling the smoke of Tikolosh[1] skin and eating Tikolosh fat. Apparently the icanti may act on its own, or at the orders of an igqwira.[2] Kropf defines icanti as " a fabulous watersnake, supposed to leave the water mesmerizing a person, who becomes afterwards a doctor".[3] But Soga agrees that the icanti is a kaleidoscopic being which threatens serious illness and death to whoever sees it. A person who sees an icanti must keep perfectly silent till his family sends for an ixwele who treats him. Here, it seems, the icanti acts on its own initiative.[4] From Macdonald's reference I gather that the icanti was not used, when he wrote, for Xakata purposes.[5] Warner describes a special sacrifice to the icanti in which an ox is cut up and thrown into the water, piece by piece; as this sacrifice is generally offered on behalf of a doctor undergoing his initiation[6] it is possibly intended to stop an icanti possessing him and turning him into an igqwira.

Pondo women are also supposed to possess a snake (inyoka yabafazi) which they send to bite children so that these develop bowel trouble, diptheria, or body sores. Men often Xakata by sending the inkone, the baboon on which they ride, and it must be scared away by the burning of a baboon skin.[7]

Finally/....

1. Vide infra.
2. Hunter, MSS. cita.
3. Op. cit., p.55.
4. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op. cit., pp. 193 seq.
5. Op. cit., Vol. XIX, p.124.
6. Maclean, op. cit., p. 87.
7. Hunter, MSS. cita.

Finally there is Tikoloshe or utshili,[1] who seems in general to be more of a Robin Goodfellow than a carrier of evil, though Soga, as we have seen, says he is the cause of sterility in women. Tikoloshe is a small, hairy river-being, with a squashed-up face and only one buttock. The male's penis is so long that it can be wrapped round his waist (Cook) or carried over his shoulder (Hunter). Children are supposed to see him and play with him. He is kept, like the imfene, in a store hut by his igqwira master or mistress, and sent abroad at night to harm people. (A female igqwira is the mistress of a male Tikoloshe in both senses of the word). A tikoloshe accompanies an izulu when the latter goes killing, but it is less deadly, and "sometimes Tikoloshe feels sorry for you and loosens the enchantment of the izulu". (Hunter). Tikoloshe fat is a valuable iyeza and is used against himself.

The icanti, we have seen, may work evil of its own accord, and the same seems to be true of the inGumbane, a serpent or worm which is supposed to scoop out all the vital power of a man, emaciating him.[2] A powerful evil spirit is the itinzi,[3] which is the izulu or other familiar of a dead women igqwira. It will kill off a whole village with consumption or some other disease. It is not certain that all familiars, on the death of their amagqwira, turn into izintinzi; this probably only happens where the igqwira was particularly bad or where the daughter has failed to inherit the familiar. To frustrate an itinzi the igqwira sprays the umzi with amayeza, and men and women shout to drive it away, calling out the name of the dead igqwira. A goat is sacrificed outside/...

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1. Opera cita, Hunter, MSS; Kropf, p.142; Cook, p.127; Soga, pp. 185 seq.
2. Kropf, op. cit., p.121.
3. Hunter, MSS. cita.

outside the umzi, and its umswane is put into the sprinkled amayeza, and into medicines given, with emetics, to the people. Fires are lighted in the huts, kraal, and gateways. A dog is killed to create a nasty smell.

There seems to be, in the Transkei, some idea of a "river-god" who can inflict disease, for anyone crossing, or bathing in, a river should cast "some article of value, even if it be but a pin or grain of maize, into the water" to propitiate him.[1]

According to Miss Hunter, Pondo amagqwira sends omens which cause sickness or death of themselves. These are: an owl alighting on a hut, or a bee entering one; a dog jumping on a hut, or urinating in the kraal or in a hut; an ant's nest appearing in a hut, or mushrooms growing there or on the ikundla; or a hornbill, jackal, buzzard or rock-rabbit coming to the village. Then the village is treated to "prevent the evil predicted coming".[2] Here apparently, then, the evil is contained in the omen, as Lévy-Bruhl maintains is always the case.[3] The ixwele mixes pigs' blood with amayeza and sprinkles the village; the inmates are scarified and doctored with medicines.[4] From Soga's descriptions it is not clear whether these omens merely prognosticate evil or bring it, but the doctor is called in to exorcise the evil influence introduced.[5]

The other method of takata is by using medicines (ubuti) on the same principles as described for the Zulu. The igquira mixes his charms and calls out the name of his victim; he lays the ubuti on the path and when the/....

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1. Kropf, op. cit., "uku-Ruma", p.355.
2. MSS. cita.
3. "Primitive Mentality", op. cit., Chapter on "Omens".
4. Hunter, MSS. cita.
5. "Ama-Xosa", op. cit., pp. 198 seq.

the latter passes over it he will be affected. Or the wizard may work on a man's body parts —his excrement, hair, nails, blood or sweat--stained clothing; or through food or the post.[1] According to Soga, the wizard kills a person by sending lightning, or he concocts his ubuti and "wishes a certain individual to be the victim of a particular form of illness..... He names the person, and mentions the desired form of affliction, then waves the medicine in the direction of his victim, while pronouncing the intended doom".[2] (Soga's emphasis on the word wishes should be noted, for according to Miss Hunter, a "reliable informants" a person could never takata unconsciously, and an igqwira always knows he is an igqwira. But he may have become one unwillingly, by inheriting an izuan or getting a love charm which turns into an izulu.[3])

The amagqwira are combated (apparently both when they work with ubuti and familiars) by the amagqira who smell them out or fight them with counter-magic. A person smelt out was formerly banished or killed; sometimes he could be forced to raise the spell. The whole umzi may have to be treated, and this may involve the killing of a goat, the smoking and aspersification of the villagers, and the planting of medicated pegs about the village.[4] The Xosa diviner smells out the wizard who may be killed; the wizard is required to undo his spell.[5] According to Macdonald, the leech will pretend to extract something from the body, claiming that a wizard has injected it into the sick man, or he may smell out the wizard who will

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1. Hunter, MSS. cita.
2. "Ama-Xosa", op. cit., p. 71.
3. MSS. cita.
4. Ibid.
5. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op. cit., pp. 179 seq.

be executed at the chief's orders.[1] Warner only mentions the smelling out process, and the wizard, when pointed out, must reveal his spells.[2]

I have found, in the Transkeian material, one or two examples of sickness resulting from the working of the ritual and magical sanctions. Thus slow healing attends the circumcised boy who has committed incest, and he must confess his fault, while a child will not, we have seen, take the breast if the mother has been unfaithful, even in thought, to her husband.[3] Fear and trembling will seize a man who has taken advantage of a woman.[4] These are examples of the ritual sanction; the magical sanction has been considered in the section on love charms, where the Pondo husband has been described as taking "justifiable revenge" for his cuckoldom.

Finally, the Transkeian leech must use some medicines that have, objectively, a genuine therapeutic power. "Many of these herbalists", concedes Macdonald, "have acquired considerable skill in treating common ailments".[5] (If the cure is successful here - as probably always - a thanksoffering is made). Warner also admits a little of this skill and knowledge.[6] The Kafir doctors probably use the same medicines and treatments as the Zulu,[7] but as the culture of the Transkeian tribes has not been well recorded it is unnecessary for me to set out the few poorly-related facts that are available.

How are these beliefs and practices to be interpreted in terms of this thesis? Firstly, as regards sacrifice, I would quote Mrs. Hoernlé who says that the people for whom sacrifices are offered claim, to her knowledge/...

1. op.cit., Vol.XIX p.274. Vide quoque Kropf, op.cit, "i Siko", p.208
2. Maclean, op. cit., pp. 88-92.
3. Kropf, op. cit., "ukubula", p.46.
4. Idid., "i Dyudyu", p.80.
5. op. cit., Vol. XIX p.273.
6. Maclean. op. cit., p.88.
7. Vide Soga, "ama-Xosa", op.cit.p.178; Kropf,op.cit, passim.

knowledge, that they have a real feeling of relief after the sacrifice. Bryant points out that the effects of suggestion and auto-suggestion are far more pronounced on Natives than on whites, and says that this is perhaps the reason why Native doctors so often effect a cure.[1] It is permissible then to say that when a sick man has been sacrificed for, in virtue of his confidence in the amatongo's powers he is confident that he will recover and, in consequence, does recover. Moreover a man must often fall ill because he knows that he has omitted some office due to the ancestors. This, we have seen happens to the woman who has not paid the debt of tomba ile. But where, in the sacrifice for a sick person, is the transmission of power? It is at times when he is sick that man becomes most aware of powers acting outside him and against him; disease is not of the natural order of life,[2] and when it confronts him his whole organism becomes tensed with emotion, with hope and despair, fear of death and longing for life. The sacrifice releases these emotions, and since it is the ancestors who may send disease or grant health, and the head of the family alone who may sacrifice, they are enhanced in value in the eyes of the sufferer. His ambivalent emotion, socially toned, concentrates in them. But the patient's value to society is also emphasised, for to him passes some of the power of the ancestors and the emotional toning of those who gather at the sacrifice to wish him well. He is assisted to recover by the concentration of all his relatives and friends, for "all observe the utmost decorum as they are in the presence of the spirits of their ancestors, and must show honour and deference to them".[3] Here is another way in which the ancestors gain power, from the

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1. "Zulu Medicine", op. cit., pp.8-9
2. Vide Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", op.cit., p.83.
3. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., p.143.

whole assemblage of the family, eating together in a community of which the spirits are a part. Furthermore, since the ancestors have power to send disease for moral wrongs and breaches of custom, these sacrifices stabilise society as a whole with all its tradition and morality. In short, the cure for a disease sent by the amatongo is definitely religious in its working. But, curiously, the Zulu doctor can bar the amatongo with magical rites, controlling them by his knowledge.

I cannot interpret the beliefs about Heaven and disease owing to the poor information on the subject, and I propose to leave the ritual and magical sanctions to the section on law, morality and the supernatural. Briefly, illness resulting from ritual defilement is cured by purification, and the magical sanction must be countered with magic. I have, therefore, next to consider the work of the abatakati and the remedies employed against them. I take as representative of all the South-Eastern Bantu Miss Hunter's statement that the Pondo seem to sense a power working in nature, through various substances (amayeza),[1] which is potentially ambivalent. It may work for good or ill. The abatakati (amagqwira, baloyi) by magical practices use the power of these substances to work evil against others; the diviner, leech and medicine-man use this power for good, also by magical processes which tap this power directly through spells, rites, and, almost altogether, through medicines. But frequently these medicines derive part, at least, of their power from the magician's ancestors who are invoked, with prayer and sacrifice, to strengthen the imiti; this is clearly a religious process in which some of the ancestors' power is transferred to the imiti and some of the imiti's power, conversely,/.....

1. And through men? Miss Hunter says, no.

conversely, to the ancestors. Where the amagqira of the Transkei act through the izulu and other spirits they are also using the powers of the supernatural directly, though these powers are here personified. I cannot believe, despite some of the quotations made above, that these spirits are ever sacrificed to, even when they act of their own accord, though an animal may be thrown to them. In the case of the intinzi and other autonomous spirits the power causing the disease, is evil when it has that effect (Tikoloshe may be benevolent) and that power is personified. But these sprites are exorcised and generally controlled by magical practices. The umtakati is either met by counter-magic or made to lift his spell. If he is killed or banished it is clearly an emotional **catharsis**; as Levy-Bruhl points out the killing releases ever-present and future fears. "It is not merely a question of reprisals for the past enchantments these people have suffered from, the number and extent of which they do not ever now. They desire further, and above all, 'to destroy beforehand those which the wizard might use against them in the future".[1] He and his spirit must be annihilated, wiped out of the social structure.

The Zulu umshopi custom and the Thanga treatment of smallpox show that disease itself may be personified. The umshopi custom with the dominance of women in it is, in my opinion, a sort of catharsis for feminine repressions, which is projected to the disease. As such, I shall analyse it more fully in the section on the Nomkubulwana ceremonies.

Disease as a rite de passage, a temporary stopping of normal life, has been adequately dealt with by Junod/....

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1. "Primitive Mentality", op.cit., p.62.

Junod on the Thonga. The conception is not clearly worked out in the other tribes, though germs of it appear.

As regards the treatment of disease with imiti, I have in the text referred to the question whether these, in the light of modern science, possess genuine therapeutic qualities. But the questions of what types of imiti powers would be recognised by the Natives themselves remains, and I suggest that there are three:-

(1) imiti (substances, herbs, roots, etc.) which possess in themselves supermatural power, as, e.g. intelezi, imiti, emnyama;

(2) imiti which cure on the principle of similia similibus curantur, as e.g., twitching of the flesh is cured by using medicines made from twitching animals; and,

(3) imiti which work on the principle that the part transmits the properties of the whole, i.e., on the law of participations, e.g. the use of a lion's eye.

Outside of medicines, the treatments by bleeding, vapour-baths, lancing, etc., seem sound enough, though the natives always employ them with imiti. For instance, the substances used to make the vapour-bath have magical properties. Other treatments, as the use of 'scapegoats', the voiding of the disease in an ants' nest, etc., are clearly magical.

Finally I have to point out that the diviners and leeches (and among the Zulu the chief is the greatest magician) acquire tremendous prestige which is to the good of the society, for it gives the people confidence in their culture's ability to oppose the forces of evil. Magical practices, when successful, enhance the

prestige/.....

prestige of the magician and apparently work as religious processes. But this is on the surface only. For in these tribes the force of the cure comes, generally, from the imiti, and it is the imiti which acquire for the leeches reputation and power. But this power is not the power of the supernatural: it is social recognition. The supernatural power in these cures is directly employed in the rite, hence it is magical.

(vii) DEATH.

Death is the final crisis that man in society must face; and here the end is the climax. "Death, the giver of Life, the slayer of Life, the beginning and the end", writes Axel Munthe, and such indeed, apart from its mystical context, is death in primitive society. For it, even more than birth, is the rite de passage par excellence. The baby passes from non-being or pre-being into this life, but it is soft and helpless, of little account. At initiation, marriage, and paternity the individual passes from stage to stage of this life; at death he makes the last crossing, and departs to enter on a new life. "Death, the giver of Life, the slayer of Life, the beginning and the end". For immortality[1] is perhaps man's fundamental, most cherished belief; palaeolithic man had it, as the ceremonial burials in the cave of La Chapelle aux Saints and at Ofnet witness, and every race in the world today has, as part of its culture,

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1. Throughout I use the word "immortality" as connoting continued existence, for a time at least, after death, and do not intend it to mean eternal imperishability.

a firm conviction of immortality.

The second observation I wish to make, before describing the death customs of the South-Eastern Bantu, is that death is always far more an affair of the survivors than of the dying person, though, as Malinowski points out, much of the ritual is directed to care for the dying man's spirit.[1] Nevertheless the stage is stolen from the principal actor, for him life stands still, waiting for him to die. But his relatives and friends and fellow-tribesmen live on. He cannot react to the crisis, they must. It is only when he has been helped by the survivors to his new life that he again begins to grow in importance, and even then, among the South-Eastern Bantu, his personal immortality is of no significance save insofar as it affects his fellows still on earth.

(a) The Death of an Mmi Head.

Manyibane, a Thonga headman, is dying.[2] His villagers are ordered not to lie with their wives, and doubtless all go silently about, thinking of the sick man in his hut, attended by doctor and diviner, striving to stave off the inevitable. It is useless, and death must win. So Manyibane summons his relations and utters his last charges; tells them to pay his debts, to collect those owing to him, and designates his successor.

As his breathing becomes shorter his hands are folded under his chin and his legs against his body, for this is the position in which he must be buried and rigor mortis must be anticipated. He dies; his eyes are closed, his clothes taken away, and his body is washed. Lamentations are not allowed, for they would make the task

of/....

1. Vide "Science and Religion", op. cit., pp. 66 seq.
2. Junod, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 138 seq.

of the men who carry out the funeral rites too heavy. The fire which was burning in his hut is immediately carried to the village square, where it must be kept alight for the next five days. All the relatives must be informed of the death, even those far away; this is done by blowing smoke in their direction, telling them of the death and wishing them well.

The grave is dug by two or four grave-diggers, male relatives who must be ~~named~~ married, behind the hut of the deceased or in the little forest near the village; if the dead man was a guardian of the sacred forest, the ntimu, he will be buried there. The grave is dug near a tree and consists of a rectangular hole (about six feet l[illegible]ur feet by three feet) at the bottom of one side of wh[illegible] a circular hole is scooped. All the sides are well smoothed. The larger square hole is known as the square (hubb) of the deceased, the circular vault is his hut (yindlu). "He will dwell in the hut, but come out from it and sit in his square underground, just as he did in his village". (Incidentally, Junod argues that the positioning of the body is not foetal, for the Thonga do not know, he says, how the child lies in the womb, and therefore the attitude of the corpse does not indicate a re-birth. According to him, the corpse is placed in a sitting position, as in a new hut, where it continues its old life. But in the accompanying illustration the corpse is placed on its side, not in a sitting position; and moreover, since when a pregnant woman dies she is cut open and her baby buried separately from her, the Thonga must have found out the position of the foetus in the womb). The grave is inspected by the relatives; sh[illegible] vault collapse it will be a sign that the wizard who killed the deceased or a man who had sexual relations with the same woman

(Matjulana)/.....

(matlulana) is present.

The grave-diggers wrap the body in its mat and rugs, stitching them twice; at sunset a hole is made in the back of the hut, in the man's or woman's side according to the sex of the corpse, and through this it is carried head foremost. The undertakers may use herbs to deaden the smell of death. They proceed slowly to the grave, followed by the silent mourners, and place the corpse on its left side on rugs in the vault, with the head resting on a piece of the sacred nkanye tree. The body faces over the hubo in the direction whence the ancestors came. They strip the deceased, and slash the rugs, in which he was wrapped, down the middle. These, and all the dead man's clothing, are thrown on the hubo: "everything must breathe its last, just the same as the deceased". Nothing which will not decay as the body does must be put in the grave or more death will come to the village, and nothing knotted must be thrown in, lest the shikwembu (spirit) become angry at being imprisoned. (Other articles of greater value, such as new pots, good baskets, assegaais, knives, hoes, etc., are hung on the tree by the grave or in front of the deceased's hut). All the relatives carefully sift with their hands the soil with which they are to help fill the grave. A towel is wrapped about the corpse's head and the sand is carefully put in. The chief digger, who carried the head, puts two male nkanye twigs in the dead man's right hand. As the earth reaches his arm the limb is slowly extended so that the twigs remain exposed; when the arm is fully extended the digger gives one twig to one of his helpers, and leaves the other. When the sand is filled in, the officiant[1] takes the twig, which is known as mbamba (a word which "designates any object by means of which men

1. A younger brother.

enter into relation with the spirits of the ancestors").
The men sit near the grave, the women further off, all
silent. The sacrifice of the litsanwa, "to secure a
good reception for the deceased on the part of the
psikwembu, viz., the ancestor gods", is to be performed.
The officiant makes circular figures in the air with the
lwig and calls the spirits with the sacramental, "Tsu,
tsu, tsu. "You, my ancestors, who are assembled today.
Do you not see this? You have taken him. I am alone
now. I pray you, who are yonder, as he has gone back
to you, that we remain in peace. He did not leave us
in anger. Let us mourn him gently, in peace. Let us
help each other to mourn him well, even our parents-in-law
from amongst whom he has taken his wife". As soon as
the prayer is over the women burst into lamentation, and
throw themselves on the ground, especially the wife of
the dead man. Her parents lament over her, the new widow.
The brothers weep: "You have gone first. We shall soon
follow you, because there is attraction in death". The
pots, handles of assagasis, etc., are broken over the
grave.

Here Junod interpolates to explain
that death "is not only a sad event, a great cause of
pain on account of the bereavement, but a dreadful con-
taminating power which puts all objects and people in
the neighbourhood of the deceased, all his relatives,
even those dwelling far away, working in Johannesburg
for instance, into a state of uncleanness. This un-
cleaness is very dangerous indeed. It kills, if not
properly treated. All are not affected in the same way.
There are concentric circles round the deceased; the
widows are the inner circle and will undergo a very
vigorous purification; the grave diggers come next; then

the/....

the inhabitants of the bereaved village, the relations residing in other villages, even the relatives of the wives of the deceased. All these being unclean are placed beyond the pale of society". They enter on marginal periods of varying length; a year or more for widows, a month for the village, five or six days only for mourners from outside. During this time they must observe certain taboos, of which the ban on sexual intimacy between spouses is one of the strictest. They emerge from this marginal period by various purificatory and aggregating rites, which divide the mourning into three stages, of which the first is the great mourning of the first five days, which I shall now proceed to recount for the Ronga.

Just after the burial, all the inhabitants of the village go to the lake or river to bathe. The grave-diggers nibble an ndjao, the root of a juncus which has magical power. All except the widows go back to the village, and the woven grass on the crown of the dead man's hut is removed and used to close the door. The widows (vide Junod, Vol.I p.200) go to the main road with other women previously widowed, for they form a "secret society" which only meets to initiate new members. No one else should come near them. One of the society cuts into the skin of the member's left inguinal (groin) region, "where the husband was resting". If the blood flows freely it is a good sign as to the relationship that existed between the women and her husband. A fire is lighted of grass from the funeral hut, and into it excrement of a cock (not a hen) is thrown; the widow exposes her hands to the smoke and then extinguishes the fire with her urine. These rites are clearly initiatory and are

performed/....

performed in the main road, Junod suggests, in order that travellers passing that way may pick up the contamination of death. The woman is now clad in a scanty girdle and led to the village, where the men hide in the huts. She is led to the uncrowned hut, where she crosses the threshold for the last time, shouting, "My husband! My husband! You have left me alone! What am I to do?" Then she goes out by the hole through which the corpse was taken; her friends meet her and restore to her her clothing, which has been washed in the pool, and which she now wears for two days. If there is more than one wife, only the great wife undergoes this ceremony; and a widower passes through similar rites only when his great wife dies. In some clans (Mpufumo) the grave-diggers also undergo a special purification on the first evening; they wash with mhulu leaves. Formerly they used to smoke hen's dung in a sala shell.

From the first day on the widows and grave-diggers must eat with special spoons made of broken calabashes and during the whole of the Great Mourning they may not eat with their fingers from the common plate. At night the widows sleep in the open, or, if it rains, in other huts of the village than their own, since these belonged to the deceased. On the following day the doctor comes. He purifies the grave-diggers and the first widow with a vapour-bath of powerful medicines; the pot on which these are burnt must be broken on the grave. The other widows are treated in this way on the third and fifth days. All the villagers cut their hair to an extent varying with their relationship, by affinity or consanguinity, with the deceased. This is a sign of sadness and respect, but it also a preventive measure against fear of death causing/....

causing their hair to stand on end which would make them lose their senses. Then they all don dark blue cotton cloth which is apparently indigenous. Meantime the food of the deceased has become contaminated, and this contamination must be ritually removed by a rite known as luma milomo. Samples of every kind of food in the storehouses are cooked and placed in a basket which belonged to the deceased. A uterine nephew (ntukulu) of the dead person is first called. The child stands before the pot, his feet together, the master of the mourning(in the case of [illegible] became the first widow) kneels before him, takes a few drops from the pot and some of the cooked food and pours them between the ntukulu's great toes. The latter bends his body and rubs his great toes against each other, turns round and goes away without looking back. Then all the close relatives can luma milomo. A little of the milomo is kept for months for relatives who may arrive later. The food is only taboo to relatives; strangers may eat it without luma'ing. The gardens are purified by the widows and female relatives who walk through the fields with blazing torches.

During these five days relatives and friends pay the official mourning visits. They arrive with lamentations and are led to the grave. They walk round it, uttering cries of mourning, taking leave of the deceased. Junod heard one women cry, "Goodbye! You have gone! Do not forget us. Remember Khalelen". (Khalelen was the deceased's little daughter). They bring presents with them and, after luma'ing, are feasted. The feasting is marked with wild orgies. Men and women soon become drunk, and dance and sing; the men shout out their war-songs, the women's words and postures are lewd. The singing may be

addressed/.....

addressed to a wizard who is believed to be the cause of death.

On the fifth day, after the grave-diggers' vapour-bath the doctor takes the still boiling medicines and sprinkles men, women and children. The women sit down with their children on their backs, the men carrying their assegaais and sticks which they brandish fiercely, stand in a line. Now they are sufficiently purified to fight if necessary. If a man is absent his sticks must be medicated. The doctor sprinkles the whole umzi, including the animals' kraals (but not the pigs who have no part in Thonga ritual) and the belongings of the deceased — " the mourning is scattered". A goat may be killed; if one is, the widow and principal grave-digger wear strips of the skin on their breasts, and everyone must get a bracelet of skin.

In the Great Mourning of the Northern clans there need only be noted, in addition to what has gone above, that visitors make an offering of maalies at the grave, and that the villagers are purified so that they can walk and stand upright, "which means health and strength".

The second stage of mourning ends after some weeks, when the sexual rites of purification take place. These, one intended to cleanse the inheritance left by the deceased and, above all, the collective life of the village from the contamination of death. This purification is known as hlamba ndjaka, the washing of the inheritance or the washing of the frightful "malediction" which accompanies death. Some weeks after the burial (in the Northern clans) all the married people assemble, men and women apart, to determine in what order the couples shall perform the purifying act. Anyone who has broken the rule of continence must confess, and go through the rite first, lest the ritual sanction fall on him and he die of consumption. If no one has/.....

has transgressed the master of the mourning begins. He goes out of the village with his wife to the bush. They have intercourse ritually, i.e., coitus interruptus, after which the wife takes their excretions (their "filth", thyaka ra bona) in her hands. She has brought with her a pot of water, and she now takes this to a selected spot, either in front of the main entrance of the village or before the funeral hut. Here she washes her hands. The same rite is carried out by the other couples, and when all the women have washed the men come and stamp on the ground. Articles belonging to absent people and infants' clothes are purified here. When the rite is completed all go to bathe in the river, the women below the men.[1]

The kilamba ndjaka concerns first of all the inhabitants of the mortuary village, but it may extend to the parents of women who have married into that village. Each takes the water in which she washed to her parents' home, washes her hands again, and then her relatives stamp on the ground. By doing this she, since she is not of the deceased's family and therefore not in such great danger, takes upon herself the contamination of death. She is praised and rewarded.

The Ronga rite is the same in all essentials, but a man who breaks the law of continence is apparently doomed by the ritual sanction - "he has taken the mourning, the misfortune upon himself". The Ronga are stricter in this sex taboo than the Northern clans, for they also prohibit the Bugango, the sexual play of boys and girls.

The mourning is concluded by the family rites, which here (I am describing the burial of

a/.....

1. In a Latin annotation (6,Vol.I, p.617) Junod conceals the precautions taken for anyone who, through age or impotence, cannot produce sperm. Apparently, the other men must kilamba ndjaka for them, or they take medicine for all five days to strengthen them.

a headman) aim "to restore the family whose head has been removed by death, and which must be reorganised". By the Ronga the hut of the deceased is tabooed as a grave, and after some months the family gathers to crush the hut. The relatives all assemble and stand in groups under the trees in the umzi. Apparently it is necessary to clean out the hut and the man who does this uses the root of sungi (a juncus) to get courage and strength for his undertaking. When he has come out the men dig up the poles of the walls from which the roof has been slightly raised; all the earth is carefully removed some distance away. The door is placed before the entrance and the poles are piled neatly upon the top of it. This is all carefully done, out of respect for the dead. People who behave indecorously will be seized with colic. When all the poles of the wall have been removed and only the reeds remain, the men jump on the roof which sinks to the ground. The whole cone must be flattened out. Everything is tabooed and is left to rot.

All gather, in fixed order, between the huts, leaving a clear space for dancing. The batukulu offer up sacrifice (in the ceremony recorded by Junod, of a goat, a cock and two hens) amid ululation. While the sacrificed victims are being cut up, the women begin to dance and sing, lewdly, the "womb dance", which portrays the act of coitus. The women delight in it, the men drop their eyes, abashed. "These women have been uncovered by the death of their husband", said Mboza. "There is no longer any restraint on them. They are full of bitterness when they perform their lascivious dances."

The sacrifice is divided, and an old man takes in his lips a pill of psanyi and prays, with the sacramental tsu, to the dead man, who is requested to go to the ancestors and leave the village in peace. The priest points out the offering, made by all the relatives, and then exhorts the/....

the new headman to rule well. Anyone who has a grievance against the dead man or the family will seize this moment to vent it: this is the appropiate occasion. An ntukulu cuts the priest's prayer by putting wine to his lips and the wives of the batukulu steal the sacrifice. The other relatives, pelting them with psanyi, pursue them. They rush to the hush where they eat the meat: "uterine nephews are the representatives of the gods,..... and they assert their right by stealing the offering and eating it up". The mourning is over except for the widows, who have to undergo a further purification.[1]

Before a widow can embark on any new life with the man who inherits her she must lahla khombo, cast away the contemination of death. This she does by deceiving some stranger into having sexual intercourse with her, in such a way that she breaks away from him, and the act is ritual. The uncleaness of death is passed on to him. But if he completes the act she has failed, and returns home ashamed and despairing. The man who has been thus deceived must, if he becomes aware of it, resort to the doctor for protection, and if he has obtained a piece of the woman's most intimate undergarment this is used in the medicines. The day the widow returns she is once more treated with a vapour-bath and dons new clothing. She is also exposed to medicinal smoke with the man who inherits her; they put out the fire with their own water and can then have relations in safety.

Junod points out[2] that there are various conceptions underlying these rites. These ideas may be summed up, as:

(1) Man is immortal and becomes a god through/.....

1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I. pp.204 seq.
2. Ibid., pp. 167-8.

through death.

(2) Defilement accompanies death which contaminates the community and this contamination can only be removed by collective purification.

(3) The social group, being diminished by death, must be reinforced by family gatherings, etc.

(4) There is a rite de passage for the dead man from the terrestrial to the after-life: he is separated from the former by being taken through the hole in the hut, his garments are cut open, and he is placed in a new hut, the grave. There seems to be a marginal period for him, for he is not really prayed to till some months have elapsed, when his earthly home is finally crushed.

(5) The relatives also pass through a rite de passage. They are separated from their old life by having their hair cut, etc. They enter on a marginal period at the end of which they are purified and recommence the ordinary routine of life.

I propose now, so far as possible, to describe the burial of a Zulu headman, but since many writers do not distinguish the status of the dead man who is being buried, I may cite rites which strictly apply to other burials.

According to Gardiner[1] and Isaacs[2] almost all corpses were merely dragged into the bush and left for hyaenas, but probably Shooter is right when he says, "I have been assured that this is not true of the Zulu country where only dependants and those executed by the king's orders are thus treated".[3]

Griffiths/...,

1. Gardiner, A. "Journey to the Zulu Country", (1836), Vol.I p.52
2. Op. cit., Vol.II p.148.
3. Op. cit., p. 240.

Griffiths[1] and Shooter[2] agree that when a headman is about to die the mourning ceremonies commence. Shooter says that if the master of a kraal is sick unto death the people allow their hair to grow, do not wash or grease their bodies, lay aside their ornaments and wear the worst dress they have. According to Grifriths, if the headman is very old and is becoming a nuisance, when he feels his end to be near he summons his brothers and his other people and tells them to slaughter a beast, ukukpelekezela, for him. (Bryant defines ukupelekezela as to "accompany a person on a journey, escort",[3] so perhaps this beast is to escort the old man on his journey to the amatongo). If he lives on, another beast may be killed. His people are not very grief-stricken, if he is old; only, said an informant, if he is fairly young. Kidd mentions a case in Natal where the oxen were driven up to smell a dying man so as to make an easier passage for him into them.[4]

After the death, before the corpse becomes stiff, the knees are drawn up under the chin, the arms placed at the sides, and the whole body bound firmly in a blanket. The corpse is placed in a sitting posture against one of the hut supports and covered up from view.[5] A beast may be killed and the skin wrapped round the blanket.[6] Before the burial the corpse's face is washed with a sweet-smelling shrub and the head is shaved. The hair must be buried.[7] Ludlow describes an old woman who came up to the corpse in the hut, "asking it all sorts of questions, and begging of it, when it its new home to look kindly upon the children".[8] He also, with H. L. Samuelson/....

1. Mss. cita.
2. op. cit., p. 240.
3. Dictionary, op. cit., p. 492.
4. "Essential Kafir", op. cit., p. 251.
5. Spera cites Lugg, Lan, loc.cit; Griffiths, MSS;R.C. Samuelson, p.288; H.L. Samuelson.
6. Griffiths, loc.cit.,
7. Lugg, loc.cit.
8. Op. cit., p.181.

H. L. Samuelson, says that wailing (ic.kilo) commences immediately after the death and goes on till the funeral, but according to Lugg and R. C. Samuelson (p.239) lamentations should only start after the burial, which I take to be more correct.

The head of a kraal is buried in front of the chief hut close to the fence of the cattlefold [1] or in the cattlekraal itself, at the u.., near the indlu enkulu.[2] The chief son, the heir, of the deceased turns the first sod of the grave and, if he is very young, his father's brother helps him to hold the hoe.[3] The grave is shaped more or less as among the Thonga, and the Zulu also call the inner vault the indlu. The body is carried[4] to the grave by certain relatives, usually brothers or sons; the men lead and the women follow, with their hands crossed on their breasts. All are silent, while the chief son stands at the head of the grave holding the principal assegaai of his father, the body is placed in the grave, facing his hut (or the cattlekraal[5]) by the deceased's brother who gets a consideration for his trouble. If the brother is not there, the chief wife takes his place.[6] Mats are spread out for the body to rest on, and the dead man's wooden head-rest, a snuffbox full of snuff and a small earthenware pot are placed in the grave.[7] Ludlow says a calabash of water is also placed there.[8] All his clothing and the things he used are buried with him, save for his weapons, lest he fight the ancestors;[9] but according to Shooter, the assegaais

are/.....

1. Lugg, Griffiths, loc.cit.
2. R.C.Samuelson, op.cit., p.288.
3. Opera cita, R.C. Samuelson, p.288; Lugg, loc cit; Griffiths, MSS. cita.
4. Gardiner & Colenso (p.170) indicate that this used to be done after sunset, probably to deceive the ehatakati.
5. Griffiths, loc. cit.
6. Lugg, loc. cit.
7. R.C. Samuelson, loc.cit.
8. loc. cit.
9. R.C. Samuelson, loc. cit.

are buried, after being broken or bent "lest the ghost, during some midnight return to air, should do injury with them".[1] Lugg says, however, that things of value are often kept by the relatives. A flat stone is placed on the corpse's head and another at its feet, while the exposed side of the body is protected with a wall of stones.[2] The chief son[3] throws in the first soil, and then men and/or women fill in the grave. The grave is stamped down, cuttings of trees are planted over it, and it is surrounded with a thorn fence. Stones may be placed on it.[4] Ludlow describes an occasion when, after the grave had been filled in, the headman superintending the burial took a handful of earth from the grave "and gave to each woman a pinch of it with which she touched her breast and then returned to him";[5] he does not say whether this is done by all women or only the widows. Lugg, in a manuscript, says that after a funeral every relative places a stone on the grave to xawula (shake hands with the deceased's spirit) and if anyone is absent he does this on his return.[6] After the burial, as stated above, the wailing probably begins, and then, apparently immediately, all are cleansed by being given of the imfulwa plant and they go to wash in the river.[7] This is, from Bryant's records, to Banda, "to wash away the chill of the burial".[8] According to Griffiths,[9] the medicine administered here is called umuloloti/.....

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1. op. cit. p. 240.
2. Lugg, loc. cit.
3. c.f. The Jews have the same custom.
4. Griffiths, Lugg, R. C. Samuelson, loc. cit.
5. loc. cit.
6. MSS. cita.
7. R. C. Samuelson, loc. cit.; Lugg, Man, loc. cit.
8. Dict., op. cit., p. 20
9. loc. cit.

umqaloti (Strychnos Henningsii) and it is taken so that the kraal may eat again, food and beer being previously taboo. Bryant calls the medicines to release these taboos, generally i Doyi.[2] Anyone who eats food before this medication is called idla kubi, "for food so taken will bring down evil upon him".[3] The medicines taken are amakubala or umlawe which is also given to the stock "to strengthen them".[4]

On their return home the women make neckbands of the yellow everlasting for the children, in order that these may be blessed by the spirit of the deceased.[5] All shave their heads, and on the day after the burial there is a further disinfection of all who helped with the burying. Various barks are nibbled. The cattle and immediate precincts of the kraal are sprinkled, and the floor of the funeral hut is smeared with "doctored" cowdung.[6] According to R. C. Samuelson these barks are all very bitter imiti emnyama: they are taken with meat of slaughtered animals, and "are used in connection with the dark days of death and the commencement of the mourning period".[7] One of Griffiths' informants also said black medicines were taken, but this was apparently on the day of the burial; from the text of the manuscript it seems that on the second day white medicines are given by the doctor;[8] which would agree with Lugg who writes that this feast is celebrated "with the object of 'washing the hands' of those engaged in the funeral, and to 'wash' the dead man in a pleasant manner from their memory, and to remove any mental depression or 'darkness' produced by death or such restrictions as are associated with native funerals".[9]

Bryant's/....

1. Ibid., p. 117.
2. Ibid., p.97.
3. Ibid., pp. 394 & 351.
4. R. C. Samuelson, loc. cit.
5. Lugg, loc cit.
6. R. C. Samuelson, p.283.
7. Mss. cita.
8. loc. cit.
9. Lugg, op. cit., p.288.

Bryant's description of the purpose of the medicines used in this Hlambhe ceremony was evidently the basis for Lugg's who repeats him almost word for word.[1] Moreover, Shooter says that the beast killed on this occasion is to wash the sextons of their uncleanness,[2] so the medicines are probably imiti emhlope.

Shooter's statement applies to a beast that is killed when the 'sextons' take a second dose of medicine before they can eat amasi or cut their hair; he adds that women who have married into the kraal don't take medicine at all.[3] This last proviso is probably incorrect.

H. C. Samuelson names the animal killed on this occasion as umyathelo, "the beast for treading the ground to walk", and it is eaten by the relatives of the dead man and supposedly by him, in his farewell meal before he goes on the long journey away from those with whom he is feasting.[4] Griffiths, writing much later, says the beast is known as cyokudlimiti,[5] which indicates that it was eaten with medicine.

The period of abstention (ukuzila) now begins. "All unnecessary occupations are suspended, singing ceases, rejoicings and marriages are held up, the womenfolk cease having anything to do with milk and avoid going among the cattle, the hair is left unshaven".[6] The young men and girls do not put on any of their finery, and the only celebration allowed is that they may attend beer-drinks to drown their sorrows.[7] Visitors come to help mourn; they are silent and sympathetic.[8] According to/....

1. Dict., op.cit., p.238.
2. op. cit., p.241.
3. Ibid., pp. 240-1
4. Op. cit., p.239. I cannot say why the beast has this curious name.
5. MS. cita.
6. Bryant, Dict., "Hlambha", p.238; H.C.Samuelson, op.cit. pp. 233-30.
7. Lugg, loc.cit., (Man.)
8. H. C. Samuelson, op. cit., p.134.

to one of Griffiths' informants more oxen ukumpelekezela are killed during the next few days.[1]

A month or two after the burial the ihlambo ceremony, or "washing of the spears", is held, for it is believed that the weapons have become rusty through disuse. The ihlambo consists in a hunt which all the men of the neighbourhood attend. After the hunt everyone bathes in the stream with strengthening medicines; then they return to the kraal where they slaughter a beast or goat.[2] The medicines used here are, according to R. C. Samuelson (and this, it is true, [illegible] with his previous mention of black medicines) imiti emhlope, and indicate "life and light and emergence from the dark days of mourning".[3]

The beast referred to by Lugg may be Griffiths' ayokumpula which is offered up by the heir (nkosana) so that the dead man may come back to "look after the children", though Griffiths places the "washing of the spears" as a year or two after the burial.[4] After this feast, says Bryant, the family may come out of mourning, save for the widows, who a month later "wash" themselves by ukuhlamba abafelwakuzi.[5]

The third and final ceremony is the ukubuyisa idlozi, the bringing home of the spirit of the deceased which has previously been outside in the veld. Bryant places it as two months after the ihlambo,[6] but Lugg makes it six months or a year later.[7] R.C. Samuelson describes it as happening the day after the hunt,[8] but

Shooter

1. MSS. cit.
2. Lugg, loc. cit.
3. R. C. Samuelson, op. cit., p. 230.
4. MSS. cit.
5. Dict., op. cit., "Hlambha", p. 238.
6. Ibid.
7. Man, loc. cit.
8. op. cit., p. 230.

Shooter agrees that some considerable time elapses.[1] Callaway indicates that it is held when the branches on the grave have rotted (showing the body has rotted) and a snake appears on the grave.[2] Probably custom varied.

The spirit is brought home by a sacrifice, "some of the flesh which may be removed from the kraal, lest perchance the spirit depart with it".[3] A pure white goat and, if possible, a beast, are sacrificed; cleansing emetic medicines are taken.[4] The beast offered, according to P. C. Samuelson, is the umzimu (the spirit beast), a large ox. The caul and the fourth stomach are burnt with yellow everlasting to the spirits, and the rest of the meat is left for them to taste. The ancestors, including the deceased, are prayed to by the latter's brother, son or wife, who asks them to come back and watch over their children. The gall is scattered over the feet of sons, but not of daughters lest they take the spirit with them when they marry;[5] the chief son thereafter wears the slit gall-bag on his wrist.[6] In Callaway's translation the prayer was: "Come home again, that we may now see you. We are troubled if we never see you, and ask, why you are angry with us? For all the cattle are still yours; if you wish for meat, you can say so, and the cattle be slaughtered, without anyone denying you". The doctor may help to bring the spirit back by mixing ubulawo medicines (imiti emhlope) and calling on the dead man. Then he places his medicines in the upper part of the hut.[7]

When the head of the kraal dies the whole kraal is removed to a new site, after the period of mourning/.....

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1. op. cit., p. 241.
2. "Religious Systems", op. cit., pp. 141-2.
3. Bryant, loc. cit.
4. Lugg, loc. cit.
5. op. cit., pp. 230-1.
6. Ibid., p. 192.
7. "Religious Systems", op. cit., pp. 142-4.

mourning is over; till then the grave must be carefully guarded against wizards.[1]

It seems that the Kafirs (as was reputed of the Zulu) used to confer "the honour of sepulture on their chiefs and great men only",[2] but Maclean adds that this was until the preachings of Makanna, the "warrior prophet", after which all were buried.[3] Certainly Warner writing on the Tembu says it is friends as people who are cast into the bush.[4]

When a Bomvana headman[5] is thought to be dying all his relatives go to him. It is a great misfortune if he dies without speaking to his family; if this happens they sacrifice and say, "We are calling our father that he may not leave us alone because he has left us without speaking". As soon as the man is dead the relatives begin to mourn him, the women with ululation, the men silently. They are constrained to mourn lest they be suspected of witchcraft. The body is buried as quickly as possible, for it is very 'unclean'. The grave has, as among the Thonga and Zulu, a small chamber in one side and it is dug just outside the cattle-kraal gate. The corpse, hunched up with the arms about the knees, is wrapped in a blanket and carried on the hut-door by naked men (lest their clothes be defiled) through a hole in the men's side of the hut. The body rests in the little cavity with its back to the isibaya and facing the indlu enkulu. With it are buried pipes, clothes, fighting spears and assegais (the handles may be broken), and tinder-boxes. No dung must fall into the grave. I find this burial of weapons and tinder-boxes difficult to reconcile with the statement that "hard things, like iron, knives, pins, ought not to be buried". The cavity is closed with/.....

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1. H. L. Samuelson, op. cit.
2. Kropf, op.cit., "umkweebha", p.240; Maclean, op.cit, p.161.
3. Ibid., p. 162.
4. Ibid., p.102.
5. Cook, op. cit., pp. 32-33, 35-6.

with the hut-door and the grave is filled in. As soon as this is done all those who touched the corpse go to the river and wash, together with the wives and relatives. A beast is killed, not as a sacrifice but as a "beast of mourning". All the relatives shave their heads; the widows do not wash for a month, during which time they are fed by other inmates of the kraal and have to wear white blankets without ochre. Either the whole umzi is moved, or else the isibaya gateway is shifted to the other side and the huts are burnt. Calabashes have to be destroyed and if there is any milk in them it is given to the dogs. The cattle are not milked on the day of the death and sour milk must not be eaten. The next day relatives who do not live in the umzi may eat it, and on the third day the umzi inmates may, but the widows must wait till their mourning period is over. If the umzi is abandoned it and the grave get covered with a dense thicket of trees, bush and grass which is not touched till the heir burns it, some twenty years later. When this is done the heir recites the praises of the dead man and sacrifices to him; after the burning all the men who helped must be washed.

When a Xosa headman dies[1] his knees are bent up to his trunk and his hands to his shoulders; the body is held in this position till rigor mortis sets in. The grave is dug while he is breathing his last and as soon as he is dead his body is wrapped in his blanket and buried. Four men are appointed to the task; they strip lest their clothes be contaminated. No religious ceremony takes place at the grave, and no words of condolence or sympathy are expressed. A precatory sentence, however, is often addressed to the departed, such as 'remember us for good from the place to which you have gone'". The grave is/...

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1. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op. cit., pp. 319 seq.

is or the usual shape, with an inner vault. The dead man's clothes, etc., are buried with him. If he died of natural causes[1] he is buried with his face towards home so that he can watch over the interests of his family and ward off evil, but if it was from violence or accident he is buried with his back towards his home so that his manner of dying should not be a common occurrence in the family. Here is an example of how the manner of a man's dying affects his social status and therefore his burial.[2] The opening of the small vault, in which the corpse is placed, is closed with stones or sticks, and the grave is filled in with alternate layers of thorny bush and earth so as to keep off dogs and wild animals. For men of wealth a goat or ox is slaughtered, (a contradiction or a previous statement) "by way of both a propitiatory offering and a cleansing sacrifice". The spirit of the departed, as well as the other ancestral spirits, are propitiated and the cleansing is of those who attended on the dead man during his illness and burial. Every member of the bereaved family shaves his head, and all the milk sacks are cut open and destroyed.

Of the Pondo Miss Hunter says[3] that the funeral hut is burnt and all personal property is buried with the deceased, not that they can be of any use to him but because they are impure. I have not had the opportunity or seeing any full description by Miss Hunter of funeral rites, but apparently a hlamba beast was killed which "does not accompany the deceased", i. e., it must be mainly to purify the survivors.

Warner describes[4] the death of a Tembu as being followed by loud wailing from the women and silent sorrow on the part of the men. He states that after the burial/...

1. What are these?
2. Later I shall discuss the variation of death ceremonies with social status.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Maclean, op cit, pp.102 seq.

burial the deceased is invoked to look after his children and make them prosper. His favourite assegai and karosses are buried with him. After the ceremony those who assembled at the funeral, and all the dead man's relatives and dependents, have to "perform certain ablutions" and shave their heads. His wives go off to the mountains and only return to the umzi at night. For three or four days they abstain from milk, and can only partake of it after a sacrifice has been offered to the imishologu. The whole kraal is forsaken and allowed to decay, nor dare any relatives use the materials under fear of a charge of witchcraft. During the days of mourning "which seldom extend beyond the period of one month, no cattle, etc., belonging to the kraal are allowed to depart". New karosses must be provided for the widows who, at the end of their mourning, burn their old ones and smear themselves with fat and red clay.

According to Kropf, the relatives of a person who has died eat the igwaninge root to ward off death.[1]

The most noticeable difference between the death ceremonies of these tribes and those of the Zulu and the Thonga, is the absence in the Transkei of any ceremony to bring home the spirit.

(b) The Ancestors and the After-Life.

In order to understand the full significance of death customs it is necessary to know the background of beliefs about death and the life after death.

In the introduction to this thesis I have remarked on the myth about the origin of death. Briefly, according to the Zulu, Unkulunkulu, the great great one, at the making of man sent the chameleon to tell men to live, and a little later the lizard (intulo) to tell them to die. The chameleon wasted his time eating berries,

so/...

1. Op. cit., p. 346.

so that the lizard arrived first with his message.[1] Callaway adds that when the chameleon arrived and delivered its message it was not believed; accordingly, man must die.[2] The Zulu hate and kill both the lizard and the chameleon.[3] The Thonga myth (which has been quoted) is the same in nearly all particulars,[4] but in Transkeian belief, according to Macdonald, the lizard acted on its own initiative, of malice aforethought, to avenge an old grudge against the chameleon.[5] If death, however, was originated "in the beginning", so were the ancestors according to Callaway's informants (no one deals with the question). For Unkulunkulu gave men the amatongo and all the customs connected with them, and "men say they possessed Amatonga as soon as they came into being".[6] So we see that simultaneously with the appearance of death there existed immortality, the belief in the amatonga.

The Thonga "certainly believe in an independent psychic principle, in a soul". But their ideas, adds Junod, are very confused; they call it moya or hika (breath). It is the vital principle of man, and when a man is dying, his relatives sit near him "waiting for the departure of breath". "The spirit has gone, - moya wu sukile", they say, when death has come. This, of course, does not on the surface of it, indicate that moya must mean 'spirit' as well as breath; there seems better evidence in Junod for taking the shadow as the soul, for of Ntjihuti, shadow, Junod says that "it seems to apply more especially to the departed soul rather than to the psychic principle of the living," i.e., the ntjihuti becomes the shikwembu. In any event, they consider that the soul is double. Some say it always

leaves/.....

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1. Bryant, Dict., op. cit., "inFulo", p. 660.
2. "Religious Systems", op. cit., pp.3-4.
3. Ibid., p.3, footnote 10.
4. Junod, op.cit., VolII pp.350-1.
5. op. cit., Vol. XX, p. 130.
6. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.4 seq. 129 seq. I think Callaway is wrong when he says (p.129, footnote 1) that being refers to birth, not creation.

leaves the body when the person sleeps, and it may be pathologically "unsheathed" by the taking of a photograph or by the devices of sorcerers. Finally, at death, "the body becomes rotten, but the shadow goes away and continues its life as a god, shikwambu".[1]

According to Zulu philosophy man is composed of two parts, the body (umZimba, pl. imiZimba) and the spirit or soul (iDlozi, pl. amaDlozi). Besides these, there are the inTliziyo (heart, feelings, mind), the iKanda or inGqondo (brain-power, intellect, understanding, memory, mind), as well as a hazily defined something called the isiThunzi (shadow, personality), which may have originally been one and the same thing as the iDlozi or spirit. But whether all these things are attributes of the body or of the soul, of the umZimba, or of the iDlozi; and whether at death they die with the former, or depart with the latter, does not seem clear to the Zulu. although the last hypothesis (that they accompany the departing spirit) would seem to be that which would most logically follow from other tenets of their belief.

"The Zulu religion makes no definite statement on the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The soul survives death, and is offered sacrifice practically continuously throughout an indefinite period of time; but how long it will continue to live, and whether or not it will endure for ever, is not defined. A man dies, but only in the flesh; his spirit (iDlozi) still endures".[2] According to Bryant's Dictionary the isiThunzi is the living principle of man and his shade after death.[3] Callaway also remarks the close connection of the shadow and the spirit. There are apparently a long shadow and a

short/...

1. Junod, op. cit., Vo. II, P. 382.
2. Bryant, A.T. "The Zulu Cult of the Dead", Man (1917) No. 95.
3. op. cit., p. 665.

short shadow; the former becomes the idlozi, the latter is buried with the corpse.[1] Moreover, some Zulu believe the dead body casts no shadow, which must then have become the shade.[2]

The best information, though it is mainly negative, we have on the Transkei is, in my opinion, from Miss Hunter on the Pondo.[3] She writes that no one can say what it is in the living that is the itongo or where its seat is, nor what part of a man becomes the spirit when he dies; but they know that the whole body rots in the grave, and some think that the itongo is the breath which leaves the body on death. The living person is potentially an itongo because there is no hiatus between his death and the possibility of his asking for a sacrifice.[4] In fact, very old people or a person who demands a sacrifice from a relative are described as amatongo. Kropf's definitions of isitunzela as "the shadow (of Hades); the ghost or spirit of a departed person", and isitunzi, "the shadow of a person",[5] seem, however, to indicate a connection between the shadow and the spirit. Generally, then, among the South-Eastern Bantu man consists of body and vital principle, and it is believed that on death either this vital principle (the breath?) or the shadow becomes the ancestral spirit.

But how does the ancestral spirit exist? The amatongo seem to live two lives, one in an after-world, the other with their descendants on earth. The Thonga spirits, according to some natives, live in a great village under the earth, a village where everything is pure; there they have many cattle, till the fields, reap great harvests,

and/.....

1. "Religious Systems", op. cit., p. 126.
2. Ibid., p. 91, footnote 62.
3. MSS. cita.
4. If this idea is general among, as it is peculiar to, the Transkeian tribes it would explain why they do not "bring home the spirit".
5. Kropf, op. cit., pp. 414 & 415.

and revel in an abundance of which they give to their descendants on earth.[1] But from the death ceremonies, Junod points out, each spirit would appear to remain in the indlu of hi grave. I cannot see that the two ideas are irreconcilable, for the "life of the shikwembu seems to be the exact continuation of earthly existence".[2] Perhaps each man has his own hut, but it is part of the whole after-world. Of course, if this idea were logically ~~worked~~ developed, they would have to be buried in the same order as their huts. And since the grave is frequently behind the hut this is what does, indeed, happen, till the headman's death sees the completion of the village "below the ground" and the village above is crushed and removed. I do not wish to imply that the Thonga have formulated this idea, but offer it as a possible solution to the contradiction pointed out by Junod. A third idea is that they live an "exact reproduction of this terrestrial existence" in the ntimu, the sacred woods, which have sprung up over the graves of clan-heads and where the men of the royal family, "those who have been the owners of the land," are buried according to their villages. These woods are taboo, and in them the guardian of the ntimu who is the descendant of the gods, offers sacrifices. The ancestors can be heard playing in the forest and from the tales told of them it seems that they live there in human form,[3] and home/out to bless or punish their descendants.[4] But they rarely appear as men and women; usually they come as harmless little bluish-green snakes (shihundje, dendrophis subcarinatus) or as the large grey puff-adder, and less frequently as animals or insects, such as the mantis.[5]

The/....

1. Junod, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 375 seq.
2. Ibid., at p. 376.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 378 seq.
5. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 384.

The Zulu believe that a man lives, after death, in the veld, and that when he is brought home he comes in the form of a snake or animal.[1] He is changed, guquka or penduke.[2] According to Bryant, moreover, they cannot think of any existence other than on this earth and it is only in the bodies of snakes that they seem to exist after death. The idlozi "does not enter into the body of an already existing snake, but simply materializes into one".[3] But Shooter says that the Zulu have an idea of an existence below ground where the amatongo live in the same hierarchical order as before. (The departed spirit of a chief may be invoked - probably by the present chief - to compel a man's ancestors to bless him).[4] The ancestors have great power, and here, in the after-world, the itongo resembles the dead man in character. But the amatongo's principal existence is on earth, in their materialised form; this I shall later examine.[5] But they must also be able to move unseen, as when they live in the ensamo (back) of the indlunkulu or come to 'lick' the sacrifices.

The world of the amatongo is very vaguely described by the Pondo. It is similar to the world of the living; there the dead also have cattle, but these are not the cattle that are killed ritually. The amatongo, however, are also all about the umuzi, especially the isibaya and indlu enkulu. They may appear as ityala, the light that flickers (Clark) round the village, or as snakes, or, to some izicukoana crabs.[6] Cook merely tells us of the Bomvana that "more fanciful natives state that the ancestors go on living in a spirit world tending cattle and living the life they lived on earth".[7] Soga has a more elaborate description, given him/...

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1. Bryant, Man, loc. cit.
2. Bryant, Dict., op. cit., pp. 209 & 433.
3. Bryant, ibid., "i Dlozi", p. 104; Man, loc. cit., But c.f. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op. cit., pp. 1345.
4. Op. cit., p. 161.
5. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op. cit., p. 165.
6. Hunter, MSS. cits.
7. Op. cit., p. 107.

him by an old Xosa, of "the land of the ancestral spirits", where there is no death nor work, but plenty, cattle and sport and marriages. A wish for anything is sufficient to procure it. He states that this is typical of the general belief, but "it is left to the imagination of each individual" to picture this land for himself.[1] "The whole spirit world", says Macdonald, "is one of haze and uncertainty. No definite description of it can be got from anyone". According to him, the belief in the "snake-ancestor" is not met with in these southern tribes, apparently contrasted with the Zulu. Macdonald points out that as prayers begin "Ye who are above" (and this is true of all the Zulu-Xosa tribes) it would seem that the spirit world is above;[2] I personally incline to believe that if the natives were questioned it would be found that the spirits are here regarded not as living above, but as hovering above the sacrifice.

Briefly, then, these Bantu tribes believe that the ancestors live two lives, one in their own spirit-world, about which the beliefs are very inchoate, and one on earth, usually in a materialised form, near their descendants. And here an interesting parallel suggests itself to me. In the Christian and Mahommedan religions the spirits of the dead are of little importance, and these religions are dominated by God and Christ,[3] Allah and his prophet Mahomet, respectively. But both picture Paradise clearly. The Buddhists have an elaborate theory of re-incarnation, but they worship life within themselves, and not the dead. The American Indian religion is one of visions and guardian spirits, and there is no ancestor-cult, yet they have traditionally a clear conception of the Happy Hunting Grounds; and Vikings, worshippers of Odin and his fellow-gods, saw themselves revelling after death in Valhalla, but divorced from their descendants. The Bantu,

on/...

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1. "Ama-Xosa", op. cit., pp. 218-9.

on the other hand, have paid little attention to the life after death, and the spirits of the dead only exist importantly as they appear to and influence their descendants, which I believe is also true of the Chinese and Japanese. Only the Romans have combined the two ideas of a clear after-life and an ancestor-cult, but their ancestor-cult is not well developed. Thus, in general, the absence of the ancestor-cult seems to be accompanied by complete pictures of the after-life, while tendence on the ancestors detaches importance from the after-life itself. I wish to note this correlation here; I shall attempt to interpret it later.

The next point to be considered is the nature of the ancestor-gods. All Thonga become shikwembu after death, but their status varies with their status in life. There are, first of all, the family gods, those of the father's and the mother's side, who are equal in dignity, though the latter are more tender-hearted. Then there are the gods of the country, who are the ancestors of the ruling family. Gods of the assegaai are men who have been killed in battle; gods of bitterness are those who have died violent deaths, by wild beasts, drowning or suicide, or pregnant women whose foeti were not extracted; and gods of the bush, the dreaded spirits of those who were not properly buried. Junod mentions finally a god of quarrels who will not accept offerings made to him; then the people say, "This god is a god of quarrels. Let us make an offering to the others so that they may scold him".[1] The family gods are only concerned with their own family, and they are tended in hierarchical order; their characters are the same as on earth.[2]

The/.....

1. Junod, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 373-5.
2. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 425-6.

The Zulu "do not worship all Amatongo indifferently ....., (but) the head of each house", and again one's status as an ancestor depends on one's status while living.[1] Thus different people turn into different snakes.[2] These snakes are all harmless and quiet; that is how they are distinguished from ordinary snakes.[3] Chiefs turn into izinYanda zulu, the black or green, or bright-green and black-spotted mambas; umzi headman may also become these.[4] Common people and chieftainesses turn into umHlwazi, which is a large, brown, non-poisonous snake,[5] perhaps Samuelson's inhlwathi, the boa-constrictor or python. The name umhlwazi is also applied to young inyandezulu; then it is the idlozi of a child or a man of no importance.[6] Common people also become the ubulube or inkwakwa[7] (a non-venomous) snake, light-coloured,[8] about six feet long) or the umzingandlu.[9] Bryant says that this snake (also known as uMabibini) is very fond of taking up its abode within dark nooks, and is therefore taken to be the idlozi of a female.[10] Old women become either the umHlwazi or the isiLashakazana lizard. This lizard climbs on the roof of a hut and falls on the people beneath; it is hated as a bad omen, and on its appearance a sacrifice may be offered.[11] The itongo of an old woman is supposed to be malicious and spiteful,

but/.....

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1. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op. cit., p.144; vide Bryant, Man, loc.cit.
2. Bryant, ibid.
3. Callaway, ibid., p. 196.
4. Ibid., p.197; Bryant, Dict.,op.cit., iNyandezulu, p.464; iNamba, p.374. Generally for English names of these snakes see R.C.Samuelson, op.cit., p. 405.
5. Bryant, Dict., p. 263; Callaway, ibid., p.197.
6. Bryant, ibid., p.263.
7. Callaway, ibid., pp. 197, 211.
8. This is Samuelson. Bryant (Dict., p.337) says it is reddish-brown.
9. Callaway, ibid., p. 197.
10. Man, loc.cit., Dict., op.cit., "uMabibini", p. 371.
11. Bryant, Man, ibid.; Dict., ibid., p.67. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op. cit., p.215, calls this lizard isalukazana, which means "old woman".

but that of an infant is pure and beneficient, and is used by the diviners.[1] Apparently a wasp[2] or a shrew-mouse[3] can also be an idlozi. An aborted foetus (umpunzo) must take no form, for it, as an idlozi, is a miserable, powerless thing, and therefore a man refers to a spirit, which has given him feeble assistance, contemptuously as umpunzo.[4] Other snakes such as the puff-adder; the ivumzamanzi (a slightly poisonous amphibious snake); the inthlangwana (night adder); and the grey and spotted mamba "are known to be mere beasts. It is impossible for them to ever be men".[5] A snake which is an idlozi shows all the marks of the man concerned, such as scars, having one eye, lameness, etc. In this way it is recognised, while the man who had no distinguishing marks speaks in dreams.[6]

Miss Hunter records that every Pondo who has a child becomes an itongo, except a very evil igqwira who becomes an itinzi, or a person raised after death by an igqwira and made into an isitunzela. A man who dies away from home becomes a troublesome itongo, and every effort is made to bring his body back.[7] Among the Bomvana it is a great tragedy if a man dies without speaking to his family; otherwise, apparently, a Bomvana's character is not changed by death. Much misfortune, too, "is attributed to the wanton and cruel work of female spirits".[8] Macdonald says that/....

1. Callaway, ibid., p.176, footnote 37.
2. Ibid., p.200
3. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "uNgoso", p.424.
4. Ibid., p.518.
5. Callaway, ibid., p.198.
6. Ibid., p. 199.
7. Hunter, MSS. cita.
8. Cook, op. cit., pp. 89 & 107.

that if a Kafir dies without speaking to his family his spirit will be evil, and must be laid with costly sacrifices,[1] which as we have seen the Bomvana offer. Otherwise the Transkeian tribes approach the ancestors in the same way and order as the Thonga and Zulu.

What is the power of the ancestors? The Thonga gods can bless, making the crops plentiful, controlling wizards so that this happens, and generally saving their children from disaster. But they also curse with drought, accident, illness and sterility.[2] They are omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent so far as their descendants are concerned.[3] From the Zulu amadlozi flow blessings and curses. With disease, sterility and death they express their displeasure, or shower plenty and prosperity when they are satisfied with their descendants.[4] For as a Zulu said, "Uyise u igugu kakulu kubabwana bake noma e nga se ko". ("Their father is a treasure to them even when he is dead.")[5] The dead help the living.[6] Yet if the living are dependent on the dead, the dead depend on the living for sacrifice and tendance. If their descendants die out they will have no house to enter and will have "to eat grasshoppers on the mountainsides".[7] In the Transkei, writes Macdonald, "domestic events, war, peace, agriculture, disease among cattle and goats, droughts, floods, cold, heat, pestilence, sterility, fecundity, and almost every event or circumstance that affects the life of man is traced directly or indirectly to ancestral spirits, and as they are pleased or displeased events are propitious or the reverse".[8] Of the Bomvana we are told that the ancestors take a "kindly and prideful interest in the life of

their/....

1. Op. cit., Vol. XX, p. 120
2. Junod, op.cit., Vol II, p. 386.
3. Ibid., p. 425.
4. Bryant, Man, loc.cit; Shooter, op.cit., p. 161.
5. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p. 145. The Zulu's words express the social value of the ancestors.
6. Ibid., p. 176.
7. Ibid., pp. 145, 225.
8. Op. cit., Vol. XIX, p. 276.

their progeny and help them in many ways. On the other hand the ancestors are dependent on their children for many things " — to kill meat for them when they are hungry and sing their praises. The power of the spirit is proportionate to the power and influence he wielded on earth.[1] The Pondo describe the amatongo as "the fountain of all blessing", "a refuge, or fence".[2] They have the power to send health to man and beast, to increase property and to ensure good crops. They know all that is happening to their descendants, and, if well treated, look after them. Should his amatongo desert a man, misfortune would surely follow. They may protect him against ubuti if invoked by sacrifice, but their power can be overcome by magic or rival amatongo. On the whole they are propitious, yet they are jealous that all ritual killings should be rendered to them, and inflict sickness on recalcitrant people; they also wish the old customs (amasiko) to be observed.[3]

It has been shown on the section on disease that the amatongo manifest their displeasure by making someone ill, and in subsequent sections it will be seen that they interfere largely in the tribal economic life. Here I will briefly set out the ways in which the will of the Amatongo is made known to, or discovered by, their descendants. Among the Thonga, the chief way in which this is done is through the divining "bones". A man may dream of his ancestors; then he is frightened and consults the diviner. But there is some system of direct dream-interpretation, e.g., if the apparition was painful, the dreamer makes an offering; if the ancestor seemed happy, he asks for help; the spirit may ask for something/...

1. Cook, op. cit., p. 107.
2. These native expressions, like the Zulu one quoted above, express the social value of the amatongo.
3. Hunter, MSS. cits.

something, and this will be given to it. The bones, however, are always consulted to find out the wishes of the skikwembu, and all the details connected with these wishes.[1] The Zulu amatongo make revelations in dreams, and warn their children against unsuspected enemies or threatening dangers.[2] In the section on disease it has been shown that these dreams may threaten illness, and therefore the doctor is called in to expel the dreams. Secondly, the spirits send omens. According to Shooter, the mere appearance of an idlozi snake demands a sacrifice,[3] but throughout Callaway this is not even suggested, save for the isalukazana. If a wild animal entered the kraal it would be regarded as a messenger from the spirits to remind the people they had done something wrong. Shooter gives other examples of omens from the amatongo.[4] Thirdly, the amatongo reveal themselves by afflicting someone with sickness.[5] But the will of the ancestors must be interpreted by the diviner, and among the Zulu the people who do this are the abangoma, who speak for the spirits. According to Bryant the abangoma divine in two ways, by intuition (which is rare) and by asking questions to which the questioners respond by clapping their hands and smiting the ground. Ultimately the diviner reveals what the interrogators themselves feel to be the root of the trouble.[6] I have already referred to diviners with familiar spirits (imilozi).

Pondo amatongo appear in dreams, in the form/...

1. Juhod, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 384-6.
2. Callaway, "Religious Systems" op. cit., pp. 228 seq.
3. Op. cit., p. 162.
4. Ibid., pp. 162-3.
5. Callaway, ibid., p. 171.
6. Bryant, Msn. Loc.cit; Dict., op.cit., "Ubla", p. 54. Callaway, Ibid., p. 361.

form they had when alive, and demand a particular beast, or reveal medicines, or a sick person may dream of a beast they want slaughtered.[1] All the Transkeian tribes have diviners.[2]

The South-Eastern Bantu, once they know the will of the ancestors, propitiate them, as is shown in the text, with sacrifices or offerings; sacrifices are also given ukubonga, as thanks, and many old natives, whenever they eat or drink of anything, invite the ancestors to taste of it, or spill a little on either side, for the paternal and maternal ancestors.

(c) The Variation of Death Ceremonies with Social Status.

Finally, in order to understand the significance of the belief in immortality and the nature of funeral rites, it is necessary to consider the variation of death ceremonies with social status. I shall describe this variation and it should be read relatively to the burial of headman, as described above.

Children: Infants are buried with little ceremony. If the Thonga child has undergone the boha puri rite, i.e., has been admitted into society, it is buried by its mother in a broken pot, half of the opening of which is covered with ashes, at the side of the hut. Junod remarks that this is done unless the child has been presented to the moon. But this is done before the boha puri, and children who die before the boha puri are treated, as will be seen, as abnormal. I cannot reconcile these two statements. An older child is buried in the ordinary way, but with very few ceremonies, and no religious act; the twig rite is only performed for children who have died at the age of puberty. The father digs the grave for, but does not attend the burial of, a young child. The mother only, not the father,

wears/....

1. Hunter, MSS. cits.
2. Ibid.; Soga "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., p.116; Macdonald, op. cit., Vol. XIX, p. 293.

wears malopa mourning clothing. The act of hlamba ndjaka (i.e. the sexual rites) is carried out privately in the parents' hut. If the father should have intercourse with the mother before this is done the whole village will have to be purified.[1] A Zulu woman whose child has died assembles together all the children of the umzi and makes them wash their hands with ashes.[2] According to Griffiths a Zulu baby is buried outside the umzi, and the mother has to wear special clothes for two months, when, though no inlala beast is killed, beer is made and a goat called eyokuputula is slaughtered. Now the mother cuts her hair and her husband can sleep with her again.[3] In the Transkei, according to Maclean's Compendium, the death of a child, especially if it is very young, attracts little notice, save that the parents must not visit the chief.[4] A Bomvana child is buried near the hut, close to where the wood is heaped. The people need not stop milking the cattle; only the mother and father must not eat amasi, and that for three days and one day respectively. The father must not cohabit with any of his wives for three, or with the mother for four days.[5]

But royal birth does seem to confer a degree of importance. Thus while most children, according to Barrow, were not buried, the children of Kafir chiefs were interred in ant hills excavated by ant-eaters.[6]

Abnormal Children: The Thonga bury aborted foetl, premature and still-born children, twins, children who have died

before/.....

1. Junod, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.136(Footnote); 155-6; 193. For twig rite, Vol. II, p.373.
2. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Hlambisa", p.239.
3. Griffiths, MSS. cita. The writer states that this information was obtained from only one informant. Bryant (Dict.p.520) defines putula as to "chafe, graze, rub off or scrape off the superficial skin".
4. Op. cit., p.161.
5. Cook, op. cit., p.82.
6. Barrow, J. "Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa," (1806) in 2 Volumes, at Vol. I, p.220

before the boha puri rite, and sometimes children who cut their upper teeth first, in wet ground near the river, for fear of drought. In the Maluleke clan, these children are cremated.[1] I have quoted the aborted foetus as having a very weak idlozi among the Zulu, but I cannot say how it was treated, nor is there any information on the burial of twins, one or both of which should be killed. The Matabele do not allow mourning for twins or children who cut their upper teeth first; they bury them close to the hut inside the village fence.[2]

Transkeian Twins: But in the Transkei, as we have seen, twins are not killed, and I shall here consider the rites practised among these tribes at the death of a twin, even if it be after he or she has grown up. If a Bomvana twin dies in childhood he is buried beside his Euphorbia tree. Twins used to be buried in umqungwa grass, but today a blanket is not considered out of order. The father must not leave the kraal or lie with any of his wives for a week; if the second twin dies this period is extended to two weeks. The surviving twin is washed daily beside the Euphorbia tree. However, if a twin dies later in life the survivor exchanges his or her beads or blanket, but not both, for the deceased's. He also lies on the grave for a while before the body is put in. There is no weeping, the relatives do not shave their heads; the death is referred to by a circumlocution. When the survivor dies they shave, but do not weep unless the next-born child has already died.[3] Soga notes that on the death of a Xosa twin the survivor must lie, as a corpse, in the grave for a second or two.[4]

Old.

1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.57; Vol.II, p.219 circa.
2. Nielson, op.cit., pp.4-5.
3. Cook, op.cit., p.101.
4. "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., p. 321.

Old People: are regarded as belonging more to the other world than to this. Thus Junod says the kokwana who is the great-great-grandfather "is already almost like one of the ancestor-gods to whom sacrifices are made,"[1] and among the Pondo, as quoted above, they may already be known as amatongo. The Zulu say of a very old person, that he is "one whose blankets are already off to the precipice", i.e. the grave.[2] Therefore, unless they were of very high rank, their burials were attended with little ceremony, and the Zulu used to say of them, "bego-duka", "they go home". They were not mourned for.[3] Old people were frequently killed or neglected so that they died.[4]

Women: Junod[5] says that " the death of a woman is attended with the same rites as the death of a man", (Vol. I, p. 211) but no woman may be buried in an ntimu (II, pp. 376-7). However, if she was in the prime of life, there is an extra rite when the husband's relatives must convince her friends that they had nothing to do with her death. The widower and his people visit the wife's home, and both families insult the widower's gods before the cleansing ceremony can take place. (I, pp.216-7). A woman who dies pregnant has to be cut open so that the sex of her child can be determined, and in the Maluleke clan these women, as well as women dying in childbirth, are cremated. (I, p.166). A woman who has hlamba'd ndzaka with her husband on the death of a co-wife must perform a ceremony with the hlamba water at her parents'

kraal/...

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1. Op. cit., Vol.I p.827, footnote 1.
2. Bryant,Dict.op. cit., "in Gubo", p. 204.
3. Ibid., "Xeguia", p. 702; R.C. Samuelson, op. cit., pp. 37-8.
4. Opera cita., R.C. Samuelson, p. 37; H. L. Samuelson, pp. 135-4; Junod, Vol.I 132-3, 213-4.
5. Op. cit., pages given in brackets.

kraal. (I,p.154). The luma milomo of a woman affects, of course, only her own hut.

According to Speckmann women's bodies among the Zulu, Natal and Xosa tribes were thrown into dongas,[1] but there are records of women being buried, or at least being mourned for. Bryant records that a Zulu woman was eaten 'medicine' (genus amaKubalo) for by the inmates, i.e. the children, of her own hut and at her parental kraal.[2] If a Zulu woman dies pregnant her unborn child is removed from her womb and buried beside her, for it is indecent to bury two people together.[3] Cook states that Bomvana women are buried out in the veld behind their huts; if a woman and her small baby die they are buried separately. The corpse is carried through a hole in the women's side of the hut. As a rule a beast is not killed for a woman, but occasionally one is for a great wife. The cattle are not milked for a day; the widower gives his blanket away and will not eat amasi for a few days or have sexual intercourse for about a week. A man observes the same restrictions for his mother or grandmother, and is rendered unclean by a sweetheart's death so that he must not have relations with women for three days.[4] Gaika widowers mourned one week as against widows' two weeks.[5] Xosa women must be buried for Soga tells us that women who ( ) in childbirth must not be buried facing home.[6]

Rank also affects women. Among the Zulu all members of an umzi eat medicines for the inkosikazi (the chief wife) and the kraal site is changed; an ihlambo may be held.[7] According to Griffiths the inkosikazi is/....

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1. "Die Hermannsburger Mission in Afrika", p. 160
2. Dict., op.cit., "i Kubalo", p.324.
3. Ing. Mem., op.cit. This is a recognition of the foetus as a human being.
4. Cook, op.cit., p.32.
5. Maclean, op.cit., p.194.
6. "Ama-Xosa", op. cit., p.321.
7. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Ihlambha", p. 238.

is buried with the same ceremony as a young man. "Everybody" helps to bury her. Her 'partner-wife' (an iqadi) must wear mourning dress and she inherits.[1] Tshaka, when his mother Nandi died, ordered a wholesale massacre of old women, so that all the tribesmen would weep, and sexual intercourse was forbidden to all for a year.[2] Shooter quotes[3] Fynn's graphic description of the scenes that ensued on Nandi's death. When her case was seen to be hopeless Tshaka and his chiefs put on their war-dress, but as soon as her actual death was announced all present tore their own ornaments from their bodies. Tshaka mourned silently for some twenty minutes; then he burst out with frantic yells and this was the signal for wild lamentation. Within a day 60,000 people had assembled at the King's umzi. 40 oxen were sacrificed, and the King ordered several men to be executed, whereupon "the multitude commenced a general massacre". According to one of Fynn's informants the ten best-looking girls in the kraal were buried alive with Nandi's corpse, and a regiment of 12,000 men guarded the grave for a year. 15,000 cattle were contributed by the tribe for these men as offerings to the spirits of the queen and her attendants. The chief Gomana proposed that no cultivation should be allowed for a year, all milk should be poured on the ground, and women conceiving during that period should, with their husbands, be put to death. The third prohibition was strictly enforced, but the other two were lifted after three months by the chief's giving oxen to the King. Soldiers went through the country killing all who had not attended the mourning. Lamentations went on at Tshaka's kraal for a year,/.....

1. MSS. cits.
2. Bryant, "Olden Times", op. cit., p. 60.
3. Op. cit., pp. 142, seq.

year, after which the great kraal was moved. Tshaka, amid the yelling of thousands of his subjects and the bellowing of 100,000 oxen, approached the new site. His praises were shouted as he cried aloud with grief. On the next day he was purified with the gall of slaughtered calves which were contributed by every cattle-owner in the land. War was carried to those tribes which had not come to weep and cattle were seized to offer to Nandi. This extremity of sorrow was, of course, unnatural. Fynn advances the opinion that Tshaka "wished his people to infer, if such a sacrifice was necessary upon the occasion of Nandi's departure, how frightfully terrific would be that required at his own!" But it does show that if a woman occupies a high position in the land her funeral rites may be extravagant and affect the whole tribe.

Strangers are buried without ceremony. They cannot be properly put into the ground that belongs to ancestors. The Thonga say of a stranger, "He does not matter", and he is merely buried.[2] In the Kaluleke clan all foreigners are cremated lest they belong to the dreaded category of abnormal children. The Hlengwe also burn the corpses of strangers. Both these clans wait till they hear an explosion from the burning body; then they know the danger (khombo) has passed.[2] Zulu dying away from home are buried by the people among whom they were at the time of their death, in the veld, and under no circumstances whatsoever are men interred in a kraal other than the one to which they belong.[1] The Bomvana do not bury strangers.[3]

Men of Little Importance: Servants and friendless people were/.....

1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, p.165; Vol.II, p.319, footnote (2).
2. Lugg, Man, op. cit.
3. Cook, op. cit., p. 89.
4. Op. cit., pp. 88-89.

were treated, after death, much as strangers were. Shooter writes that he heard of a dependant being thrown into a river before he was quite dead, and he was told that the bodies of dependants and those executed by the King's orders were dragged into the bush.[1] Among the Tembu, according to Warner, friendless people were seldom buried.[2] They were carried away, even before death, and deposited in some fissure in a bank or rock, and left to their fate; generally the Xafirs left these bodies to the hyaenas.[3]

Men who die away from home: The South-Eastern Bantu do not, as do some Rhodesian tribes, bury by proxy. For example, the Shona bury a stuffed black goat's skin in place of the body of a man who has died away from home,[4] while the Koeva wrap the right foreleg and left hindleg of a goat in blue calico and bury this "parcel" with the deceased's possessions.[5] But the Thonga, when a man dies away from home and his body cannot be recovered, bury his intimate belongings and hold the funeral over them. The sacrifice at the grave is by killing a fowl, not by the inkanye twig rite. In the Northern clans such a man's belongings are burnt, and the purifying sprinklings are carried out. This is done wherever the corpse cannot be recovered, as where a man has been killed by a wild beast or in battle.[6] If a Bomvana dies or is killed away from home his people send a man to investigate the circumstances. When he returns a beast is killed to mourn for the dead man; all the latter's personal effects are thrown away.[7]

Commoners:/.....

1. op. cit., pp.239-40.
2. Maclean, op.cit., p.102.
3. Barrow, op. cit., Vol.I, p.220.
4. Bullock, C. "The Mashona", (192?), p.272.
5. Edwards, N. "From Birth to Death", in "Nada" (Dec.1929) p. 40.
6. Junod, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 165.
7. Cook, op. cit., p. 94.

Commoners: Junod's description of Thonga burial refers to a headman, but we may infer from it that when any man is dying sexual intercourse is forbidden to the village inmates; the heir is chosen before death; the grave is behind the hut or near the village; and the corpse is doubled-up and lies on its left side facing in the direction whence the ancestors came. His personal belongings are disposed of, those that decay in the grave, the others on a tree nearby. The food of his own hut is taboo, but the hut itself is not destroyed unless he was owner of it. The rites of condolence, sacrifice and khombo (hlamba ndjaka) are less intensive than for a headman.[1] The Zulu, as already quoted, have the belief that commoners turn into special kinds of snakes, so there is probably some form of "buyisa idlozi". "When anyone dies", there is lamentation; his things are burnt and his grave is covered with branches; when these are rotten the spirit is brought home.[2] (According to Arbousset and Dumat the common practice of the Zulu was to bury corpses, unornamented and wrapped in a skin shroud, in a sitting posture in round holes; some sections, however, it is stated, burnt bodies in the millet fields.[3] I think the description of the shape of the grave is probably incorrect, and the second custom cited is possibly an exceptionally fertility rite, as the authors may not have enquired the status of the deceased.) According to H. L. Samuelson the burial is private to relatives,[4] the body being buried outside the hit with all possessions. The corpse is protected by imiti against wizards; the people lament, bathe to purify themselves and chew imiti; they must also shave their heads.[5] The ihlambo and ukubuyisa, one gathers from/.....

1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.393-62.
2. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.12-13, 141n2.
3. Callaway, "Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope", (1846), p.138.
4. Which relatives?
5. op cit, pp.132-4

from Bryant, are held.[1] Griffiths describes ceremonies very like those for a headman, but less comprehensive. The hut in which a commoner dies is smeared immediately and apparently can be used again.[2] The Matabele of Rhodesia do not, unlike the surrounding tribes, break the bones of a corpse, and bury the body in a round hole[3] to the east of the kraal.[4] Decle states that the Matabele remove a dying man to a hut outside the town, and bury him, wrapped in a skin shroud, outside the umzi; the grave is marked with a mound of bushes and earth. The relatives stay in huts outside the town for a few days while they are being purified by the doctor, but they have no special signs of mourning.[5] Lichtenstein writes that all dying Xosa, except chiefs, were removed from their huts. Huts contaminated by death, he adds, are burnt; a widower is unclean for a fortnight, a bereaved mother for two days, but any widow for a month.[6] Speckmann agrees that the corpse is disposed of as soon as possible; the grave is a small round hole at an indefinite spot. It is protected against animals and wizards; beer and meat are left against the coming of the iihlozi.[7] Macdonald also says that formerly only chiefs were buried, but latterly others as well. The grave diggers and widows were unclean, as well as near relatives, and the rites are marked by seclusion, sprinkling, shaving of the head, etc.; only relatives need pass through these rites. The home and

articles/...

1. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "Hlambha", p.228.
2. MSS. cits.
3. c.f. Arbousset above.
4. Nielson, op.cit., p.23.
5. Decle, L. "Three Years in Savage Africa", (1898), p.161
6. Lichtenstein, Hin.C. "Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806" (Tr. A. Plumptre) Vol.I, pp. 257-60.
7. Op. cit., pp. 153 seq.

articles of the dead man are destroyed.[1] Even MacLean admits that as soon as a man dies the relatives burst into lamentation, and the widow casts away her garments and abandons the hut. She is unclean and must be purified.[2] Warner writes that even "respectable" Tembu were carried out of their huts to die; from his description the funeral is attended with the usual rites; the spirit is approached and relatives shave and perform the customary ablutions. The deceased's hut is forsaken.[3] We are specifically told that among the Bocvana death ceremonies "vary with the position of the individual in the society", so a commoner's funeral is probably just a less elaborate affair than a headman's.[4] Soga mentions one specific difference among the Xosa: for a headman the milk sacks are destroyed, the milk is only poured away for a common member of the family.[5]

Men of Importance: Here I propose briefly to summarise a previous section. These, from, include both those by birth and wealth, the latter possession conferring on the owner the privilege of being polygynous, and therefore having a large number of dependants. Information on these men of standing is abundant; the rites tend in general to follow the course we have seen above, especially as regards the laying out of the body. Before considering the individual differences in the various tribes, I might point out that in such cases the whole village goes into mourning, and usually the site of the umzi is changed.

Junod has given us an excellent account of the ceremonies attendant on a headman's death among the Thonga, the most noticeable rites being those connected with the cleansing of the whole umzi, the burial, in, the ntimi sacred

to/...

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1. Op. cit., Vol.XIX, p.275.
2. Op. cit., p.161.
3. Ibid., pp.102-3.
4. Ecke, op.cit., p.89.
5. "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., p. 394.
6. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.193-94.

to the senior lineage (the royal family are buried in their own), the crushing of the 'great hut', the selection of heir and the apportioning of the inheritance, and the reaffirmation of the family bonds. All the food in the village becomes taboo and must be purified by a special rite.[1] Decle tells us of the dead Matabele that if he is a man of importance, an induna, everybody in the neighbourhood comes to cry over him and not only his relatives;[2] and Nielson, that the head of a kraal, if remotely of royal blood, is buried close to his hut by the kraal-fence, the village site being changed.[3] Among the Zulu themselves, when a headman approaches death, all the kraal inmates allow their hair to grow, dress badly, and do not cleanse their bodies.[4] According to H. L. Samuelson, the whole umzi wails loudly for a Zulu headman; the calves and cows are separated that they may add their lowing to the discord. The eldest son is initiated as heir, and the wives, children, and relations let their hair grow long; there are sacrifices, and the kraal-site is changed.[5] The kraal-owner is 'eaten medicine for' on the day of burial, and 'washed for' during several succeeding months. There are also numerous rules surrounding the eating of food at such times.[6]

Among the Kafirs a headman or important person is, according to Speckmann, buried in the cattle-kraal where he can easily see his cattle,[7] and Warner states that after the death of a Tembu headman all in the kraal must be medicated, washed and shaved.[8] The kraal is forsaken and the huts are left to decay.

Chiefs/...

1. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.132-64.
2. Op. cit., p.161.
3. Op. cit., p.24.
4. Shooter, op. cit., pp.239 seq.
5. Op. cit., pp.135-7.
6. Bryant, Dict., op.cit., "idhlakubi", p. 97.
7. op. cit., p. 160.
8. Maclean, op. cit., p. 106 circa.

Chiefs and Kings: We have many excellent accounts of the funerals of chiefs and kings whose burial ceremonies are remarkable, in many instances, for wealth of human and animal sacrifice, but are always distinguished by wholesale mourning throughout the land.

The nails and hair of dead Zulu and Thonga high-chiefs were kneaded with the dung of sacrificed cattle to form the inkata (Zulu) or mhamba (Thonga), a string of such balls used to call the spirits of the dead chiefs on important tribal occasions.[1] Thonga chiefs were buried in the ntimu, the sacred tabooed wood, secretly and at night. To prevent dissension and exposure to enemies only the heir, inmost councillors and wives were informed, and life proceeded as usual for a year, till, of a sudden, about a year later, the news was officially announced. All mature men remove their head-rings and place the wax on a stick in the hut-roof above the door, hanging the frame close by. Cattle are sacrificed. All the people don mourning cloth of blue.[2]

Callaway states that formerly a Zulu chief was cremated by his warriors in their full war-regalia, together with oxen, servants, and important men and the ashes thrown into a pool or river.[3] Shooter and Jenkinson confirm the killing of the king's valets,[4] and other accounts substantiate cremation. The Mosinkate Zulu expose the dead bodies of their chiefs upon branches of trees for some time, and then burn them, throwing the ashes into the river.[5] We owe to Mrs. Samuelson an account of a Zulu King's funeral, where she describes that

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1. H. L. Samuelson, op. cit., p.138; Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, pp. 386 seq.
2. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.131, 370 seq., 414 seq.
3. Callaway, "Religious Systems"; op. cit., pp. 213 seq.
4. Shooter, op.cit., p.217; Jenkinson,T.B. "Amazulu - The Zulus, their past history, manners, customs and language" (1882) p.25.
5. Arbousset, op.cit., p.138; Jenkinson, op.cit., p.25.

that of Mpande at some length. The death of a king is kept secret for a longer or shorter period according to the state of affairs. The grave was beautifully lined with slabs, in the cattle kraal, and was of considerable size with a dais for the body. The remains were not disturbed for three weeks; they were then put into a white ox-skin. Silence was observed among all ranks, the whole tribe attending the ceremony. It is certain that some human victims, men and maidens accompanied the king, and vast herds of cattle were slaughtered. After the grave had been filled in it was protected by a fence of spiky thornwood. Sentries were told off to watch the grave for the appearance of the king's messenger, a tiny snake, later replaced by a big serpent which was greeted by a large multitude with the Royal Salute and King's hymn. There was great feasting on oxen. The ceremonies culminated with a great cleansing at which, by the killing of the deceased's councillors, cleared the way for the new king and his advisers. Chiefs' graves are, to the Zulu, the acme of holiness.[1]

Formerly, according to at least two authorities,[2] only chiefs among the Kafirs were buried. A chief was buried in the cattle kraal, wrapped in a blank ox skin,[3] with trinkets and arms by his councillors. His grave was sacred and had to be guarded against wizards. The death was notified to other chiefs, and extra-tribal trade forbidden.[4] According to Macdonald, men watch the corpse while the whole tribe assembles. The body, wrapped in its leopard-skin robe is buried in the cattle kraal entrance with personal possessions. All the

mourners/...

1. H. L. Samuelson, op.cit., pp.16-20.
2. Maclean, op.cit., p.164; Barrow op.cit., Vol.I., p.220.
3. Information on Gaikas, from Gaika working in Johannesburg (Ben Ngabe)
4. Maclean, op. cit., p.106 (Werner's notes on Tembu); p. 164.

mourners are purified, and the huts and possessions of the dead chief burnt. Watch is kept against wizards.[1] Kafirs are said formerly to have buried chiefs with their heads above ground, a custom abandoned by the Zulus.[2] Numbers of oxen were slain and placed near the grave. Every Bomvana gathers at the Great Place for the burial of a chief, and all help to dig a huge grave. The grave is watched; later it becomes a sanctuary. A beast, not of the sacred herd, is killed at the funeral.[3] The Xosa chief is buried near his kraal, and the grave is carefully watched; it becomes, in a measure, sacred, for ceremonial visits of respect are paid to it.[4] Kropf says that all the men join in a hunt, i.Palazo, on the death of a chief.[5] The grave of a chief must be very sacred for, according to Kropf, the Gcaleka do not drink water from the iTongwane river (a tributary of the Kei) because a former chief, Palo, died in its valley.[6]

Warriors' Deaths and Deaths by Violence: Junod tells us that it is forbidden to the Thonga to mourn over warriors killed in war till the army's return, and a fine is imposed on those who contravene this law.[7] The funeral is held, as we have seen, over their possessions if the corpse is not recovered.[8] When a Zulu warrior fell on the field he was covered with his shield and left: they said of him, "Usele" (he is left behind). There was no mourning, for his/....

1. Op. cit., Vol. XIX, pp.275-6.
2. Shooter, op.cit., pp.239 seq.
3. Cook, op.cit., p.38.
4. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., pp.321 seq.
5. Op.cit., "iPalazo", p.303.
6. Ibid., "iTongwane", pp.327-8.
7. Op.cit., Vol.I, p.470.
8. Ibid., Vol. I, p.166.

his was a hero's death.[1] Lugg also gives this as the warrior's burial giving as reason for it that "none of the (burial) ceremonies are held in cases of this kind as any sign of 'welcome' to the departed might bring 'spears' or more war to their home".[2] A dead Xosa warrior is not buried; his body is dragged to some secluded spot.[3] The same is told of the Bomvana.[4] According to Macdonald, however, if a Kafir is killed in battle the doctor treats the village to drive away the assegaai from his relatives, and the widow is secluded in her hut for ten days.[5]

If a Bomvana is killed by a beast, says Cook, the beast (obviously it must be domestic) is killed and eaten. The man is buried in the usual way. But if a man is drowned and his body is found on the bank of a river he must be buried there with all his possessions; if his body is not found his things are thrown away anywhere but in the river, into which medicines are put to "pacify" it. A beast is killed but no meat is 'given' to the river.[6] The Xosa also bury drowned people near where the body was found, but with the face away from home to avert further misfortune.[7] From Macdonald it seems that where a person drowns he or she is considered to be called by the river-spirits. The river may be pelted with stones or a beast is driven into it.[8]

Lightning. If lightning strikes the kraal of a Thonga village the village must be moved,[9] but Junod does not say whether this is necessary, or what is done, if a man/...

1. R.C.Samuelson, op.cit., p.398.
2. Lugg, Man, op.cit.
3. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., p.320.
4. Cook, op.cit., p.89.
5. op.cit., Vol.XX, p.127.
6. Cook, op.cit., p.94.
7. Soga, "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., p.320.
8. op.cit., Vol.XX, pp.124-5.
9. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, p.313.

man is killed by lightning in the umzi or elsewhere. According to Lugg a Zulu killed by lightning is buried far from the umzi and near water as a precaution against drought; the body is interred in the usual way but there is no wailing, ihlambo or ukubuyisa. Death in this case is regarded as an act of the "Great One", and any regret would be displeasing to Him and cause further misfortune, while if the spirit were 'brought home' it would have the same effect as if the body were buried in the umzi.[1] Callaway was also informed that there is no wailing lest the survivors summon the lightning, and "it is not lawful for them to touch the body of a person killed with lightning, until the doctor has come and applied medicines to the dead, and the living of the village to which he belonged".[2] According to R. C. Samuelson there is no ceremony at the burial of a person killed by lightning; there is no mourning and the grave is made outside the kraal. But after four or five years there may be an ukubuyisa ceremony to bring home the spirit.[3]

"Lightning is considered", by the Baikas, "as the direct operation of the great or supreme spirit. Any object or person struck is considered as having been directly appropriated to himself, and instead of being mourned or lamented over, is made, after the purification, a cause of dancing and rejoicing". The umzi inmates must be purified with medicine and a sacrifice is offered (to the great spirit?); until this is done they are very unclean and are heavily fined if they enter another umzi. The umzi is subsequently deserted and none of the materials may be touched.[4] Macdonald writes that when a Kafir is killed/...

1. Kan, op.cit.,
2. "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.118.
3. op.cit., p.207.
4. Maclean, op.cit., pp.121-2 (Brownlees' Notes).

killed by lightning nothing can be done till the doctor arrives. He "cleans" the place and cattle are sacrificed (to whom?) and eaten by the company. Till this is done they are/unclean. "The relatives of the dead must show all no signs of mourning. It is said, 'Heaven has taken its own', and mourning would be to protest, and might bring punishment".[1]

Diseased People: People who die of certain diseases are not buried in the usual way. "A person who has died from an infectious disease, or one caused by a witch," writes R. C. Samuelson of the Zulu, "is buried outside the kraal".[2] Unfortunately he does not say how the Zulu distinguish infectious diseases, and, as to the second statement, since so many deaths are ascribed to the abatakati, it is curious that no one else has recorded that "tokata'd" bodies are interred outside the umzi. But Nielson notes[3] that the Zulu and Matabele did not wail for consumptives, a custom also recorded by Bryant.[4] The reason for this custom given by Bryant in his article on "Zulu Medicine" is that whoever cries for such a one will assuredly contract the disease himself, and he asks whether this belief is due to the natives' having noticed the tendency of consumption to repeat itself in the same family, though they do not understand in what way the disease is infectious. And "their injunction on all and sundry," he concludes, "to 'keep their mouths shut' when in the vicinity of a dead consumptive was not far wrong after all". In this connection it is interesting to compare the Shona rule that the relatives must not handle consumptives,[5] which

strengthens/...

1. Op.cit., Vol.XIX, p.295.
2. Op.cit., p.207.
3. op.cit., p.9;
4. Dict., op.cit., "iKwala", p.706; "Zulu Medicine", op.cit, [illegible]
5. Bullock, op.cit., p.272.

strengthens the proposition that the natives may have remarked the hereditary tendency of the disease.

Leprosy and venereal disease were, according to Bryant, unknown among the Zulu, and I presume that this applies to the tribes further south. Certainly neither Kropf not any old authority mentions these diseases. Probably this is why there are not, today, special burial ceremonies for lepers in these tribes, though there are among the Thonga who may have contracted leprosy from the Arabs, with whom they have been trading for a long time[1] or from the Rhodesian tribes, who also have special funeral rites for lepers.[2] Thonga "lepers alone are buried in the hut", which is immediately taboo. The body is pushed into a hole with sticks and the roof is crushed down on the grave.[3] The relatives of a Thonga leper, like the relatives of a Shona consumptive, must not attend the burial. They say: "Was it not leprosy? Is not the contagion terrible for members of the family? Other people can bury a leper; his people never".[4] Today the custom of lahla khombo has fallen into desuetude, but it must be performed if the husband died of leprosy or of phthisis.[5]

If a Thonga boy's circumcision wound does not heal and he is killed, or if he dies, there is no mourning; the grave is dug in a wet place with sticks.[6] When an exorcist, one who was afflicted with the disease of possession, dies, his burial is attended only by his fellow exorcists; the corpse is tabooed and is covered with ochre. The grave is smeared with clay. The body is placed in a

sitting/....

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1. Vide Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, p.142.
2. Opera cita, Bullock, Edwards, "Nada", p.40.
3. Junod, op.cit., Vol.I, footnote; p.166.
4. Ibid., Vol.I, p.304.
5. Ibid., Vol.I, p.206.
6. Ibid., Vol.I, p.85.

sitting posture and in its hand is the assegnai or hatchet of the deceased. Rites are performed to cool his poor anguished spirit and the spirits that possessed him, and a 'rest' hut is built on the grave.[1]

Ethical Distinctions: In most cases no distinction is made for suicide, or, at least, in general none is recorded. Thus among the Thonga the rites are the same, though if the man hanged himself the tree is cut down lest others follow suit.[2]

The bodies of criminals, executed at the chief's orders, would probably be thrown away or left for wild beasts to devour, and this is in fact recorded of the Zulu.[3] A case is reported among the Baca of the Transkei where an adulteress was put to death and left for the vultures and dogs,[4] (though generally adultery can be compounded by the man paying a fine; nothing is done to the woman).

But wizards' bodies, as quoted in the section on disease, would be summarily disposed of. Where Thonga wizards were killed it was by impaling or drowning,[5] and probably there was no burial. The Matabele leave their bodies for hyenas and wild dogs;[6] R. C. Samuelson describes a Zulu man who was smelt out as being shot and left in the "wolf-infested part of the country".[7] Bryant says that a Zulu wizard was killed by having pointed sticks thrust up his anus in different directions, and then left to die.[8] Where a Gaika witch is killed he or she may be strangled, clubbed to death, or cast over a precipice, the body probably, I suggest, being left where it fell.[9] Macdonald indicates...

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1. Ibid., Vol.II, p.502.
2. Ibid., Vol.I, p. 168.
3. Shooter, op.cit., pp. 239-40.
4. Macdonald, op.cit., Vol.XX, p.153.
5. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, p.634.
6. Isaac, op.cit., p.162.
7. op.cit., p.58.
8. Dict., op.cit., "Jobe", p. 280.
9. Maclean, op.cit., p.122 (Brownlee's Notes).

indicates that when wizards were killed their bodies were left in the bush.[1]

(d) Death Customs and the Belief in Immortality.

The wide-spread belief in a form of continued existence after death indicates that it arises in response to some deep-seated emotional need of man, either as an individual or as a member of society. It is far more than an intellectual belief, as Tylor's theory of animism would make out. What then are these needs?

In the first place, there is in all men an intense will to live. Schopenhauer has written very bitterly about the wild alarm, anxiety and terror which are shown by all living organisms when life is threatened; and man, no matter how miserable his lot, struggles against the approach of death. The fact that even when a man is oppressed by the hopelessness of his life yet he will not give it up, proves that there is this "will to live". What is its reaction in the face of death? "The will to believe becomes irresistible", says Wallis."..... The participant in the game of life sees no definite completion of it, no last move beyond which there is nothing. He never has to come to an impasse and his hope will hurdle death itself".[2] The conception that man is utterly extinguished by death is the product of sophisticated philosophy, and even Hamlet feared that there might be something after death,

"Man's hope will hurdle death itself".

When Keats wrote,

> "When I have fears that I may cease to be
> Before my pen has gleaned my teeming brain,
> Before high-piled books in charact'ry
> Hold like full garners the full-ripened grain",

he stopped short, for most peoples think that in the afterlife/....

1. Op. cit., Vol.XIX, p.294.
2. Wallis, W.D. "Similarities in Culture", American Anthropologist, Vol.XIX, (1917), pp.46-7.

after-life he could have finished his work. The doubt may be there; an old Suto, sick to death, once said, "Will the world go on without me, Baas?" And man, generally feeling that it cannot, replies, "No, it will not". He will return to his old haunts of pleasure, he will live on a happier life than before. So man in himself feels that he must be immortal. But what of that? I, dying, may think I will continue to exist, but how does that affect those I leave behind me? If they say, "He passes out of existence; his body decays and nothing is left", they will be denying their own strivings for immortality. If a man's father dies and becomes as nothing, so will the son pass out of existence when he dies.

The rites of burial and the beliefs in an after-life and communion between living and dead embody "a live faith in the immortality of the soul, the affirmation of the reality of spiritual existence", says Malinowski. When a man is dying his relatives and friends, as much as he himself, are brought face to face with the end, death the mysterious, the ineluctable; either it is to tear all significance out of human life, or else has to be transformed and given an entirely new meaning.

"Upon this conflict and chaos breaks the redeeming light of religious truth. It reveals to men that death is not an end; that the main principle of personality persists; that it is possible for the survivors to keep in touch with the departed spirit".[1] It comforts the dying person, for his will to live is not absolutely negated - somewhere, in touch perhaps with this world, he will live again. It comforts the survivors, for, though they see death in all its horror before them, they are turned from the horror to the hope that they will still know the dying man. Macbeth, hearing of his wife's death, sees/...

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1. "Science and Religion", op.cit., pp.67-69; "Magic, Science and Religion", op.cit., pp.48-51.

sees the transience of human hopes and fears, but religion can give comfort in that crisis.

"Weep no more, woful Shepherds weep no more,
For Lycidas your sorrow is not dead" -

the belief in immortality "standardises the comforting, the saving belief".[1]

And Man's desire for immortality for himself and his loved relatives and friends, is buttressed by various facts. In the first place, though the individual has died, something of him remains. There is his body, changed but still existent. There is more: his social personality, "the sum of characteristics by which he has an effect upon the social life and therefore on the social sentiments of others",[2] still survives. It is this survival of the social personality which in Brown's analysis is the basis of the belief in immortality. I shall attempt to analyse the concept in psychological terms. I have observed, both in myself and others who have lost relatives, that one is oppressed by a sense of unreality. One feels that one is dreaming, that the patent facts must be untrue. The reason is not far to seek. A sentiment has been built up around the dead person, i.e., an organised whole of emotions, instincts and experiences centred in him. He has passed away but the sentiment continues to exist. To put this idea in concrete terms, I might compare the sentiment to a cone balancing on a fulcrum, the person in whom the sentiment centres. The person dies, - the fulcrum is swept into nothingness. What is to happen to the "cone-sentiment"?

Here is the psychological matrix which justifies the belief in immortality. While the dead man was still alive the existence of the sentiment was justified by his objective presence. How is it to be justified after his death? This can only be done by saying that the dead man continues to have an objective existence,

1. Ibid.
2. Brown, A.R., op.cit., pp.285 seq.

or that at least some part of him continues to survive. For it is clear that if the sentiment is still justified by some objective entity in which it centres, this entity must be different from the living person. The dead body is different from a living body, the dead person from a living person. The person in whom the sentiment centred has undergone a profound change; he has been removed from the land of the living to the land of the dead.

The personality of a dead man survives in associations with his several activities, the places where he lived and worked, the clothes he wore, the implements and weapons with which he worked and fought. This is admirably illustrated in a passage in "The Well of Loneliness', which describes Stephen's feelings after her father's death; 'And now she knew the desolation of small things, the power to give infinite pain that lies hidden in the little inanimate objects that persist, in a book, in a well-worn garment, in a half-finished letter, in a favourite arm-chair.

"She thought: 'They go on - they mean nothing at all, and yet they go on', and the handling of them was anguish, and yet she must always touch them. 'How queer, this old arm-chair has outlived him, and old chair -' And feeling the creases in its leather, the dent in its back where her father's head had lain, she [illegible]d hate the inanimate thing for surviving, or perhaps she would love it and find herself weeping". The natural corollary is that the chair has not outlived him, that he lives on elsewhere. And the associations apply to places - to woods, hills, streams, vales, houses. The spirit does haunt the places where its mortal body loved and suffered. Incidentally, in this quotation are shown psychological reasons why personal possessions of a dead man should be destroyed.

The/.....

The preceding analysis has all been in terms of individual psychology, and immortality, from the point of view of the social anthropologist, is a social concept. But it must be remembered that the same process is going on in a vast number of people. Many sentiments about the dead man continue to exist, and it is what may be erroneously termed the mean of these that survives.[1] Erroneously, I say, because the death ceremonies themselves show that different survivors, according to their relationship to the deceased, are differently treated after the death. Furthermore, an idlozi who wants a sacrifice may legitimately obtain it by sending disease to his son's son, but it would be considered, in most tribes, in rather bad taste if he were to send sickness to his daughter's son, who belongs to another (her husband's) family. And this though a man mourns his maternal grandfather. Therefore the personality which survives varies from person to person of those left behind, though there tends to be established a certain social personality.

To conclude this analysis I quote a Zulu ... said of the dead father: "Their father is a great treasure to them even when he is dead. And those of his children who are already grown up know him thoroughly, his gentleness, and his bravery".[2]

The hypothesis that it is the social personality, the continued existence of sentiments centred in a dead person, which is the chief justification of the belief in immortality, is validated by the variation of death ceremonies with social status. A chief is mourned by the whole tribe, a headman by his umsi, a woman by her hut/....

1. c.f. Malinowski, "Baloma" article, op.cit., pp.420 seq.
2. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p. 145.

but inmates, a baby by its mother and father, according to the effect of the individual's death on the social structure. An exorcist, it is interesting to note, is mourned by the extraordinary group of which he is a member.

Finally, the belief in immortality is supported by visions of the deceased, just as the principle that man consists of more than one element, i.e. of body and one soul or more, receives confirmation from dreams, reflections, shadows, etc.[1] This is a more or less conscious process as opposed to the preceding one, whereby the social personality continues to exist.

Continued existence after death may be of paramount interest either to the spirit itself, or to the survivors, or to both, though the last choice, as I have indicated, is rare. Probably, however, it is always present in the sense that the dying man thinks of his future life, the survivors of how he will affect them; but socially one or other aspect is emphasised. Why have the South-Eastern Bantu chosen to emphasize the interest of the spirit in its descendants? Their decision is rooted in their social organisation, as Mrs. Hoernlé has shown in a manuscript on "The Relations between the Living and the Dead among the Bantu of South Africa".[2]

Why have the South-Eastern Bantu instituted an hierarchical society of ancestors, manifesting active interest, according to their status while alive, in their descendants? Mrs. Hoernlé points out that in all the South African tribes one of the strongest bonds holding individuals together is descent from a common ancestor. The social organisation is built up, as

shown/....

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1. Vide, Tylor, E. B., "Anthropology".
2. MSS., September, 1933.

shown in the third chapter, largely on the basis of kinship, for members of the same clan tend to live in the same village or at least close to one another in the same area. The closest bond, naturally, is that between members of the same family, i.e., between siblings and their descendants, the links between these people are not broken as the years go by, though since kinship is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal, it is inevitable that a number of brothers can more easily maintain contact with each other than with their sisters who move off in different directions as they marry. Moreover, inheritance is from father to sons, or from brother to brother and then to the eldest brother's sons, and therefore a closer link is established in this line.

Many other peoples have a kinship organisation of this type, and some of these are linked, in their smaller groupings, by a definite association with a specific area of land, or through the possession of here-gods, totems or badges. This does not apply to any of the smaller social groups among the South-Eastern Bantu, though the tribe is intimately bound to it's land. Therefore among the South-Eastern Bantu the links between living people are maintained by keeping in mind their actual common descent. This is obvious and easy for the individual family and even for the group descended from a common grandfather, but as the ramifications of kinship become more complicated and the group larger "it needs a distinct effort and organisation of a high type to keep the links strong. It is obvious that the common ancestor must be remembered, and it is much easier to remember if there is a definite cult of remembrance, a definite ritual which brings those together who are [illegible] kin so that they are perpetually reminded of their bonds". This is done by sacrifices and commemorative rites. Once the group

linked/....

linked by a common ancestor drifts apart it forgets its common ancestor with its common ties, and if it forgets its common ancestor it tends to drift apart. It is obvious, therefore, that a group will be larger and stronger the longer the line of ancestors it can count, the further it can grope back into the past for its beginnings. Further, since the people are linked together through their ancestors the dead must not be lost to society. They represent the past life of the group, the links binding together the living. The cult of the ancestors then gives life to the kindred which it would not otherwise possess. The dead are held on to, and are thought merely to be initiated into another part of society, the spiritual and unseen, but potent, part of it, and the people are perpetually concerned with maintaining a perpetual contact with this unseen world.

The Bantu have taken, for the reasons advanced by Mrs. Hoernlé, the attitude that the afterlife of those who have died, is of importance to the living. Other societies say that it is important to the dead themselves, and in many cases the terrestrial life is regarded as a preparation for the life after death. It is merely a different emphasis on the fact of immortality. Once man knows that he will survive as a spirit, working for and around his descendants, waited on by them, his will to live, to hurdle death is satisfied; but if he feels that when he dies he will no longer affect his fellows then his strivings for imperishability must be satisfied within himself, and the afterworld will be clearly pictured:

> "For Lycidas your sorrow is not dead,....
> Where other groves, and other streams along,
> With Nectar pure his oozy Locks he laves,
> And hears the unexpressive nuptiall Song,
> In the blest Kingdoms meek of joy and love.
> There entertain him all the saints above,
> In solemn troops, and sweet societies
> That sing, and singing in their glory move,
> And wipe the tears for ever from his eyes".

Possibly, too, as I suggested above, a Bantu tribesman facing death believes he will live on for ever, though his further descendants will forget him when a few generations have passed. It is certainly curious that most modern spiritualist conversations[1] deal with the fate of those at the seance (those living, of course), or the contact of the spirits with earth, and very little, despite the theory of seven dimensions, with the life of the spirits themselves. And then, it seems to me, it is only by forcing a polite interest that people ask questions about that life, to get the same answer as the Bantu tribesman give - a world more or less like our own. For Spiritualism, like the Bantu ancestor-cult, emphasises the connection of the spirits with the living; each of us has two or three "guides" hovering around him, and one of them may be, though this is unusual, a relative. It is they, however, who can put us into communication with our own people who have "passed over". In our society there is no necessity for the individual's guides to be his ancestors, for we do not attempt to maintain kinship groups beyond the family as important social groups.

But immortality cannot quite compensate for death. A Viking who is to go to Valhalla where he and other brave warriors will fight all day, and the dead be resurrected; where he will consume inexhaustible supplies of mead and wild boar's flesh, nevertheless struggles to keep his hold on life. The idiot tries to spin out his tale of sound and fury. Death myths express both the recognition of death as a fact and the intense desire for bodily survival. Death is not of the natural order, as the original causes of it show, for it is introduced to

men/....

1. Vide Dennis Bradley, "Wisdom of the Gods" and "Towards the Stars". I have attended seances myself.

men as the result of negligence or evil, and usually the immediate cause is very minute, as the eating of an apple, a bird's singing, a chameleon's eating berries.[1] For death is a shock to the ego which wishes to live on and a shock to the sentiments of the members of the society.[2] The dead man is changed, and horribly changed, the sentiments are attacked and must accommodate themselves to a new state of things, - a feeling of dysphoria must result. One of the most important values for society is the individual, and it must react in the face of his destruction. This reaction is socially determined. "For the society", Radcliffe Brown begins his brilliant analysis of the social function of death ceremonies, "a death is the loss of one of its members, one of its constituent parts. A person occupies a definite position in society, has a certain share in the social life, is one of the supports of the net-work of social relations. His death constitutes a partial destruction of the social cohesion, the normal social life is disorganised, the social equilibrium is disturbed. After the death the society has to organise itself anew and reach a new condition of equilibrium ..... we may translate the above statement into terms of personal feeling by saying that the death removes a person who was the object of feelings of affection and attachment on the part of others and is thus a direct offence against those sentiments in the survivors.

"Though the dead man has ceased to exist as a member of society, it is clear that he has by no means ceased to influence the society. On the contrary he has become the source of intense painful emotions."[3] The social/.....

1. Vide Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.4-5, and footnote (11)
2. N.B. re succeeding sentiment, Brown, op.cit., pp.285 seq. Malinowski, "Magic, Science and Religion", op.cit., pp.46-51
3. Loc.cit., p.285.

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1. Vice Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., pp.4-5, and footnote (1)
2. N.B. re succeeding argument, Brown, op.cit., pp.225 seq. Malinowski, "Magic Science and Religion", op.cit., pp.46-51
3. Loc.cit., p.285.

social personality is changed; the sentiment of love, etc., becomes an ambivalent sentiment,[1] of which the major constituents are the affectionate feelings that still centre in the dead man and the horror aroused by his death and the fear which his death, the result of some anti-social force, brings with it, for death is contagious: the brothers of Manyibane wept, "You have gone first. We shall follow after you, because there is an attraction in death." When lightning kills the anti-social force is peculiarly powerful, and the corpse must be buried outside the kraal. Death, in short, is an attack on the social sentiments, and so such on the basis of society itself: the social group must organise itself against the attack, the sentiments that be strengthened.

The death ceremonies of the South-Eastern Bantu are then, briefly, like those of the Andamanese, "a collective reaction against the attack on the collective solidarity of solidarity constituted by the death of a member of the social group."[2] Or, as Malinowski puts it, in death "Religion counteracts the centrifugal forces of fear, dismay, demoralisation, and provides the most powerful means of reintegration of the group's shaken solidarity and the re-establishment of its morale".[3] The death rites are also a form of social insurance, whereby those unaffected by the death come to the aid of the relatives of the dead person.[4] And, finally, death ceremonies are a rite de passage - the removal of the dead person to the ancestors, where he will become a source of strength, a "treasure", to the living, according to his social status, and the taking of the survivors through a dangerous marginal period to safety and reintegration; during the marginal period their

sentiments/....

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1. Vide Malinowski, loc.cit., at p.43.
2. Brown, loc.cit., at p.286.
3. "Magic, Science and Religion", op.cit., p.51.
4. Ibid., vide p.58.

sentiments are re-orientated to recognise that he who was alive is now dead, living another life.

The ambivalent emotions roused by the death are expressed in the disposal of the body. The horror and fear of death dictate that it carries malediction, contamination and danger; the corpse is immediately buried, for it is the symbol of the attack on the social group and sentiments. It must be thrust out of society. Strangers do not affect the group as they were not centres of sentiment; "they do not matter" and need not be buried. Or perhaps they carry the danger of drought and must be burnt. A baby matters only to the mother who carried it in her womb, and in lesser degree to its father, though if a child has died it may be taken to expose other children to death, as where the Zulu woman whose infant has died makes the other children of the umzi wash their hands with ashes. The Thonga child is of no interest even to the father till it has been presented to the moon, its recognition by the group; and only if it has attained puberty (been initiated), which probably confers the right to demand a sacrifice, is the twig rite performed. Old people are already regarded as amatongo, therefore the sentiments are prepared for their death and the ritual is less: "bago-buka" (they go home). The same is largely true of warriors, there is a constant expectation of their death. But they in addition "bring spears" to the umzi. Wizards and criminals are killed by the social group itself, therefore they can be thrust out without ceremony. Curiously, though the anti-social force which removes a chief must be very great, his body alone is preserved for a while. This is probably because the group must take longer to accommodate itself to the loss, and also to allow arrangements for the succession to be made in peace. But save for the exceptional cases mentioned above, the body, though thrust out

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of the group, is handled with loving care: it is cleansed, shaved and perfumed; given (among the Thonga) a sacred nkanye pillow; wrapped in blankets or skins, and placed in a carefully prepared grave which is dug in a spot chosen according to the status of the deceased. The grave is prepared for his life after death. There is wailing and lamentation. The survivors take a fond farewell of the dead (as in the Zulu xomula rite), may eat a last meal with him, help him on his way with sacrifices and killings (e.g. the Zulu ukumpelsekezela beast), beg him to be kind to his children; he must leave them amicably, and therefore the Transkeian tribes offer special sacrifices if he has not spoken to them. His personal possessions are placed in or upon the grave, not that he may use them, as Miss Hunter points out for the Pondo, but partly to express his status (the emotions of respect and love which were centred in him) and partly because they are permeated with the essence of a man who has become a danger-point for society (the emotion of fear roused by the death). The corpse is still protected, by stones, branches, or the doorway of the hut, and may, especially if the dead man was a chief, be guarded against wizards, for the dead person is still a member of society and must be protected against anti-social powers.

But death is also a source of impurity, for it is the manifestation of an anti-social force, and that force still spells danger to his relatives, according to their relationship to him. If he died a violent death he is, among the Xosa, buried with his face away from home; lightning especially carries this contagious danger and special rites are performed when it is the cause of death. The Thonga take pains to inform all relatives of what has happened for all are in danger. Therefore all enter on a period of ukuzila: they must abstain from amasi, the most/...

most valued food of the community, and generally, for a shorter time, from all food till they are ritually re-admitted to the eating of it. This food is itself, according to some authorities, 'unclean', but since among the Thonga strangers can eat of it, though not the relatives, it would seem that it is the latter who are really in a state of taboo. The mourners, and especially those who were closely related to the deceased, as well as the grave-diggers, are cleansed and strengthened. The fields, hut, umzi and possessions of the deceased are also purified. (N.B. The meaning of hlamba ndjaka is 'cleansing the inheritance'). By vapour-baths, shaving, wearing special clothes, taking off ornaments, seclusion, the relatives enter on a marginal period in which they are exposed to danger and a source of danger. After some days or months this period ends, and the pent-up dysphoria and energy that accumulates in it is purged with white medicines and in a ritual hunt (on the death of a chief, there may be war, as also after Nandi's death). The mourners are variously re-introduced into the community, perhaps, as for Thonga widows and widowers, into a new class. Ceremonies are also performed to express the re-integration of the social group, and this is emphasised by songs, dancing, and common meals.

Meanwhile (though the Pondo, according to Miss Hunter, believe a person can become an itongo immediately after death) the spirit is regarded as being "in the veld". It has also been passing through a marginal period: it is taken out with the body through a hole in the hut; there may be a sacrifice or prayer to the ancestors to greet the deceased kindly (e.g., Thonga litsanwa) while medicines are taken to wash him 'kindly' from the memories of those living with whom he may take a last meal before setting out on his journey. Then (to use the Zulu as an illustration) at the end of the first mourning period the

first/.....

first attempt, ihlambo, to initiate the deceased into the society of ancestors is made, and when the body, the symbol of terrestrial existence, has decayed the itongo is finally brought back to the umzi by being invited to join the living in a sacramental meal none of which must leave the umzi.

How are these ceremonies to be interpreted in terms of my thesis? Tremendous emotional powers are, in the first place, generated by death in the psyches of the survivors and the dying person, and secondly death brings society into close contact with the infinite powers of the world. Through religious rites and beliefs this power is transformed and concentrated in things of social value, the process working outside of the participants in the tragedy. These powers, emotional and destructive, are potentially ambivalent and must be used to social ends. The power of the infinite is turned to social account because the dead man, the breach made by these powers in society, becomes an ancestral spirit, a being on the side of the living; his grave is a trysting place for the community and the external, supernatural powers. Furthermore, the dysphoria caused in the members of the group is given a positive bias, for they are made to believe in their own immortality and that of those they love. And the ukuzila, the mourning period, is used to allow that dysphoria to be transmuted to euphoria, an attitude of hope as opposed to doubt and despair. "During this time", says Radcliffe Brown of the Andamanese, "the society is still suffering from the ill effects of the death, and the process of adjustment by means of the customs of mourning is still taking place.... By the end of the period of mourning the painful feelings aroused by the death have died down, so that the dead man is now the object of memories that are pleasant, or, at the worst, bitter-sweet."[1] The social group has re-orientated its sentiments to centre in a person deceased,

and/.....

1 op cit, p.292.

end the time has arrived when he can be "brought home", a source of strength, and no longer of weakness, to society. During the ukuzila period the mourners, like the ngoma initiates, are outside the community, and they are made to realise its value to them as well as the value of the foods and huts that become taboo. The comfort they derive from the ceremonies and the support of the community emphasises the sentiments they have already formed about tradition and the social group, so the powers, potentially ambivalent, of the dysphoria caused by the attack on the social sentiments and the ego, are transformed to positive reaction and a socially valuable attitude. This power is made to concentrate in the society, its food, its individual members, and the ancestors. Death rites are the most religious of all rites, for they solve the final doubt and give a positive answer - immortality.

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(B) IN ECONOMIC LIFE.

(i) Hoeculture.

(a) Bantu Beliefs about Fertility and the Growth of the Crops.

It has been shown above that the Bantu are almost entirely dependent for their subsistence on the produce of their fields. A great deal of ceremony, therefore, naturally attaches to hoecultural activities. Before, however, we examine these ceremonies in detail it would be best to know something of these people's ideas of the causes of growth of crops, etc.

There is practically no information on the science of vegetative reproduction. The only data to my knowledge is Junod's brief statement that the Thonga have noticed of the mkanye trees that some stems are male, some female, "and they carefully preserve some of the male stems in order to fecundate the female ones; but they believe that this fecundation takes place through the roots of the trees!"[1] It is possible that there are other elements of a rudimentary theory of plant reproduction in this, and other, tribes, but in view of the consistent absence of such records I think one is justified in assuming that little of such a science exists. Since the Bantu have not related the growth of crops to natural causes, it is clear that they must ascribe it to supernatural causes.

I propose first to examine whether these peoples have any of those beliefs which Sir James Frazer so brilliantly analysed, whereby mankind realised "the alternations of summer and winter, of spring and autumn,..... the growth and decay of vegetation, the birth and death of living creatures, as the waxing or waning strength of divine beings."[2] The Thonga, says Junod categorically,

"Go/....

1. Op. cit., Vol.II, pp.31 & 321.
2. Op. cit., pp.324-5.

"do not believe that a deity animates the crops,"[1] and there is no information to the opposite effect on the Xosa or any of the Transkeian tribes. Only among the Zulu has some such conception developed. The Zulu legend of how men came to use amabele corn, would appear to show that they learnt its beneficent properties by mere accident, and that it was not given them by Unkulunkulu, the initiator of all things. (According to this legend a woman who was jealous of the first woman to give birth to a child, tried to poison her with amabele, but she grew fat instead of dying[2]). But the Zulu have a belief in another divine being, Nomkubulwana, the princess of heaven. Various authors have compared her to Persephone, Demeter and Ceres, and ceremonies are performed to her, pleading for a good harvest, and, later in the season, to drive away the top-grub from the crops. She does not appear in the harvest or first-fruit rites. A special section will be devoted to her ceremonies and character.

Among the Zulu, and Natal[3] tribes and the Ngoni[4] the chief, dressed in grasses, seems at first fruits to represent the corn. The chief is also connected with the fertility of the crops. I have suggested in another thesis that this is so among the coastal, as compared with the inland, tribes because the social anxieties of the Zulu-Xosa crystallised in a national sowing ceremony, whereas the attention of the Sotho-Chwana was concentrated on the annual rain ceremony. By association, since the chief leads in the sowing rites, his body becomes endowed with fertilising power.[5] An East Griqualand chief fertilised/.....

1. Op.cit., Vol.II, p.21
2. Callaway, "Religious Systems", op.cit., p.64.
3. Lugg, Bantu Studies, op.cit., p.365-6 and vide infra for other references.
4. Liengme,E. "The Last South African Potentate: Gungunhana, his Court and National Rites". S.A.J.S.(1906)Vol.3,p.304.
5. Gluckmann, MSS. cite, p.[illegible]

fertilised the seed with his semen;[1] the Zulu and Ngani chiefs represented the corn;[2] and parts of dead chiefs were used in the ceremonies initiating hoecultural activities.[3] But the Southern Bantu did not go so far as to believe that on the chief's health and strength depended their welfare, and he was not killed when he declined.[4]

It seems to me that no Osiris or Adonis has risen among these tribes because here, as everywhere else in their lives, it is the power of the ancestors that counts. I have detailed above how embracing this power is. In all sowing ceremonies they are appealed to for a bountiful harvest and they are thanked at first fruits and harvest if the season has been successful. It is largely upon the good- or ill-will of the ancestors that the harvest depends, and as they are pleased or displeased it will be plentiful or meagre. The ancestors can also control the wizards, who may work on the crops, for of the baloyi the Thonga, for example, say, they "can increase or diminish the product of the field."[5]

Another belief must be mentioned here. Stayt records a case in Vendaland where men who were lucky in their harvests were ritually killed to fertilise the fields,[6] and the Native Economic Commission of 1932 reports, without specifying the area, the killing of a man who had learnt better methods of agriculture from the Europeans and who had therefore produced better crops than his neighbours in order that the "soul of husbandry" which had settled on him could be distributed for the common benefit by the doctor.[7] This is a recognition of individual/.....

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1. Key, Asten - Information to Mrs. Hoernlé.
2. Vide supra.
3. Vide infra.
4. Gluckmann, MSS. cite, pp.67-8
5. Junod, op.cit., Vol.II, p.31.
6. Stayt, H.A. "The Bavenda" (1931) pp.214-5.
7. Native Economic Commission Report, Union Government, 22/1932, Section 60.

individual power and will, of personal success making for larger crops, of a peculiar "soul of husbandry". This belief in individual might probably exists among the Zulu-Xosa .

The Bantu also believe that a number of medicines possess fertilising powers, and these are used in magical ceremonies to strengthen and increase the crops.

All these beliefs are expressed concretely in ceremonies.[1]

(b) Ceremonies at the Planting Season.

There is a certain disagreement in the records on the South-Eastern Bantu as to whether or not they have sowing ceremonies. The Thonga, says Junod, categorically have no special ceremonies at the clearance of ground for cultivation; at a certain season the Ronga woman just picks up her hoe and marches off to the fields.[2] And far to the south, in the Transkei, according to Macdonald, "there are no special ceremonies connected with sowing, ploughing or harvesting".[3] But Miss Earthy, writing on the Lenge and Chopi, to the east of the Thonga, (these tribes are really outside the South-Eastern Bantu area) says that "a great many of their agricultural works and rites are the same as those of the BaThonga;"[4] yet she gives many rites (pp.194-197) before the first fruits rites, the only one recorded by Junod. It would be interesting to know whether she has observed these other rites of the Thonga herself, though Junod, commenting on the first fruits rites, does speak of the elders taking precedence when the seeds are sown.[5]

Macdonald's /....

1. Vide Malinowski, "Baloma" article, op.cit., p.422.
2. op.cit., Vol.II, pp.31 & 20
3. Op.cit., Vol.XIX, p.232.
4. Earthy, E.D., "Notes on Some Agricultural Rites practised by the Valenge and Vachopi (Portuguese East Africa)", Vol2, Bantu Studies, (1923-6) p.193.
5. Op.cit., Vol.I, p.404.

Macdonald's denial of the existence of sowing ceremonies in the Transkei is contradicted by information I obtained from a Gaika who stated that the indunas used to assemble at Sandili's umzi and plough his fields. The seed was also doctored. We have seen that Aston Key reported that an East Griqualand chief fertilised the seed with his semen, and Soga also records that the crops were doctored by the Xosa.[1] Here, however, only fields giving poor crops were treated. Soga only details the medicines used; he does not describe the ceremonies. The best descriptions we have of these are on the Zulu and Natal tribes, and it is these descriptions that I shall use for the purpose of my analysis.

Thus Lugg says[2] of the Natal and Zululand tribes that the two most important hoecultural ceremonies are those at the times of sowing and gathering of the harvest. In all these ceremonies certain sacred articles are used, which the chief keeps secreted in the ensamo of his indlunkulu (i.e. the back of his great hut, where the ancestral spirits more particularly dwell). The sacred articles include the ancestral assegaai, hoe, axe, hearth stones, sleeping mat, blanket, fire sticks, pot sherds, earthenware pots, knob stick, etc., and in many tribes the inkata yo muzi, or sacred grass coil, symbolising tribal unity. The inkata contains some of the "essence" of the chief and members of the tribe. As for the ceremonies themselves, their central feature "consists in an appeal to the ancestral spirits, which may accomsimply take the form of prayer or the prayer may be accompanied by sacrificial offerings.

"The/.....

1. "Ama-Xosa", op.cit., pp.334-5.
2. Bantu Studies, op.cit., pp.357 seq.

"The most powerful spirits are those of departed chiefs, and it is to these, through the medium of the living chief, that the tribe appeals". They are referred to by their izibongo, or praise songs. Underlying all these observances, writes Lugg, "there is the belief that the ancestral spirits wield a tremendous power in regulating the forces of nature either for the good or ill of the society. Food being the mainstay of the people, it is imperative that the nation's food supply should be free from any taint likely to be injurious to its well-being, and that the chief around whom radiate the spirits of his ancestors should be strengthened and protected from evil influences. He should not only be invulnerable, but 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 celebrations. Finally, the chief must be assured of a bounteous and healthy harvest. No member of the tribe, therefore, may partake of the new season's crops without first participating in the strengthening and purifying ceremonies associated with the First Fruits ceremonies.

"The main functions of the First Fruits Ceremony would, therefore, seem to be (i) the strengthening of the chief, (ii) the strengthening of the army, and (iii) the assurance of a sanctified and ample harvest."

I have, at this stage, quoted Lugg in full, because, obviously, much of what he says of the first fruits ceremony is intended to apply to the sowing rites.

The first agricultural ceremony performed by the Zulu King was the custom ukuko<u>'</u>, igeja, "the licking of the hoe". The time for its performance was determined by a special inyanga, skilled in such matters, who duly

advised/....

advised the king. It was apparently essential to get in before all other chiefs and the king's men had to steal, and bring in secretly, a fierce black bull and some soil (igade)[1] from another tribe, generally the Swazi. One or two regiments of youths were then summoned to the king's kraal. They carried no weapons, and the bull was sacrificed by having its neck twisted. The flesh was roasted on a special fire and only consumed by youths under the age of puberty. All the remains were carefully collected and burnt or secreted by the inyanga.

The King was specially treated with powerful "black medicines" - imiti emnyama - and then partook of a concoction prepared by the inyanga and roasted on a sacred potsherd (udengezi) and on the sacred hoe. The King sucked the imiti off his finger, a process known as ukumcinda. Apparently (Lugg's sentence order is confusing) before the King did this some of the igade and sea-water were put in the concoction. A special song, "The King has eaten the igade", was sung. The grain to be planted and the King's fields were also treated, this being the magical element of the ceremony, but Lugg could not give any details.

"This was the occasion", he concludes, "for the regiments being turned out to till the land and plant the King's crops. The event is referred to as ukutat' amageja, or 'the taking of the hoes'. No doubt cultivation of the season's crops would now be proceeded with by the people as a whole, but I have no first hand information on the subject".

In order to understand the functioning of the ceremony, we need to look at it in relation to the background/....

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1. Bryant (MSS.cits) says samples of soil from all the surrounding countries.

background of the people's life. Bryant says of the Zulus (1907) that "in perhaps eight families out of ten there is a normal annual recurrence of severe dearth throughout the spring or early summer months of August, Septemuer, October, and even later. During the whole of this period, members of all such families, children as well as adults, have usually to be content with but one full meal a day."[1] One cannot help feeling that Bryant is rather exaggerating the rapid way in which the Zuluz dispose of the harvest, but nevertheless it is understandable that as sowing time draws near the people begin eagerly to anticipate the plenty of harvest. But before that plenty can be attained a period of vigorous back-breaking labour must be faced. "As an economic activity", writes Dr. Richards, "agricultural work is more continuous and exacting than any other type of food production in these tribes.....The qualities demanded for this work are patience and endurance through long, and apparently uninteresting, tasks."[2] And over all this work there hangs the threat of crop-failure. Obviously, a large amount of power - fear, triumph, anticipation, etc. - was generated on this setting, and this ceremony used that power to stabilise and strengthen social sentiments, and settled the people's doubt. Man must approach his arduous activities with optimism, confident that he will triumph. He must feel certain that the crops will grow. The functions of the ukukot'igeja emerge from this situation, and some of them, though not obviously religious, are inherent in a religious ceremony.

The first function of these ceremonies that I shall examine is the one given last by Lugg -- "the/.....

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1. Cited N.E.C., op.cit., Section 23.
2. Op.cit., p.98.

"the assurance of a sanctified and bountiful harvest". The primary necessity is, of course, that the crops should be planted at the right time, and, as has been quoted, the ukukot' igeja was carried out under the direction of an inyanga "who was specially skilled in such matters.....He was guided, no doubt,"says Lugg, "by seasonal conditions". "The inyanga would send word to the king, warning him that the time for planting had arrived, and of the danger incurred in delay lest some rival chief should begin to plant before him."[1] I have tried elsewhere to show that in all the Southern Bantu tribes the hoeing of a special field for the chief serves this end,[2] though doubtless, as among the Thonga, the people would plant at the correct time on separate recognisances of season. This ceremony creates a valuable double check.

The people must also feel that their efforts will be successful, that the unseen supernatural powers are working for them. This function of the ceremonies is shown in the appeal to the ancestors and the sacrifice of the bull, obtained with great difficulty, to them. This is rather curious. The chief's powerful ancestors are appealed to, and the sacred regalia and implements are used, but not, as is usual, one of the sacred tribal cattle, the umsimsi.[3] Lugg, unfortunately, gives no reason for this; I can only suggest that the offering is a symbol of the risks that the suppliants will run to obtain the amatongo's favour, or it may be an attempt to steal the virtue of their neighbours' ancestors.

But the ancestors not only grant power in these ceremonies, they also gain it. The people, eager to begin their work that is to lead to plenty, may not

proceed/.....

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1. loc. cit., at p.361.
2. MSS. cits. pp. 75-76.
3. These cattle will be fully described in the section on First Fruits Rites.

Author Gluckman M M
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