

*Orality and Transformation
in some Zulu Ceremonies:
Tradition in Transition*

By

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DECLARATION

I, **Thobile Thandiwe Ngcongo**, declare that except for quotations as indicated in the text and such help as I have acknowledged, this work, *Orality and Transformation in some Zulu Ceremonies: Tradition in Transition*, is entirely my own work and has not been submitted for a degree to any other University.

.....*T.T.*.....

T. T. NGCONGO

Date:*23/12/96*.....

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late father, **Petros Zama Ngcongo**, my wonderful mother Mrs **Regina Ngcongo** for her moral support and prayers, and also to my precious little **children** with every wish for their future achievement both in life and in the field of education.

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- All my informants who supplied me with information, whose names and other particulars are listed in Appendix 2.
- My dear husband Siphon, with whom I shared a lot of my excitement and frustrations regarding this study, for his endless encouragement. He was always there when I needed him most. To him I say **Mahlase!; Bhovungane!**
- My profound gratitude is conveyed to all the members of my family, including Mrs Doris Langa who has helped me in many ways - even caring for my little children in my absence. **Aunti waze wangisiza.**
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- Last, but not least, to "God".

ABSTRACT

This study contains a variety of oral traditional formulae found in various places in KwaZulu-Natal which are used in the *imbeleko* ceremony and these formulae are analyzed in their traditional form and in a number of new formulations. The *imbeleko* ceremony is a celebration to introduce and welcome a newborn child, but occasionally even an adult newcomer may be introduced to both the living and the ancestral spirits.

A full description of the *imbeleko* ceremony, the reasons for performing it, the procedures followed, an analysis and comparison of mnemotechnics used in the formulae and finally the application of orality-literacy theories to the rites and the text are provided. Variations observed in my research in the manner in which this rite is celebrated from family to family are pointed out.

Zulus regard it as a must to perform the *imbeleko* ceremony for every child in the family. The reasons for this ceremony vary from (a) thanksgiving ceremony, (b) the official introduction of the child to ancestors, (c) the rite performed late to protect the child from misfortunes, (d) and to provide an opportunity for naming the child. There is also the *imbeleko* ceremony that may be performed in the life of the child when there are indicators that there is a need for it to be done i.e. when there is illness that seems incurable, and psychological crisis which occur even though the *imbeleko* had been performed. There is also a type of *imbeleko* ceremony for the first child that combines the child's maternal and paternal families.

This dissertation concludes by comparing and contrasting the *imbeleko* and the Christian baptism. It is possible changes have taken place in the *imbeleko* ceremony as a result of external influences of the western Christian life. *(NB This dissertation is accompanied by a video)*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In real practice these days, one finds a mixture of new and old ways of celebrating customs, one observes that these ceremonies are still oral in the sense that they are handed down from one generation to the next, through oral channels.

Many Zulus are still not sure whether to do away with the tradition in favour of the modern way of life. They have modified most of their rituals because of strong impact of westernisation. Western influence has caused people to fail to identify the place and appropriate ways of celebrating these Zulu ceremonies. Looking at the examples of *imbeleko* ceremony one finds that the procedures followed are a mixture of western culture and African culture. What exactly happens these days is that on the first day of the ceremony they stick to African culture and on the following day they convert everything to a normal western birthday party, conforming to western standards accepted in metropolitan areas.

A common practice like the wearing of *isiphandla* (armlet of a hide) cut from the slaughtered beast which is worn around the wrist of the right hand is a subject of interesting debate among the Zulus. Some feel that *isiphandla* is no longer of value. Once a person has *inyongo* (bile) poured on him, the whole ritual is complete. Most Zulu customs are modified to meet changing circumstances. Some people still argue a lot about *isiphandla* as a result the common procedure followed these days is that of wearing *isiphandla* just on the actual day of the celebration. After that the *isiphandla* is hung at the *umsamu* (the back portion of the hut where ancestral spirits live) with the *umhlwehlwe* (the caul).

1.2 BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION

Chapter one serves as an introductory chapter. It outlines the aims of the study, methods and problems in research work, review of relevant literature and definition of some Zulu terms used in the entire dissertation.

Chapter two deals with *imbeleko* ceremony for the young child, different stylistic techniques employed by the elders of the family to report the beast to the ancestors, and variations which occur among the different *imindeni*.

Chapter three discusses the *imbeleko* for an adult which is done when there are indicators showing that there is a need for it to be done. This part of the dissertation also looks at psychological cries which occur - even when the *imbeleko* had been done.

Chapter Four deals with the kind of *imbeleko* which involves both families, i.e. maternal and paternal families. This is the *imbeleko* for the first-born child. This part also looks at the impressive way Zulus follow when they name their children.

Chapter five which summarises the need or reasons for these ceremonies. When a child grows up and enjoys sound health it is normally said *imbeleko* ceremony for the child had gone well. This section also looks at differences and similarities between infant baptism (rite of blessing children) of those children born of Christian parents and the *imbeleko* ceremony and checks whether or not traditional the Zulu cultural code in this instance of *imbeleko* has changed. If there is a change, how much, and what about the future?

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

This study deals with oral expression in some Zulu ceremonies i.e. *Imbeleko* ceremony for a **child**, *imbeleko* ceremony for an **adult**; as well as the naming ceremony in Zulu society. The word "ceremony" in this dissertation will be used as a subset of a ritual. A Ritual is formal and repetitive behaviour which is expressive and symbolic as well as it is instrumental.

My aim is to investigate the *imbeleko* ceremony which is a family celebration and a token of hospitality conveying the message that the additional member of the family is welcome to both the living and the ancestors of the family. ~~The *imbeleko* ceremony for the child among the Zulus is done once, unlike the birthday party in western culture.~~ Again there is no age limit for this ceremony. To the Zulus *imbeleko* ceremony is a special occasion that is specifically aimed at welcoming a new person to the family or just familiarising that new person with the new world.

This ceremony contains an oral text which is used in various ways. I will also analyze various changes that have taken place both in the formula and actions of the *imbeleko* ceremony. This study will be limited to the types of *imbeleko* ceremonies and the naming of the child in Zulu society as indicated above. The intention is to look at these ceremonies as an oral text and at the same time, the changes that have taken place, possibly a sequel to the external influences of the Christian baptism and other features of western civilization.

These Zulu ceremonies and their performance described and analyzed in this dissertation have been selected because they continue to be honoured by the Zulu people in spite of changes in the lifestyle of the Zulus because they deal with a situation which is important in their life.

1.4 DATA COLLECTION

1.4.1 Interviewing and recording problems

This dissertation investigates selected examples of the Zulu ceremonies paying more attention to their format as well as their function.

Four methods of research have been used to obtain information from the Zulu people from all walks of life.

- (a) The study of these Zulu ceremonies has been undertaken through direct observation of traditional and modern Zulu ceremonies. As a participant observer on some occasions I was able to gain direct contact with the families involved. I was an overt observer on many occasions for ethical as well as human reasons. This type of observation helped me in the sense that respondents had an opportunity to interact with me freely and openly.
- (b) Video recordings of some of the ceremonies were supplemented with interviews with participants in the ceremony. I must admit that when video recordings of these ceremonies were made in some of them there was what Goldstein in 1964 called "induced-natural contexts" because the performer knew that these were being recorded.

Apart from information supplied by my informants I also used to have telephonic communication with others, the rationale behind this being to retrieve what might have been left out.

- (c) Unstructured interviews were conducted where the interviewees were free to add their other experiences in regard to such

ceremonies. The recording was done late in this case, away from interviewees.

- (d) Lastly, information was obtained through audio recordings of groups of adults who are semi-literate. My task as an interviewer was to facilitate free and active discussion by means of prepared questions. Unfortunately there was that bit of artificial situation.

I observed that in group interview situations there is a tendency for a group to say the same things about the situation rather than to contribute different individual ideas and experiences.

All the interviews were done in Zulu before they were translated into English. Although the translation was not a big problem, there were problems of significance of words deeply rooted in the cultural itself. As is common about oral expressions some words are metaphorically used and others have culture connotations.

In doing the translation I was careful not to destroy the oral connotations. Finnegan comments on the problem of translation as follows:

There are varying viewpoints on translation, but one key question is always concerned with **what** is being translated. The answer often depends on views about the nature of language and communication, There are more problems still in the model of a language as expressiveness of action - which many would support for translation of oral forms - for this means attention to content, including performance, non-verbal accompaniments and audience interactions.

(Finnegan, 1991:10)

Data collection was done from 1 March 1995 to September 1996. I used a tape-recorder and video tape to capture the discussion with the permission of each informant. All interviews were always preceded by a warming up introduction of casual conversation. Interviews were translated into English when they were transcribed.

1.5 REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Some basic works on oral literature are the following:

1. Ong (1982) in his book *Orality and Literacy*. The technologizing of the word. His theories and ideas are a guide and influential in this study. He declared it totally impossible in the oral culture to think through something in non-formulaic language, non-patterned, non-mnemonic terms. He also stated that in oral culture experience is intellectualised mnemonically.

.... all expression and thought is to a degree formulaic in the sense that every concept in a word is a kind of a formula.

(Ong, 1982:36)

Ong also makes a list of characteristics of orally-based thought and expression. According to Ong words are both power and actions. He also argues that everyone in oral culture expresses himself in formulas and thinks in formulas. He was worried about how people recall things as they do not have written texts. He concluded that in primary oral culture people do their thinking in mnemonic patterns. What is important is that oral language is imagistic. Finally, he points out that man communicates with his body which means man does not only use words in conveying information, man also uses some parts of his body which speak louder than words.

2. Jousse (1990) in his book *Oral Style* suggests that oral style language is the style of conversation of discourse directed to the audience. It is designed to be simple so that it will be remembered easily and transmitted by memory. Jousse said man creates a very stable and manageable framework whereby he preserves in the living form and transmits to his descendants his past experience.

Jousse supports the view that in most cases the spoken word will be accompanied by gestures. Thus Jousse's assumption is supported by this study where audible as well as visible movement is essential for the performance of these ceremonies. Important features of oral culture are gestures, postures, facial expression, the way the voice is modulated and verbal statements which are more or less fixed and also vocal characteristics such as pitch, the use of pace and tone. Sometimes in oral culture the vocal sound like clearing the throat or belching are an important part of the ceremony, if such sounds are left out, the ceremony might be considered as not having been accepted by ancestors of the family.

3. Finnegan (1970) *Oral Literature in Africa* emphasises a number of important characteristic of orality. According to her orality is very dependent on the performer who composes it, on a specific occasion. There is a great relationship between the delivery and the event. The gestures used e.g. tone, facial expression etc intensify the performance quality of orality.
4. Berglund (1976) in his book on *Zulu Thought Patterns* emphasises that traditional Zulu ancestors are in reality literally present at a ritual or ceremony. This is also the same view as the Christian belief that Christ is alive and literally present at any gathering held in His name.

5. Mbiti (1967) in his book *African Religion and Philosophy* maintains that certain ceremonies are important for our understanding the thinking, beliefs as well as the way of life of African people. He explores a number of symbolic situations among African people. His work enhances our understanding of the meaning of certain symbolic things like the rite of wristlets.
6. Krige (1965): In *The Social System of the Zulus*. She discusses the rites performed from time to time during babyhood when he talks about child life. Although he never talks about *imbeleko* as such, his emphasis is that the status of a man is measured largely by the number of children he has.
7. Schapera I (1946): In *The Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa* writes about cultural changes in the tribal life as a result of Western civilization over South African people which has affected African life in many ways. He also points out that Christianity has in many cases provided an acceptable substitute for the old tribal religion, but the African religion persists strongly.

1.6 DEFINITION OF SOME ZULU TERMS

The full meaning of these terms will be explored in this dissertation:

Umsamu : the back portion inside a hut opposite the doorway. Where things like beer pots are placed and also where a goat is hung after it has been slaughtered and skinned. The visiting ancestral spirits also reside at the *Umsamu*.

- Impepho* : species of small everlasting plant with sweet smell, it has white or yellow flowers. It is dried, then burnt when the elders of the family are communicating with the ancestors.
- Umbondo* : gift of food or beer, sent by affianced girl's side to her fiance's kraal as a gift of goodwill.
- Inyamazani* : special animal medicines which are burnt and inhaled by a child.
- Ukuphulula imbuzi* : stroke the goat or rub the goat very gently while the elder of the family is communicating with ancestors.
- Inyongo* : bile or gall bladder.
- Ukuchithwa kwegazi* : spilling of the blood or slaughtering of the beast.
- Ukushweleza idlozi* : to apologise to the ancestors or to make an appeal for help.
- Isiphandla* : armlet of a hide which is worn by that particular person for whom the goat was slaughtered.
- Izithakazelo* : clan praises.
- Imbeleko* : beast presented by the father in honour of a visit from his newly-married daughter (Doke & Vilakazi, 1990:72).

Imbeleko is a celebration which is a token of hospitality to introduce the new arrival in the family, to both ancestors and living people. There is no age limit in Zulu society. The main aim is that of welcoming a new person to the new world. Normally a goat is slaughtered.

Imindeni : close relatives of the family.

Ukulanda izigqoko : in African culture when entering someone's house you have to take off your hat as a sign of respect. As a result when men are drunk it is very common for them to leave behind their hats. They have to go back and collect their hats on the following day. But the phrase now *Ukulanda izigqoko* is being used to mean going for the remains of a feast which are generally eaten the day after the big feast.

Uzalo : people descended from one common ancestor.

ivezandlebe : child of a married woman from adultery.

umlanjwana : child born of an unmarried girl.

Ukukhunga : to give gift to a baby.

CHAPTER 2

IMBELEKO FOR A CHILD

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In Zulu society the birth of a child is a moment for celebration, an important occasion because Zulus believe that marriage is incomplete until a child has been born. Zulus also believe that it is the ancestral spirits that create the new life in its offspring (Bryant, 1949). This is the reason why, on the wedding day, the girl's father has to pray for the help from the ancestors on her behalf.

In the main Zulus prefer to perform this welcoming ceremony when the child is still very young and in this way the child is introduced to the society. Zulus, like many other African groups, follow certain prescribed rituals after the birth of a child. These rites are more or less similar to those practised by other non-African nations such as giving a child a name, when a child is brought out for the first time to be seen by relatives as well as friends.

In Zulu culture the *imbeleko* ceremony involves the father of the child since all religious activities that pertain to the ancestral spirits require him as the priest of the house. However the cases of illegitimate children be *umlwanjwana* (child born of unmarried girl) or *ivezandlebe* (a child of married woman from adultery) are different. In the case of *umlwanjwana* in most cases the child is adopted by his mother's parents through this *imbeleko* sacrifice (Ngubane 1977). In the true sense the *imbeleko* sacrifice helps to identify each child as an individual. But both traditionalists and Christians consider illegitimacy as *amahlazo* (disgrace), as a result such cases are dealt with secretly. (This aspect will be discussed fully in Chapter 3) Vilakazi 1958 states that Christians as well as traditionalists condemn illegitimacy, but once it has happened the children are accepted and loved.

2.2 WHAT IS THE *IMBELEKO* CEREMONY?

"Imbeleko: A goat, which is the first sacrifice offered for a baby and which places it under the protection of the lineage ancestors".
(Ngubane 1977:59)

Ngubane also regards the *imbeleko* ceremony as a form of "baptism". Other people may refer to the *imbeleko* goat as the *imbuzi yesiphandla*. This is because this goat will provide the first wrist-skin band for a baby, but not all Zulus prefer to wear *isiphandla*.

In Western culture there is no special word for the *imbeleko* ceremony, but it is similar to a birthday party. The difference is that it is done once, at any age or period. Most Zulus will prefer to perform this kind of ceremony when the child is still very young as a thanksgiving ceremony to the ancestors, as Africans do not doubt that every good thing is a blessing from the ancestors.

Literature dealing with Zulu culture has very limited information on how this particular ceremony was celebrated in ancient days. It is fair to assume that like all other ceremonies it has changed over the years. The general procedure and reasons for *imbeleko* ceremony are no longer the same as they were in ancient times.

In ancient times it is said that, normally a goat was slaughtered for a woman immediately on conceiving. Its skin then was worn over the shoulders to cover the breast and stomach throughout the period of pregnancy. This pretty goat skin was called the *isidiya*. After delivery the *isidiya* became an *imbeleko* (a baby carrying skin) which she later used to carry her baby upon her back (Bryant, 1949). We know that the Zulu method of carrying a baby

is for a child to sit astride on the mother's back. Should it happen that things like miscarriage happen the *imbeleko* (carrying skin) is not thrown away, because there was always hope that another child might come. Hence in Zulu society there is a good proverb which runs: *Akulahlwa Imbeleko ngakufelwa* (The carrying-skin is not thrown away at bereavement).

Nowadays there are four main important reasons why Zulus perform *imbeleko* ceremonies. These are:

- (a) Thanksgiving
- (b) Introducing the child to the family formally.
- (c) The rite performed to protect the child from misfortune.
- (d) To provide the opportunity for naming the child.

2.3 PROCEDURES REGARDING THE *IMBELEKO* CEREMONY

However there are general procedures regarding the *imbeleko* ceremony, no matter what the type or reason for the *imbeleko* ceremony.

Before the actual ceremony Zulu beer is brewed, once the beer is fermented the grand old lady of the house as priestess of the family places *umancishana* (small pot of beer) at the *umsamo*. This will serve as the first offering to the ancestors. The goat is then taken to the main family hut for slaughter. It should be a goat from the family's cattle kraal. If the goat does not come from the family flock, that goat should at least be given time to eat grass from that family's garden.



Before the goat is slaughtered, the *impepho* is burnt (Appendix 3(a). Burning of *impepho* is symbolic, an invitation to the ancestors because if the ceremony commences without this invitation to the ancestors, the child may

not be officially welcomed. The elder reports the goat to the ancestors. The elder talks to the burning *impepho*. While the elder is praying to the ancestors the child is expected to stroke (*phulula*) the goat. If the child is too young or scared to touch the beast, the hands of the child are guided so that it can have physical contact with the animal. The person handling the child should not touch the goat.

One of my informants said the idea behind this physical contact with the sacrificial beast is to ensure that the ancestors identify it with the child. He also pointed out that the ancestors rely on the living for direction. They cannot help themselves i.e. they cannot supply themselves with food. This means when such ceremonies are performed, everything must be made clear to them.

After the prayer the presiding elder will order the slaughter and preparation of the goat (Appendix 3(b)). The goat may be slaughtered in a particular hut or just outside the hut. This will depend on the wishes of the particular *umndeni*. Another important feature of the slaughter of the goat is the idea that it should bleat aloud before its actual death as an indication that it has been heard and accepted by the ancestors.

The slaughtered beast is skinned and the *viscera* are taken out very carefully and cleaned. The contents of the stomach, *umswani* (chyme) are regarded as dangerous if they get into the hands of the *abathakathi* (witch-doctor) who uses them for witchcraft purposes. Again *inanzi* (the third stomach) of a goat is handed over to the grand old ladies who will keep it safely for consumption because tradition does not allow children to eat that part of meat, owing to the belief that eating it leads to forgetfulness.

On that very same evening the whole family will consume a dish of the *viscera* of the goat. The goat usually is hung at the *umsamu* (Appendix 3(c))

where the ancestral spirits dwell. This will be an indication to the ancestors that this beast is slaughtered for them. At the very same time this will help to keep the meat so that it can be eaten the following day. *Inyongo* (bile) is poured on the child.

The manner in which this rite is celebrated varies from family to family. The following similarities and slight differences were observed in my research:

Mr Blose

- * said he anointed the child with bile on the right index finger, then on the big toe of the right foot. The child would not wash that evening, until the following day.

Mrs Ngcongco

- * suggested that as the old woman of the house, she normally anoints the baby with bile around the neck. The child may not be bathed unless it is absolutely necessary.

Mr Mjoli (*psychiatry male nurse*)

- * He rubs the bile on the head and face of the child (Appendix 3(d)). That child will not be bathed at all. In the morning the child will be taken to be bathed before he is seen by anybody, except the one who anointed him/her with the bile. Other people may tamper with the medication.

The Mbhele family

- * Lets the child swallow a few drops of bile, then also pours a few drops on the head and to the right shoulder, then on the hand. The child may not be bathed until the following day after 2 o'clock.

The Makhathini family

- * This Xulu clan does not draw particular lines on how to pour bile on the child. The main thing is just to anoint that particular child with bile so that the ancestors will be able to know exactly who the new arrival to the family is. No bath until the following day.

Mr Mhlongo

- * Anoints the baby with bile all over the body. The gall bladder is hung at the *umsamu*. The child must not have a bath that night.

The most common feature is 'no bath at night'. The reason for this is to attract the ancestral spirits to the child during the night for a blessing. In fact the pouring of the bile is intended to call ancestors to lick the child and look after him well. The bile is a symbol of identification. All the families also stated that this ceremony is performed at night, preferably after the child has been bathed.

Another variation is that one must slaughter a male goat for a baby boy and female goat for a baby girl. If the animal is not available or a wrong one has been obtained the discrepancy should be brought to the attention of the ancestors.

The Makhathini family from Lamontville, mistakenly bought a wrong goat and they had to *shweleza* (plead) with the ancestors to accept that animal. To show courtesy the grandmother paid a symbolic R2,00 fine. In this way they acknowledged their guilt.

The following morning the male members of the family cut up the meat for cooking. As usual the head goes with the back of the neck (*isixhanti*). Then the meat is put on trays (*izicayi*). The cooking is always done in the

yard outside the huts. Even if the weather is bad, the cooking of ceremonial meat should be in the yard.

Due to sophistication Zulus no longer use the skin of the beast for carrying the baby. Instead the baby has to wear (*isiphandla*) (Appendix 3(e) arm bracelet cut from skin of the sacrificial beast. The child will wear it on the right wrist. My informants said that the *isiphandla* also serves as a symbol of identification. The ancestors will be caused to continue to identify with the child by that *isiphandla*.

When the meat is thoroughly boiled, it will be taken in *izicayi* into the hut of the eldest lady of the family where it will be distributed in trays among various members of the family and the guests who may be seated inside the hut or in the yard. The youngest person from each group will cut up the meat into small pieces. The participants will pick these small pieces with their fingers. Women may eat their own privately away from men.

There is also an extension of the ceremony, in the sense that one may find that as usual males may come back to collect *izigqoko*, the remains of the feast generally eaten the day after the big feast (ibid p.10).

Most of the *imbeleko* ceremonies observed by the researcher show a strong influence of the times. As a result the usual birthday party is normally held (Appendices 3(f) and 3(g). In fact the traditional part of the ceremony ends on the second day.

2.4 WHY IS *IMBELEKO* CEREMONY PERFORMED IN ZULU CULTURE?

Nowadays Zulus simply take it as customary to perform the ceremonies such as that of the *imbeleko* for every child in the family but when one examines critically their devout speeches when the family heads pray to

ancestors, one can differentiate their main reasons for performing this ceremony. Their main and major reasons are not exactly the same. In most cases there is an overlap.

In this thesis I will now try to discuss these main reasons for performing the *imbeleko* ceremony with examples of devout speeches from different people who were observed by the researcher.

2.4.1 The Thanksgiving ceremony and the official introduction of child

Thanksgiving ceremony and the official introduction of the child ceremonies are very close to each other. When the family performs the thanksgiving ceremony in Zulu culture, they always officially introduce the child to both the living members and the ancestors. The thanksgiving ceremony in Zulu culture is one of the common acts of expressing thanks and grateful acknowledgement of benefits or favours from the ancestors. This is always a public celebration. In Zulu culture all good things come from the ancestors, hence the need to thank them everytime good fortune comes.

In practice, the thanksgiving ceremony will follow the usual procedure of *imbeleko* ceremony. In his prayer the head of the family will make it a point to say orally the reason for the ceremony. The main point in all such ceremonies is that the ancestors must know exactly what is happening. My grandfather used to say:

- 1 *Eh! nina bako Ngcongo!*
- 2 *Nina bako Phambuka!*
- 3 *Mkhonto obukhali, obala amazwani*
- 4 *Celeshe!*
- 5 *Nongwandla*

- 6 *Nangu uPhakamile kaNhlanhla,*
- 7 *UNhlanhla kaPhethilos, uZama*
- 8 *UZama kaMthwazimane*
- 9 *UMthwazimane kaYise,*
- 10 *UYise kaNanana,*
- 11 *UNanana kaMavundla.*

- 12 *Ngikhuluma nani maPhambuka amahle,*
- 13 *Ngisho kini nonke maNgcongo*
- 14 *Ngithi bhekani lomntwana kaNhlanhla*
- 15 *Ngithi lomntwana owenu maNgcongo*
- 16 *Ngithi lomntwana wavela kini maNgcongo*
- 17 *Ngithi nibheke lomntwana nimsibekele*

- 18 *Nanti ichwanyana niyalibona*
- 19 *Ngaleli chwane ngithi imbeleko yalomntwana*
- 20 *Ngaleli chwane ngizwakalisa ukubonga ama Dhambuka*
- 21 *Simile isikhathi eside silinde lembali*
- 22 *Ngalembali siyathokoza*
- 23 *Sithi namhlanje yizona-ke izimfanelo zenu lezi.*

- 1 (Eh!) you (people) of Ngcongo
- 2 You of Phambuka
- 3 Sharp spear, which counts the toes!
- 4 *Celeshe!*
- 5 *Nongwadla*
- 6 Here is *Phakamile* of *Nhlanhla*
- 7 *Nhlanhla* son of *Petros*, *Zama*.
- 8 *Zama* of *Mthwazimane*,
- 9 *Mthwazimane* of *Yise*,

- 10 *Yise of Nanana,*
11 *Nanana of Mavundla*
- 12 I am praying to you benevolent *Phambuka's*
13 I appeal to you all *Phambuka's*
14 I pray, guide this child of *Nhlanhla*
15 I declare this child is yours *Ngcongo's*
16 I acknowledge this child was created by you *Ngcongo's*
17 I pray, guide this child and protect her.
- 18 Here is a humble beast, you can see it,
19 This humble beat is a carrying skin for this child
20 This humble beast is an acknowledgement of you
21 We waited for a long time for this 'flower'
22 With this 'flower' we are happy
23 We believe today, these are your requirements.

While the head of the family prays to the ancestors the *Umndeni wesisu* (ineage by womb) is expected to be present. The elder will burn *impepho* and as a sign of respect all the members in the family will bow quietly. Lines 20-22 clearly show that the main reason for performance of the *imbeleko* ceremony for the baby was just to thank ancestors for the baby girl which in lines 21 and 22 when the child is referred to as a 'flower' for which they had been waiting since the marriage of their parents.

The head of the family or the grand old lady as the priestess is accountable to the ancestral spirits for all actions of the members of the household. They protect their families from trouble and they are even answerable for their misdeeds. In this way it is the duty of the father or grand old lady to act as intermediary between their members of the family and the world of ancestral spirits.

The stylistic techniques employed by the elder of the family in the above devout prayer are those of formal poetic language. In oral culture real communication depends on the successful use of language or speech. Ong (1982:34) states:

.... you have to do your thinking in mnemonic shapes by ready oral recurrence. Your thought must come into being in heavy rhythmic balanced patterns in repetition or antithesis. ...

As the patterns occur in the above prayer each pattern is repeated twice. Lines 1-5 are praises of that particular family, these *izithakazelo* are used to call on the help of the clan ancestors. In fact clan praises are held in very high esteem by all Africans. They are an important part of the (*hlonipha*) respect culture of these people.

Lines 6-11 provide the family's genealogy which goes back five generations. This brings about a deep-rooted love and loyalty in the family. A love and loyalty which must stay with the family all their lives. Again the power of words is demonstrated in that speech which makes prominent pulses in the pattern series itself:

*Nangu uPhakamile kaNhlanhla,
UNhlanhla kaPhethilosi, uZama
UZama kaMthwazimane
UMthwazimane kaYise
UYise kaNanana
UNanana kaMavundla*

The repetition also used above adds richness and depth and at the same time there is that intensity of emotion. The cross-linking in lines 6-10

makes that poetic, the last word of one sentence becomes the first word of the next sentence.

.... Phakamile Nhlanhla
Nhlanhla Zama
Zama Mthwazimane
Mthwazimane Yise
Yise Nanana
Nanana Mavundla

In fact the above lines have a perfect repetition. Jousse 1990 also points out that:

Any other form of oral creation occurs naturally in all its spontaneous purity in beautiful propositional clichés.

The Zulu language like all other African languages abounds in poetic techniques like linking. Lines 13-17: where initial linking occurs.

Ngi
Ngi
Ngi
Ngi
Ngi

This repetition of the concord results in a flow of language which gives spontaneous music to the ear. The gestures accompanying the speech also indicate a strong belief in what the performer is saying. Line 16 emphasises the fact that according to the Zulu people it is the ancestral spirit who creates new life in the form of an offspring. The speaker acknowledges that the ancestors have created this little baby.

In line 18 he talks about '*ichwanyana*' (a very small animal). In fact that is an understatement, typical of a respectful Zulu gentleman who belittles his action in order not to look boastful in front of his superiors, the ancestors. The real gentlemen in traditional society are able to use politeness in an unobtrusive way which finally confirms their superiority as human beings.

In general Zulus perform such thanksgiving ceremonies to thank ancestors for safe delivery and also to ask them to protect the child. In lines 20 and 21 he makes use of metaphoric language. Instead of the word "baby" he uses the word "flower" to show the value of this child.

2.4.2 The rite performed to protect the child from misfortunes

In Zulu culture when good things in general are realised in the family or by individual members, people will say "the ancestors are with us" (*abakithi banathi*) and when misfortune strikes they will always say "the ancestors are facing away from us" (*abakithi basifulathele*). This philosophy dominates their thinking. As a result they try to avoid being in a position where they will find themselves lacking ancestral protection.

From birth the child needs ancestral protection, otherwise the child might have misfortunes. Misfortune is always conceptualised as mystic force which creates a condition of poor luck (*amashwa*). Therefore *amashwa* have to be warded off by the slaughtering of a beast. In the case of a child, the rite is performed to protect him from misfortunes. The *imbeleko* rite, is the first offering for that particular child. The goat would be slaughtered to ask for blessing and protection from ancestors.

A devout speech by Mr. Blose goes thus:

- 1 *Wena Bhutazi kaMshololo!*
- 2 *Wena mama ntombi kaNdlovu!*
- 3 *Mdabula, sobona nyoni zodla busuku*
- 4 *Nampa abazukulu bakho babheke*
- 5 *Nabanye obaba mkhulu abangaphe-zulu kwakho ababheke*
- 6 *Nemikhuhlanyana ekhona ayiphele!*

(You Bhutazi son of Mshololo!

You mother, daughter of Ndlovu!

Mdabula we shall see birds we feed by night

Here are your grandchildren, guard them,

And other ancestors who are older than you must also guard
them

Even minor ailments now must stop!)

This prayer was recorded at Port Shepstone, the original home of Mr Blose who works at the University of Natal. Although Mr Blose has another home around Durban, he says "all family rituals have to be performed at my original home, the home of my parents and ancestors".

Mr Blose used a lot of body language when he was reporting the goat to his ancestors. He bowed in reverence to his ancestors. His voice was varied and calm and he displayed a good command of the language:

Wena Bhutazi kaMshololo!

Wena mama ntombi kaNdlovu!

As Mr Blose says the above two lines he also talks with that original force and a bit of a rhythm. It is very common in oral tradition to use a fair

amount of repetition which provides the necessary aesthetic form, an example:

Wena

Wena

In the first two lines Mr Blose pleads with his mother, which gives us a good picture of the crucial role played by women in Zulu culture. In traditional culture the woman is subject to her own and her husband's ancestors. She is a member of the two families. When she dies, she is brought back (*ukubuyiswa*) by her sons and automatically she then joins the ancestors of the patrilineal clan. In this case, that is why Mr Blose directs his prayer to Mandlovu (mother).

Although Mr Blose did not go into details in his recitation of the family genealogy, line 5 says it all. He simply combined all his ancestors. Mr Blose's style is not the same as that of my grandfather, but the formulae are more or less the same. In the first example the aim of the ceremony was to thank ancestors. This second example (Mr Blose's prayer) his aim is to ask for protection from ancestors to protect and guide his grandchildren from all sorts of misfortune.

In line 6 he talks about minor common ailments. In oral culture illness is frequently attributed to ancestors who for one reason or another, may be displeased and then cause illness. Ancestors, it is believed also prevent illness in traditional society. In most cases illness up to the position of death in Zulu culture is associated with the lack of ancestral protection, where it may be said ancestors were annoyed by omission of a relevant rite, therefore they decided to withdraw their protection as well as gifts of good fortune.

2.4.3 To provide opportunity for naming a child

The *imbeleko* ceremony is also performed specifically to provide a good opportunity for naming the child. This type of *imbeleko* is also known as the **naming ceremony**. The normal procedure for *imbeleko* is followed and at the end an opportunity for naming a child is provided.

This ceremony does not necessarily mean that the child is named that day. It may mean the names of the child are made public on that day. In most cases the child might have been named privately by his parents or grandparents. At times the child is named while it is still in the womb, but this is something that is private and confidential because one does not tell other people until the right time comes. Prof. Mazisi Kunene maintains that one may even ask the child while still in the womb:

Uwubani bani?

(What's your name?)

Although this sounds strange, speaking of his own experience Prof. Mazisi Kunene emphasised that his own children (twins) told him before birth: "I am *Mzokufa*" and the other one "I am *Mzosukuma*". *Mzosukuma* means the nations will stand before him, in other words he will be so great, while '*Mzokufa*' indicated that he is accompanying the brother, he even articulates the journey.

In fact, the names of people in a well-defined cultural group have an abiding interest. The interest may be historical, human or regard the parents' wishes for the child's life. In Zulu culture it is very common that a good name identifies or distinguishes a person from others; at the same time it must be unique and original, yet capable of carrying a favourable message. As a result we find that psychologically a person is his name.

In the naming ceremony in most cases the old lady may pronounce the name of the child but, at times everyone at the particular time may be aware of the child's name. The old lady as the priestess of the family burns *impepo* or *izinyamzane* (animal medicines) to present the child to the ancestors. She will then pronounce the name:

Nangu uPhakamile,

Umntwana kaNhlahla!

Umntwana wenu!

Nize nimbheke nimkhulise

(Here is Phakamile,

Child of *Nhlanhla!*

She is your child!

Look after her and nurture her.)

After the prayer the old lady may then give others the opportunity of naming the child. A person can acquire a sizeable collection of names. All African names have meaning. The naming of a child is therefore an important occasion. Family members in most cases may give the child names that mark the important occasion of the child's birth. For example if the birth occurs while the mother or father is still studying the child would be named. *Mfundo* if it is a boy and *Nomfundo* for a girl to indicate that 'education' was an important thing in this family.

Some names may indicate the personality of individuals. Other names given to a child may be taken from ancestors who might be thought to have been very good in the creation process of the child.

As mentioned above, a person may have a number of names. My eldest brother has the following names:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Nhlanhla | 2. Excellent |
| 3. S'fiso | 4. Lucky |
| 5. Tham'sanqa | 6. Bhekama Ngcongo (Bheki) |
| 7. Senzosihle (Senzo) | 8. Madoda |
| 9. Velaphi | |

Fortunately out of so many names only the first three appear on his ID document. The reason for his having such a number of names was that he came after four girls, so everyone in the family was too excited as you can see when scrutinizing all his names.

But let us examine the first two Zulu names. *Nhlanhla* and *S'fiso*. The name *Nhlanhla* is taken from the word *inhlanhla* meaning 'good luck'. It was a valuable achievement to have a baby boy after four girls. The name *S'fiso* is taken from the verb "fisa" to wish or desire to have something. They wish to have a baby boy, therefore *S'fiso* will mean their wish was granted.

In *Msimang's 'Buzani ku Mkabayi'*, an historical novel, the 'naming ceremony' is discussed but the difference is that Jama the king of the Zulus, great grandfather of Shaka pronounced the names of the children. In that case they were twins, *uMkabayi* and *Mmama*. Because those were children of the king's a number of cows were to be slaughtered. A small beast is normally slaughtered to celebrate the ceremony. It is believed that a big beast might overwhelm the child.

CHAPTER 3

***IMBELEKO* FOR AN ADULT**

3.1 *IMBELEKO* CEREMONY PERFORMED LONG AFTER CHILDHOOD

The procedure is the same as that of the *imbeleko* for a young child. The difference is that it is done when there are indicators showing that there is a need for it to be done. At times it is done when there is a persistent illness. In traditional society illness is frequently attributed to ancestors who may be displeased for a number of reasons (ibid p.25). Ancestors do not only cause illness but also prevent whatever illness affects the members of the family. For man to perform in this capacity ancestors should be acknowledged and shown respect through appropriate rituals. Failure to appease the ancestors may result in all kinds of problems. Fair warnings of their displeasure are always given.

Unseemly behaviour by a child that is contrary to the norms and values of the family as well as those of the whole society is one of the major indicators that the *imbeleko* ceremony must be done. This unacceptable behaviour may differ from child to child.

The following are the examples of these indicators:

- * stealing
- * stabbing people with knives
- * house-breaking
- * bullying
- * truancy
- * sickliness
- * nervousness

When a child repeatedly displays the above indicators, the family is forced by such circumstances to perform the *imbeleko* ceremony.

Another reason for an *imbeleko* for a grown-up child is the child's psychological cries which occur even though the *imbeleko* has been done. In that case it is re-done. The reason advanced for this is often that the ceremony was not done properly.

The following are just a few examples of repeat performances:

3.2 MR MJOLI'S STORY

Mr Mjoli is a psychiatry male nurse, now in 1995/96 is at University of Natal, Durban in faculty of Social Science for Nursing Administration and Community Health Nurse. He was born and bred at Port Shepstone (Kwazulu-Natal). Mr Mjoli shared this story —

'I fathered a child outside of marriage. Originally I was interested in accepting and maintaining this child and as a result we made an agreement with my wife to take the child. Unfortunately the biological mother of the child opposed the idea. Education-wise the child went as far as Std 6 and after that she had to work at a shop to assist her mother's family financially.

While working in the shop she bought two chickens, within a short time maggots emerged from these chickens at the very same time that her bed was covered with maggots, although she had no wound, a thing from which maggots might come. After that she had a severe headache. She was then advised to use snuff (*ugwayi wamakhala*) as a treatment for headaches and general body pains.

One day when she was fast asleep she was approached in a dream by her grandmother from the paternal side who advised her to go to her father and tell him to perform the *imbeleko* ceremony for her.

She hesitated. After a few days she came to me. I immediately arranged for the *imbeleko* ceremony and it was carried out successfully. Because she was no longer a young child, gifts like expensive clothes to wear, were bought for her. Those clothes were to remain as a symbol of the ceremony.'

Mr Mjoli's story emphasised that the *imbeleko* has no age limit. In Mjoli's case they performed this ceremony because there was an inexplicable illness. More than five of my informants shared similar stories where they were forced by illness to perform such a ceremony.

3.3 *ZODWA'S STORY

Zodwa is a female teacher with a junior degree from the University of Zululand. She teaches at a well-known school in the Umbumbulu circuit. She became pregnant by a Mr Mkhize, a very well-known rich gentleman in the transport industry. After delivery of the baby boy Sipho, she found out that Mr Mkhize was already married to two other women. She decided against marrying him because of this. She carried on with her teaching career. During this time Sipho's father, Mr Mkhize took custody of him.

About two years later Zodwa married another teacher and lost contact with Sipho. One day Zodwa found herself in trouble.

* *Names have been changed to protect families*

Zodwa shared this story —

'Although I will not cover all the problems, Siphohad up to that stage developed suicidal tendencies. In short Siphohad been in a state of upheaval and turmoil. He had emotional and behavioural problems. By the former I mean abnormality of emotions but no loss of sense as such. By the latter I mean he was a nuisance.

Siphohad stayed away from school without permission and for no reason. At home he shirked his duty. Siphohad's disruptive behaviour worsened when he stabbed two boys with a screwdriver, puncturing their stomachs. Both boys had to be hospitalised.

For years the father tried to find help for Siphohad from social workers, psychiatrists, psychologists ... but he remained like a "freak" who could not be helped. One day Siphohad phoned me saying he was going to commit suicide. Siphohad was at that time very argumentative and a nuisance to everyone.

I prayed for his situation. One day the living God turned a page to me. With the help of God I went to a certain prophet of the Zion church who said I must bring to him something like an item of clothing of Siphohad's so I contacted Siphohad privately and he gave me his T-shirt. The prophet took his T-shirt and lit two candles next to it. He prayed to God for a long period. Then finally he said I must try to contact Siphohad's father and tell him that Siphohad had from birth up to now never been officially presented to his paternal ancestors. Therefore the *imbeleko* ceremony must be performed otherwise Siphohad will really commit suicide.

Fortunately the father accepted the idea although he feared this might create a problem since none of his ± 9 children had had *imbeleko*. In spite of this fear he went ahead and performed the *imbeleko* ceremony for him.

After the ceremony Siphoh returned to a more settled pattern of living.'

Again the above story emphasises the psychological value of the *imbeleko* ceremony in Zulu society.

In *Nguni* society generally, the *imbeleko* ceremony is an answer to many difficult questions. It is also done to show love to the child. A good example is this story of Siphoh who became aggressive and that aggression needed a solution. Aggression is frowned upon by both the family and society.

Zodwa married a man from another family and left the child with the biological father. The behaviour of the child, Siphoh, in general signified the lack of love from the mother. According to psychologists, a male child is more closely related to the mother.

Fortunately both parents automatically attributed the situation to their having not performed the *imbeleko* ceremony. This ceremony was done when the child was big enough to understand and had everything explained to him. The child understood the seriousness of proper behaviour. But again he was shown how much he was loved. This psychologically boosted his self-esteem and changed his behaviour.

3.4 MR MHLONGO: (Father of twins)

Mr Mhlongo is a library assistant at the University of Natal. He lives at KwaMakhutha Township. He has twin children. Twins are treated with special care in Zulu society. Mr Mhlongo believes that twins have special powers. As a result he often slaughters beasts for these two children. Talking specifically about *imbeleko* ceremony he said that unfortunately due to carelessness he had to re-do the *imbeleko* ceremony. Psychological cries indicated that there was a need to do it again even though it had been done. Mr Mhlongo shared this story —

'In the case of the twins I mistakenly forgot to let my children stroke the goat (*phulula imbuzi*). After a long time I discovered that there was the same complaint about the *imbeleko* ceremony. One of the twins had a weeping eye. I tried a number of doctors but they failed to correct it. Finally I was forced to redo the *imbeleko* ceremony.

Irrespective of the size of the animal, it is important for the child to have physical contact with the animal. For my twins I slaughtered one animal. Both of them had to *phulula* the same animal. In our culture twins are considered as one person, even the names should be more or less the same. In fact from birth to death they are taken as one. When one dies we say *wendile* meaning he has taken a long journey.'

Though doctors, to a certain extent, have their own special medicines and methods for treating patients, at times complicated ailments arise, where both traditional and medical doctors fail. Then a return to the spirits or ancestors is automatic among the Zulus. Very often they suspect that ancestors are angry because one of the customs has not been observed.

Zulus believe that ancestors are always willing to help more of their lineage who treat them with respect and obedience (Schapera 1946).

3.4.1 Text for re-do ceremony

Mr Mhlongo's re-do *imbeleko* ceremony was as a result of an inexplicable illness and he says:

*Nina bakoNjomane kaMgabhi!
Oweduka iminyakanyaka
kwathi ngoweSine watholakala.
Sithole esimdudukazana.
Nansi inyamazane.
Wena kaBhebhe!
Xosha lomkhuhlane okhona kuThamsanqa.*

*Yebo, sesizwile ngephutha lethu
Lokungamenzeli imbeleko ngendlela.
Sithi shwele,
Dlomo!
Sithi shwele,
Langeni!
Siyaxolisa ngephutha lethu.*

(You of Njomane of Mgabhi!
Who strayed for years and years
On the fourth year he was found.
The young heifer that already goes with the bulls.
Here is the buck.
You son of Bhebhe!
Chase ailment from Thamsanqa.

Yes, we heard about our mistake
Of not performing the *imbeleko* in the correct way.
We beg your pardon,
Dlomo!
We beg your pardon,
Langeni!
We ask for pardon for our mistake)

Analysis of the text to show features of orality

Lines 1-4 are the praises - names and praises addressed directly to ancestors. In this case as the elder was making an appeal for help to the ancestral spirits, these praises were recited deliberately.

However, lines 1, 6, 10 and 12 use the vocative form:

Njomane kaMgabhi!
Bhebhe!
Dlomo!
Langeni!

In lines 9-13 the performer uses a technique that gives a musical effect.

Sithi Shwele
Dlomo!
Sithi Swele
Langeni!

Thus the above example forms the following pattern:

- a _____
- b _____
- a _____
- c _____

In line 5 the performer, instead of saying 'Here is your beast', prefers to call the beast "inyamazane" (a buck) as if he is talking about a very small animal.

3.5 GUILT ON THE PART OF THE PARENTS

Motivated by the story of Zodwa where *umnumzane* had to perform *imbeleko* for the first time for one of his ± 9 children I interviewed a number of my informants about similar cases, where *umnumzane* had omitted to perform the *imbeleko* ceremony for all the children in the family. Most of them said it is contrary to custom. In fact all the children in the family should be introduced formally to the ancestors. But one of my informants, Mr Mphemba, an old teacher said —

'I personally still owe the ancestors ceremonies for two of my kids who have not yet been officially presented to my ancestors. Normally I perform the *imbeleko* ceremony for each child when they are still young. To do this I go back to my original home (*Kwethu*) at uMfume. Because my parents at uMfume have died it has become very difficult for me to go there, since there is no one there. That has caused me to delay up to now the ceremonies for these children.

Each time, something goes wrong about those two children, I always feel very guilty as "I know" the cause.

It is fair to conclude that not doing the *imbeleko* has a real negative effect on the children. The parents who feel guilty about such an omission jump at even minor odd behaviour observed among the children.

3.6 IMBELEKO FOR AN ILLEGITIMATE CHILD

In our culture the paternal side dominates, even for a child born out of wedlock. In cases where parents are not on good terms, it is always their concern to provide the *imbeleko* ceremony. The mother has nothing to pay, the father is entirely responsible for everything.

Children need a warm stable family relationship, so that they may develop a sense of trust in the human environment. The unwed mother has difficulty in guiding a child towards self-actualization. As a result the child is automatically given to her parents. This may be regarded as a sort of adoption in western culture. But in *Nguni* culture generally such a child's entire life depends on his grandparents. In cases where that particular family, grandparents have daughters only, the grandson becomes the breadwinner of the family.

The grandparents are responsible for organising the *imbeleko* ceremony for that child. Illegitimate children belong to the maternal side of the family. Psychological crisis may result suggesting the need for the child's father's side.

About 5% of the rituals may be unsuccessful. In those cases the real father of the child is to assume responsibility. In cases where that real father is deceased, any close relative of the father from *uzalo* takes the full responsibility and perform the ceremony at his own expense.

3.6.1 Text for mother's side

Ntuli!

Mphemba!

Abase MaBheleni

Abakwa Mphemba ngenkomo

Abanye bephemba ngezibi.

Yingane yenu lena, niyayazi.

Izalwa uThembekile kaZithulele

Yavela kunina lengane

Siyanicela nina enahlakaza amaphela ezweni

Yibhekeni maNtuli

Yisingatheni.

USifiso lono, makavuse umuzi kwaNtuli.

(Ntuli!

Mphemba!

The Mbhele people

Those who kindle fire by means of cattle

While others kindle fire with straws.

This is your child, you know him.

Born by Thembekile of Zithulele

This child came from you

We beg you who dispersed cockroaches in the land.

Guide him Ntuli's

Hold him in your arms

This Sifiso must revive this Ntuli family.)

Analysis

Lines 1-5 are the family praise names as most traditional ritual commences with praises of the ancestral spirits remarks relating to the particular event. Lines 1 and 2 are said in an evocative tone as there are the main names of this clan:

Ntuli!

Mphemba!

Second stanza from line 6 to the end is the real message, the performer clearly tells the ancestors that although the child is illegitimate, he needs the ancestors to take care of him. He also wishes the child to revive the family

Yibhekeni maNtuli

Yisingatheni

USifiso lono, makavuse umuzi

Lines 3, 4, 5, 10 and 11 have initial linking which is a characteristic poetic feature:

Aba

Aba

Aba

Yi

Yi

Lines 4 and 5 have parallelism:

Abakwa Mphemba ngenkomo

Abanye bephemba ngezibi

A specific pattern emerges from these examples. The performer introduces his invocation by calling the key ancestral spirits by name. After this the child who is the subject of the invocation is introduced by name to the ancestors and the ancestral spirits are told the exact nature of the problem facing the child and the family. Having done this the performer then pleads on behalf of the child and the family and concludes by thanking the ancestral spirits in advance for their help.

CHAPTER 4

IMBELEKO FOR THE FIRST-BORN CHILD

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This type of *imbeleko* ceremony combines the child's maternal and paternal families. After delivery the maternal family has to *khunga* (give the presents to the baby). A goat called *imbeleko yakomalume* (the goat from the maternal uncle) is always slaughtered as a custom to indicate that although the child belongs to his paternal home, the separation is not final since two families are still near each other.

This goat in fact is just a gesture of goodwill and a mark of respect. For the maternal family, this is their proudest moment that their daughter is able to bear children, since she has given birth to *izibulo* (first child). Among the Zulu the first childbirth involves a change of status. The mother's name changes to "mother of so-and-so". She joins the ranks of mothers who take care of others instead of being taken care of. It is therefore the responsibility of the maternal family to give their daughter a good mother image, so that she will be confident as a mother, like all other women who are well adjusted to motherhood accept their femininity.

This new role involves both families. That is why both families have to celebrate this event and make a passionate prayer that the womb of this young mother may remain fertile and strong for the birth of more children. To achieve this there must be good communication between the two families. The relationship should be strong so that nothing may extinguish it.

Again there is no age limit for this ceremony. The ceremony could be postponed until that particular child enters university. The maternal family will just act as though the child is brought to the paternal home shortly after delivery.

4.2 UKUBELETHISA CEREMONY

Imbeleko ceremony for the first-born child is also known as the *ukubelethisa* ceremony. The word *ukubelethisa* comes from the stem '*beletha*' meaning give birth or carry on the back. *Belethisa* will mean to help to deliver a baby or to help to carry the baby on the back. It is the responsibility of the maternal family to perform this ceremony.

In ancient times the first-born child was always delivered at the mother's home. This means when the woman is about to deliver, she goes back to her original home. Her real mother under normal circumstances acts as midwife. This was done to make the bride at ease because, generally the woman squats and screams but cannot be free to do this in the presence of her mother-in-law. Then the umbilical cord would be deposited near the house or place where the birth takes place. As a result it is very common among the Zulus to find that the first-born child having his umbilical cord at his maternal home.

Owing to urbanisation most women delivered their babies in hospitals. As a result there is that shift in this custom. To perform this ceremony nowadays the maternal family will invite their daughter to their home immediately after delivery, perform this ceremony to thank the ancestral spirits for her safe delivery. The maternal family will add a gift to their verbal congratulations. Krige points out that:

The mother's parents, if they are alive or the *malume* (uncle) will therefore take an early opportunity of coming to visit the new baby. On this occasion they will bring a present of a goat or beads to *khunga* the child, bestow a gift or "tie up" or make fast its relationship. (Krige, 1950:72)

The maternal family may bring with them a goat to the child's paternal home or they may invite the child to their own home. But most of my informants said that it is the responsibility of the maternal family to invite their daughter with her new-born baby. On their arrival the goat would be slaughtered. An elder may also appeal to the ancestral spirits by burning *impepho*. Not only a goat is presented but also things like a washing basin, a towel, clothes and a sleeping blanket.

A speech recorded by the researcher for *imbeleko yakomalume* ceremony or *ukubelethisa* ceremony held in Mid-Illovo, first week of September 1996 was as follows:

Eh! Mandlanduma!

Ngibanibingelela madoda,

Ngibanibingelela makhosikazi amahle,

Nginibingelela nina nonke.

Nangu uNocuphe kaCuphe.

Isilwane sokhuni!

Kinina nonke enibuthene lapha endlini

Lomntwana uyindaba ezwakalayo emaNgcongweni

IQhude elikhulu uManqofa.

Ngoba akalindanga amathonsi abanzi

Sithe sihlahla amehlo

Wabe esesikhulula ngokushesha.

*Siyabonga thina bakwaLuthuli
Ngoba umlilo usubhuliwe
Yilo iQhude elikhule uManqofa,
Isilwane sokhuni!
Kodwa, nanxa kunjalo sibonga into eyodwa.*

*Namhlanje imbuzikazi ithwele umqhele.
Ngiyabonga, ngiyabonga, futhi ngibonga kulengane
Ngibonga kunina futhi abaphansi, bakaLuthuli
Mshibe!
Mandlanduna!
Bangadl' insikazi balambile.
Luthuli lwezinkomo!
Ngiyabona.
Ngithi lokhu noma kuyichwane nje
Indlala niyakuyithuba.
Umlomo aweyi.
Ngiyabonga!*

(J Luthuli)

(Hail! Mandlanduna.
Greetings, gentlemen
Greetings, beautiful women
Greetings, to you all.
Here is *Nocuphe* of Cuphe
The tough one! (The very fine one)

To all of you in this house,
This child is the object of joy in the Ngcongco family
The big cock, the powerful one
Because she did not wait until things got difficult.

While we were still looking amazed
She set us free immediately.

We are thankful, we Luthulis.
Because the fire has been extinguished.
By this big cock, the powerful one.
The tough one! (The very fine one)
But even though things are like this we are grateful for one thing.

Today the female goat is wearing a crown.
Thank you, thank you, again thanks to this child.

I thank you, the ancestors of the Luthuli.
Mshibe!
Madlanduna.
When they eat a female beast, they are hungry.
Dust of cows!
Thank you!
I say though this is only a lamb .
You will keep hunger at bay.
The mouth does not despise.
Thank you!

4.2.1 Analysis of the praises

This oral praise is elusive. Mr Luthuli uses a technique which adds spice to the language. He tries to change a simple narrative into a form of poetry. He praises both ancestral spirits and his daughter for the birth of the child.

In line 1, Mr Luthuli greets the people very enthusiastically. The aim was to attract their attention.

E! Mandlanduna

(Hail! Mandlanduna)

That is an element of oral tradition to call out in order to stop the people from whatever they are doing. Then in lines 2-4 he greets them formally, according to their rank. He greets gentlemen, ladies then everyone in the house.

Line 5, he uses poetic language, when he calls his daughter:

uNocuphe kocuphe

(trapper of trapper)

By calling her a trapper of trapper he means she trapped the person who was trapping her. She managed to escape every trap set for her, there was a belief in this family that they were bewitched since two other elder daughters were still childless. That is why there was that excitement. He further refers to her as:

isilwane sokhuni!

(The tough one!)

Line 6 describes the physical appearance of this daughter. She is tough. Furthermore in line 9 and 14 he uses metaphorical language. He gives her a certain amount of masculinity by calling her a "big cock".

lqhude elikhulu

(The big cock)

In the 2nd stanza Mr Luthuli gives thanks to everyone who has come to celebrate with his family this big day. He says now everyone in this

Ngcongo family 'knows' his daughter because she has given them the first child. She did not even wait. *Akalindanga amathonsi abanzi*. (She did not wait until she was overwhelmed). Generally when rain begins to fall the first few drops are small and they increase in size when the rain becomes heavier. Therefore according to Mr Luthuli, her daughter was very wise to give birth before the Ngcongo's family started criticising her.

In line 11 he uses an idiomatic expression:

sithe sihlahla amehlo

To *hlahla amehlo* (open the eyes wide) means to look amazed. The meaning is slightly different from its basic one. In this line he means while they were still worried about what would happen to this daughter. The daughter simply set them free by conceiving and giving birth to the child.

He further gives thanks to ancestors of the Luthuli as he believes that they have the power to give when necessary and not to give at other times. By allowing his daughter to give birth, they have extinguished the fire. In line 17 he also reveals that they are not happy about other daughters since they have not given birth to children yet. But he continues to thank them for at least what they have done:

"Kodwa, nanxa kunjalo sibonga into eyodwa"

(Even then, we are grateful for one thing)

Line 18, he calls his daughter a female goat, wearing a crown. By so saying he means his daughter has achieved, she wears a mark of victory. That is why in line 19 he thanks her. Then he thanks his ancestors. Line 21-24 are clan praises, although Mr Luthuli did not render the full version of the praises the bit he did acts as a cohesive force binding the members of the

clan together. He recites them as an expression of appreciation and congratulation at this *imbeleko* ceremony.

Finally in lines 26-29, Mr Luthuli belittles his action. He does not want to seem boastful. Traditional Zulu gentlemen have that tendency of making understatements. In fact the beast was not small at all. That is why in line 28 he affirms that mouths despise nothing.

Umlomo awayi

(The mouth does not despise) they will accept whatever they are given.

Poetic Devices

(a) Repetition: *bingelela*, lines 2-4

ngiyanibingelela

ngiyanibingelela

nginibingelela

bonga lines 13, 19, 20, 25 and 29

13 *Siyabonga*

19 *Ngiyabonga*

20 *Ngibonga*

25 *Ngiyabonga!*

29 *Ngiyabonga!*

(b) Alliteration in line 5 and 11

5 *UNocuphe kacuphe*

Sithe sihlahla amehlo

(c) *Metaphor* in line 18

"... *imbuzikazi ithwele umqhele*"

imbuzikazi refers to the daughter who now has a baby.

Lines 9 and 15

Iqhude elikhulu uManqofa

He calls her a big cock because she has done great things.

Lines 6 and 16

Isilwane sokhuni!

4.3 MATERNAL MOTHER AND *UMBONDO*

After the ceremony of *ukubelethisa* is performed the child and the mother have to go back to their lawful home. Depending upon families, some put the wristlet on the child's mother to symbolise the chain of life, a link which must not be broken. In that case they even sprinkle their daughter with bile (*inyongo*). Others prefer not to do that as they say their daughter is no longer theirs. The slaughter of the beast was the final ritual for the incorporation of the bride into the groom's lineage group i.e. *imbuzi yokubika umakoti* (a goat for introducing the bride).

The maternal mother will be accompanied by a number of married women, taking back the child and mother to their lawful home. They will carry with them *umbondo* gifts. These gifts of food strengthen bonds of friendship. Zulu beer, one of the main gifts, is always included. Beside these *umbondo* gifts, some special presents specifically for this first-born child are brought.

On their arrival a goat will be slaughtered by the bridegroom's father. This is still the extension of the celebration, both families are excited about the

birth of the child. But this slaughter of the beast for *umlingani* in return, is one of the beliefs and customs in Zulu society. Parents-in-law are well received and treated well in Zulu society.

4.3.1 Presentation of the gifts

In oral performance, there should be someone or an audience listening actively in order to bring more meaning to the text. The audience in the true sense listens in silence, but it is also expected to be active. Occasionally the audience can utter shouts like *Musho! Musho!* (Tell us more about him! Tell us more about him!) In the following presentation where the recording was done with a tape-recorder strong shouting, clapping and ululating almost drown the voice of the performer. In this case the representative of the Makhathini family says:

Nina bako Bhungane!

Mthimkhulu!

Hadeb' omuhl' okhonza agoduke

Angaz' axakwa ithambo lasemzini

Sigoloz' esikhangel' umuntu

Sengathi simjamele

(ululating from audience and some say *Musho!*)

Umkhulu Bhungane!

Kodwa awungango Nkulunkulu.

Thina baka Makhathini

Xulu!

Gxabhashe!

Thina esashaya udaka

Kwavela izinkomo nabantu

Thina baseNkweleni

I feel like dancing!
I feel like dancing!
I feel like dancing!
My mother-in-law the Xulus say,
Drink soup
Indeed this is the power of God.

Analysis of the priase

Lines 1-6 are praise-names of the Hadebe clan. The performer recited them at a very high speed as a result there was vowel elision in lines 3-5:

*Hadeb' omuhl' okhonza agoduke
Angaz axakw ithembo lasemzini
Sigoloz esikhangel' umuntu*

instead of

*Hadebe omuhle okonza agoduke
Angaze axakwa ithambo lasemzini
Sigoloza esikhangela umuntu*

The praises also use the vocative form. Lines 1, 2, 7, 10 and 11 have this feature which is of vital importance in these praise-names which are personal names of the ancestors of the clan:

*Bhungane!
Mthimkhulu!*

*Xulu!
Gxabashe!*

There is also alliteration, which is natural and unavoidable in the following example. This results from the concord systems of Zulu, this gives a musical flow to the language:

*Sigoloz' esikhangel' umuntu
Sengathi simjamele*

Lines 15 and 16 the representative gives thanks to the Hadebe clan. He uses the poetic device of cross-linking e.g.

Sizwakalisa ukubonga ...
Sibonga siyanconcoza

thus this example gives as this form



a . . . a

There is also plain repetition in lines 17-19:

<i><u>umkhongi</u></i>	<i><u>Audience</u></i>
<i>kuthi mangi giye!</i>	<i>giya!</i>
<i>kuthi mangi giye!</i>	<i>giya!</i>
<i>kuthi mangi giye!</i>	<i>giya, giya, giya</i>

In the last stanza line 21 the representative uses metaphoric language:

Phunga umhluzi

By saying '*Phunga umhluzi*' he meant the meat that the in-laws provided by slaughtering a beast for her.

4.3.2 Conclusion

In this case, it is not necessary for them to burn *impempo* for reporting. The spilling of the blood (*ukuchitha gazi*) alone is symbolic. While some women are doing work outside the house, others may sing, dance, speak eloquently in favour of the ceremony and also dress up the child with presents. What is important is that they do not sleep at all.

When the ceremony has been postponed presents like expensive suits, a duvet set, expensive blankets, a pair of shoes etc may be bought on that arranged date for the ceremony. Nowadays mother does not only bring presents for that specific child, but presents are also given to the closest members of the family, although more are given to that particular child.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Zulu cultural patterns were established over centuries; their religion has remained the most profound and meaningful amenity, along with its attendant rituals. Although Zulus have been influenced by literacy, they still largely make use of mnemonic devices associated with culture. My interest in this study was the fact that it contains an oral text which is used in different ways. However various changes have taken place in the practice of the *imbeleko* ceremony possibly because of a sequence of external influences of the Christian baptismal rite.

Christianity is not as old as the indigenous faiths in Africa. But it has a deep influence on the lives of the Zulus. In the true sense Christianity is invading their traditional religion. As a result in this closing chapter, I will look at some points of similarity between Zulu ceremonies and Christian infant baptism. Obviously these two issues are too complex to be presented in a few lines of this closing chapter. They deserve a full separate treatment. But looking at them should at least constitute a way of concluding this dissertation.

If two things are compared i.e. the baptism of children and the *imbeleko* ceremony, they must at some point be alike. In the following pages I will compare while looking at a few points of similarity between the two.

5.1 SOME POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN *IMBELEKO* FOR THE CHILD AND INFANT BAPTISM

5.1.1 Why are these ceremonies necessary?

Children are precious and dear to their parents. Most children are born into a family that cares very much. Through Christian baptism a child is born into yet another family, God's church family. In this family there is life. Life itself has a meaning. With *imbeleko* each child in the family is placed under the protection of the ancestors by means of a sacrifice, these ancestors will guard and protect him.

Nowadays most Zulus perform both of these ceremonies because they are not mutually exclusive. Love and blessings are uttered with the hope of bringing some desired good to the child. Among the Zulus there is a belief that a kind of misfortune may be suffered by a child if no sacrifice has been performed to report him. The goal of these rites seems to have been to provide the child with physical and spiritual protection.

5.1.2 What is the best age for these ceremonies?

Both the *imbeleko* and the baptismal rite can be performed at any age. In fact it is never too early and never too late. In ancient times most people preferred to perform these ceremonies at an early age. Those days things were very easy. In the case of *imbeleko*, obviously goats for slaughter were domesticated animals so the head of the family simply took an animal from his flock, then brewed traditional beer. Nowadays the animals are bought for a lot of money. In the case of baptism for the child these days expensive white Christian robes have to be purchased.

Some parents cannot afford this. For some special events people are inclined to worry about what to wear, and end up failing to perform the ceremonies because they do not have the means. It is the duty of the parents to make a decision about their children.

5.1.3 When does the ceremony take place?

Baptism usually happens on a Sunday during an ordinary church service when God's family gather for the service in God's church. On the other hand the *imbeleko* ceremony is usually performed on Friday or Saturday night when the lineage family (*uzalo*) are together.

Both infant baptism and *imbeleko* for a child are something to remember, though they are not the end to the first stage of life. In fact parents on this occasion lay the foundation for ensuing rites.

5.1.4 Gestures and Symbols used

A strong similarity between *imbeleko* for the child and the infant baptismal ceremony, lies in the gestures and symbols used by both the traditionalists and the Christians. The right hand is used, as an expression of the benevolent divine will of God's transfer of strength as well as power.

With the Zulus a piece of skin, bracelet *isiphandla* which is cut from the beast is worn around the wrist of the right hand. This symbol provides a mysterious bond. Even the *inyongo* most Zulus prefer to sprinkle it on the right-hand side of the child's body. Furthermore when the elder of the family reports the *imbeleko* beast to the ancestors, they burn *impempe*. While the elder prays to his ancestors the child is required to stroke the goat with his right hand.

In the case of Christianity, in Mark 10:16 we are told that Jesus blessed the little children by laying hands on them. Such a blessing is common to both these ceremonies. Also in Matthew 14:19, in the description of the blessing ceremony emphasis is on the fact that Jesus 'looked up to heaven' - a gesture to show an earnest plea for a blessing. While in the case of Zulus they will all bow their heads when the elder prays to the ancestors as a gesture of respect.

The proper combination of words and gestures ensures the greatest effectiveness of these ceremonies, there must be a relationship between delivery and the event.

5.1.5 Essential parts of these Ceremonies

There are two essential parts of baptism. The first one is water and the second one is the sign of the cross. In the *imbeleko* there are also two parts, the first one is *inyongo* (bile) and the second one is wearing of *isiphandla*.

The minister or priest pours water either with his hand or from a shell, on the head of a child being baptised and prays. The water is a sign of baptism and water is supposed to possess real power of transformation. Then the minister or priest makes a sign of the cross with a forefinger on the child's forehead and says:

'I mark you with the sign of the cross'

The cross is a sign of deliverance from sin by Christ, who was nailed on the cross.

In the *imbeleko*, the elders will pour bile on the child to call the ancestors to lick the baby and look after him well. The *isiphandla* armlet of a hide also calls the ancestors to continue to identify the child from others and protect him.

5.1.6 Reciting of formulas

Both these ceremonies become a reality when formulas are recited. For both the *imbeleko* and the baptism the person who is charged with reciting the sacred formulas has a great responsibility because the formulas really become beneficent in his mouth. Indeed these formulas must be pronounced, but once pronounced, they are supposed to be beneficial and effective by themselves, not through that particular person's mediation.

In baptism the minister or priest says:

'John, (or whatever name the child is given)

'I baptise you in the name of, the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit.'

In the *imbeleko*, the elder member of the family usually calls his clan praises fully or he may not render the full version of the praises. Then he may also recite the family genealogy, as praises and genealogies in oral culture are always held in very high esteem by all the families. Ong emphasises the importance of genealogies and says:

In a primary oral culture or culture with a heavy oral residue, even genealogies are not 'lists' of data but rather 'memory of songs sung'

(Ong 1982:99)

Examples of different types of texts are shown in Chapter 2.

5.1.7. Celebration

Both *imbeleko* and Baptism are celebrations. The main aim of these celebrations is to welcome new members i.e. rite of admission to the membership of the church and to introduce and bless the new arrival in the family. To both these ceremonies some people invite their friends, relatives and neighbours to join in the celebration. In fact this is a good thing for both the Christians and the traditionalists. This celebration is just like that of a birthday party.

In the case of baptism, the child is introduced and welcomed into the church family. In some churches the child's parents have to choose responsible adults to accompany the child in this celebration. These are known as Godparents or Sponsors who act as good guardians for the child. Godparents for each child can be two or more, but in practice three is enough. The purpose of these Godparents is to try to keep in touch with the child. Even in future the child should know that they are special people who will help him should he encounter problems.

In the case of *imbeleko* ceremony, the killing of the beast itself is an indication of reverence. When Zulus celebrate an important event they slaughter a beast, and after reporting to the ancestors they put drops of bile on the person in whose honour the beast is slaughtered. The *imbeleko* with the Zulus is normally a public celebration. Both the members of the family and the guest act as Godparents for the child.

However both the *imbeleko* and the infant baptism are expected to influence the life of the child positively. In conclusion, Zulus up to the present day maintain subtle yet strong links with their traditional way of life.

5.2 GENERAL CONCLUSION

Although this study was limited to a very small sample, it does indicate clear evidence of change or modification of the *imbeleko* ceremony all over South Africa, particularly among the Zulus. A careful scrutiny of this rite shows clearly that in their traditional life Zulus are deeply religious.

Mbiti comments as follows on the changes brought about by the Christian religion:

These changes have disturbed traditional solidarity, leaving an increasing number of African people with little or no foundation.

(Mbiti 1967:234)

But Mbiti further points out that the Independent Churches, try to provide a comfortable psychological home for all those who are excluded by the church. Mbiti calls this 'Religious concubinage'.

5.2.1 Traditional Zulu cultural code in the instance of *imbeleko*

There are elements of western culture and African culture in the procedures followed these days when Zulus celebrate the *imbeleko* for the child, which has resulted from this encounter between the two cultures.

The findings in this study show that many Zulus who are devout Christians still incorporate in their life elements from their traditional religion. As a result they understand that each child should be placed under the protection of ancestors by means of a sacrifice of a goat known as *imbeleko*. They take this ceremony as a form of baptism. they emphasise that this ceremony must be done within the first few years of a baby's life, to identify each child as an individual.

If for whatever reason the baby dies before the *imbeleko* sacrifice has been performed this will mean that the ancestors do not know who the child is. They will take it for granted that this particular child returned where he came from, because he was not yet placed under their protection.

Ngubane (1977), as well as other informants, report the idea that if a baby dies before *imbeleko* sacrifice has been performed, the baby cannot be integrated with the ancestral spirit through *ukubuyisa* sacrifice (bring back). But if the *imbeleko* for the child had already been performed, the child has a right to be brought back to its home as a good spirit, because children are known as pure and beneficent. (Krige:1950)

Finally, most Zulus these days prefer to perform *imbeleko* for the child when the child completes the first year. In most cases the *imbeleko* for child will coincide with the child's first birthday. Other people are forced by circumstances such as sickness to do these ceremonies early or late.

Another important aspect about all these cultural rites is the fact that in orality, expression is uninfluenced by literacy. The context of speaking remains the same, regardless of literate and illiterate the same cultural defined form of speaking is always obtained.

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your name? _____
2. Your age? _____
3. What is your place of origin? / Where were you born? _____
4. How long has your family been in this area? _____
5. What is your marital status? _____
6. What is your religious denomination? _____
7. Were you born a Christian? _____
8. Does your family go to church? _____
9. Number of children in your family? _____
10. Are all your children residing with you? _____
11. What is your occupation? _____
12. Do you have livestock? _____
13. Is the *imbeleko* ceremony a good practice? _____
14. Give the reason for your answer to number 13

15. Why do you prefer to use a goat? _____
16. Which part of the goat is of significance to the ceremony? _____
17. What is the reason for your answer to number 16? _____
18. Does your religion allow you to honour ancestors? _____

19. How often do you need to hold a ceremony of this nature for your child?

20. How old do you think the child should be when the *imbeleko* is performed?

21. Who speaks with ancestral spirits? _____

23. Why does this person speak with the ancestral spirits? _____

23. Who sprinkles the child with the bile? _____

24. Where are the drops of bile poured? _____

25. Give the reason for your answer to number 24. _____

26. What do you do with the goat's hide? _____

27. What do you do with bones? _____

28. What do you do with horns? _____

29. Who, according to your knowledge is responsible for an illegitimate child?

30. Reason for answer to 29 _____

31. Is this still possible these days? _____

32. What do you think might happen if you do not perform *imbeleko*?

33. What happens if the child dies before this ceremony is performed?

34. When praying to the ancestors, do you consider spirits of infants?

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF INFORMANTS			
NAMES	AGE	PLACE	OCCUPATION
Blose (Mr J)	60	Port Shepstone	Technician
Cele (Mrs Z)	50	Umfume	Principal
Kunene (Prof. M)	63	Durban, Glenwood	Professor (<i>African Literature and Zulu language</i>)
Luthuli (Mr J)	65	Mid-Illovo	Farmer
Makhathini (Mr N)	35	Lamontville	Self-employed
Makhathini (Mrs)	64	Lamontville	None
Matiwane (Ms)	78	Umzumbe	Ex-teacher
Mbhele (Mr S)	43	Umlazi	Carpenter
Mhlongo (Mr S.E.)	45	Groutville	Library Assistant
Mhlongo (Mr S)	39	Umlazi	Teacher
Mjoli (Mr C)	54	Port Shepstone	Male nurse
Mthiyane (Ms P)	40	Umlazi	Subject Librarian
Ncube (Mr S.P.)	60	kwa-Maphumulo	Snr Assistant Librarian
Ndlovu (Mr Z)	55	Pietermaritzburg	Clerk
Ngcongo (Mrs C)	63	Mid-Illovo	None
Ngcongo (Mr M)	59	Umbumbulu	Farmer
Ngcongo (Mr R)	58	Umbumbulu	Taxi-owner
Ngcongo (Mrs R)	62	Umlazi	Taxi owner
Ntuli (Mr B)	51	Nkandla	General worker
Ntsele (Mr E)	59	Port Shepstone	General worker
Ntsele (Mr J)	61	Folweni	General worker
Ntuli (Mr A)	60	Umlazi	Teacher
Sibisi (Mr J)	78	Umlazi	Livestock dealer
Sibisi (Mrs L)	51	Estcourt	General worker
Sibisi (Mr S)	30	Umlazi	Clerk
Wanda (Mrs L.M.)	48	Umlazi	Teacher

APPENDIX 3 (a)



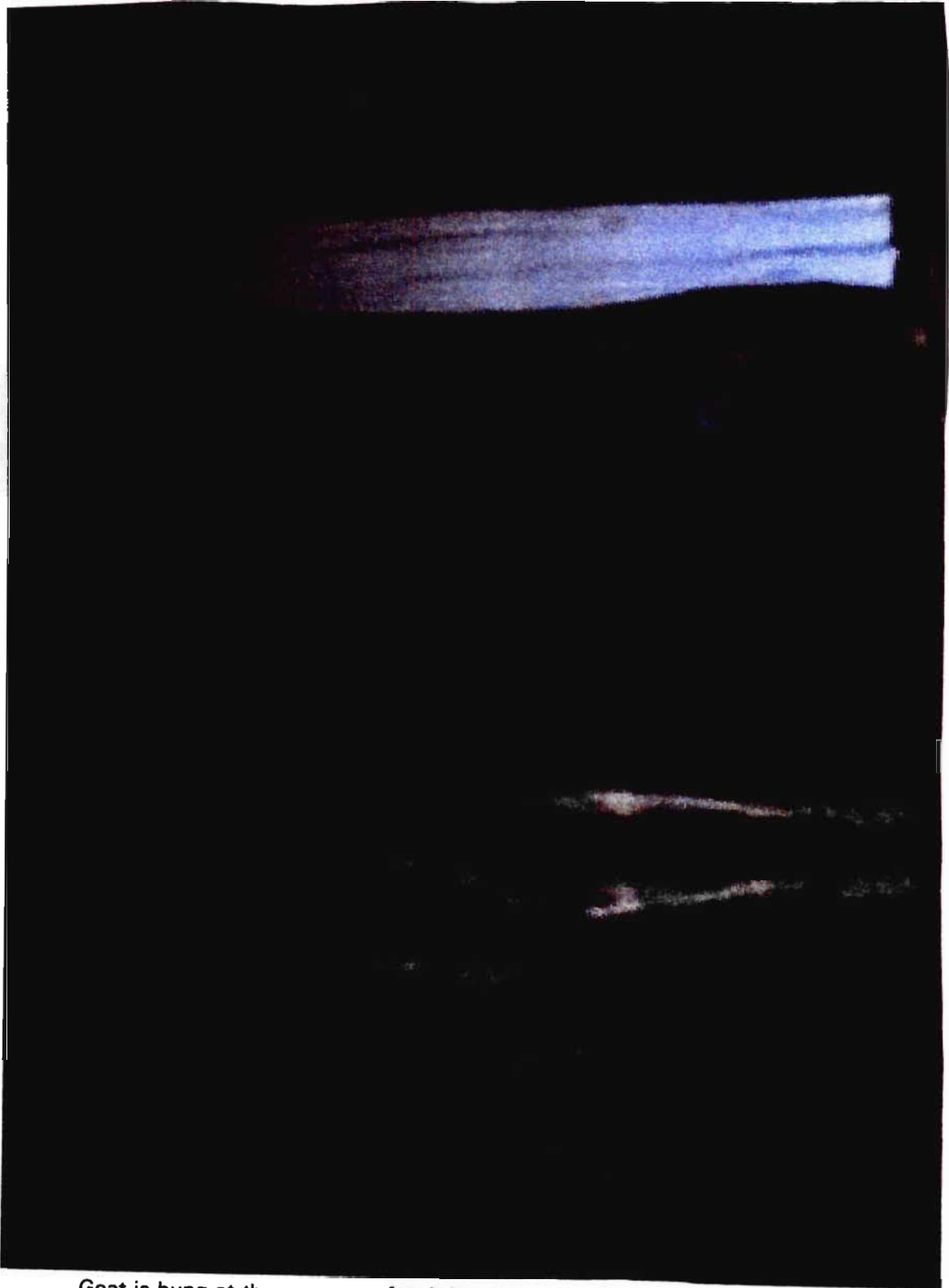
An elder member of the family is burning *impepho*, praying to her ancestors.

APPENDIX 3 (b)



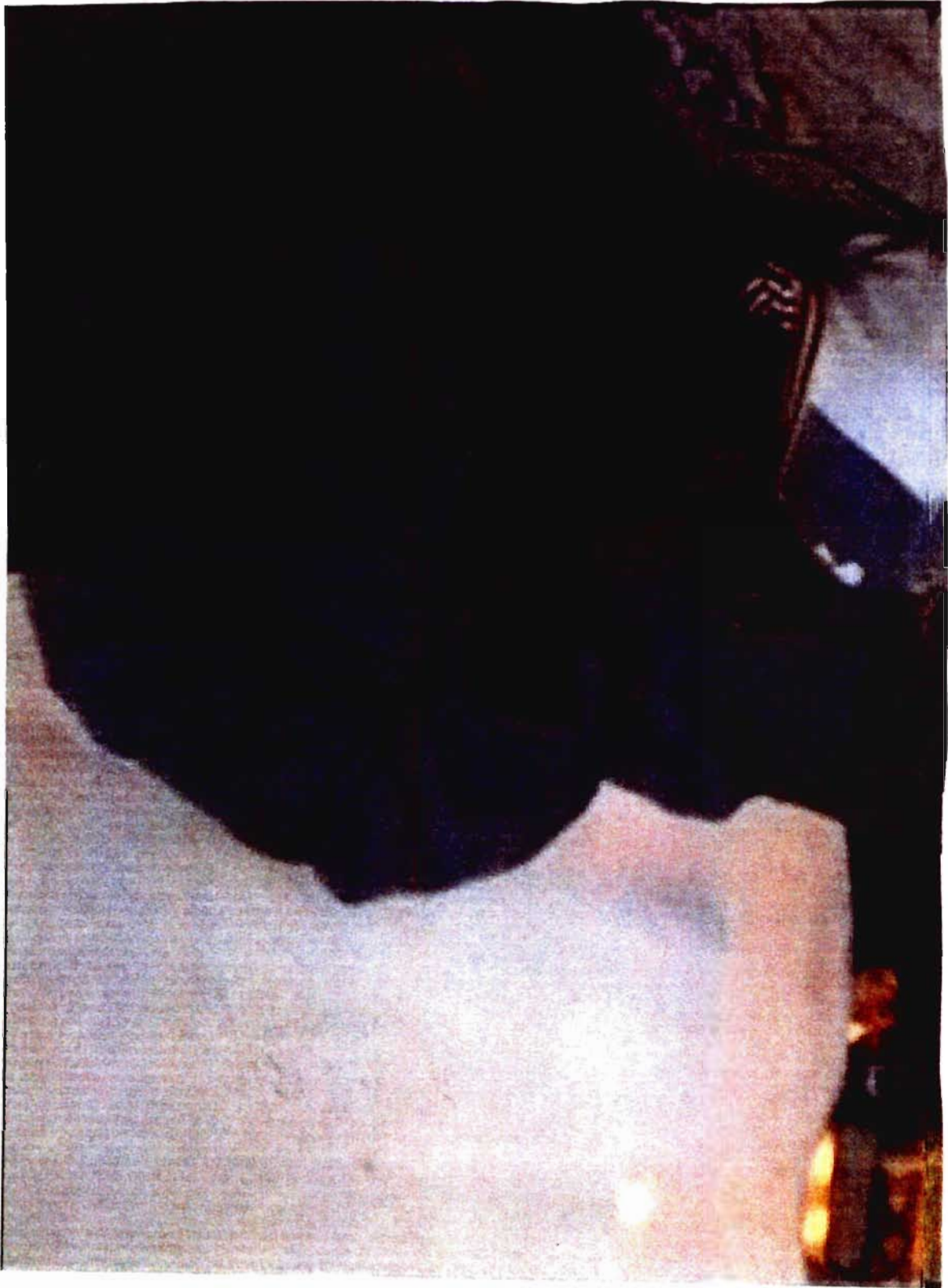
Male members of the family disect the carcass of the goat into small different parts

APPENDIX 3 (c)



Goat is hung at the *umsamu* after it has been slaughtered and skinned, as the visiting ancestral spirits reside at the *umsamu*.

APPENDIX 3 (d)



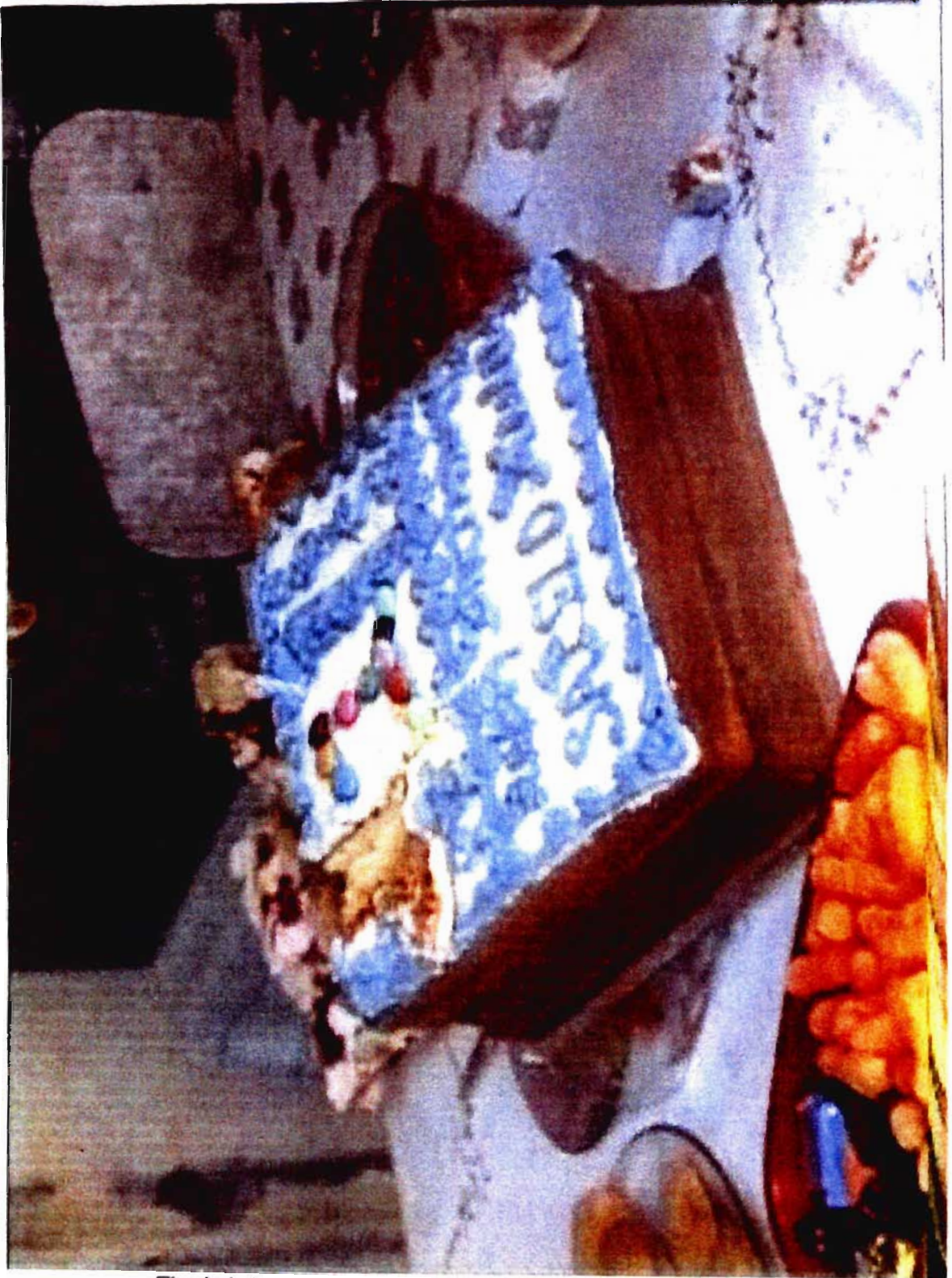
The grandmother of the child anoints the baby with the bile (*inyongo*).

APPENDIX 3 (e)



The father of the child puts the *isiphandla* (arm bracelet) on the child's right wrist.

APPENDIX 3 (f)



The *imbeleko* ceremony coincided with the first birthday of the child, therefore a birthday cake was bought.

APPENDIX (g)



Children celebrating the first birthday of their friend.

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