

“Living in Two Worlds”
Codes and Modes of Expression at Zulu Funerals
in KwaZulu-Natal at the turn of the millenium

by
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DECLARATION

I, THEOBALD ZWELIBANZI NYAWOSE, the undersigned, hereby declare that except for quotations as indicated in the context, and such help as I have acknowledged, this work is entirely my own and has not been submitted to any other university for any degree or diploma.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'T. Nyawose', written over a horizontal line.

Date.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the rituals and rites, customs and beliefs associated with dying, death, mourning, burial and integration among the Zulu people of KwaZulu-Natal at the turn of the millenium. These have been examined from the perspectives of:

- the traditional or rural view;
- The urban view;
- The view of the youth in the townships.

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1. Introduction

Living in ‘two worlds’ as the title suggests can be expressed in various forms. For instance the ‘two worlds’ can be a world of tradition and a world of modernisation or a world of rural life and a world of urban life, just to mention two.

The ‘two worlds’ that this document will concentrate on, are the worlds of rural life as influenced by urban life. However, the focus will not dwell only on the influence as such, but also on the reaction of the one on the other, in respect of death, funeral and burial rituals and rites.

Living in ‘two worlds’ has no meaning from books other than the ‘operational meaning’. To live in ‘two worlds’ in the sense of this research means to use both a modern lifestyle and a traditional lifestyle side by side. For an example, a person who is a Christian, but at the same time still observes ancestral celebrations, is preparing for the future world from today’s world: all the rituals and rites that are performed in today’s world display a concern for the future world, where the transitional stage between these two worlds is believed to be death.

Death, the last act in drama of life, not only robs the family, but also the community of valuable member, and also challenges the emotions of all concerned by threatening the cohesion and solidarity which existed during the live presence of the deceased member. Hence death is a

transition both for the deceased and the relatives left behind: for the deceased it is a passage from the world of the living to the world of the dead ancestors: for the living, it marks a passage from one phase of life to another for which some re-adjustment is necessary.

Death is, and has been, marked by significant ritual practices in every country and culture in the world since time immemorial. Such ritual practices involve or accompany expressions of mourning for the loss of a life and the simultaneous celebration of the life of the deceased. These expressions extol the virtues and account for the achievements of the deceased, in the form of oratories, paeans of praise and/or recounting personal stories in “corporeal-manual” modes of expressions such as the offering of gifts and sacrifice and dance or a *toyí-toyi*, and a “laryngo-buccal”, modes of expressions in the form of song, music, chants, slogans or speech (Jousse 1997:244). From such stories and activities develop the myths which are perpetuated in the cultural identity of the group.

To the Zulu traditionalist, death has two main attributes which must be taken into account in rituals for the dead. First, dying is an important step in the life of the deceased as it is synonymous with birth into the ancestral world, a passage that requires the performance of certain rites. Second, death brings with it a contagious, black aura *isinyama* that infects all it touches. Removing and dealing with this form of ritual impurity is the prime motivation behind many of the Zulu rites.

African funeral rituals, and the associated myth-creating stories are varied and distinguished by their traditional, ethnic or religious origins or affiliations. In the recent past, there has been a growing number of instances where expressions of mourning among the youth, involve high risk activities which appear not to originate or be affiliated with any of the traditional ethnic or

religious practices associated with African funeral practices. I wish to investigate these expressions and to establish their relationship with Zulu traditional ethnic or religious origins and affiliations.

2. Research Methods

As a resident of an African township on the outskirts of Durban, and witness to these funeral behaviours, I have adopted the 'insider' or "implicated" (Stoller 1996) view as researcher of this project. I also adopted an historical approach to verify the influence exerted by the western culture on traditional religions.

2.1 Literature sources

Reading from a wide variety of sources informed this study as demonstrated in the text.

2.2 Observations

In the course of this study, I attended the funerals of different families and at different places, that is both in rural areas and in urban areas, including my own family funerals. In all instances, I observed the funeral proceedings closely and took notes, after which I consulted the participants.

2.3 Interviews (see Appendix B for Schedule of Interviewees)

Interviews were firstly conducted at funerals, and then well after funerals with different people plus those family members who were free to talk. Most of the time family members were reluctant to talk about death, especially:

- (1) when it was still fresh in their minds, when some of them were still in a crying or lamenting mood.
- (2) when the nature of death was tragic and the deceased was highly valued,

I discovered that people are afraid to talk about the Zulu Traditional rituals. In this last case, this is because of the stigma or labelling that some Traditional Zulu rituals have about them. For example, there is a belief that a person who observes Traditional Zulu rituals is a 'heathen' or the rituals are termed as 'unholy'.

Some are afraid of criticism either by the researcher or any other person: often by merely asking a question, it sounds as if it is because they have done something wrong.

Some prominent funeral-goers were also interviewed other than family members of the deceased. For instance the *Induna* (tribal commander) for *izinsizwa* (young warriors) was interviewed to establish traditional songs and chants and church counsellors for most modern funerals.

The third group of people who were interviewed were the mortuary workers and the graveyard caretakers who reported most of the things that come first to their minds and are unlikely to be noticed when they are observing the behaviours of the funeral participants. These people also contributed a lot to this collection because of their reportage of some of the things that are happening in their areas. Despite the fact that they say that most of what they report happened at a distance, their observation of funerals on different dates came up with a common observation. For instance, if one asks, "Whose car is burnt after *Amagents*' Burial?", the answer is "It is a stolen car". It goes without saying that it would be 'stolen' since nobody would sacrifice his/her new car.

In most cases the researcher had no problems with the above-mentioned groups in getting information about traditional funerals and modern funerals.

However, it was very difficult:

[1] to observe any *Amagents*' or *Abobabes*' funerals and explore all their behaviours and dances to their best. The reasons were twofold

- (a) It was dangerous for a researcher who was not known to venture into a situation where guns are easily used. These groups are very vigilant because they have their own secrets, that they keep to themselves,
- (b) when the police were escorting the *Amagents* and *Abobabes* , they do not perform the notorious actions for which they are known. Perhaps it is because the items that are used, in most cases, are illegal and unlawful, for example unlicensed guns, stolen cars, etc.

[2] To interview people about rituals performed at these funerals is difficult since people are very secretive and reluctant to utter a word about this type of funeral, more especially when the researcher is a stranger and has something to write on. The researcher discovered that people are afraid for their lives: should it be discovered that some information has been disclosed by a certain person, that person could be killed by the group. Therefore, it became clear that there are secrets associated with this type of funeral. This was especially sensitive in respect of the information about the spinning of cars at graveyards, and the use of firearms. No one was prepared to say a word in this regard.

The fear of the people involved in the funeral scene, or those related to the deceased was very obvious. Occasionally, when the researcher was concentrating on recording the information from the different people, the situation became dangerous, viz. if the person being interviewed shared gossip - which should not have been revealed - with others about the process in the hearing of the interviewer, the researcher could easily become the victim of the situation and 'the ritual element of the day'. Even media people are not allowed to take any pictures nor video-tape the greater

part of these actions. The only exceptions were those who took a risk and did it at a distance and went unnoticed so that s/he could have something, in his/her record.

In spite of the above-mentioned problems, I used both structured and unstructured interviews and questionnaires, firstly to be completed by those concerned groups who needed more time before they could answer some questions such as those families, who at the time of interview were still badly hurt by the tragic loss of their loved ones and needed more time to respond. Some needed more time to scrutinise questions and answer those questions they felt were not binding. However this method, again, only succeeded to gather information from traditional and modern funeral. It became almost impossible to gather information about gangsters' funerals. On the subject of *Amagents'* funerals, I relied on people who say "I have got a friend who is a member or who knows a member, from that group". Or from gossip and rumour and hearsay. Other than that there was absolutely no direct information available from the people involved

I used rumours and gossip to connect the information following Botha's statements which quotes "rumours as a reliable source of information" because people use rumours to make sense of an insane world. (cf Sparks 1985:30) He also says "gossip constitutes information therefore, becomes "truth" (1985:230) that is why I have summarised the information collected from different groups of people and take the common notions from their point of views. This has been confirmed by my recent experience. I have discovered that the people when interviewed are sometimes not 'trustworthy':

- (1) they give answers that are not their own experiences: they just say what they have heard others say.
- (2) They give answers that they think will earn good marks for the researcher not the actual truth. Therefore, to address this problem I re-questioned the answers given by

some sources for verification.

Another problem that led to difficulties in observation of gangsterism, arose from an announcement made by the North and the South of Durban local councillor, whereby they openly published the prohibition of these acts and provided a contact number if one or one's neighbour suspected that there was going to be a funeral of this nature. Recently, Mr Ntuli one of the Councillor member was given a slot on radio. Ukhozi repeated the same announcement: (7th and 8th June 2000: 19:00 to 19:30 both days). He pronounced their successful in combating this situation and thanked both the SAPS and Municipality police

2.4 Video recordings

I watched video's of different funerals, e.g. Chris Hani's and Princess Diana of England's funeral.

3. Rites and Rituals

Rituals are religious phenomena that permeate all religions and are the core of religious practices. A religion without rituals is no religion. Ritual practices, properly explained, reveal their inner workings. Rituals are so indispensable to human culture that the study of humanity cannot exclude them. Ritual is a symbolic human act to harmonize human activities with the transcendental powers as a form of invocation or appeasement for success.

Obiakoizu A Uoanusi (1984:64) has this to say:

In general these ritual ceremonies and festivals have a religious character and through their strict observation, religious ideas are preserved and passed on from generation to generation. For most of these ritual ceremonies and festivities, there are shrines, sacred places and, naturally, religious objects. These also indicate the sources of the people's religion and they are the outward and material expression of religious ideas and beliefs.

Van Gennep 1977:146-148 differentiates between rites and rituals, even though these are sometimes used interchangeably. He says that:

Rites are the totality of the stages in life usually classified as rites of passage. Rituals in this case are specific activities that punctuate the ceremonial rites at specific times and places purported to harmonize with or appease the transcendental powers for success in life. While rituals are rites, not everything in a rite can be classified as ritual.

In other words rituals constitute rites.

Charles Okonu (1992:147), basing himself on Victor Turner, defines ritual as follows:

A ritual is defined as a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words and objects performed in a sequestered place and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actor's goals and interests.

3.1 The African attitude towards death funeral and burial rituals

Traditionally funerals play a particularly significant ritual role in African life. They provide opportunities for oral testimonies about the deceased as cultural role-models and about those behaviours which are socially and culturally marked as being desirable. The desirability of the behaviours are marked by the dignity and solemnity of the funeral occasion. However, recent youth funerals in townships, appear to be marked by modes of expression that differ significantly from traditional modes of expression.

4. Traditional and modified Zulu death rituals

Funeral rituals are a vital part of the Zulu tradition and culture. Funerals as rituals are important in various versions: firstly the corpse is understood to be an impure object. If rituals are not performed, the people around or close to the deceased person are understood to have bad luck, for the corpse as a ritually impure object, and is believed to contaminate its environment. As a

result, in the past, the corpse was interred as soon as possible, even on the day of the death. So powerful is this impurity that in the past, among Ngunis, a dying man was taken out to die in the veld lest he taint the hut. If he died in the hut, it would be pulled down or burned. When the head of a family died, the entire homestead was moved to a new site (Tyrell 1983:179).

Also, rituals are a means of resisting change because on each occasion people will be forced to practice their own rituals and object to other rituals. For example, a young Xhosa man, is not considered a full man if he has not undergone ritual initiation, despite the fact that there are health problems today with such adult circumcisions. Therefore ritual is used to help maintain traditional resistance and also serves a local-level political function. If a young Xhosa young man is to know what it is to be a man, and fulfil his traditional role and function in Xhosa society, he has to go through with initiation. Thirdly, rituals are performed in order to separate, prevent and send off the deceased, with the hope that the dead man will not come back to his house and cause trouble and illness to the survivors.

4.1 Rituals performed for a person dying a natural death

The traditional Zulu ritual for a dying person is performed in two versions:

1. when a person is seriously ill
2. when a person is on the point of death, the family will perform a recovery ritual in the form of propitiatory sacrifice to pacify the ancestors whom the sick person might have offended.

Justinus Sechefo (sa.14) says:

A young man who has been sick for a length of time without showing any hopes of recovery, should be prayed for to try to appease the wrath of the departed ancestors, who are the Gods: A sheep which has remained tied up for sometime during the day is killed for him in the evening. First of all

the sheep is led walking to the bedside of the dying young men and is shown to him by others of the family. With doleful expressions they say:

“Behold this is your beast, by which we pray for thee: O ye our ancestors who are our Gods, we beseech you, dip your hands for us in the cold water, so that our sick man may find sleep, and arise from his sickness. May it be that on our coming here the next morning, we find him sitting up, sipping some porridge. May his sickness now depart with us”. Gradually the earnest compassionate hearts of all, sooner or later do the dying man well.

On the other hand, an aged person who has been in the same situation as the one cited above, is given something like a safe journey ritual which is more or less an extreme unction, not a recovery ritual. Here, too, a sheep - or a goat - is sacrificed to the ancestors, but this is intended to release the dying person from life. The liver of the killed beast is hastily taken out and roasted on the fire for the dying person. The dying person is given only a very small piece which is pressed between his stiffened teeth. In this way he ‘eats’ his last farewell supper. Thereafter the family stands near the bedside and express their willingness to part with the dying person. Then gradually, the dying person passes away.

The rituals performed for a dying person in urban area, have become modified because the urban habitat does not accommodate live sacrifice easily. In most cases when people are seriously ill they are sent to hospital to die there. This happens for two reasons:

1. Nobody is available at home to look after them as all people are working and the children are at school.
2. African people still have the belief that a dying person taints the house. Traditionally if a person dies in a hut, that hut was pulled down after the funeral. Nowadays, some houses belong to the Government. Therefore, one can be heavily charged for destroying the house. Some officials may never ever understand the reason for this action.

In those areas that have been influenced by Western culture around cities, for example, and in townships, or even where people have bought their houses, no house or hut is destroyed, but instead the *Inyangga*, a herb doctor is called to cleanse the homestead after a death.

4.2 Cleansing rituals for a person who has died a natural death

After death, the corpse is washed, shaved of all hair, and then dressed. The eyes and mouth are closed to resemble sleep. The corpse is then laid out straight along the inside of the hut and a long sheet is hung from the roof or nailed on the wall to cover the immediate sight of the corpse. This straightening of the dead body is a modification, for previously the body was prepared in a squatting position which was believed to resemble the birth position - the foetal position.

In instances where witchcraft is suspected, certain medical practices are conducted to stop the power of the evil witch-doctor. *Insizi* (a strong black substance) is used in various ways: some smear the corpse with the substance, whilst some even cut the body and insert the *insizi* in the cut. *Insizi* is also placed in the closed fist of the dead person as a weapon to protect him against the Wizard. Again there are those people who sprinkle the corpse with goat's bile before putting it in the coffin. Some use *umuthi* (traditional medicine) to repel evil spirits from entering the body, making it impossible for the wizards to turn the corpse into a Zombie - a person who is, or appears to be, lifeless, a supernatural spirit that reanimates a dead body.

4.3 Modified cleansing rituals

For those people who die in hospitals, the first rituals are performed at hospital by nurses and other hospital staff. The washing of the corpse is the responsibility of the one who is working that shift. The family starts to have access, or full control of the corpse after the body has been removed from the hospital mortuary in preparation for burial. Traditionally this type of job was

specifically the responsibility of certain people and not just any person in any family: any deviation is therefore a modification.

In some cases, even the dressing of the corpse for burial is performed by mortuary people, who then deliver the corpse to the house or home of the family.

4.4 Cleansing Rituals for a Person who has died violently

In order that a person who has died violently may be accepted by his/her ancestors, s/he needs first to be cleansed. In this instance, again *Inyanga* (Zulu traditional healer) may exercise the act. Depending on the family, some perform these rituals some time after the burial, while other families conduct cleansing rituals simultaneously with the revenge process (see below). They also clean the wound so that s/he will come to the ancestral world with clean wounds and be happily accepted by the ancestors.

How this is performed, depends on the *Inyanga*. Some take two goats, if this is well after burial, to the grave, and an *Inyanga* speaks to the elder family member, all the words that oratory should renounce to the spirit of the dead person. Like saying:

“Here is the goat. The family is cleansing your wounds from the pool of blood in order that you be accepted by your forefathers and ancestors...”

thereafter, stroking the goat. The first goat is slaughtered outside the homestead. The blood of the goat mixed with little chime and *umuti* will then be sprinkled on top of the grave whilst the eldest family member speaks, saying:

“We have come to clean you today from your wounds ...”

Thereafter, the goat's meat will be cooked outside the premises and shall be eaten there by people who are not family members. The second goat is also taken to the grave and is sacrificed to the dead person, where an elderly person speaks, saying:

“With this goat, we now have come to invite you to join the ancestors and your family ...”

Then the goat is led inside the hut where incense will be burnt and the same speech is repeated (as before) by the same person. Women who were previously not part of or involved in the rituals are now involved because everything is now done inside the homestead. The second goat is slaughtered and cooked inside the hut and the whole family will now enjoy the meat. All the meat must be cooked thoroughly: there should be no sign of running blood in the homestead during this ritual.

5. Traditional and modified Zulu funeral and burial rituals

Differences or changes take place from area to area, but mainly around and in cities. Variations are rarely found in rural areas because there are fewer influences to pollute the culture that prevails in the area. For example, the ritual of cremation is only found in cities and those places close to the cities and towns. It is shocking even to talk about cremation in rural areas, let alone perform it.

Zulu funerals, in general have the same goal and aim, that is, a dead person should be buried in some way and the people related to him/her should be responsible for the burial and related matters. The major differences are observable in different rituals according to different groups or clans and also according to the milieu in which these are performed. The rites and rituals that are performed in rural areas may not always be possible in urban areas because of the rules of civic

authorities governing that particular area.

All the cited rituals and rites, without exception, that are performed during traditional funerals were designed for Zulu people but different pressures have forced people to move from their places of origin to new places. In these cases, people absorb new ideas and laws that then modify the original rituals and rites that they used.

During the early days of the funeral week, Zulu beer is prepared by the bereaved families. They use it for the occasion of visits by friends, relatives and prayer groups who come to sympathise with the bereaved family and for mourning ceremonies. If the dead body is kept at the mortuary, some members of the family, especially those of the same sex as the deceased, take the deceased's clothing to the mortuary in order to dress the deceased in preparation for the funeral. This is usually done on Thursday, or on rare occasions, on Friday, because the mortuaries are busy delivering on Fridays. They do not have time to advise people on Fridays.

Again here, some people take some *umuthi* to the mortuary to continue with their verbalism because from the mortuary the body will never be washed again, therefore whatever is applied to the body will be permanent.

On Friday, before the funeral on Saturday, a senior member of the family will visit the mortuary again in order to escort and lead the deceased back home. Some carry with them a small twig of *umlahlankosi* or *umphafa*, the twig that is associated with the connecting power between the deceased and the survivors. It is a modification of the tradition to use this twig at this stage. The twig is traditionally used on the day prior to integration day to invite the spirit of the dead person to integrate with other spirits of the other family members who are now ancestors

On the same night, a vigil or wake-keeping will take place where the families, friends, relatives and neighbours will gather in the homestead for a whole night service. In such a wake-keeping, there will be preaching, singing and speeches throughout the night.

5.1 The grave site

At dawn on the funeral day, men will go out and start digging the grave, in the spot agreed upon after a short discussion held by the family.

The grave site is traditionally an index of the social status of the deceased. (Barbara Tyrell: 1983).

Among all Zulu tribes, the cattle kraal was the burial site of honour: the head of the homestead was buried at the top side of the kraal between the main hut and the kraal. Even the direction of the head was traditionally prescribed if it was possible. Nowadays, where graveyards are used as a new place of burial, the prescribed direction cannot feasibly be maintained, for two reasons:

1. The authority for the position or layout in the graveyard may be defined as a head-to-head structure.
2. Geographically, the position does not allow one to face where the family may wish, for example the facing of the East or home in a leeward topography.

5.2 Ritual slaughter of an animal

While the grave site is being located and dug, the young women of the family and the relatives start the preparation of the communal meal. The beast is slaughtered at this point and the skin (hide) will be used as a blanket-coffin for the deceased person and the meat will be given to people for the communal meal. A small portion of the chime and bile will be poured into water for

washing hands after the funeral to bid farewell to the deceased and also as a cleansing ritual to all those coming from the cemetery. However some Nguni achieve the cleansing ritual by using strengthening black medicines and possibly, by killing a goat to wash the hands. This is believed to drive away evil spirits.

5.3 Modifications in respect of ritual slaughter

In most areas in cities and around urban areas, the slaughtering of an animal is never done. This is so, for various reasons, some of which are: different religions and beliefs, poverty, city laws and a lack of understanding about the rituals and why, how and when this should be done. Even the use and role of the skin or hide is still causing some people confusion, since some have substituted the animal hide with blankets from the shops. Therefore the inclusion of it becomes a problem and confusing. Some other religious beliefs preclude the eating of the meat from this animal, terming it 'unholy'. The same group of people prefer just water to clean their hands with, after the funeral, terming the *intelezi* (traditional mixture of roots and herbs) as unholy.

5.4 The funeral

During the funeral, the corpse is taken out of the hut. Traditionally, the corpse was not removed through the door of the hut but by making a hole in the back wall of the hut: on the men's side of the hut for a man, and on the women's side for a woman. The hole would be closed after the funeral process. Nowadays, this has been modified, perhaps because of modern houses. Nowadays, the corpse is taken through the door but in reverse manner, so that the feet face outwards, thus compelling the contagion of death to leave, and thus, it is believed, the soul shall not find its way back to the hut.

To end the funeral service, whether at home or at church or in a hall, the dead body is paid last respects before the congregation proceeds to the cemetery. The procession is usually led by men and the families follow.

When the body is placed in the grave, prayers may be made, either a family (traditional) prayer or a Christian prayer. The throwing of the soil, or earth onto the grave to bid the last farewell is performed according to family status from the eldest son of the deceased who uses a spade full of the soil, then the closest family members follow up until the least relatives until all have paid their respects. Most men do not throw the soil by hand as women do: they throw it whilst covering the grave with soil using tools, for example spades. When covering the grave, great attention is paid to prevent the earth from falling directly on to the body. In some places, a shelf is dug in the grave on the side in which the body is placed. Others place branches over the body to protect it from direct contact with the soil.

On the people's return to the home from the graveyard, they wash their hands in the entrance of the deceased's home with specially prepared water. This they do as a symbol of accepting death and to bid the dead person farewell. This water, used for washing hands, is sometimes mixed with herbs, one of which is called *intelezi* (traditional mixture of roots and herbs) and others use the bile and chime from the slaughtered goat. All these are believed to ward off evil spirits. Even the objects (the spades; picks and so on) that were used in the funeral process are also cleansed with the same *intelezi*. The Ngunis achieve this cleansing by using strengthening herbal remedies, and possibly, by killing a goat for the same purpose. A person who does not take these precautions to purify himself/herself, endangers not only himself/herself, but all those s/he comes into contact with.

5.5 Burial postures and transportation

Western ideas and religion have brought great changes in all aspects of traditional life and this influence extends as far as the individual's last resting place. Nowadays, most the burials follow the same order because even the people from the rural areas have adopted the Western method for burial and this has been an effective and successful modification because it has been accepted and followed by all. An example of this is the use of a coffin.

If money is sufficient, expensive methods are used and even a kind of a hearse instead of the traditional sledge, which was taken by hand by the male folk who took turns to relieve one another on their way to the cemetery, if the distance was far.

5.6 Funeral and burial rituals for a twin

Another unusual ritual sometimes occurs after the death of a twin. Before the actual burial of the deceased twin, the surviving twin is placed inside the coffin and remains there for some time. The family also keeps the funeral date and time secret. Sometimes the burial can take place in the early hours of the morning for a dead twin.

At the cemetery there are families whose custom demands that the surviving twin is placed in the open grave, while the family elder speaks to appease the ancestors. The twin will then be pulled out and the coffin with the dead twin is lowered into the grave to be buried.

No animal is slaughtered until after the death of the second twin. This is because twins are regarded as one person. The belief is that the death will only be regarded as complete after both twins are dead. The spirit of the beast can therefore not accompany the first twin, but it has to wait until the dual journey is completed.

5.7 Funeral and burial rituals for sudden and /or unnatural death

In most cases, sudden and /or unnatural death has no period that can be termed as when a person is in a serious condition for quite a long time. A death that has taken a long time is termed as natural

However, there are rituals for a dead person regardless of the cause of unnatural death, for example a person killed by lightening, from a weapon, drowning in a river, burning in a fire and in an accident.

When a person dies violently (*ukufa ngengozi*) the person is not brought home for a night-vigil and is never buried in the homestead, as they taint it by their fate. Among some tribes, the corpse of a person struck by lightening is buried near a river in cool soil, as this unfortunate accident renders the victim ritually hot and therefore, a target for lightening. Similarly, the corpse of a drowned man is buried near a river because that river, if cheated, will claim another victim. In the above-cited cases, a hut is specially prepared outside the homestead in preparation for these burial rituals, because the homestead should be prevented from the *isinyama* (bad or black aura). Despite all these prevention measures *inyanga* will still be called to deal with the cleansing and purification of the whole family of that homestead.

Another example is that of brutal death, whether by gunshot or stab wound or car accident but all of which result in death at the point of attack or in an accident. The rituals are almost the same with the exception of when the family wishes revenge for their dead person. I say it is almost the same because such a person is almost never brought home in these cases for a night-vigil. When there is a night-vigil, the hut is built outside the homestead or tent. The person becomes the responsibility of men only - women are kept at a distance.

The only difference between the rituals performed on the occasion of a natural death and a violent death, is the time and the method of performing these rituals. Some take a goat or chicken or some simply go to the spot, where a person was killed on the same day before the person is taken to mortuary, while others perform the same act from mortuary to cemetery. This process is called *ukulanda umufi* (to fetch the spirit of the deceased from where the death occurred). Some even take some blood-stained soil from the spot where the death occurred, or where they believe it to have occurred.

Different families and societies have differing customs and beliefs. There are those who sprinkle the corpse with goat's bile before putting it in the coffin. Almost all of this happens at the mortuary, where the family requests an isolated or special private place where they can dress the corpse and do whatever they want to do without any disturbance. On completion, they then stand in a circle around the embalming table and one of them will start talking to the spirit. S/He will tell the spirit that they are taking it to the graveyard where the body will be buried, etc. Thereafter the coffin is taken to the hearse and they leave for the cemetery.

5.8 Rituals of revenge

Revenge rituals are familiar and some families practice very strange and bizarre last rites in order to appease the spirits, particularly in the case of unnatural deaths. In most cases, these rituals are performed when a person has died as a result of a gunshot or being stabbed to death. Most of the above-cited rituals are practiced. However, in these instances more rituals are included with the aim of avenging the dead person. Again, here the differences in most cases are necessitated by the involvement of *izinyanga* who uses herbs and strong medicines.

Some families, put a live black chicken treated with *umuthi* into the coffin with the dead body and then screw down the lid. They believe that when the chicken suffocates to death, the person who killed their relatives will also die a horrible death, wherever s/he maybe. Person and chicken must die simultaneously in the name of revenge.

While other families, depending on the instruction of the family *isangoma*, place more than one fowl or chicken in the coffin, believing that they will rid themselves of all their enemies or those who wish them harm. In most cases the rituals are supposed to be the last rites granted to a dead person, but others may be carried out to appease the dead person's soul and to stop him from returning as a ghost or as an evil spirit.

5.9 Funeral service - traditional and modern

Contact with Western cultures has influenced every aspect of the traditional life-style. This life-style of the firmly entrenched urban Zulus differs considerably from that of their forefathers because of continuous contact with foreign cultures for example:

1. The traditional funeral used to be held in the hut of the deceased or the *indhunkulu* (Great Hut) but nowadays this hut is only used on a minor scale, particularly when the family has some special rituals to do privately. Instead, churches, halls, chapels and tents are now in use depending on the social status of the person and also the availability of such accommodations as I have previously listed.
2. The time taken for the funeral service lasts for about three to four hours depending on two things:
 - The length of the testimony programme which reflects the age or social status of

the deceased (See Appendix A) or

- The readiness of transport, for example buses and also the hearse sometimes delays the programme, by returning very late to take the body to the cemetery.

Traditionally the service was a matter of a duration of less than an hour because there was no testimony made except by the senior person in the family hierarchy who spoke for everyone and directed the process. Thereafter the family paid their last respects to the deceased after which the coffin was closed or the body covered for burial and then the procession proceeded to the cemetery.

Mostly, modern funerals are conducted in pre-arranged venues, for example tents, halls, churches, stadium and chapels. These are mostly hired from business owners, excluding some churches and chapels that their services are termed to be free to members.

The reasons for using these venues differ from people to people but few of these are rational but a lot are a display of affordability. Rational reasons include the following:

- (1) township houses are small and some rites cannot accommodate great numbers of people.
- (2) a funeral is now an occasion for all whether related or not, therefore the bereaved cannot underestimate the ceremony by using a small venue.
- (3) these venues have got all the amenities that they can need for the day for example chairs, electricity, microphones and sound speakers, stage and platforms.

5.10 Mood and tone of the Zulu funeral

The mood and tone of ceremony depends on various things, for instance it can depend on the

social standing of a person and also the age of that person plus the hour the death of that person was experienced, etcetera. Just to quote one instance, the mood and tone of Chris Hani's funeral was one of pathos and tragedy. Even before people could utter vocal sounds, their facial expressions indicated the extent to which they were moved by the occasion.

On the other hand, for an old person who has been sick for a long time, the mood and tone express relief and the spirit in the whole house is one of farewell: all the people concerned have long been willing that s/he be relieved of pain and suffering.

Even speechlessness among the speakers demonstrates the intensity of emotion because now and again it touches the affected part, either spiritually or emotionally. I quote a speech by the Master of Ceremonies at Chris Hani's funeral, who said:

*Vukani zigqila zezwe lonke!
Vukani edjyokweni yokugqila
Sozokwakh' umhlaba kakaisha!
Maqabani wozani
Sihlanganeni
Sibhekane Nempi*

Arise ye toilers of earth!
Arise from the yolk of slavery
And rebuild the earth
To end starvation and poverty...
Comrades, let's come
And be united
And face the war

From this speech, feelings and emotions were raised very high, so that people nearly went out of control, but the Masters of Ceremony skillfully managed to use gestures to control the masses and their emotions. By the use of gestures, people speak the language of action. In this respect, Tannen (1988:208) suggests that:

Strategies associated with oral tradition place emphasis on shared knowledge and the interpersonal relationship between communicator and audience.

This is true because one cannot use gestures if the masses do not understand their implications. Because the effectiveness of gestures is the accurate understanding of the message between the performer and the audience.

5.11 Seating Order

The seating arrangement is the same for both rural modern funerals and urban modern funerals, the only difference, is the use of chairs and other seating material. In rural areas, the bereaved family does not use chairs but they sit on the mats or mattresses next to those relatives who do use chairs. Seats are available for relatives. Traditionalists prefer to sit on the ground while in urban areas chairs are used by all attendees.

In all cases, the bereaved family occupies the front position next to the coffin followed by church choir or the relatives and neighbours as they come to join the congregation. Standing all the time are those who take turns of holding burning candles or flowers around or near the coffin. Other people stand according to roles or certain orders by the Master of Ceremonies or priest.

5.12 Testimony

In the testimony, friends, colleagues and relatives each say a few words about the merits of the deceased, putting particular emphasis on services rendered to society. Brudnyi (1968 : 154) said:

.. life continues, and everything that deceased has managed to achieve will continue. His causes are alive in ours, his beginnings we shall complete everything is left to men.

Such words indicate the strong social standing position of the deceased and also echoes the determination of the survivors to continue from where s/he left off.

5.13 Music and singing

All the people who are closely related to the deceased are expected to mourn, as a result they are automatically banned from any pleasure activities or indulgences during this period but, nowadays music is organised and further, it may be hired from singing or music groups for the church as well as hall; chapel or even tent services.

Traditionally there was absolutely no musical entertainment. Only the family song or chant was performed, and the oratory would announce the procession. Again only an elder was given the opportunity to make a short testimony about the deceased person.

Conversely, today singing is even performed by the children, grandchildren and close relatives of the deceased person. Sung tributes are sung as a last respect to the deceased. The testimony nowadays is also given even by in-laws; people from the working place, *Induna* or Councilors and friends - a feature which makes the programme very long. (see Appendix A)

Instrumental music is now introduced in modern funerals and even cassettes and CD's are played during the service and also in the graveyard.

Music and choirs also depend on the social standing of a person and also depends on the family's social standing as well. The latter is indicated when the family hire the singing group of band for the day, while other families only rely on volunteer groups to sing on the day otherwise choruses will be used wherever music is needed. Mostly music comes from family choirs, community choirs, colleagues and hired music of the day. Music also depicts the maturity of the decease. (see below)

The dress code of the choirs, again also depends on the organization. If the choir is well organized, it uses its uniform, whilst those who have just organised themselves for that particular day may not have uniforms. In most cases the uniform does not indicate any intensity of the occasion.

5.15 Different Songs Sung by Various Groups for the Funeral Event.

In a Christian Service for a young person, the following is a typical hymn:

*Ngathi Ngisahamba Emhlabeni
Ngathi ngisahamba emhlabeni
Ngahlalelwa yithuna lami la
Njengembali eqhakaza namuhla
Ngakusasa isibune nya*

*Ngokunjalo kwangizuma ukufa
Ngisemusha ngiyingane nje
Kanti qhabo, ngiyaphila futhi
Ngishiyil' umzimba wodwa la.*

*Sengiphiwe ukuhlala okuhle
La ukufa kwahluliwe nya
Sengibonga inkosi yaphezulu
Kanye nengelosi ekhaya le.*

*Ningakhali bazalwane bami
Sahlukene umzuzwana nje
Ezulwini sobonana futhi
Zonke insizi sezizi seziphele nya.*

While I was still walking on earth
While I was still walking on earth
my tomb awaited for me
Like a flower which can bloom today
Yet the next morning is completely withered

Likewise death spontaneously came
While I was young and fresh
Not that I'm dead, I'm still alive
I have only parted but left my body here.

I have been granted a new life
Where death is completely defeated
I give glory to the heavenly king/father
Together with the angels, there at home.

Never weep my fellow members
We have temporarily parted
In heaven we shall meet again
Where all our lamentations, mournings, melancholies, sadnesses will have completely vanished.

In a Christian service for an old or a very old person, the following hymn is typical

O! Hamba Kahle
O' Hamba kahle
Sihlobo sethu
usu phumile osizini lwalomhlaba
Sewuyekhaya le ezulwini
KuBaba wethu okubizile.

Nakhu sikhala izinyembezi
Sesibuhlungu ngoba sesikwamukiwe
Kepha intando kaBaba wethu mayidunyiswe
Ngenkathi yonke.

O! Hamba kahle. sihlobo sethu:
Usuphindele lapho wathatshathwa khona
Sal' usulala elibeni uze
Uvike ngelokugcina.

Sesicelela wena sihlobo
KuNkulunkulu ongumminimusa wonke
Kakuhawukele akungenise
Ekukhanyeni kwaseZulwini.

O! Good bye
O! Good bye
Our beloved relative
You are free from all troubles of this world
You are now going home, there in heaven
To our Father who has called you

Here we are weeping
We are sad for we have been deprived of your
Yet our Father's will should be glorified
at all the times

O! Fare well our beloved relative
You have returned to where you were obtained
However rest in your grave in peace till
you rise up on the judgment day

We negotiate on your behalf our relative,
with God the almighty
to be merciful on you, and let you in,
into the heavenly heights.

At a 'political service' and also *Amagents' Abobabes*, the following is typical:)

*Hamba Wemkhonto Wesizwe
Hamba kahle wemkhonto
Wemkhonto mkhonto wesizwe
Thina bafana bomkhonto
Sizimisele ukuwabulala
Wona la mabhunu*

Farewell you *mkhonto*
you *mkhonto*, assegai of the Nation
We the boys of 'Mkhonto'
We are prepared to kill
Them all, these boers

5.15 Sermon

The mode of delivery of the sermon at times depends on the preachers because some may prefer to preach to survivors without referring to how the deceased conducted himself/herself during his/her life time, while the other preacher does opposite or both. Most of the time, it is a prayer in a sermon that directly indicates the nature of the ceremony.

5.16 Candles, flowers and the reading of condolences

The lighting of candles, although originally a Western practice, has again been modified in some funerals. Instead of candles, some prefer to have flowers. People hold lit candles walking around the coffin, or, of late, bunches of flowers have replaced the candles. Behind the burning of candles, was the belief in the purifying effect of fire and candles had a belief of *ubuntu* since it has a fire. My research has not revealed the equivalence between the flowers and the candles

The reading of messages accompanying the flowers and condolences is usually then performed, although the reading of condolences and the monetary gifts have recently been abolished for fear that robbers will know how much the family has collected and come for it during the night. Flowers are brought in by the permission of the bereaved family.

5.17 Ritual covering with soil

I have discovered that the throwing of soil or earth during burial is now done according to the permission of the family. Without this permission no-one throws the soil into the grave except those who will be covering the grave or perhaps, a specified group of people. These precautions are due to the belief that ancestors are important and that it is the duty of their descendants to ensure that they do not 'die' for their descendants, by becoming bad spirits or 'Zombies'.

Berglund (1975:81) clarifies this thought pattern by noting:

... the substance of the life of the shades is far more serious and must be avoided at all costs. No evil could surpass that of the destruction of the shades.

6. Extreme modification / deviation of rituals and rites

In some funerals, the youth takes the funeral ceremony completely under their control, perhaps because the person who died was their affiliate or an associate-affiliate.

I have decided to call the involvement of youth in funeral activities/ritual an extreme modification or deviation because of the fact that traditionally funeral ceremonies were conducted solemnly in the hands of adults, irrespective of the age of the deceased person: the death and funeral rites and rituals were their duty from the beginning to the end. It was a respectful affair and an important part of the Zulu culture. Yet today there are those families who simply overlook all these rites and rituals and just leave everything in the hands of the youth. This is mostly happening when the deceased person is classified as an *Amagent* - gangster, or *Abobabe* - 'molls'. In such a funeral, a display, or exposure of power by these groups is the order of the day.

Abobabes - 'Molls' mostly are not girl friends of *Amagents* - 'gangsters' but they are the affiliates of this group or they are free riders with this group. Most of them are not involved in the activities of *Amagents* but since this group always finds a reason to celebrate, the free riders are always around to echo the motion.

The sentiments expressed are often bitterly hostile to the deceased, who is accused of abandoning those whom he leaves behind in the world of the living. This bitterness is most intense when the death is least expected, especially, that is, at the funeral of a young child. At the back of this document is the song sung during the funeral of a young person (See page 28).

From the day of a night-vigil, the youth light many candles, which they place in a row along the road which leads to the place where the deceased is lying which under traditional circumstances, does not happen. Throughout the night, chanting is continuously sung and repeated. No priest is allowed to officiate. This has gone to an extent that when a girlfriend of an *Amagent* dies, even from natural causes, the other *Amagents* take over the funeral because she is one of the affiliates' girlfriend. In such cases, parents or adults seem to have lost control of their staunch culture.

On the way to the graveyard, the *Amagents* shoot bullets in the air, the *Abobabes* ululate as they dangle from windows of luxury vehicles that are driven recklessly at breakneck speed. In and around the cemetery, the cars are spun around, raising clouds of dust. Eventually, one of these cars (which is usually a stolen car) is burnt to ashes. This prodigality is a measure of a gangster's funeral, where the rivaling and brandishing of an assortment of firearms prevail.

Bereaved families are forced to maintain high standards and incur huge expense, for when they leave from the cemetery, they will have an 'after-tears' parties which it would appear is no more

than a good excuse for 'making whoopee' and getting drunk at the expense of the deceased's family. The party continues with the sounds of the latest romantic ballads in the background or those CD's or cassette music which they claim were most liked by the deceased. The party reaches its climax in the middle of the night with raucous rap sounds at high volume such that these disturb the sleeping neighborhood.

I regard this as a modification/deviation from a time when traditional elders were still respected by the young and their word was law. When African tradition ruled supreme, the dead were revered and funerals were sombre occasions treated with respect. They were also a preserve for the old. Mourners were silent, or spoke in low tones; whilst profuse weeping and wailing was heard. There were no 'after-tears' party and music throughout the night.

6.1 *Amagents/Abobabes* Funerals proceedings

There is no formal programme followed. Participants speak as they please. The chairperson calls anyone if he (there is no evidence of women performing these roles) wishes him to give speech; because of the availability of time when perhaps, there is still something that is wanted for. However, in any case the speech is commenced by these words: "Viva!" ... and "Comrades!". For example:

(In the reproduction below, I have quoted the speech and song and described the accompanying action)

Speech	Action
Viva, spirit of Christ viva	<i>Raising his hand now and again</i>
Viva	<i>Also raising their fists</i>
Thank you comrades	<i>Raising the fist to a hold</i>
Thank you comrades	<i>Audience settle down</i>

Comrades let's come	<i>Maqabane W'ozani</i>	<i>Black power salute - mood and voice furious and aggressive</i>
And be united	<i>Sihlanganeni</i>	<i>Black power salute, furious and aggressive</i>
And face the war	<i>Sibhekane nempi</i>	<i>Black power salute, furious and aggressive</i>
We'll die in action	<i>Siyofa sigijima</i>	<i>Black power salute, furious and aggressive</i>

Song

There have never seen us, there have only heard of us	<i>Abasazi besizwa ngendaba (leader)</i>	<i>x any time</i>
There have never seen us, there have only heard of us	<i>Abasazi besizwa ngendaba (audience)</i>	<i>x as many as a leader requires</i>

Chants

O! Shee....buck	<i>O! Sh....Nyamazane (leader)</i>	<i>x any time</i>
O! Shee....buck	<i>Nyamazane (audience)</i>	<i>x as many as a leader requires</i>

All the above cited songs and chants are accompanied by *toyi-toyi* dancing. I believe *toyi-toyi* increases the impact of what is chanted in the slogan, for while the performer and the audience exchange the words of the slogan, there is a similar exchange of action in performance, which, when performed washes away sorrows and sadness, leaving only satisfaction to prevail.

Izaga *Zempi*
Leader:
Sicijo' itilo.----- ngo!

Audience:

*Sicij' itilong; itilongo
Ithi induku yethu
Ithi Phihla!
Ithi Phahla!*

Leader

Ikhala -----phi!?

Audience

*Ikhalaphi induku yethu
Sizwa ngosi, Ikhalaphi?!*

Leader

Sibadala nje sibadala ngani?

Audience

*Ngenduku yethu
Ingummese, isandindinyi; isandindinyi*

Leader

Uyolimela izwe labelungu?

Audience

Qha! Ji x3

Leader

Induku ya]

Audience

Qha! Ji!]

Leader

Izano] x4

Audience

Qha! Ji!]

This chant is a symbolic gesture because when a leader shouts it, all know that he is calling them together in a form of *impi* or warriors.

Inkondlo Yokubuyisa Umuntu

(la le mini)

Oh! Wayayemini. x2]

] x2

Wesikhova Mabhengwane]

Esisaphindile esayizolo x2

(mLungu)
Oh! Kwash' umyungu x2

Kwagwija madoda x2

Oh! Wayayemini x2

Wesikhova Mabhengwane.

Any verse from the above can be repeated as much as the leader wishes, up until the chant is pronounced by any leader. Again this is accompanied by traditional stances and postures.

The traditional hymn is a song that not only entertains the congregation but also transmits from generation to generation the customs, values and norms of the society. MacKenzie (1988:263)

notes:

The Chief function of oral performance, apart from its entertainment value, is its power to educate and to transmit through the generations the values, traditional wisdom and identity of the society.

Ihubo Lempi

O qalaza Oqalaz' ubheke
Ngasemva kwakho ndoda
Kukhulu leli gazi
Sibona leli gazi

Ji! e! ehe zinsizwa
Zakithi eMdlazi
Kukhulu okuzayo bafana
Sibona leli gazi

This song is sung when an *impi* is preparing itself for a fight or rather when they are taking the dead body of a person who died in a fight or who has been killed violently, either by a known group or person or an unknown group or person, for burial. The mood and the tone of the singing is always furious and aggressive. The pace of walking is remarkably slow, as if people are stiff

and tight. This is sometimes caused by the concentration on what is about to happen or has happened, depending on the situation at that time and moment.

Izaga Zempi

Leader:

Uyaph' emshi-----shi!? x3

Audience:

*l'yaphi' emshishi, emshishi
Liyaboph' khehla
Ngemithi yalo
Bopha!*

Leader:

A yihlehlel' emuv' ayinaluvalo

Audience:

Ayihlehlel' emuv' ayinaluvalo

Leader:

Awuhlale phansi

Audience:

Sengihleli

Ihubo lokusuka esibayeni (Umakubuyiswa UMinizame kwa Nyawose)

*Izw-----e!
Salishiyale Mthamvuma
Wena ngena
Ngonyama Yethu*

*Hloma-----ni
Sipheth' inkosi
Yethu; Izw-----e.*

Izwe

<i>Izw-----e</i>

<i>Salishiya le Mthamvuma</i>

The Country

The country

We have left the Country at Mthamvuma
--

<i>Wena Ngena</i>	You enter (join)
<i>Ngonyama yethu</i>	Our Majesty
<i>Hloma -----ni</i>	Take up arms/weapons
<i>Sipheth' inkosi Yethu</i>	We are coming with our Chief

The main theme of this song, is to invite the spirit of the person to join other spirits of the homestead, that is why the song starts from the kraal to the house. They also appeal to the spirit to neglect the mistakes that the country is no more in their control but they know where they lost the battle, therefore, despite that he should join as their majesty. They also call him their chief as the way of begging.

Craig Mackenzie (1988:263 notes:

The Chief function of oral performance, apart from its entertainment value, is its power to educate and to transmit through the generations the values, traditional wisdom and identity of the society.

This song is always sung in all Nyawose family who ever is conducting “Ukubuyisa” ceremony. In fact it is the last prayer because after which people disperse to their different places.

7. Post-funeral rituals and rites

7.1 Abstention Period

This is the period when the bereaved family has been banned from all activities such as sex, the consuming of sour milk, etcetera. and a ban on all celebration and conviviality.

The end of the period of abstention about a month after death may be marked among the Nguni people by a second sacrifice whereby a second goat is slaughtered and its bile and chime are used to cleanse the family. The mourning strip that was used by the bereaved family as a symbol of expression for mourning for the deceased, which is usually black in colour, is burnt, and the ash

buried together with the remaining chime and the skin or hide of the goat.

7.2 Mourning Period

Ceremonial mourning not only facilitates the expression of grief but is a catalyst for transition to the next world, or may signal the rebirth of the community as a whole. Mourning also entails a ban on many activities and on all celebrations and conviviality. That is why hair is cut because hair is associated with beauty. Therefore one is also banned even from beauty. The period of mourning depends on the status of the deceased and the mourner's relationship to him or her. For example, if a chief dies, the whole society mourns for a year and huts and houses are painted black as a symbol of mourning. Black is symbolic of a dark period. For a husband, a woman will mourn for a period of one year, wearing mourning dress, but she first will remove her hair completely. A husband mourning for his wife takes six months wearing a black band around the arm, the colours of which differ according to personal or religious belief. Previously before clothing was used, ^{umuri} thatch was worn around the neck.

During this period the widow sleeps in a different place each night. This is believed to deceive her husband's ghost lest it returns to have relations with her, which would be dangerous.

7.3 Modified mourning rituals

Mourning rituals have been seriously affected, not only in cities but even in some rural areas because of the influence of immigrants, the media and travelling around.

The wearing of a mourning strip has been modified to the extent that one may never even notice that it is an indication of mourning. Different forms that are used lately include the use of a round button-shaped symbol to indicate mourning. Even the dress of a widow has been modified: some

of those who are working, only wear their ritual mourning clothes on the journey to work but when at work, the widow wears her working uniform. For instance, a nurse will wear her white nursing uniform while her mourning dress is a black dress.

The traditional shaving of the head is another instance of modification. This is only done by a few and even those who do cut their hair, cut it in individual styles, while the actual point of this rite was to deprive a person of the beauty of hair for a while.

Because most people are employed, it becomes impracticable to ban working during the period of mourning. The employer needs production and profit on a daily basis from the working of this bereaved person. Therefore s/he is circumstantially forced to suspend mourning before the traditional mourning period has ended.

Traditionally, the widowed woman would change her sleeping place. This is now fading, perhaps because of scarcity of rooms or because of some other problems experienced as a result of the previous practice. The practice was used to deceive the husband's ghost from returning and having sexual relations with the widow which was believed to be dangerous.

7.4 Admonitions or Instruction to a Widow

Another session that also takes place during the first week of mourning is when the widow, first receives *Isiyalo* (admonition) from the senior women, as to how a widow should behave, second, she is also allocated to a new husband, usually the brother to her husband (*Ukungenwa*).

7.5 The Mourning Dress for a Widow

Traditionally the widow had a special dress code by which she was identified from the rest of the

people, such as a white painted face, which had its own rationale. Jack Goody (1962:58) has this to say:

The whitewash is dug from the earth and has strong associations with the mystical aspects of the land; in other contexts its application appears to have the effect of calling upon the earth shrine to bear witness to certain deeds, so that if things go wrong, supernatural sanctions would come into play.

Nowadays, western clothing is used although it has been modified from black to different colours depending on the religions persuasion and some even wear their church uniforms on the day of funeral, and then the mourning dress after the burial.

7.6 Integration ceremony

Every person who dies has a sacrifice performed after the period of mourning in order to integrate him/her with the rest of the ancestors. The deceased is believed to live alone away from the other *amathongo* (dead spirits) and away from home. This last ritual is the rite of incorporation of the deceased into the land of the dead and a reintegration of the bereaved family into normal social life.

During these sacrifices, the paternal ancestors, their guests (i.e. spirits of the sacrifices father's brothers and their wives) and the deceased minors of the family congregate in the main hut. This hut belongs to the most senior woman of the group, who may be the widowed mother or the senior wife of the homestead head. It is the hut in which the belongings of the ancestors are kept, goats are sacrificed, and guests are received and it is generally the centre of social life in that homestead. It is usually referred to as the *indlu enkulu* (Great Hut). During this time the immediate heir calls the family and relatives together to take off the mourning or to remove the banning from the family. On this occasion, he slaughters a beast for the essential and binding function.

7.7 Ukubuyiswa - Bringing Home of the Spirit of the Deceased

It is, during this period that a branch of *umphafa* tree is used to draw the spirit of the departed person from the grave to the hut or house. The family prayer is pronounced by the elderly person of the family, and the function is reported to the ancestors. It is during this time that the name of the deceased is called for the first time. Then incense is burnt.

On this reporting day, goats are slaughtered in preparation for the next day when the beast will be slaughtered as a sacrifice. Krige (1988: 169) states:

On this occasion the name of the deceased is included in the praise of the ancestors for the first time after his death, and he is specially asked, when the meat is placed, at the *umsamo*, to come back to the homestead and look after his people.

Early in the morning of the next day, that is, the day for celebration, the eldest person of the family takes the gall of the sacrificial beast and sprinkles it on the feet of the sons of the deceased person. This is done in the belief that the shade should stay with them. In some tribes, the empty gall-bladder is made into a round band around the right hand.

7.8 Performance Area

The upper part of the floor is marked off by an inch-high ridge, which forms a semi-circle known as *umsamo*. No stranger may go beyond the ridge into the *umsamo* area, for it is here that the offering to the ancestors is made by burning *impepho* (incense). The beer that is set aside for the ancestors is kept here and the sacrificial meat hangs here overnight. The beer is believed to be sipped and meat licked or eaten by the ancestors in this area.

The next day, that is, the day of the party, people will enjoy the meals and drinks but the most important part is the ending part of the celebration where *Amabutho* (warriors) and family

members, gather in the kraal and start singing the '*ihubo*' (See above page 37). They sing from there to the *indlu enkulu* (Great Hut). At the hut, *Amabutho* will sing and dance and say some chants (see page 35-36), thereafter a bog calabash of Zulu beer will be given to them to drink to their satisfaction.

7.9 Preparation for Sacrifice

The preparation for this process also differs according to diviners, clans, tribes and families. However, it is common notion that all consider this process as a religious act for which they prepare faithfully.

Among the Zulus, it is believed that this process can only be accomplished in religious setting by the mediation of religious agents. It is therefore very important that the officiator or the one nominated to perform this duty, is well prepared for this occasion. For instance he must observe certain rules in order to be fit to approach the Gods. He must be 'clean' and therefore, on the night before the sacrifice he must keep away from women and sleep in the hut where only men sleep. And the beast must be at home the night before the sacrifice. Even if it has been bought, it must be delivered before that night and also be around the home the whole day of the sacrificial afternoon.

7.10 Who Is/ Is Not?

A person who is believed to become an effective ancestor, that is who has jural rights to punish or reward, is the one who had such jural rights when alive. To such persons, a sacrifice known as *ukubuyisa* is performed (*buya* - come back, *buyisa* - bring back). If the deceased was a man, a goat and an ox are sacrificed, if a woman, a goat and a cow. In other words, the sacrifice reflects the gender of the deceased. If the deceased was unmarried and therefore a minor, a goat suffices,

and the sacrifice is not referred to as *ukubuyisa*. In this instance, it is calculated rather to integrate him/her with the body of the ancestors, in which case s/he comes home in their company.

The power and influence of an ancestor is proportionate to the power and influence s/he wielded whilst on earth. Further, the character of the ancestor spirit is the same as the character s/he bore on earth. Death does not change him/her at all and a cruel person remains a cruel person.

7.11 Punishment

The ancestors are thought of as withdrawing their protection as a group if they are angered. Without their protection a person is expected to be exposed to all kinds of dangers. In this sense they are not directly responsible for a death that may be brought about by other factors because in the absence of their protection, a person is vulnerable to sorcery and other environmental dangers as well as being prone to accidents.

The ancestors concerned are particularly annoyed if the performance of this sacrifice is overdue. If the new ancestor is a parent, he is said to come home in anger and bring chaos and a series of misfortunes. Such ancestors are said to be the harshest. Krige (1950:95) writes: "... the old woman is usually malicious in the context of an overdue *buyisa* ceremony". As a parent she can afford to be harsher to her children and even to her husband.

8.1 Ukungena - Courting and Fortification

After a year, the widow will be courted by brothers of the deceased who are eligible to *ngena* her in accordance with the Zulu custom of the levirate and the widows are free to choose whom they wish or decide not to be *ngena*'d at all and leave the husband's kraal for their own home.

Should a widow decide to leave the husband's kraal, she does that by leaving very early in the morning of the day of celebration and feasting.

This '*ngena*' custom was a way of avoiding the mixing of children from the other clans, resulting in unhealthy life between the deceased offspring's and those of a new man.

On the other hand when a widow is prepared to be *ngena*'d or when she has chosen that she felt would suffice the vacuum left by the deceased, the feast is held for two aims:

1. A public declaration is made that the woman is being *ngena*'d by so and so, and she is now recognized as his wife for all practical purpose, though the resultant children from this woman, will be considered children of the deceased.
2. Ancestors are informed that the woman has chosen to abide with the people of the kraal and ancestors are asked to bless her and reward her for her pleasing behavior.

8.2 Fortification

Before any sexual intercourse of the above-mentioned new couples may take place, the man must first undergo a process of fortification. The man must be specially fortified lest he follows his predecessor to the grave, for it is thought and believed that possibly the wife may have been used as a channel with which the wizard effected the death.

The integration ceremony is usually held simultaneously with the release of the widow from the restrictions of mourning. On this day she also receives admonitions or instructions. This is the day she is also enabled to go among people again. Speakers on this occasion stress the point that it is in everybody's fervent interest for the homestead to remain a strong one, one that can use its

assets to the benefit of the community and which will in turn be recognised and helped by the community. "Every homestead that dies out is a threat to the community as a whole". (McAllister 1986). McAllister has this to add, as part of Admonitions.:

The way to conduct yourself is to ensure that the people who were visitors/beneficiaries of this homestead in the past should be such even today It will become apparent if you divorce yourself from people, you will see the paths lead here disappearing. There will be no path leading here. This will stigmatise you as a person who is no good among people whereas it used to be a homestead for people, this one of Mhlakaza's..... If the person inside the hut does not work for people, you will notice by the disappearance of the path (McAllister 1986:179-180).

The above process is a means of trying to retain control over her and her children by the family, relatives and the community.

9. Conclusion

Modern funerals have changed our lifestyle drastically. Poor families battle to pay for modern burial expenses which could cost anything up to thirty five thousand rands (R35000) or more. I remember in the past mourners had no interest in the quality of the coffin nor artificiality. Nowadays people go to funerals just to see the coffin. One can overhear people whispering and commenting. "Was the coffin imported?" "How much do you think they paid for the coffin?" People are more concerned with the price than comforting the bereaved family. Modern funerals have become glamorous, ostentatious affairs. The more sophisticated a funeral is, the more attention it is likely to draw. People even talk of the funeral of the month, if not of the year!!

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Appendix A: Modern Zulu Funeral Programme

- 1. Master of Ceremony
- 2. Hymn : [Favourite of the deceased]
- 3. Opening prayer by [nominated person]
- 4. Remarks by M.C. [where the M.C. gives the direct instructions]
- 5. Obituary [usually read by family member or co-opted member or M.C].
- 6. Speech by the person who was always there for the deceased during sickness

Music

- 7. Speech by one of the family members. [Welcoming Speech]
- 8. Speech by in-laws of the deceased.

Music

- 9. Speech by grand-parents of the deceased
- 10. Speech by close friend of the deceased.

Music

- 11. Speech by in-laws from either daughter/son
- 12. Speech by a colleague

Music

- 13. Speech by a neighbour
- 14. Speech by a church member [only for a Christian member]

Music

- 15. Speech by a Community member
- 16. Speech by an Induna or Councilor

Music

- 17. Vote of thanks and announcement [Family member]
 - 18. Sermon and closing prayer
 - 19. Reading of flowers and donations
 - 20. Paying of last respect
 - 21. Procession
 - 22. Graveyard service
 - 23. Cutting of the sod or throwing of soil
- Final : planting of flowers by women.

Appendix B

Schedule of Interviewees

	Name	Place	Age	Occupation	Topic	Telephone
Mr.	Nyawose V.	Izingolweni	60	Induna	Izinkondlo	
Mr.	Nyawose O. L.	Railway	43	Labourer	Amahubo	031 3614581
Mrs.	Nyawose M.	Mdlazi	51	Housewife	Traditional funeral	0837342129
Mr.	Mkhize B.A.	Chesterville	68	Pensioner	Traditional funeral	031 2640415
Mr.	Ngiba D.	KwaMashu	54	Principal	Modern funeral	0315041051
Mr.	Mthethwa	KwaMashu	18	Soccer player	"amagents"	0836851461
Mr.	Mbatha M.	Umlazi	49	Lecturer	"after tears party"	0832897461
Mr.	Mngadi N.	Umfume	46	Teacher	cremation	031 9095417
Mrs.		Lindelani	50	Isangoma	Cleansing of wounds	0823422353
Miss	Dlamini M.	Nqabeni	38	Nurse	Hospital rituals	0394330509
Mr.	Shozi N. D.	Umthwalume	58	Captain	Escourting	0832781171
Miss	Mbanjwa B.	Harding	27	Teller	Rural funeral & seating order	0826985561
Mrs.	Kleinbooi S.	Umlazi	50	D. Principal	Unveiling	0827472451
Mr.	Mhlongo S.	UND	47	Librarian	Twins' funeral	260 2322
Mr.	Mchunu M.	Berea	59	Taxi owner	Traditional rituals	0833601246
Mr.	Mthethwa J.	Ntshanga	57	Inyanga	"buyisa" ritual	0834730974
Mr.	Ngcobo D. B. F.	Woodlands	51	S.E.M.	Church councillor	031 4628944
Mr.	Mkhize F.	Jolivet	62	Businessman	Grave-shelf	0824268130
Miss	Mtshali G.	Russell St.	32	Teacher	Flowers	0829383792
Mrs.	Myeza	Dududu	65	none	Rural funeral	0399740242
Mrs.	Ngaloshe C.	Port shepstone	48	D. Principal	Modern funeral	0396855675
Mrs.	Malaphane P.	Hibberdene	36	Shopkeeper	Dress code	0396992549
Mr.	Wanda M.	Midllovo	49	Ex-principal	Izintelezi	0835026664
Mr.	Cele A.	Izingolweni	51	Businessman	Tents	0395341107
Mr.	Zungu S.	Dalton	54	Plumber	Shembe funeral	0832746972
Mrs.	Mthembu J.	KwaMakhutha	58	Ambulance driver	amagents	031 9051333
Mr	Clive	Chesterville	47	caretaker	amagents	031 2640046