MONOGRAPHIEN ZUR VÖLKERKUNDE
HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM HAMBURGISCHEN MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE
– VI –

THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF AVOIDANCES AND TABOOS AMONG THE ZULU

O. F. RAUM

1973
WALTER DE GRUYTER • BERLIN • NEW YORK

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER DEUTSCHEN FORSCHUNGSGEMEINSCHAFT

THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF AVOIDANCES AND TABOOS AMONG THE ZULU

VON

O. F. RAUM

1973

WALTER DE GRUYTER • BERLIN • NEW YORK

ISBN 3 11 003460 3
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 73-/74/74

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the South African Council for Social Research whose grants enabled me to visit Zululand in the summer months of 1952-3, 1955-6 and 1956-7. I am deeply grateful for the assistance rendered to me by innumerable Zulu, in particular Princess Magogo, Chiefs Gatsha Buthelezi and Ephraim Ndwandwe, and by many others whose names appear in the pages of this book and in the appendix.

I am specially grateful to the late Professor J.D. Krige for his sustained interest in the progress of this study. I also wish to thank Professors R. Firth, R.F. Lehmann, I. Schapera and Dr. A.I. Richards for advice in particular points.

Miss G.M. Darroll smoothed the English; Professor C.S.C. Nyembezi corrected the Zulu quotations and orthography; Reverends F. Scriba and J. Studerus commented on points of religious custom, and Dr. E.J. de Jager assisted me in drawing the figures and sketch maps.

I acknowledge with thanks the dedication with which Dr. K. Dittmer, the able secretary of the publication commitee of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde, promoted the publication of this work.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for making publication possible by awarding a generous grant. In making this grant the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in a truly magnanimous manner supports a publication which might be thought to fall outside its range of interests, since it is not written in German. By its action the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft undoubtedly creates a model for the international promotion of scholarship.

University College
Fort Hare, C.P.
South Africa
June, 1968

O.F. Raum

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Terminological

acc..... according
Ans..... answer
Br..... Brother, also Br-in-l, BrWi, eBr, senBr, BrSo, BrDa
Ch..... child, Chn ..... children
clan/n..... clan name (isiBongo)
co-Wi ..... co-wife; co-Wis=plural
court/n.... courtesy name
Da..... daughter, also Das, Da-in-l, DaH, eDa, senDa
e..... in front of kinship term: elder, e.g. eBr, FeSi
F..... father, also FF, FBr, FSi, F-in-l, FM, FeBr, FeSi
GF..... grandfather; GM ... grandmother; GPs ... grandparents
Gr 1-3:.... group name (clan/court/regim/n)
H ..... husband, also HF, HM, HSi, HBr
Hl..... Hlonipha (respectful restraints)
In 1-4 ..... individual names (pers/n, youth/n, tek/n, praise/n)
in-l ..... in-law, also M-in-l, F-in-l, Da-in-l
jun..... junior, e.g. in junSi, junBr
k/t..... kinship term
M..... Mother, also M-in-l, MF, MM, MBr, MSi
n ..... name; N.N.... nomen nominandum, so-and-so
PAR..... Pietermaritzburg Archives
pers/n .... personal name
princWi.... principal wife
Q ..... question
RA..... Reserved Areas
regim/n ... regimental name
r/r ..... release rite
r/t ..... rank term
SAC..... sacrifice
sen ..... senior, e.g. in senBr, senFBr
Si..... sister, also SiH, eSi, senSi
SM..... sour milk
So ..... son, SoWi, So-in-l, SoSo, SoDa
spec..... special; esp..... especially
tek/n..... teknonymy name or pater's name
umTh..... umThetho, customary law, law
U ..... umNumzane, kraalhead
Wi ..... wife, also Wis, WiM, WiF, WiBr, WiSi, eWi, junWi, senWi
yo ..... in front of kinship term: younger, e.g. yoBr, yoSi
Za ..... Zila, taboo

The majority of Zulu informants are indicated by numbers; see List of Informants: Appendix, pp. 533ff.

2. Authors and Works, especially in Tables I-XIII and in Ch. I.

A: Asmus (1938)
Aa: Braatvedt (1927)
B: Bird (1888)
C: Callaway (1866)
Cc: Callaway (1868)
Ccc: Callaway (1871)

Col: Colenso (1905)
D: Kidd
DV: Doke-Vilakazi
F: Faye (1923)
Fl-I: Kück
Fl-II: Carbutt
G: Gluckman (1950)
Gr: Grout (1862)
Gib: Gibson (1911)
Isa: Isaacs (1836)
K: Krige (1936)
L: Leslie (1875)
Ll: Ludlow (1882)
LHS: Samuelson, L.H. (1912)
N: Gardiner (1836)
O: Kohler (1938)
Oo: Kohler (1941)
Ow: Owen (1926)
R: van Warmelo (1938)
RCS: Samuelson, R.C. (1923)
S: Samuelson, R.C. Dictionary
Sh: Shooter (1857)
T: Bryant (1905)
Tt: Bryant (1929)
Ttt: Bryant (1949)
V: Lugg (1929)
vW: van Warmelo (1931)
W: Wanger: (1917)
Y: Tyler (1891)
UMP: Umpumulo students and teachers
Film: Norwegian Mission Society Film

3. For comparative purposes Zulu nouns and verbs have been given capitals to indicate the stems. These are the stems in the Doke-Vilakazi Dictionary. The notes on the Method of Entry there should be consulted.

PREFACE

The study of avoidances and taboos is not merely of academic interest. These sociological phenomena are of eminent practical importance. Among members of the 'Zulu Society' which flourished in the thirties and forties, and which represented 'educated' Zulu opinion, there was a decided inclination to preserve and revive avoidance customs. *Hlonipha*, as they are called, are an expression of the pyramid of respect upon which the Zulu ethos is raised. They link in each instance an inferior to a superior status in traditional forms of expressing deference, the link not being without some reciprocity. This system of restraints is felt by many Zulu to be an essential and peculiar quality of Zulu culture and its preservation vital to tribal cohesion in a period of change.

It is not the educated Zulu alone who is interested in the system of avoidances and interdicts. When Mr. M.D. Mkize submitted on my behalf the Tables of Taboos to two chiefs for their comment, they asked him: "Is this what you teach at school?" Mr. Mkize had to reply in the negative, whereupon the chiefs said: "What a pity. Old people are dying with all our precious national customs. You should abandon teaching and go about collecting this stuff. We will propose that all chiefs subscribe to a fund from which you will be paid for your efforts."

Who dares deny that with the vanishing of Zulu culture the world would be the poorer? Mdlayoshi Buthelezi put this point in a positive way: "*Hlonipha* customs give dignity to the Zulu people. In my homestead the observance of respectful restraints results in harmonious relations between me, the family head, and my wives, between me and my brothers, between parents and children. Nor is *Hlonipha* one-sided, since I as head must respect my wives and children in turn. If I did not, they would remind me by word of mouth. If I would not listen, they would remove themselves from my presence as a reminder that I should control my anger. If this would have no effect they would run away from my establishment altogether." Mdlayoshi sums up his view: "A non-Zulu is recognized by not observing *Hlonipha* (respectful restraints); in our eyes he lacks dignity *(isiThunzi)*: he is an undignified person!"

A word about the methods used in collecting my material. Having in 1940 thought about the most suitable way of classifying avoidances and taboos, I drew up the framework of the Tables and filled them in using the literature on the Zulu and field work in Mapumulo District. The material obtained was checked and enlarged in discussions with teachers and students at the Umpumulo Training College. In this stage about 100 individuals were consulted or contributed to the lists. Both students and teachers hailed from all over Zululand and Natal and at that stage no check was kept on the provenance of particular instances. In 1952/3, 1955/6, 1956/7 I spent three months each summer, or a total of nine months, in Zululand in the districts of Eshowe, Mahlabatini, Nongoma, and Nkandla supported by grants from the National Council for Social Research. The list of informants attached gives particulars about my contacts.

The method of presentation necessarily reflects the approach used. While the original survey established the wide range of Hl and Za phenomena in the situations in which they were obligatory, subsequent field work revealed that the whole gamut of Hl and Za observances is never found implemented in any one family, in any particular individual. Each Zulu, and each lineage makes a selection which is determined by historical, cultural and economic circumstances and individual predilections. To express this fact it was found advisable to present a general description of the Hl and Za syndromes and contrast them with case studies which show how in a particular situation the general principles are being applied. Moreover the Tables reveal at a glance that a number of significant features in Hl and Za custom have so far been neglected because of the anthropological tradition of listing and analysing avoidances and taboos as single, disconnected restraints.

It was therefore considered prudent to present both Hl and Za customs in their relational or institutional setting. This procedure tends to make this account rather full; this was considered justified because of the general dearth of satisfactory descriptive accounts.

INTRODUCTION

A. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Before commencing the sociological examination of *ukuHlonipha* and *ukuZila* customs it seems appropriate to investigate the connotation of these two terms in Zulu. In doing so we shall be following two methodological leads: (i) Cassirer reminded us of the old discovery that every language by its structural peculiarities directs the mind of the persons who use it in such a manner that their experience of reality necessarily differs from the experience of people who use a different language. It thus behoves us to find out how the contents of *ukuHlonipha* and *ukuZila* mould the world view of the Zulu. (ii) Evans-Pritchard (1937) has shown the methodological value of seeing such universal phenomena as the title of his book indicates reflected in the cultural idiom of a particular tribe. If we wish to emulate the standard he set in his classical treatise we have to find out what significance the Zulu attach to their avoidances and taboos.

1. *ukuZila*

The meaning of the verb *ukuZila* is restricted in the first dictionary of a Nguni language (Döhne: 1857) to 'abstaining from food'. This limited meaning is also recorded by Kohler (1939: 92). We may here be dealing with a dialectical peculiarity, for Döhne was influenced by Lala (Central Natal) speech, and Kohler records the usage of the Bhaca of Southern Natal. Also Malcolm (personal communication) says: "My experience has connected *Zila* only with food." Colenso and Bryant in their dictionaries, however, include in the meaning of *ukuZila* not only abstentions from food but also abstaining from work and sleep and from the use of words on particular occasions, such as hail, new moon or the death of a headman! Doke-Vilakazi confirm this wider connotation and add a further meaning: 'to show respect by avoidance(!)'

The causative form of the verb *ukuZilisa* means 'to cause to abstain', or as one of my informants rendered it 'to accompany someone in the observance of a taboo'. To express the idea of 'to prohibit' the Zulu do not employ a derivative of *ukuZila*, but the verbs *ukwAlela*, *ukuNqabela*, *ukuNqumisela* and *ukuVimbela*. These verbs are also used in ritual circumstances, e.g., in interdicting the consumption of crops before the First Fruits, when one might expect a derivative of *Zila*. A time of observing abstentions, such as a period of fasting is an *inZilo*. Special signs, e.g., the shaven head, clothes indicating a taboo period, such as mourning, are also covered by this term. *uZilile* is anything avoided, that which must not be touched or spoken to. The verbal relative *okuZilwayo* (that which is avoided) also occurs *1*.

It may be concluded that *ukuZila* (and its derivatives) refers to abstentions observed in certain circumstances as prescribed by custom. It is difficult from the dictionary entries to discover what the underlying motives are. In Zulu *ukuZila* never denotes the abstentions, totemic in nature, which characterize clans in other tribes. The reference is always to events in general such as may happen to members of any human group. The ordinary mourning *zila* will naturally be observed by all the members of a lineage. At the death of a king, the mourning abstentions may be imposed upon a tribe or the whole nation *2*.

An etymological excursus will throw some further light on *ukuZila*. Bryant (1905) notes that *zila* is probably related to *ukuthi zile*, 'to be black, or awe-inspiring'. Days of abstinence or prohibitions appointed at the new moon, after hail, on the death of a chief are called *uSuku oluMnyama* (a black day, day of dark, feared thing) or *uSuku lwenZilo* or *lokuZila* (the day of abstaining). Wanger translates *uSuku oluMnyama* with 'sacred' or 'taboo day' and *isiGodlo esiMnyama* with 'sacred or tabooed enclosure' (in the royal village). The taboo day is awe-inspiring or fearsome on account of dark, mystical powers associated with it, and the enclosure on account of the capital punishment which follows upon its violation *3*.

The Zulu have indeed a large number of expressions similar to *isiZilo*, viz., *umMnyama*, *umHlola*, *isiSila*, *umSizi*, *umSwazi*. All these terms refer to concrete things, such as black colour, physical dirt, or a dark object. In their figurative use the terms express blurred vision, darkness of mind or depression, as well as bad luck or misfortune, moral defilement and ritual impurity. This quality of misfortune or defilement appears to be transmissible.

Comparative Bantu reveals that *ukuZila* is known in all Nguni languages. Kropf interprets Xhosa *ukuZila* as 'to abstain from food, especially by menstruating women and mourners'. MacLean (p.94), restricts the connotation to the taboos of separation relating to women ' in their changes'. Neither Cook (1931), in discussing the taboos of the Bomvana, nor Hunter (1936) those of the Pondo, mentions the word, although it exists in both languages. The Swazi *tila* has a connotation hardly different from Zulu *zila* and the same is true of Thonga *yila* , of which an intransitive use is on record: menstrual blood is said to be *yila* (Junod: 910). *Zila* is well known to the Transvaal Ndebele (Fourie: 162 - 179). Among the Ndebele of Rhodesia the verb *ukuZila* and the noun *iZilo* are found. The abstentions implied refer to food, to work (during mourning, on special days), to sleep (at certain places, for certain people), to certain cattle (e.g., in worship), to certain actions (e.g., sitting on a grindstone, beating a person with a reed, eating from a pot, lying across a footpath) (Davies and Quinche). Read (1956) does not note it for the Nyasaland Ngoni.

The linguistic equivalent of the Nguni *Zila* in the Sotho Languages is *ila* (Pedi). The verb has various derivatives, such as the Passive, the Neuter and the Causative (*ila-Tše* : to avoid, to have an aversion to; *xo-Ilelwa*: it is taboo, prohibited; *iLêxa:* to be averse to; *iDisa* : to make avoid). Clans, which here observe distinguishing abstentions, are called by names describing these. Even an individual who fancies a peculiar abstention, or avoids an otherwise general behaviour, receives a name in which *ila* forms a constituent. Thus an unbeliever is called *mo-Ila-Modimo* , lit. an avoider of God. The noun *seIla* denotes (i) a taboo period, in which work must not be done, e.g., after hail, or in which festivals and dances are prohibited, e.g. , in April; and (ii) the avoided totem, i.e., species of animal or natural object, which is reverenced by its associated kinship group (Kriel; Schapera: 19).

Although the Venda are linguistically and culturally quite distinct from the Sotho, the word *ila* occurs also in their language. It designates (i) what is forbidden on magical grounds since a breach would evoke a supernatural punishment; (ii) what may not be eaten by any member of a clan on non-rational grounds, and (iii) what is contrary to general custom. Many clan/ns are nothing but phrases describing the differentiating avoidance, e.g., *Vha-ila-thoni:* People-who-avoid-the-Porcupine (van Warmelo: 1937; Stayt: 186, 190, 297).

The provenance of the root extends to S.W.A. where it assumes the form *zera* in Herero. The meaning includes (i) 'irrational' custom, as that a man must not sweep huts, and (ii) rules of an ethical nature, such as: relatives must not be killed. The patrilineal kinship groups *(oruzo)* can be distinguished by their food taboos and other exclusive prohibitions. The origin myths of these groups are accounts of how the founder reserved a particular piece of meat to himself (and thus to his descendants) for purposes of magic. The graves of ancestors are *zera*, but also the *omumborombonga* tree reverenced for the first ancestor of the Herero whose name and grave are unknown. The Herero kneels before it, bows and says: ' *Tate mkurume u zera.*' i.e., The ancient father is unapproachable, prohibited (sacred?). He dare not rest in its shade even when other trees have no shade to offer. Here, apparently, *zera* is associated with what may be called religious awe. Parents of twins are considered *zera:* they are placed in a hut outside the village and treated with the greatest respect. A Herero child receives two names, the first in a rite at a sacred fire, which is *zera* and kept secret, and the other which is generally used and refers to an event at the bearer's birth or characterizes him. One use of the word *zera* exemplifies the right of the chief to break a taboo, when necessary. A 'step-brother' of Maherero, who had been adopted by chief Tyamula into his clan, was called *Kavezeri* , i.e., It-is-not-prohibited, scil., to adopt children. (Irle: 77, 87, 216; Lebzelter: 184; Luttig: 73, 76, 97). *Otjizero* is the site of the sacred fire where sacrifices to the ancestors are offered (Viehe: 121)

The root *ila* can be traced outside South Africa to the Tswa in P.E.A., who use *yila* for 'to abstain' (Persson). In the Congo the word occurs as *kijila* (prohibition) or *kizila* (fetish) among the Luba-speaking peoples and the Musuko, where the meaning is said to be restricted to food taboos (Verhulpen: 170ff). The Vili in the French Congo know *kizila* (forbidden thing) (Dennett: 52). For the Congo languages in general the term *chegilla* was already noted by Merolla in the 17th century (Diniz: 198).

In East Africa food and firewood abstentions linked with clans are widely known. They are designated *mugiro* by the Sukuma and *muziro (pl. imiziro)* by the Lacustrine Bantu, e.g., the Kiziba, Rundi, Ruanda and Wanga (Bantu Kavirondo) (Stuhlmann: 137; Johannsen: 87). The

Ganda (Roscoe: 133) clans distinguish between a 'spiritual totem' (= ancestral name), *muziro*, and a second less known totem, *kiziro*. Both are held 'sacred' and never destroyed. The Nyoro clan totem is *umu-zimu* (ancestor), which may not be eaten by the clan members if it is an animal. As such it is named *umuziru* (Mecklenburg: 49; Roscoe: VII). At the coast of the Indian Ocean the Shambala know *ku-zila*, to abstain (Langheinrich). Krapf noted in 1882 two forms *kuzira* and *kuzia* with rather wide connotations: to abstain, hate, avoid, despise, bear a grudge. The Bonde language has *kuzila*, to abhor, and *kudiza*, to abstain. Even in the north-western province of Bantu speech the root is found: the Duala in the Cameroons use the verb *ia* or *ii* for to abstain, to avoid, and the Yaunde *kili*, to forbid, and ki, to abstain. The presence of the root *z(y)ila* has thus been proved for the whole Bantu area with approximately the same meaning. Meinhof accordingly arrives at the Urbantu word *γila* (Meinhof: 1910).

In East African languages *mwiko* usually denotes things prohibited to kinship groups or clans. The Nyamwezi talk of *mgambo gwa mwiko*, 'matters of clan food taboo' (Blohm: I, 92), but it is also a prohibition on a commoner to touch the king's sign of sovereignty (ibid. 161). The Sandawe know the word *meko*, religious prohibition (Dempwolff), which is akin to Swahili *mwiko*, kinship avoidance. The Shambala clan has its *miko*, religious rule and prohibition (Wohlrab: 24). Sometimes words derived from both forms *yila* and *mwiko* are present in one and the same language. Nigmann notes Hehe *muiko*, totem, totemic prohibition, and *msiro* or *mundzilo*. Among the Tumbuka-Kamanga *lusilo* is ritual uncleanness after touching a corpse, *wa-mzilo* are persons under taboo; things that cannot be done are *vya-mziro* or *vya-mwiko* (Cullen Young: 94). Krapf puts Swahili *kuzira* to *kuweka mwiko*, to avoid a certain food. Richter (p. 640) records the term *mwiko* or *mudzilo* (clan totem) for the tribes of the Northern shores of Lake Nyasa. The connection with clan abstentions is, however, not absolute. The Nyakyusa employ *mwiko* for prohibition with a mystical sanction and possibly for an utterly prohibited action without such sanction (Wilson), and the connotation is not confined to clan prohibitions. When the Shambala say *nizabana mwiko*, this means: 'I have broken the law', and the Haya, a Hima people on the Western shore of Lake Victoria, render the same phrase as *kuchwa omuku* (a very strong expression).

There exists a second Bantu root with the meaning to avoid, viz., the *orunda* of the Western Bantu. It can be traced with the same meaning as far south as the Ila of Rhodesia, where *kotunda* occurs (Smith and Dale: I, 139). Among a people so centrally situated as the Lamba we find all three words represented. Naturally their meanings have become differentiated: *ukuTonda* means social prohibition, *umu-Shiliko* is taboo or religious sanction, and *umBiko* an omen of disasters (Doke:1920: 210-7). Dammann (1968) discusses the etymology of these roots.

To sum up: (a) *ukuZila* is used for certain definite abstentions observed in circumstances prescribed by custom, such as mourning, menstruation, hail, new moon, death of a chief, and also in certain rites. (b) The term is also used to designate the totemic prohibitions imposed on all members of a kinship group or clan; this use of the word is unknown or extinct among the Zulu and other Nguni. (c) *ukuZila* is also employed to express somebody's individual aversions. This usage is only of limited interest to the sociologist, but should not be overlooked. Döhne already noted it and its etiology: physiological or psychic motive. An alternative, and perhaps commoner term for this meaning, is however *ukuDuba* which is also used for habitual abstention from food which disagrees with the eater. *ukuDikila* means to abstain from food because of anger, and fastidiousness which expresses itself in refusing food is known as *ubuQha* (Colenso: 1905). (d) It may be a modern tendency to generalize the meaning of *ukuZila* as when a war time Zulu speaker broadcast 'Don't talk about ships and shipping!' by using *ukuZila*. The dictionary evidence collected above shows that in Native usage the term is properly applied only to certain concrete situations which are limited in number.

2. *ukuHlonipha*

Doke-Vilakazi note a meaning of *ukuZila*, viz., 'To show respect by avoidance' which normally falls within the connotation of the second term we wish to investigate, *ukuHlonipha*. The tendency of African languages to restrict meanings of words to discrete instances which seem to have hidden logical interconnection, must be taken account of here. Döhne asserts that *Hlonipha*

covers avoidances which are observed by women exclusively in their conduct towards close relatives. Kohler limits the connotation to avoidances between in-laws. More common is the one-sided stress laid on the linguistic side of *Hlonipha* which is often defined as the avoidance of the name (or the principal syllable of that name) of the revered person *4*.
But *hlonipha* is not restricted to women, nor is it a mere linguistic phenomenon. *Hlonipha* as respect avoidance is observed, as will be demonstrated, in many relations of superordination and subordination, by men and children, chiefs and commoners, nor is it restricted to avoidances but often covers 'positive' actions, from gestures to benefactions. The term has abstract aspects, its meaning shading from to obey, e.g., one's parents, to sense of decency, (in a phrase like *akusikho ukuHlonipha uma owesiFazane ehlezi ngokuBhenyeka* : there is no sense of decency when a woman sits with her knees up), and to approved custom in general. The aim of education may be described as *ukuHlonipha* (respectful attitude).

The term *hlonipha* although obviously not so generally recorded as *ukuZila*, is yet found in many African languages. Kropf was one of the first to note that Xhosa *hlonipha* is not restricted to women. MacLean (p. 95) stresses the in-law avoidances, and Soga points out that under *Hlonipha* women must treat with respect the personal belongings of their husbands. Hunter (p. 151, 379 and index under 'avoidances') uses the word in two senses, (a) to show respect and (b) to avoid. A typical instance of the blurred boundary between these two meanings is given: If a woman is in labour, the HM must keep in the background since the Ch avoids (Hl) its GM. In other words, the child cannot make its appearance and returns to the womb. According to Cook (p. 38) *Hlonipha* among the Bomvana means: to be bashful, to avoid out of respect. Under the term are subsumed the avoidances of the young towards the old, of women in the husband's home, and of in-laws and initiates. Swazi *hlonipha* is said to differ little from *tila*, the main distinction being that a breach of *tila* avoidances only is visited by 'ritual punishment' (Kuper, H., personal communication). The Rhodesian Ndebele *ugu-Hlonipha* covers various forms of tribal etiquette (Davis and Quinche), and a phrase like *awuHloniphi wena* means: You don't respect, you have bad manners. The Transvaal Ndebele subsume the in-law avoidances under the term (Fourie). Among the Ngoni of Nyasaland the term *hlonipa* is generally used for to respect, honour (Read, passim).

The term *hlonipha* occurs in Thonga (Junod: II, 574-7) as well as in Sotho (Kriel). A general meaning, to respect, to honour, can be distinguished from the more particular one of avoidances based on reverential fear (Laydevant). In Southern Sotho the term appears as *liThlong*.

If we summarize our analysis by saying that *hlonipha* expresses 'to respect by means of avoidances', this is confirmed by the etymology of the word. In Xhosa Döhne lists *inHloni* bashfulness, shyness, feeling of shame or confusion. Kropf notes an obsolete *ukuHlona*, 'to be afraid of reverentially'. He refers to the word *inThloni* with the concrete meaning of hedgehog and the figurative one of shame and bashfulness. In Xhosa the phrase 'he was pricked by the hedgehog' is an equivalent for 'he is ashamed'. In Transvaal Ndebele a similar association exists. The root *hloni* with the class prefix *in-* denotes hedgehog, with the prefix *ama-* it denotes shame, shyness. Popular etymology connects the words by asserting that the hedgehog is called *inHloni* because it hides its head as a young wife hides her head under the kaross before her father-in-law. The same connection was pointed out by one of my Zulu informants (R. Goba). "The animal called *inHloni* has the habit of casting its head on its chest and looking round shyly. As a Zulu girl may not look her lover in the face, nor a bride her in-laws, they are said to feel *izinHloni*, bashfulness." Doke-Vilakazi give *izinHloni* bashfulness and *amaHloni* shame. For hedgehog *inHloli* is noted: the second 'l' seems to be due to 'lallation'.

The same association exists outside the Nguni area. The Venda call bashfulness *thoni* and secure it magically by a medicine from the quill of a hedgehog! One clan, the *Va-ila-thoni*, is forbidden to eat the hedgehog, and its symbol on the divining bowl is a number of quills. van Warmelo mentions *Thoni* only in its concrete meaning of hedgehog. *Hloni*, *thoni* and *tloni* are evidently the same word as Cewa *intloni* filial piety, Ila *insoni* and Kamba *nthoni* for shame, shyness. This term characterizes the relations between in-laws and is expressed in avoidances. Among the Kamba and even more so among their neighbours the Masai, the porcupine is a generally avoided animal (Lindblom, Merker). As in other East African tribes the term *esoni*

means shame among the Nyakyusa. For 'to respect, avoid as a parent-in-law or child-in-law', they use the expression *ukuTila (= zila)*, although the custom itself shows strong resemblances to Zulu *hlonipha* (Wilson, private communication). The Urbantu term is *koni*.

Our etymological quest led to the discovery that a certain class of avoidances is linked in Native thought with the feeling of bashfulness, perhaps even awe, that the symbol of this emotion is not infrequently the hedgehog or porcupine, and that the avoidances are felt to express respect.

B. THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

Some at least of the phenomena we wish to investigate fall under the notion of 'taboo'. Etymologically the word 'taboo' is derived from Polynesian and Australasian languages in which it occurs in a variety of forms: *tabu, tapu, tambuh*, etc. The root *ta* has the meaning of 'to mark', *pu* is an intensifying particle. There are close antecedents of the word in Sanskrit and Semitic languages. Littmann (p. 135) shows that the Polynesian languages obtained the word from India, where it originally meant a priestly ban and later any object which might not be touched (scil., by non-priests).

We must distinguish between indigenous meanings of 'taboo'and the connotations developed in European languages. The local meanings are most diverse. Codrington (p. 215) says: "Taboo is a prohibition with a curse expressed or implied." This neat distinction between genus (prohibition) and proprium (curse) is not always found. According to Fortune (p. 82, 254) 'taboo' to the Dobuans may mean 'a charm of the (prohibited) black art - owned privately and inherited matrilineally -, i.e., a curse efficacious in causing disease or disfigurement.' But this Melanesian tribe knows also the meaning of taboo as 'prohibition' in general (ibid. p. 222).

The many indigenous meanings of tapu range from: 'thread, knot used as a taboo sign' to 'the whole system of religion' (Tregear, under *tapu)*. Elsdon Best notes a peculiar interpretation (p.224): "Natives have an instinctive fear, that a (European) doctor will interfere with their state of *tapu*, that the life principle will be endangered by his strange methods." He illustrates this with a woman, who by clinging to European ways lost her *tapu*, her personal integrity. This makes Maori *tapu* equivalent to 'vital principle', 'personality' and thus to *mana*. We conclude that taboo, like *mana* and *manitou*,is a concept from the abstract thought of primitive man and thus liable to be misunderstood by the white man unlike *tattoo* which as a visible process is hardly subject to misinterpretations (F.R. Lehmann).

The popular meanings of the term taboo in European languages are less varied than the native. Lowie (1925: 78) noted: "Our word taboo ... is far from designating all the ramifications and shades of meaning inclustered about its prototype." Grammatically the word may be used as an adjective, a noun and a verb without differentiating index. The adjective 'taboo' is used to denote the condition or state of a person, object or action which must be abstained from. It then means 'forbidden' or even *sacer* in the double sense of 'holy' and 'untouchable' and is mainly used predicatively. (In Bantu languages such an adjective does not occur). As a verb 'to taboo' means to 'prohibit strictly' through social pressure rather than legal enforcement. The past participle 'tabooed' is used attributively, e.g., in 'tabooed king' = the king under prohibitions. The noun 'taboo' generally means little more than 'prohibition', although the baneful influence thought to be associated with the violation of such a prohibition is sometimes implied, e.g., in the sentence '*taboo* flows out of the king' (Howells).

The discussion of taboo in Social Anthropology, Psycho-analysis and Psychiatry turns on the differentiating quality which distinguishes a taboo from an ordinary prohibition. There is considerable divergence of opinion as to what constitutes this difference. Some authors maintain that the essential quality of the taboo prohibition is its strictness, its categorical nature (Durkheim: 1939: 301). Few anthropologists accept this criterion, presumably because degree of severity is difficult to define without agreement on the measure. Some authors opine that taboos are prohibitions with a peculiar kind of sanction. Marett (1933) describes this sanction as a 'conditional curse' and Westermarck (I, 60 and II, 63) limits taboo to 'conditional curse used commonly only for the prevention of theft or the protection of property'. A third group of investigators finds the distinguishing quality of taboo in the manner in

which the punishment follows upon the breach of the prohibition. Webster and Seagle (p.118) call it automatic, Westermarck (I, 233) mechanical, Hobhouse (p. 420) direct, Redfield stresses immediacy. In this connection it is often pointed out that no judicial or executive agency, whether human or divine, is assumed to be involved (Preuss: 80). Some experts push this view further and assert that we cannot talk of taboo unless the sanction is characterized as super-natural, mystic or magico-religious in nature (Notes and Queries, Wilson, M; Meyer Fortes 1945; Sumner, II, 1097; Hoebel).

A fourth group of anthropologists sees the differentia distinguishing taboos from prohibition in a psychic concomitant, the feeling of awe, of fear, of eerieness (Mensch, Howells) which accompanies its observance and even more so its violation. Freud calls taboo "the externalized uneasiness of conscience' . This 'uneasiness' is the result of the violation of "a prohibition from without imposed upon the realization of powerful drives of a sexual nature"., (Drever). The limitation of 'taboo' to prohibitions in the sexual sphere and to individual psychic mechanisms makes the psycho-analytical concept unsuitable for sociological discussions. Mead accordingly advises us to disregard it.

A fifth characteristic ascribed to taboos is the contagiousness of the condition produced through the observance of an interdict or else by its violation. Westermarck (II, 63) points out that the conditional curse cleaves to a protected object like a materia magica or a miasma which is transmitted to the taboo breaker. His death or execution is frequently a consequence (Hobhouse: 90, referring to Achan in the O. T.). Conversely a taboo breach makes necessary certain ritual processes to remove the contagion from the offender, viz., confession, atonement or purification (= washing away contagion) (cf. Boas, quoted by Hartland: 164). Connected with the last three qualities is the lack of plausibility which is occasionally pointed out as an outstanding feature of taboos. To Frazer (1922: vol. II) taboos were instances of faulty logic and thus a kind of negative magic. Preuss describes taboos as irrational prohibitions and Hoebel as irrelevant.

Radcliffe-Brown, trying to break away from this tangle, defined taboo as' a ritual prohibition' (1952). Although negative in nature, avoidances and abstentions clearly share certain characteristics with positive ritual phenomena, e.g., (a) formalized or stereotyped behaviour including repetition; (b) certain psychic effects, e.g., sense of rightness, correctness of acts, removal of indecision and doubt; (c) association with religious beliefs, e.g., in a direct or immediate response to the ritual act, without necessarily implying the intervention of a spirit or deity; and (d) support in public opinion and even legal strictures (Maciver: 338). The essential fact, according to Radcliffe-Brown, however is not the resemblance of taboos to other ritual acts but their association "with a belief that an infraction will result in an undesirable change in the ritual status of the transgressor". This seems a decisive step away from the definition by sanction, although because of the ambiguity of the term 'status' it might be desirable to amend the definition somewhat and define taboo as a prohibition whose violation leads to 'ritual unfitness'. Such a definition is certainly to be preferred to Margaret Mead's who says (1934): "Taboo is a prohibition against participation in any situation which is inherently dangerous." The point is that some taboos enable a person to face a ritual danger and that not all situations in which taboos are observed involve dangers. There is, however, one drawback in Radcliffe-Brown's definition and that is that it has not been arrived at inductively.

The fact that we were forced to discard definitions of taboo that are based on the sanction differentia makes it necessary for us to investigate similar phenomena in order to discover in which manner the large category of behaviour patterns which may roughly be described as restrictions on behaviour can be differentiated into sociologically useful sub-groups. Undoubtedly taboos proper have morphologically and functionally a close resemblance to avoidances and it is proposed to discuss them under a common heading as RESTRAINTS. Omissions of expected actions must be added, not only because often a conditional curse is attached to them, but because, what seems more important, omissions have a decided effect on the ritual fitness of the person concerned and because verbally and conceptually they are assimilated in native languages to taboos and avoidances. In a great number of ritual situations a type of behaviour occurs which is best described as holding back: it is the formalized non-performance of an expected action in a ritual situation and requires for its removal the presentation of a gift. The rules of the sexual division of labour must also be surveyed for, although the normal dispensation of work

seems merely to channelize energies in certain fields, some of the rules become critical of male or female status in certain situations and then acquire the character of avoidances or even taboos. A fourth group comprises the instinctive shrinking away from an action, an object or person which expresses itself in shyness, abhorrence, and in extreme cases in self-deprivations. These too, Zulu linguistic usage, as we have seen, identifies with taboo and avoidances, and they seem to provide, if a guess may be ventured at this stage, the reservoir from which some of the institutionalized restraints seem ultimately to be derived. The common feature of all these restrictions on behaviour seems to be that they involve some limitation of a person's freedom of action or a reduction in his sphere of control. The differentiating factor seems to be the extent to which the behaviour items have become formalized and institutionalized. Instinctive shrinking, in this respect, seems to be at the bottom of the scale, whereas taboos and avoidances can be placed at its top.

C. A CLASSIFICATORY DEVICE

To investigate the sociological function of *ukuHlonipha* (avoidances) and *ukuZila* (abstentions) we must be clear about their range of application in Zulu social organization and institutionalized activities. Can previous investigators assist us in finding a basis for the classification of these phenomena? The classification of taboos itself is difficult. Lehmann (1930: 207) says: "Die Tabu zu klassifizieren ist eine schwierige, wenn nicht unmögliche Aufgabe. Die konkrete Wirklichkeit, die in der Überfülle der Tabus zum Ausdruck kommt, spottet aller Schematisierung." A discussion of typical classifications seems nevertheless useful.

Frazer uses one and the same classification of 'taboos' in The Perils of the Soul, The Golden Bough, vol. II, and The Golden Bough (abridged) viz., tabooed acts, tabooed persons, tabooed things and tabooed words. Although this classification seems to have a wide range, it is by no means exhaustive. Under tabooed acts we expect the taboo on sexual intercourse, but Frazer does not list it. The sub-divisions are of unequal weight, e.g., under acts he mentions; intercourse with strangers, eating and drinking, showing face and quitting house! The tabooed persons include: chiefs, mourners, women, warriors and manslayers, hunters and fishers. There is no reason why strangers should not be listed under this heading too. The classification would gain in clarity if there were a distinction between the actions which a tabooed person may not perform and those which may not be done with reference to him. The distinction between persons and things is necessarily artificial, for many objects listed, (iron, weapons, blood, head, hair and nails, spittle, food, knots and rings) are really parts of the human body or intimate personal property. And there is no reason why the taboo on food left over should be classed with tabooed things rather than with acts, e.g. eating. It is doubtful whether a special class of tabooed words is necessary. They might most suitably be placed under tabooed acts, like the uttering of certain types of names. The most fundamental criticism is, of course, that although the classification is offered as a basis for a comparative study, Frazer omits to show what functions taboos perform in any one culture and their interdependence within it.

Junod's classification penetrates more deeply into the nature of taboo (II, 574 ff). He enumerates sympathetic taboos, physiological taboos, cosmic taboos, taboos of prevision, social taboos and religious taboos. Junod must have felt the difficulty of marking off taboos from other prohibitions, for sympathetic taboos are defined as instinctive avoidances. Physiological taboos occur mostly with reference to involuntary occurrences, e.g., feminine taboos and growth stages; they are realistically divided into defilement taboos and transitional taboos. But such an all-embracing heading as social taboos (including exogamy and taboos observed towards persons in authority) cannot be placed on the same footing with taboos of prevision, which mainly comprise prohibitions against too early preparations for happy events. The dividing line between cosmic taboos (actions which Nature herself forbids) and religious taboos seems hard to delineate. On the other hand, since religious taboos refer mainly to the ancestors as hierarchically superior, they are difficult to separate from social taboos.

Smith and Dale (I, 348) divide the taboos of the Ila into three groups: Physiological taboos which regulate the relations between the sexes; Occupational taboos (mainly referring to work

that brings the worker in contact with death); and personal taboos imposed on an individual for a period or for life. Although this list is by no means exhaustive, even measured by the instances quoted in the body of the book, the classification contains pregnant bases of division, viz., taboos which characterize the relations between certain persons, and those which define the work of certain persons, and suggests that many taboos are 'mechanisms' which are imposed on individuals and removed after a time.

N.W.T. in the British Encyclopedia (11th ed.) offers the following classification for t a b o o s p r o p e r:- (a) Natural or direct (taboos), the result of *mana* (mysterious power) inherent in a person or thing; (b) communicated or indirect, equally the result of *mana* but either acquired or imposed by a priest, chief or other person; (c) intermediate, where both factors are present, as in the appropriation of a wife by her husband. It is obvious that such a classification applies only in areas where the *mana* concept exists. The author further restricts the usefulness of this classification by excluding (a) prohibitions where sanction is 'created' by a god or spirit which he prefers to call r e l i g i o u s i n t e r d i c t i o n (since there is no automatic reaction nor contagion); and (b) prohibitions whose sanction is undesired magical results which he describes as "simply r i t u a l p r o h i b i t i o n s".

The reason for the inadequacy of these attempts must be sought in the failure of the authors to combine somehow prohibited actions and persons to whom such actions are prohibited. A unilinear listing of taboos even under the most meticulous and exhaustive arrangement of headings fails in this purpose. What is required is a cross-classification with two bases, viz., a classification of actions (prohibited, avoided, abstained from) and a classification of the persons upon whom these restraints are imposed. It may be argued that such a cross-classification excludes a third possibility, viz., that of classifying restraints according to motives and sanctions, whether religious or otherwise. But the comparative unimportance of sanctions in Zulu thought indicates (as we shall see) that this basis of classification will be ineffective. Moreover, the comprehensiveness of the cross-classification proposed makes it likely that few, if any, restraints will be omitted.

Concerning actions prohibited or avoided, the following headings seem to be sufficiently exhaustive: (a) A v o i d a n c e s o f c o n t a c t g e n e r a l l y: This section comprises prohibitions on sight and touch, i.e., on seeing or touching certain objects or persons, as well as prohibitions on the use of property, including localities belonging to or associated with certain persons. It seems best to include in the same section those elaborate arrangements made to isolate a person altogether. (b) P r o h i b i t i o n s o n S e x: these range from the general avoiding of persons of the opposite sex to prohibitions of sexual intercourse; they appear particularized in the rules prohibiting incest and endogamy. (c) P r o h i b i t i o n s o f S p e e c h: these include all avoidances of expressive behaviour from complete silence and the suppression of certain gestures to the prohibition of certain words, such as personal names and complete sets of vocabulary. (d) P r o h i b i t i o n s o f W o r k a n d F o o d: these vary from interdicts on all types of work on certain occasions to critical rules in division of labour on the basis of sex and age; and range from complete fasting to abstention from prescribed dishes or drinks. Together they cover food-producing and food-consuming activities.

It is realized that Prohibitions of Sex, Speech (expressive behaviour), and Food (production and consumption) are in a way only refinements or applications of the fundamental avoidance of contact through touch and sight (Crawley: 1927: I, 107-11). Durkheim (1939: 302) derives taboos from interdicts on contact which he calls 'the original taboo'. The absorption of food is, according to him, an exceptionally intimate contact, and one comes into relation with a thing by merely regarding it: a look is a means of contact. The word is another way of entering into touch with persons and things; an interdict concerning it interrupts the contact. There is an even deeper sense in which contact and conduct are associated. The word tact, used in all modern languages to denote restrained action based on a consideration of persons and circumstances is ultimately derived from contact (Kluge: 609).

With regard to the second basis of classification, viz., the persons under restraint, the distinction made in Zulu between *Hlonipha* (avoidance, respect taboo, respectful restraint) and *Zila* (abstention, interdict, taboo proper) suggests two groupings. The former refers to persons of inferior status observing avoidances out of respect to their superiors, e.g., children towards parents, wives towards husbands, married persons to parents-in-law, subjects towards chief,

the living towards the dead members of the kinship group. In the second group of persons covered by *Zila* customs, such relationship between two persons is not apparent, the restraints seem to be centred on the person concerned alone, at least at first sight. Two sub-divisions can be made: Persons who pass through physiological states (menstruation, pregnancy, confinement), through growth stages (puberty, wedding, funeral), and those who deal with death (manslayers, murderers, executioners) form one division. The other is formed by ritual officiants (chief), the 'professional'men (diviner, weather maker, herbalists, hunters and warriors) and all engaged in occupations (smiths, potters, fishers, etc.).

How this double classification resulted in a comprehensive collection of Restraints becomes evident in

D. THE TABLES

To Table I

Sanctions or Conditional Curses attached to Avoidances and Taboos (Hl & Za)

The letters are the same as those at the head of the five columns:
(a) Contact; (b) Sex; (c) Speech/Gestures; (d) Food/Work; (e) Miscellaneous.
The sanctions are listed with the same number as the corresponding restraint in the Tables.

SANCTIONS

(a)
2. You'll get a blow on your face; will be scolded, sent out (107)
5. You'll be beaten, or killed (in case of grown-up So)
7. The birds from overseas will carry you from home; your body, limbs will grow badly; you'll be punished, beaten, whipped, killed (103). It expresses desire that you wish your F to die
9. lest you be punished with death, be executed
13. lest you harm your child; lest you cause its wounds to heal slowly
15. lest you are troubled with bad dreams

(b)
2. lest your F or M die
4. lest you be forced to marry a person of low standing; you'll be disgraced
7. your Chn will copy you; they will spread reports of your doing to other Chn; you are committing 'incest' by so doing.
8. lest you bring misfortune on your absent Ch.

(c)
2. lest you drive the ancestors away
3. lest wild animals will devour you
4. lest your Chn will not respect you
9. You'll not live long; "The stick will remind you!" You will be expelled from home
13. Both Hl rules violated by Shaka re his F: He was judged to be boastful rather than morally depraved
14. You will become a confirmed liar
15. You remain a child, you'll not grow tall. You will be beaten or driven away
16. You will be beaten
18. You will be thrashed
21. You'll fall and break your neck; you will end your own life

(d)
5. The food sticks in your stomach undigested; you will develop 'stitch' in your side; the people who will eat remainder will have a pain
8. Your F will punish you; you express a wish to see your F dead; the ancestors will be angry with you.

TABLE I

Status Restraints	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/ Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods Food-producing activities	e. Miscellaneous
CHILD in general	Do Not: 1. Walk about on F's side of hut (but move about on knees there). 2. Remain in hut where parents are discussing 'affairs' 3. Hang about door without business. 4. Go near your F when he is eating. 5. Pass door of hut in which your F/FBr is eating. 6. Enter apse when food is there.	Do Not: 1. Marry your classificatory Father or Mother 2. See 'nakedness' of your F/M	Do not: 1. Speak when your parents are in hut; Shout indoors/Use vulgar words 2. Shut doors/Be noisy/Play about when parents are talking 3. Speak/Cough/Cry in the evening 4. Argue with your parents/Grumble or pass remarks when given an order 5. Urge parents to do anything they don't want to 6. Use your F's (or M's) personal name	Do not: 1. Eat food unless you asked for it 2. Ask for food from anyone but your M/Si (and don't even ask them, for they know meal times) 3. Eat before your parents or while they eat (infants excepted) 4. Drink beer before F when sent to fetch it (except Tasting) 5. Leave spoon standing in porridge 6. Eat without washing hands	Do not:
SON	7. Use your F's belongings (e.g., headrest, mat, sticks, weapons, clothes, eating utensils, esp. spoon). 8. Strike (even playfully)/kill your F. 9. Urinate above kraalhead's hut. Defecate where F (and M) do (T 542). Strangers avoid privies too.	3. Use love-charms before your F kills a bull for you (Col. Dict)	7. Talk in your F's presence unless addressed 8. Chatter/'Swear' in parents' presence, esp. when they are eating 9. Reply in unseeming manner when called Use we or ya (but baba) 10. Approach your F directly concerning your marriage (but use go-between) 11. Beat back when being punished 12/13. Jump over/Cast shadow over F 14. Assume your M's duty by following your Si to her lover	7. Use spoon, esp. when eating with F. 8. Eat food left-over by F, (when given permission to eat it, eat it from your palm, not from F's pot) (This applies esp. to eSo and holds even when he is grown up)	
DAUGHTER	10. Gaze at your parents when they are talking. 11. Gaze at your F when he is eating. 12. Look into your F's eyes.	4. Have a child in your F's kraal (illegitimately) (K 106)	15. Pass in front of/Pour water over F 16. Use bad language in parents' presence 17. Laugh/Giggle at grown-ups talking to you 18. Fight/Play in parents' presence 19. Receive gifts with one hand only 20. Spit in presence of F/M (esp. when eating) 21. Stand when parents are sitting	(With daughters the same avoidances as above apply but they are less significant)	
PARENT	13. (both parents) 'Look' at your child. when it is passing through a developmental rite, esp. if you are ritually 'unclean'. 14. (mother): Attend your daughter's wedding (Aa; K 142n; Ttt 544). 15. (widow): Abandon your Chn (Ccc 161; K 287).	5. Expose your "sex" to your child 6. Have relations with your Ch 7. Have intercourse/sex talk in presence of your child 8. Have intercourse when your child is passing through passage rites or is absent from home e.g., at work; or is performing a ritual role 9. (Women): Bear Chn anymore when your eSo has 'enlisted' or your eSoWi begins to bear Chn	22. Speak about sex matters in presence of your child 23. Quarrel with your So after his marriage/Enter your So's hut in anger. 24. Beat your Da for whom lobola h.b. paid 25. 'Worry' your Chn	9. Eat portions of food reserved for Chn (B:I:31) (Sh:215) 10. Eat sour milk in kraal of your son (B:I:43)	

To Table II

SANCTIONS

(a) 2. You'll be killed. You show disrespect. (If you touch HF's mat, people will say you sleep with him!)

(b) 4. You'll be sent home in disgrace; the bride-price will have to be returned. You will be degraded in the ranking of Wis. Your place will be taken by a new Wi. You will be made a drudge. Your co-Wis will despise you (Shooter: 86; Callaway: 1866: 265, 352).

6. You will be killed.

9. You are committing a mean act; you are indulging in a dirty habit. Your paramour is full of (mystical) disease; it will show itself as misfortune in war.

11. Your body and mind will be weakened. Your 'answers' in the assembly will be 'poor'.

(c) 1. Your Ch will be still-born. You anger your H's ancestors; you will be fined one cow for killing the Ch in your womb.

3. The ancestors of your H will be angry and cast troubles on the home.

7. You'll become a habitual faller (an epileptic). You'll provoke a big quarrel with H; "his eyes will be darkened!"

10. Ill-luck will befall your homestead.

(d) 1. (Eland): you will become barren. You'll bear a monster. Your H will lose his power of procreation; (Tail of beast): You'll become a woman of loose ways; (liver): You'll lose your memory; (reed buck): You'll bear Chn with blue eyes.

2. You'll have difficulties in labour. You will be passing faeces during labour.

7. You will be injured, easily killed in a fight.

9. Your Wi will accuse you in public of disrespecting her.

TABLE II

Kind of Taboo Status Restraints	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work	e. Miscellaneous
WIFE	Do Not: 1. Use your H's belongings (axe, stick, spoon, headrest, mat). 2. Touch his kaross (Sh 83; 0: 81) 3. Touch cattle/ Enter pen/Milk/ Do any work with cattle. 4. Walk together with H (but behind) (when fetching wood/visiting neighbours). 5. Look into your H's eyes. 6. Go over to men's side unless called. 7. Enter men's meeting place in Kraal (but go round it from afar) 8. SIGN: Top-knot/married woman's dress.	Do Not: 1. Sleep on H's side of hut unless invited 2. Have sex intercourse on certain occasions (menstruation, late pregnancy, after childbirth, before child is weaned). 3. Accept your H after he has touched/killed python, hyena, crocodile. 4. Commit adultery 5. Refuse conjugal rights. 6. Step over a man, your H's legs. 7. See/Touch your H's sex organs.	Do Not: 1. Use your H's personal name 2. Answer back/Try to have last word. 3. Shout in H's kraal (even when calling your Child). 4. Disobey your H/Punish Ch in his home. 5. Approach your H directly if you have a complaint or request (but use a go-between: HM). 6. Stand in presence of your H, esp. if a chief (but kneel) (N 203; Ow 84). 7. Jump over H's stick/Step over his legs 8. Wash in (F's or) H's kraal (but outside).	Do Not: 1. Eat eland, pig, reed buck, tail or head of beast, liver (A 157) 2. Kill a beast/Eat meat when H is away 3. Eat food left over by H (unless permitted). 4. Eat at same time as H (but be present when he eats). 5. Mix strengthening medicines of your H. 6. Do work customarily allotted to men (herd, milk cattle/slaughter/dress skins/cook beef/clear bush for new field/cut poles for hut or fence/build hut/carve vessels/ make baskets/do metal work/carry arms/take part in fighting/(K 184/5) (modern): Grow maize for cattle/ Plough with cattle.	Do Not
HUSBAND	9. See your Wi's hair (under top-knot). 10. Neglect to give your Wi four things: (i) a special hut to live in (ii) a garden plot to provide subsistence for her and her Chn (iii) a cow to be milked for her + Chn. (iv) medical treatment if she is sick (i.e. procure/pay a doctor) NB: The plot sh.b. alloted to her before witnesses to avoid complaints. 11. Dispose of certain cattle without your Wi's consent (e.g., milch cow, cattle assigned to her House) even for purchase of an additional Wi (Sh 84).	8. Refuse to marry girl who has ritually offered herself (K 125). 9. Commit adultery 10. Desert/Maltreat your Wi (Ttt: 602). 11. Indulge in sex intercourse on the ff. occasions: - Wi's menstrual period/Wi's confinement/ Death in Wi's family 12. Deviate from order in which you visit/invite your wives. 13. Sleep (regularly) on same bed as your Wi. 14. Step over a woman.	9. Move about/Behave in 'undignified' manner at Wedding. 10. Scold your Wi in front of children. 11. 'Disrespect your Wi if she respects you' (vague summary of reciprocal obligation).	7. Eat food reserved for Wi (herbs, wild vegetables, certain parts of beast) (unless there is no other food). 8. Drink beer in beer hut (except to taste it) (but in residence/family hut). 9. Refuse to eat the food prepared by Wi whose turn it is 10. Do any work customarily allotted to women (Cooking/Brewing beer/Sweeping huts/ Washing utensils/fetching fire wood or water/hoe in fields/sow seeds/weed/ reap crops/grind grain/make pots/ act as carrier*/thatch huts). *(Even your sticks sh.b. carried by your Wi).	

To Table III

SANCTIONS

(a) 3. You will be killed; You risk a fight (Krige: 373).
10. Your people (the bride's) have to pay a 'fine'.
13. The HF would have to pay a 'fine' to his SoWi's people (Mbatha).
17. People will comment: She has done something 'unusual'; She may be made to pay a 'fine' (as the result of a settlement between the two families).

(b) 1. A man-eating monster will devour you; a lion, hyena will chase or catch you.
3. You will be sent to the white people; You will be imprisoned for a long time; Your F's cattle will be taken away as fine; You and the girl will be killed; You will not have legitimate Chn.
7. It will be looked upon as adultery.
9. People will comment on your 'strange' behaviour; your marriage will break up.

(c) 2. You will be rebuked by your elders: 'Go beget a Ch and call it by this name!' (Bryant: 1949: 208).
5. It will result in a fight; the offender will be killed.
8. He indicates by such an action that he will take over your F's place.
11,15, 16,17 In each case the sanction was a fine, in Mbatha's evidence, described as a goat or an equivalent in money (10/-).

(d) 1. lest the enemy stab you
2. You will be fined (in beads and brass ware) by the girls' Queen; Your wishes regarding your lover will be disregarded (Callaway, 1866: 254).
4. (Boys): You receive a gashing wound in fighting; (Girls): You will be 'opened' (i.e., deflowered); (Men): Your brains will be spread in similar fashion by the enemy's sticks.
5. You are disobedient; you'll get a thrashing.
11. It will be interpreted as if you are sleeping with HF.

(e) 1. You will be killed in fighting (Wanger).

Table III

Status Taboo	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	Speech Silence/Special Words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing activities avoided	e. Miscell-aneous
AGE GROUP Junior	Do Not: 1. Approach your elders unless called or to deliver message (LHS 93). 2. Ente senior warriors' kraal/seniors' meeting place. 3. Tou your senior's headring/Kill your senior. 4. Hit back when your senior assaults you (Sh 138; K 111). 5. Mix with young folk, e.g. at 'love dance' (T 275). 6. Interfere in running of kraal by age-mates of person undergoing puberty rite (K 92). 7. Use childish things, e.g., baby's calabash. 8. Herd goats after ear-piercing/Herd calves after puberty.	Do Not: 1. Stay out late at night 2. Indulge yourself sexually (hlo-bonga) before puberty rite (O: 35) (3. Beget Chn while yet uncircumcised 4. Marry before senior siblings 5. Marry/Put on top-knot before your age-mates/regiment h.b. given permission (K 119). 6. Marry your Br's widow unless you are already married. 7. (Married man): Have external intercourse with girl (Ttt)	Do Not: 1. Speak to your seniors unless invited (LHS 93). Interrupt your elders/Reply to senior when he is scolding you 2. Use your senior's pers/n (K 96). 3. Say of them 'they have died' (but use cover term). 4. Dance before/in front of your seniors. 5. Point at your seniors in dance/law case Girls: 6. Make love without senior girls permission, esp. the Queen (K 124). 7. Address your juniors haughtily. 8. Allow a yoBr to hold spear at your F's grave, to start digging F's grave (LHS 135)	Do Not: 1. Eat parts of beast reserved for men (ribs, hump, jaw). NB (At King's kraal any part may be eaten, since only men eat there). 2. Eat much/Eat sitting/Eat before your seniors (LHS 94). (Girls: Eat only after Queen) 3. Drink beer with your seniors. 4. Spread your food out (W) 5. (boy): Milk cow into your mouth 6. (men): Eat parts reserved for boys 7. Eat flesh of bull killed by unmarried regiment at First Fruits (K 254) (Ttt: 512) 8. (women): Eat of goat of consummation at Wedding; it is reserved for bride's girl attendants	Do Not: 1. Use fire except from Gt Hut fot So's puberty (K 90) 2. Hold First Fruits except wity permission of senior family branch (V 359) 3. Drink nor pass water at Strengthening of Army Killing of bull (Sh. 26; K 271)
In-laws Da-in-l	(Bride) 9. Show breasts/Appear without fillet before your parents-in-law (O: 91; K 30). 10. Look your in-laws in face/Touch their belongings 11. Enter your F-in-l's hut (but put beer down at door 12. Smear male side of HF's hut till r/r (K 154/5). (Father-in-law): 13. Enter hut in which your SoWi resides/Enter female side of her hut. (Son-in-law): 14. Touch your M-in-l, not even to assist or avert danger from her (A). 14. 'Meet' your WiM/Sis-in-l in a hut or on path (but go out/hide yourself) (Sh 46). 15. Come upon your M-in-l unannounced. (Mother-in-law): 17. Visit at your DaH's place whithout covering face, without headband (if need be of grass), nor with breasts exposed (L: 141) 17. Sit down in DaH's place/Enter his side of hut.	8. Have sex intercourse with an in-law (Br-in-l), but sleep in Si-in-l's residence when your H is away. 9. Have sex intercourse with in-laws (Si-in-l) 10. Sleep in same hut as your female in-laws.	9. Talk at all to your HF (use go-between). 10. Use pers/n of in-laws and root of it 11. Talk loudly to HF. 12. Joke with in-laws (excepting HSi and HM when used to her). 13. Point at in-laws 14. Approach close to your HF 15. Stand after having entered HF's hut (but move about on knees) (A 213). 16. Run after/Punish child in HF's home (it is H's = F's right to punish) 17. (HM): Use SoWi's pers/n in public 18. Approach your sweetheart's F directly to open marriage talks (but use go-between). 19. Talk loudly with your in-laws nor at close quarters (but keep a respectful distance).	9. Eat food in presence of parents-in-law/Chew food in the kraal 10. Eat SM in H's kraal until r/r Work (cook, touch ash, thatch hut) until r/r (K 30) 11. Eat food left over by HF 12. Eat food standing in HF's home 13. Eat in presence of parents-in-l 14. Eat SM in your WiF's kraal (No release possible) 15. (Parents-in-law): Eat SM in home of your DaH/SoWi (D 240) 16. (M-in-l): Eat food left over by DaH (F-in-l): Eat left-overs of SoWi.	4. Carry fire-wood/water through H's Kraal

To Table IV

SANCTIONS

(a) 1. On pain of execution (in Shaka's time Shooter: 156, Bird I: 203; Krige 238) you as well as your family (102)
4. You'll incur the king's displeasure
7. The royal cattle will grow thin and die
8. and 12: On pain of execution (Shooter 157).

(b) 3. You will be executed
8. Your royal power is lost, since you act like a commoner (van Warmelo, 1938: 100)

(c) 2. You will be beaten, fined; you will have to offer king a peace offering (if you are a kraalhead); You will be executed
4. Your tribe will be attacked and defeated (Krige: 234)
6. You will be executed. (Manyala Biyela): Such a person will get a bad reputation; he will not be punished nowadays (Krige: 246)
9. Lest you are accused of wishing to overthrow the king

(d) 1. You will be executed (Krige: 229, 249). "Even if you 'stole' your own food before the First Fruits, and it was found out, you would be killed!"
2. Lest you faint when taking beer with the chief
3. You will be flogged, or executed

TABLE IV

Status Restraints	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality and Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special Words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/ Special foods avoided Food-producing activities avoided	e. Miscellaneous
SUBJECT	Do not: 1. Approach King with weapons 2. Come too near King (Kri 239) 3. Look at King (L 70) 4. Touch King (kill king) 5. Wear royal dress/weapons 6. Claim royal bride-price for Da 7. Walk through royal cattle 8. Steal royal cattle/cattle at all 9. Dispose of royal property, e.g. land 10. Desert chief (Commit treason) (N 44/6; K 224; Sh 103) 11. Abandon corpse of your chief 12. Appropriate royal animals (lion, leopard, buffalo, gnu, rhino) (K 22)	Do Not: 1. Marry prior to King's permission 2. Assume signs of married status (headring, top-knot) without royal order (N 100, Sh 47, L: 62) 3. 'Meet' the King's maidens or wives on road 4. Enter women's section (seraglio) in chief's kraal 5. Gaze at King's women 6. Make advances to King's ladies (RCS 214)	Do Not: 1. Approach King in silence (but sing his praises)/Sing his praises in his absence 2. Laugh in private section of royal Kraal/Cough, spit, sneeze while King is eating (Isa II 247; Ow 88) 3. Talk loudly to chief/Argue with him grumble at his order/Disobey king 4. Use pers/n of chief, his F's, GF's nor use words that resemble them 5. Say that king 'was born', 'died' (but use cover terms) 6. Speak evil of king (N'95); Use bad language about him/Talk disrespectfully about authorities 7. Call a person by his pers/n in earshot of king (R: 147) 8. Appeal to royal court in person (but use go-between) (K 231) 9. Step over king's legs (G 103; K 257) Stand in royal presence (but approach him: men crawling, women on knees) 10. Turn your back on leaving king's presence (K 239) 11. Greet commoner with royal salute 12. Receive royal message in presence of your dependants (Sh 132) 13. Continue dancing when chief enters your kraal 14. Point at anyone.	Do Not: 1. Harvest crops/eat them before King's First Fruits (Isa I 46, II 241; N 96) 2. Use royal medicines (V 365) 3. Eat food left over by king (K 236) 4. Drink water from royal waterhole 5. Pass food received from king to others 6. Stand while eating meat before king (but grovel, pick up meat with teeth, not hands) (Isa I 348/K 238) 7. Stop eating/drinking before king. 8. Take 'unclean' food to king (but wash hands after urinating on road) (K 202) 9. Plant crops/herbs reserved for king 10. (hunter): Eat of royal animals (King's cook): Talk about King's meals (body servant): Sleep when king is sleeping (101). 11. Allow anyone to approach where king's food is stored or cooked Prepare meat for king when he is in mourning (117) 12. Trade in ivory (B I:262)	Do Not:
CHIEF	13. Bathe in river like commoners (but in private pool in pen) (V 368, RCS 245) 14. Share a room with subject 15. Have a person executed if he reaches you/your F's grave in escape from executioner (LHS 158) 16. Use utensils made by non-specialists 17. Make laws/Declare war/Allot land/ Order execution without council's consent (K 267)	7. Make advances to Da of commoner unless you contemplate marriage. 8. Marry woman who is a twin, nor your Br's widow (R: 100)	15. Speak too much/laugh with subjects/show surprise before them 16. Give judgment (in appeal case)/ speak to stranger except through go-between (K 232; de Villiers 178)	12. Eat in company, incl. Brs (but alone) 13. Stint your subjects in food/drink 14. Use all captured cattle for yourself (but share with soldiers) (L 148) 15. Use cattle of barracks without notification to officer in charge 16. Accept bribes/private invitations	

To Table V

SANCTIONS

(a) 1. You will be chased out of kraal
4. There is SM there which stranger may not eat!
5. You will contract disease from which he died: You'll become familiar of a wizard (Grout, 148; Bird I: 31)
5. You will become unfit to be a warrior; Your crop will be blighted; You'll convey the disease to your chief or Chn (Isaacs; II, 123, 184, 260)

(b) 1. Your ancestors' anger will be aroused; You will be called a criminal, an adulterer; your offspring will be monsters; you will be denounced as a wizard (Bird, I, 114); You 'dirty' the homestead; the king dislikes it.

(d) 1. Inter alia: Nothing happens!
3. E.g., locust: lest a general famine comes.

TABLE V

Status Restraints	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing activities	e. Miscellaneous
CLAN MEMBER and STRANGER	Do Not: 1. Enter stranger's kraal carrying your weapons (but leave them at gate (LHS 94) 2. Receive strangers as visitors when someone in family is sick (N 197) or when you are in mourning (at least until after sunset), or when superior present (B I: 202) 3. Call on stranger in visitor's hut unless you h. given him a present (L1:55) 4. Enter apse of a strange hut or strange pen (esp. when a beast is being skinned/slaughtered there) 5. Touch corpse of a stranger Abandon corpse of kinsman 6. Allow stranger to sleep in any other hut than So's residence (or if none available in kraalhead's) 7. Leave hut put at your disposal 8. Allow stranger of despised tribe, e.g., Thonga, to enter your kraal (L) 9. (U and UBrs): Carry sticks in presence of visitors	Do Not: 1. Marry a person with your clan/n (unless this name h. b. changed by chief), nor with clan name of your M, your FM's family circle; nor marry your MBrChn, FSiChn, MSiChn (F 102)	Do Not: 1. Talk to a stranger when you are in mourning (except with 'condolers') 2. Say anything after saluting kraal-head until he addresses you (unless you are the kraalhead's superior) (L 204) 3. Approach/Enter your host's hut in upright posture (but bent) 4. Enter your host's hut upright (but crawling) (LHS 94) 5. Speak to a stranger (unless through a go-between) 6. Stand for long after entering your host's hut 7. (When passing stranger): Carry your sticks pointing up (but level at your side)	Do Not: 1. (Stranger): Eat sour milk in a Strange Kraal, incl. that of unrelated neighbour, i.e. a kraal into which you may possibly marry (Gr. 135) 2. Eat food cooked by unknown person esp. when in mourning. 3. Eat fish, hartebeest, zebra, hyena crocodile, serpent, monkey, rhino, gnu, eland, hippo, elephant (Sh. 215), snakes. locust 4. (host): Offer beer to visitor without 'tasting' it first 5. Give food to stranger of inferior rank (Sh 115) 6. Give (SAC) meat to stranger on same mat which your kraal's menfolk use (K 295) 7. Stint your guests in food or drink	Do Not:

To Table VI

SANCTIONS

(a) 9. Your private parts will swell! (Wanger); You'll have a miscarriage.
16. You will wet your bed continually (boy); You will get an untimely menstruation (girl looking at moon).
16. Lest crab bite you. You will change from a boy into a girl, because "crab cuts off penis!" Girls will become silly! (Mbatha)
17. You'll fall sick (Isaacs II, 64)
23. On pain of death (Bird I: 83f)

(b) 1. You will have no Chn at all
2. You will follow the first H into the grave
3. You, the second H, will also die
4. Your first H will worry you in dreams (Callaway: 1868: 161)

(c) 2. You drive the ancestors away
6. Lest you pierce or injure it
8. You get a disease of the foot
10. You will get a sore arm
14. If you mourn, lightning will strike again.
15. Lest lightning strike you. (The doctor's work mut be Hl'd)
17. The rain will stop; You'll be fined or killed (L. Samuelson, 159)

(d) 2. The spirits depart with the meat; (a woman does take the spirits away on marrying: Gluckman: 1940: 269); meat may be used to bewitch homestead!
6. A theft will occur in your kraal, or a death.
7. You bring down misfortune upon the man who 'doctored' the meat, since one of the guests may use the 'dirt' of the meat and undo the doctor! (Kohler, 1941: 31). Lest the fat belonging to the kraal and containing its 'spirit' be carried away (ibid, 33)
8. Lest you get a stomach pain
15. Your crops will be blighted

(e) 2. Lest the father die
3. The H will swell and die (Mbatha); an indecent act will be committed (i.e., burying two people together) (Krige, 64; Schoeman, P.J.)
7. Lest it hails, and mats become rotten
9. Lest you are struck by lightning
10. The rain will be driven away (Willoughby 136-7)
12. Your sore gets worse and festers; the snake living in the water will enter your body and cause a rash (Kohler, 1941: 40); You will walk at night (Ludlow)

TABLE VI

Status Restraints	a. Contact/Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse, also Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special words or gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing activities avoided	e. Miscellaneous
LIVING in relation to DEAD members of family	Do Not: 1. Approach/Sleep in apse when meat h.b. placed there at SAC (Chn and old women excepted) (A 66) 2. Look back on midnight SAC at antheap 3. (Bride): Look at snake (ancestral) (but veil yourself, reverence it like HF) (K 285) 4. Use private possessions of deceased unless he was childless (B I: 115) 5. Walk over grave of kraalhead in pen SIGN: Thorns (reported 1687) 6. Plough field in which ancestor lies 7. Kill cattle in pen except for ancestor (D 261)	Do Not: 1. (Man): Marry your Br's widow unless you are married and spec. fortified 2. Marry a woman not appropriate acc. to levirate 3. Allow first child of levirratic union to live if first H of M was killed in war 4. (Woman): Marry your deceased HBr if it involves leaving Kraal where your Chn are (Ccc 161)	Do Not: 1. Talk during midnight SAC at antheap (A 73) 2. Talk aloud/Be noisy when SAC meat h.b. placed in apse (A 66) 3. Mention deceased's pers/n in praises before Bringing Home (K 69) 4. Mention women's names in prayer 5. Call lizard (in which female ancestor appears) by its name(Ccc 217) 6. Point at spirit snake, nor place stick point down near it (K 286) 7. Step on/Stand over new grave 8. Set your stick on ground near King's grave/Point at burial hills of clan founders	Do Not: 1. Eat meat/Drink beer unless share has been set aside for ancestors (K: 295) (Ccc 178) 2. Allow meat of SAC out of Kraal 3. Pour gall on unmarried girls (G) 4. Drop blood/stomach contents on ground, nor let bones lie about (but burn them) (K: 293/6) 5. Use skin of SAC beast (but hang it over fence posts to decay) 6. Plant tobacco inside Kraal Steal any tobacco (A: 153) 7. Omit ritual washing of SAC meat	Do Not: 1. Make fire when returning after SAC at antheap 2. Allow both twins to live 3. Bury a pregnant woman with foetus (but separate them) 4. Kill turkey-buzzard or hawk or snake (ancestral) (Gr:134) 5. Wash your feet in Kraal (Isa: I, 139) 6. Cross a river on horseback
MAN in relation to Superhuman: Growth Lightning, Hail, Moon	8. Walk through field fertilized with human remains (esp. pregnant woman) 9. Urinate there (A 129; K: 194; W))		9. Point at growing crops 10. Go into fields with stick	8. Eat of crops from fields fertilized with human remains	
	10. Walk in middle of road during a storm (it is reserved to lightning)(A 145) 11. Keep door of hut closed during storm 12. Leave hut without a fire in storm (but kindle one to reverence bolt) 13. Look at white or shiny object in storm e.g., copper vessel, sour milk; but cover them! (K:318)/Look at white cow! 14. (Nursing mother): Stand near door in storm, (but sit at back with face covered) (A: 145) 15. Look back at tree struck by bolt where child is strengthened (Carbutt:10) 16. Look at moon/Play with crab 17. Touch a Whale (LHS)		11. Talk at all/loudly in storm (K: 311) 12. Sharpen knives on stone in storm 13. Mention the words 'sky', (A 164) 'lightning'/Say 'the heavens' struck 14. Mourn for a person struck by lightning 15. Carry or hold lightning charms or pegs point upwards (W) 16. Point at sky or crops (LHS 168) 17. Drive pegs in ground on hilltop, nor tie Knots in grass there	9. Eat/Drink during storm or when a person h.b. struck by lightning 10. Eat sour Milk during storm Cook any food then (Sh 217, Gr: 134) 11. Eat animals struck by lightning (reserved to heaven herd) unless 'doctored' (D 124) 12. Eat SM if your Kraal h.b. struck 13. Drink/touch water in storm 14. Use tree struck by bolt as fuel 15. Eat SM/Do any Work/Dispose of cattle after hail (Gr: 135) 16. Do any business on day after new moon	7. Cut grass (for mats or blankets or for medicine) if only half-grown 8. Cook in gardens after hail 9. Throw water out of hut 10. Burn clothes of deeased in summer (but bury them) 11. Sell cattle (when homestead has been struck) (D 124)
Dreamer Unfortunate person Sick person	18. Leave kraal/Look outside 19. Receive visitors (unless 'well known' or belonging to nobility) 20. Attend feasts (K 287; D: 124) 21. Touch a sick person (BI: 31) 5 22. Wear ornaments, wash or shave while chief is sick 23. (pregnant woman): Approach chief (B I: 83)	5. Have sex intercourse after a bad dream 6. Have sex intercourse when a doctor is treating you/sit on woman's mat	18. Talk loudly/boast about dream 19. Be noisy/Talk to member of royal family if you have had bad luck.	17. Eat much/Eat in company when you have bad dreams 18. Eat SM/Drink beer if you had bad luck, e.g., if you were wounded by wild pig/rock-rabbit	12. Cross water when you have a sore (Oo. 40) 13. Go hunting when you dream of death of relative (Y: 107)

To Table VII

SANCTIONS

(a) 6. Lest you die this very day
10. You become a termagant when married
11. You will get a bladder complaint. Any man walking behind you will be unlucky in his undertaking (Asmus: 115)

(b) 2. You become foolish, lose your sense, laugh sillily at nothing
5. You will always fall when you must run
6. An illegitimate Ch will be born; you will be attacked by the girl's age-mates; You will contract a disease; You will be fined (Kohler, 1938: 45,71)
7. A lunatic will be born
9. The Ms of the kraal will spit at you, swear at you and beat you; your age-mates will insult and beat you; you will be called a whore (Krige: 106)
10. You will hurt your lover during intercourse; he will scold and pull you by those hairs; you will never get married; your confinement will be painful (Kohler 1938: 37)
11. You will be beaten
14. Your Ch will have trouble with his wound; his ear will turn septic

(c) 9. You will not have any Chn when married

(d) 1. (S o u r m i l k): the cattle will be harmed; misfortune will fall on a clan member who eats of the same milk
2. (l o w e r l i p): You will get a lip resembling that of cow
9. Lest you suffer for it!
11. (k i d n e y): You will bear a Ch without hair; (elephant): You will give birth to an elephant
12. (w a g t a i l): lest you become adulterous; (b r a i n o f g u i n e a f o w l): lest your Ch be narrow-headed; (b u s h w a r b l e r): your Ch will have scraggy legs; (r o c k r a b b i t): Your child will have long front teeth (Krige: 63)
14. Your Da will remain barren

(e) 1. Your legs will get burned; you will become unfit for war; you indicate that you will usurp the kraalhead's position; your teeth will decay; your Da will not beat Chn, i.e. will not have any children.

TABLE VII

Role Taboo Protective	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Sex Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Spec. words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing work avoided	e. Miscell-aneous
PUB-ESCENT Boy	Do Not: 1. Leave isolation hut during developmental rites (but sit in apse) SIGN: palm leaf on hut (K 82/6; 91/7; O: 10; Ploss II 181) 2. Be seen in isolation hut by any person but your age-mates, but not if they are laughing. 3. Wear any special dress at puberty SAC Wear old dress after r/r from puberty taboos (K 94) (K 97) 4. Violate isolation during formation of regiment (K 111) 5. Enter pen (at first emission) till r/r Herd cattle on a frequented pasture then 6. Look at newborn/Touch dead man's things/Wash King at First Fruits	Do Not: 1. Be isolated during puberty rite in your M's hut/Touch her clothes/Go near M (K 91-9). 2. Look at women/Watch girls bathing 'Be seen' by women. 3. Talk to other sex/Touch anything belonging to women. 4. Sit with outstretched legs like women/ Allow a woman to cross your legs. 5. Make love to woman older than yourself 6. Have complete intercourse with your betrothed (K 93) 7. Sleep in same hut with your Si/Cover yourself with her blanket/Have external intercourse with your Si/Commit incest	Do Not: 1. Speak to anybody during isolation at ear piercing (1689!). 2. Speak aloud/unnecessarily during isolation (K 91) (but whisper until release rite). 3. Whistle, yell, make noise, play in isolation hut. 4. Move about when talking to your seniors. 5. Stand at strengthening at puberty rite (but kneel). 6. Peep through door/window of isolation hut.	Do Not: 1. Eat 'soft' foods, esp. sour milk at ear piercing, puberty, enlisting (but beestings, fresh milk, 'hard foods', e.g. boiled maize) (K 86) 2. Eat fowl, pork, groundnuts, lip of beast, mutton, sugary food, cooked maize from water pot 3. Drink water before sunset. 4. Eat food cooked by woman of child-bearing age. 5. Eat same food as your father. 6. Eat much (K 93)/Eat in company. 7. Eat in daytime/Eat untreated food. 8. Eat first fruits before you have given release gift to lover.	Do Not: 1. Sit close to a fire (K 111)
Girl	7. Leave isolation hut (ear-piercing/puberty) unless surrounded by age-mates + well covered 8. Be seen by boys 9. Wear ordinary dress (but special dress and grass girdle or naked behind screen/under blanket) (O: 12/3) 10. Look around in hut but 'brood' behind screen 11. Walk in middle of path (but at edge) 12. Use your Br's clothes (except overcoat)	8. Talk to members of opposite sex. 9. Allow complete intercourse to lover 10. Have external intercourse with lover unless you removed your pubic hair with your fingers - not scissors (O 37) 11. Indulge frequently in external intercourse between puberty and betrothal 12. Allow anyone to see you when going to lover's homestead (O 39). 13. Have more than one lover.	7. Speak much/aloud in isolation hut/Laugh/Be noisy/ Frisk about in hut (K 101). 8. Answer if spoken to/Greet anyone during isolation. 9. Talk to your Br during first menstruation 10. Report your first menstruation to your M directly (but use go-between) (K 100).	9. Drink water used by woman for sprinkling grain when grinding. 10. Eat anything on first day. 11. Eat sour milk, eggs, meat, in particular kidney, calf foetus, eland, elephant, pig. (C 280; K 100, 383). 12. Eat wagtail, cuckoo, brain of guinea fowl, bush-warbler rock-rabbit	2. Cross a broad river (T 124) (under uDwa)
Companions	(Parents): 13. Enter Ch's isolation hut (F may enter Da's hut on 3rd day but not see her) 14. Touch pubescent's belongings/Use screen, mats, abandoned clothes (burn them!) (Women of kraal): 15. Enter pen where boy is being strengthened at puberty. (Age-mates): 16. Enjoy greater liberties than your pubescent mate in isolation. ('Unclean' visitors): 17. Visit kraal during developmental rites.	(Parents): 14. Have sex intercourse on evening of or during isolation of your child 15. See your child whose ears h.b. pierced, whose puberty is being celebrated, nor officiate at rite if you are 'unclean'. (Age-mates of pubescent): 16. Speak to other sex (girls: till you h. fetched firewood, i.e. for two days).	11. Speak bluntly about your son's first emission (but use covering phrase) (K 88). 12. (Wife): Tell your H about your Da's menarche (but use HM as go-between). 13. Speak about premature menarche of your Da (but hold puberty rite at normal time) (K 100n).	(Teacher): 13. Eat at all (but fast) to make lessons effective (Father): 14. Omit to slaughter a beast for nubile daughter (Age-mates): 15. Eat food which is avoided by your mate in isolation hut (i.e. sour milk and other 'soft' foods).	

To Table VIII

SANCTIONS

(a) 1. The cattle will give little milk; they will go dry; a disease will attack them.
2. Lest the groundnuts rot in the ground.
9. You will be unable to forget your home.
15. You will step over foot prints of wizard or magically maleficent animal, with the result that you will miscarry; you will become barren (Asmus: 128).

(b) 4. Your H will contract a disease (cough, shortness of breath: iQakelo or iPamba) (Bryant 1949: 620).
5. (bridegroom): You will lose 'dignity', if you show yourself in first part of wedding.
6. Your Ch will have a peculiar skin; You will be scolded by the midwives; You will have difficulty in childbirth; the Ch's way out will be blocked.
7. You become pregnant too soon again. Your relatives will scold, curse you; strike you, spit at you. Your child will become stupid; the embryo will poison the milk for the not yet weaned predecessor; the ancestors will be angry and make you barren (Krige: 73; Kohler 1939: 101).
8. You will be accused in public by your Wi for making her pregnant; You will be troubled with a permanent cough (TB?); You will have numerous accidents; You will cast a shadow over the first child's life (Krige: 73; Kohler 1939: 101; Schoeman, P. J.).

(c) 6. Lest strangers convey a disease to the expected Child.
8. Lest your Ch be a fool, a cripple, an albino.
10. Lest Child in womb stands up and is born feet first.

(d) 1. Lest your cow goes dry, gives little milk.
2. Lest your H become unpopular in assembly of men; He will be wounded in war.
6. "Nothing in particular happens if these taboos are broken!"
9. The following characteristics will be transferred to the Ch: (guinea fowl): long flat head; (hare): long ears; (rock rabbit): long front teeth; (bush warbler): scraggy legs; (reed buck): blue eyes; (swallow): inability to build a house.
17. Lest Ch resembles you, a stranger, and not his parents.

(e) 2. Lest at birth the Ch only peeps out and returns to womb.
6. Lest you be carried away by the water.

TABLE VIII

Role Taboo Protective	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special Words avoided Gestures avoided.	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing activities avoided.	e. Miscellaneous
WOMAN menstruating	Do Not: 1. Enter pen/Walk through herd of cattle Smear floor of hut with dung (K 188). 2. Cross groundnut/tobacco field (T)	Do Not: 1. Walk between two men. 2. Have relations with H.	Do Not:	Do Not: 1. Eat sour milk for 7 days /Take milk in tea. 2. Cook for your husband /Serve food.	Do Not
as bride	3. Leave isolation hut (= love hut) when on hlobonga visit to your betrothed. 4. Be seen when arriving for or leaving after such visits (O 48; K 134). 5. Approach groom's kraal for wedding unless well hidden in bridal party. 6. Expose yourself during wedding (but remain hidden except for spec. dances) 7. Leave isolation hut during killing of beasts after consummation. 8. Be seen for 5 days after wedding (K 154). 9. Look back on leaving your F's home 10. Walk about in H's kraal after Wedding (but use Path of Avoidance behind huts). 11. Walk about 'bare-headed' in H's kraal. 12. Touch things belonging to F-in-l SIGN: Top-Knot.	3. Select a lover more than once. 4. Have full intercourse until wedding draws to end. (You may have external intercourse only until you wear 'kilt') (Ttt, 540) 5. Leave M's hut/Be seen outside it unless hidden by agemates (at Wedding). N. B. Groom may be isolated (K 137n)	1. Speak during first visit to your lover's kraal nor during wedding. 2. Talk to/Look at men (incl. groom) during wedding (Aa 539). 3. Ask for anything/make fun/ take part in conversation at wedding (O: 90). 4. Mention in-laws' clan name. 5. Use certain words, e.g. root of H's name ater betrothal. 6. (Groom): Move about/Mix with people at Wedding	3. (Girl about to marry): Eat sweet reed nor parched maize. 4. (Bride): Eat any food/Drink water from groom's kraal at Wedding (but from your own home). 5. Eat of Beast of Virginity (O: 71). 6. Eat meat, sour milk, nor fowl, roasted maize, sugar reed, thick porridge at groom's kraal till after r/r (K 150, 154, 383; O: 49, 90, 95). 7. Work for one month prior to, and some weeks after Wedding (O: 50; Ttt 559). 8(Groom): Eat First Fruits unless you give betrothed a gift.	1. Have a fire in hut which you share with your H (K: 155).
pregnant	13. Walk far from kraal during last months. 14. Continue to show breasts or abdomen (K 62) (they're covered in special rite: SIGN: Apron). 15. Walk through magically fertilized or flowering maizefield	6. Have intercourse with H from 5th/7th/8th month	7. Be talkative or noisy/Use bad language/Talk to strangers. 8. Laugh at idiot, albino, deformed 9. Say what sort of child you'll get/Make clothes for unborn child. 10. Stand when eating	9. Eat meat of animals suggesting deformities (brain of guinea fowl, hare, rock rabbit, reed buck, antelope fat, bush warbler swallow)(K: 63). 10. Eat sour milk, herbs, beer dregs boiled with maize. (11. Let your H know that you enjoy your food.) 12. Work before the birth of your child.	2. Peep out of hut door (K 63) 3. Cross a big river.
puerperal	16. Leave isolation hut with child before r/r. 17. Be seen for 5 days even if you have to work outside (Sh 88, 395; K 68). 18. SIGN: Grass belt/hair not shaved. 19. Enter pen/Walk through herd/Attend meetings.	7. Have intercourse with H for 3-5 months/till child is weaned/Conceive in this period (RCS: 347; O: 101). (Coitus interruptus allowed also external intercourse).	11. Speak loudly during birth. 12. Call on ancestors in birth.	13. Eat sour milk in confinement, even if child. is born at your Father's (K 68; O: 99). 14. Eat 'hard' foods/Food left-over by H. 15. Eat ordinary food from usual vessel (but special food from special vessel).	4. Have a fire in hut in which child is born (K 69). 5. Give your child the colostrum but Sour Milk (Stuart).
Companions (Husband unless otherwise stated)	20. Enter Wi's side of hut/Step on her mat (A 204). 21. Touch belongings of young M/See Child before r/r. 22. Leave kraal when Wi is sick (N 219). 23. (Groom's family): Look out of hut doors when bridal party arrives (L: 116).	8. Have relations with menstruating, pregnant Wi, Wi in confinement/after abortion/when suckling Ch, nor when Wi's child has died till r/r.	13. Speak much with menstruating Wi. 14. Speak loudly/Use bad language when Wi is pregnant. 15. (Midwives): Speak loudly when attending woman in childbirth.	16. (H's family): Eat of Beast of Virginity. 17. Lift lid off pot containing pregnant woman's daily medicine 18. (Visitors): Eat food of woman in confinement.	6. Enter river when your Wi is pregnant (K 64) 7. Fight in war until your first child is born (D 306).

To Table IX

SANCTIONS

(a) 1. Lest cattle die.
6. You will cause disease in your family; the gardens will perish.

(b) 2. Lest you become pregnant during mourning; You will be considered as having killed your H.
5. (general): Lest misfortune befall kraal; Lest your (widow's) disgrace be 'published' by (new) kraalhead; Lest your lover be fined.
6. Lest you become mad.

(c) 1. Lest you will be unable to stop talking. you will become mad (Krige: 163).

(d) 3. Lest you be thirsty ever after (You might drink water with a pebble in it).
7. Lest death be spread by it (the food) (Braatvedt).

(e) 1. Lest your bowels swell like those of the slain man; His spirit will not be able to escape; You'll become mad (Ludlow 186; Bryant 1905: under qungo: Bryant 1949: 506).

TABLE IX

Role Taboo Protective	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property avoided Reserved Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Avoidance of other sex Avoidance of sex intercourse Avoidance of Incest Adultery	c. Speech Silence Avoidance of spec. words Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting Special foods avoided Food-producing work avoided	e. Miscellaneous
MOURNER	Do Not 1. Leave Kraal before 'Washing' to go to war, to attend meetings, to hunt, to dance, to carouse, to visit your Da (A 59; K 163) 2. Receive visitors/strangers (LHS 133) (at least not before sunset) (Isa I 51, II 190). 3. Sit in company except with 'comforter' (but retire to apse or pen) (N 189). 4. SIGN: uncut hair (chin may be shaved). 5. Walk through cattle (A 59). 6. (Widow): Wear any ornaments/Wash nor anoint yourself. /Put up your top-knot (but wear hair loose) (LHS 133). 7. Put fat on your skin or clothes. 8. SIGN: Grass head band (K 165).	Do Not 1. Have sex intercourse in general: till after release rite. 2. (Widows): for 1-3 years. 3. (Parents of dead child) till hut and Mother are 'cleansed' (A 207; K 163) 4. (Kraalhead-widower): Marry additional wife.	Do Not: 1. Speak, sing, make any noise, weep (except for 'lament') (LHS 133; K 163-6; A) 2. Quarrel with, scold anyone. 3. Hold a wedding in your Kraal. 4/5. Greet strangers/Talk bluntly about death (but use cover term). 6. Mention name of deceased, even in prayers, before Bringing Home. 7. Look 'bright' (but glum). 8. Gesticulate (but fold arms). 9. Point at cattle/Step over yokes.	Do Not: 1. Eat any food on day of death. 2. Do any cooking or milking or touch any food (N 191; K 163). 3. Drink water (beer is allowed). 4. Eat Sour Milk, 'soft' foods/Eat much. 5. Eat ordinary foods (but roots) (N 191). 6. Eat food unless medicated. 7. Eat food deceased was fond of; Send food to other Kraals 8. (Widows): Eat in company (but alone). 9. Do unnecessary work, esp. in the fields/Plant groundnuts/Give seed away from Kraal for one year Purchase anything (L 28; K 163-7).	Do Not
Companions: (Visitors come to condole)	9. Cast glances about Kraal in mourning (but bend heads low or cover heads) (LHS 134; K: 166).	5. Have intercourse with widow	10. Come noisily up to, talk in Kraal. 11. Enter into conversation (but exchange only standard phrases). 12. Say 'farewell' on leaving (LHS 134).	10. (Commoner): Prepare 'soft' food for Chief/King in mourning about to visit your homestead.	
WARRIOR also Man slayer	10. Mix with other people/Remain with your regiment (K 271, 276). 11. Return to your kraal (but live in open country until release rite). 12. SIGN: wild asparagus in hair; wears loin cloth of man he killed; also monkey-rope round neck. 13. Walk through cultivated fields. 14. Use new mats/blankets (but old ones). 15. Attend rites of passage.	6. Have intercourse with your wife till after release rite (T 495; 725; K 277). 7. Show your wounds to a woman.	13. Carry killing spear horizontally (= normal position), but with blade pointing down.	11. Eat anything before release rite. 12. Eat Sour Milk before release rite. 13. Eat (ever again) Sour Milk of cow whose calf is hornless. 14. Eat (ever again) of first fruits. 15. Drink (ever again) of first beer of season until specially fortified first (T 549 ukuQunga, Ttt 508).	1. Leave dead enemy disembowelled on the battle field (K 276)
Executioner	16. (Executioners of royal body-servants who were buried with dead king: were cast out into wilds). 17. Use sticks with which wizards, criminals were killed (B I: 248; N 95) Use personal property of executed (B I: 234).				

To Table X

SANCTIONS

(a) 15. You will be fined (two head of cattle).
16. You will fall sick; you will be punished/neglected by the ancestors.

(b) 1. The ancestors will not favour you.
4. Lest his medicines be spoiled; his medicines 'will sleep together' and bring misfortune.

TABLE X

Role Taboo Productive	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse/ Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special Words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing work avoided	e. Miscellaneous
DIVINER Novice	Do Not: 1. Remain at home/Sleep there (but in veld). 2. Keep company with your family (K 303). 3. 'Be seen' when 'cleansing' yourself/vomiting medicines at dawn (Oo: 26). 4. Dress in customary manner (but ochre paint on naked body) (A 86-94). 5. Touch your own body/Wash yourself (B I 108; Sh 191; Oo: 25; Cc 193; Döhne 253). 6. Own any cattle (but slaughter all) (D 158).	Do Not: 1. Have anything to do with women/Have intercourse at all (K 304).	Do Not: 1. Talk much during training (Oo: 29). 2. Talk about your wanderings (Oo: 16).	Do Not: 1. Eat ordinary food (Ccc 193). 2. Eat pork or mutton (A 78). 3. Eat any other meat than ribs at your initiation as diviner (Oo. 27). 4. Eat sour milk.	Do Not: 1. Go near fire when being inoculated.
Officiating	7. Remain in company when meditating after arrival of clients (but retire to hills or shut yourself up in own hut). 8. Leave hut/See any callers incl. kinsmen, (but excepting attendants) when mixing medicines/waiting for a revelation/calling on ancestors. 9. Sleep outside hut. 10. SIGN: Sheepskin strips crosswise over chest. Painted with clay on return from wanderings. 11. Let pots, drugs lie about (but hide them). 12. Wash yourself/Anoint your body (Ccc 262). 13. Lose touch with ancestors (but use daily prayer, SAC once a year to keep in touch). 14. Dance to a song not revealed to you.	2. Have intercourse with Wi when officiating. 3. Sleep with your Wi after having 'smelt out' a witch (A 98).	3. Talk before solving problem/Chatter during divination. 4. Use harsh, scolding voice towards clients. 5. Make jokes/Laugh/Raise a laugh. 6. Speak loudly to divining bones. 7. Speak evil about ancestors. 8. Greet people/Shake hands with them. 9. Use ordinary speech in announcing result (but use song or go-between). 10. Fidget/Use easily interpreted gestures during divination (but be collected) 11. Stand when drinking water in hut.	4. Eat anything when waiting for a revelation (You may drink water). 5. Eat between meals even when not officiating. 6. Eat sour milk, groundnuts, pork mutton, fowl, cowpeas. 7. Eat 'cooked' or 'unmedicated' food, nor cold food or left-overs (but herbs, fruits, game). 8. Eat of animal slaughtered by unknown person. 9. Eat food other than that prepared by attendant/Eat food prepared by your Wi.	
Companions	(Wife): 15. Enter diviner's hut 16. Touch diviner's belongings, his special 'tools', bag, dress when he is on call (Sons): 17. Play with boys from distant Kraals. (Host): 18. Allow anyone to enter homestead when diviner is at work there (L: 50) (unless diviner permits it).	4. Have intercourse with woman in diviner's Kraal. Commit adultery with diviner's Wi esp. if she is in charge of his food	(Family): 12. Talk too much or loudly 13. Tramp about in diviner's hut. (Clients): 14. Speak to diviner when he meditates (but oheer his guesses). 15. Approach diviner in person (when you are sick/worried/troubled by 'spirits') (but use go-between) (Oo: 9;15). 16. Speak to newly graduated diviner before you have presented him with a gift (Oo: 25).	10. Eat/touch special food of diviner, esp. left-overs (except small children, immature girls who may eat them).	

To Table XI

SANCTIONS

(a) 7. Lest you be struck by lightning (Braatvedt).
9. You will call down upon yourself the 'wrath of Heaven'.

(b) 3. Your power will fail; you'll become insane; it will cause a worse storm.

(c) 9. You will call down an evil.
10. The weathermaker will be unable to control the storm; he may be struck by lightning.
13. The ancestors dislike it.

(d) 12. It attracts lightning (SM).
13. You will be made to vomit.
17. You will be struck by lightning.

(e) 1. Lest the teacher die and the novice's kraal is overcome by misfortunes.
5. Lest the medicines lose their power of healing.

TABLE XI

Role Taboo Productive	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property avoided Reserved Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Avoidance of other sex Avoidance of sex intercourse of Incest/Adultery	c. Speech Silence/Spec. Wor^s avoided Spec. Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting; Special foods avoided Food-producing activities avoided	e. Miscellaneous
WEATHER-MAKER Novice	Do Not: 1. Live among people (but retire to hills to a shelter made of branches). 2. Wear clothes (but go naked) (A 141). 3. Sleep at home/See anybody before r/r. 4. Live among people (but in cave, on mountain, in special shelter or room). 5. Receive visitors/Be seen by anyone.	Do Not: (1). Look at girls/women (but turn eyes away).	Do Not: 1. Talk to girls of a strange Kraal. 2. Talk loudly.	Do Not: 1. Eat 'cooked food' (but herbs, animals killed by lightning, or by yourself)/Eat sour milk/Take snuff/Drink beer in party (but by yourself).	Do Not
Officiating	6. Wear ordinary but special dress. 7. Remain in hut during storm (even when from home you must face storm). 8. Leave your magic sticks, shield, spear in hut during storm (they must be put outside hut even in your absence) (A 143). 9. Kill python or lizard with spear (but use stick) (K 312).	2. Talk with women. 3. Have intercourse with wife when preparing lightning pegs, nor on day when they are 'thanked' for protection in storm (K 314-20).	3. Talk to people, nor whistle in hut. 4. Crack whip in Kraal (some heaven herds avoid spells preferring gestures to waft storm on). 5. Mention the word 'sky' in spell. 6. Think of anything but of how to move the storm. 7. Smile/Laugh while it thunders (but frown like the sky) (K 311). 8. Stand when eating.	2. Eat food at all if you wish to know what weather will be like. 3. Eat food except prepared by chief wife. 4. Eat first fruits unless medicated. 5. Eat meat until beast h.b. ripped open and intestines removed. 6. Eat of foetus found in slaughtered cow. 7. Eat sour milk of cow that h.b. 'covered' or whose calf has not yet lost n ıvel string, nor from calabash with cork blown out. 8. Eat food incompletely cooked (K 314). 9. Drink out of cup that is not full.	1. Leave assegai used to anoint novice in his homestead (but take it back to master's Kraal) (K 313)
Companions i.e. Heavenherd family	10. Enter master's hut, esp. in storm. 11. Touch heavenherd's possessions/body. 12. Handle his clothes (except wife or attendant in charge).		9. Mention 'sky', 'thunder', 'lightning' (any time) (K 311). 10. Call heavenherd by his name 11. Talk with heavenherd/Be noisy when he is addressing the sky.	10. Gather green unripe crops in storm. 11. Work on day heavenherd is eating medicated fruits (Ccc 407). 12. Eat sour milk on thundery day	2. Pass firebrand behind master's back (K 314). 3. Look at shiny things 4. Throw water out of hut
HERBALIST	13. Keep company with many (herbs can only be learned in 'lonely places'). 14. Allow anyone to see herbs in special hut. 15. Allow anyone to touch you when mixing herbs. 16. Touch your own back when giving out medicines. 17. Touch any child. 18. Handle medicines without head-cover. 19. SIGN: Hat of baboon skin. 20. Live in Kraal without outer fence. 21. Work with your medicine horns in daylight (but only in the dark).	4. Allow a woman to enter medicine hut, nor may her shadow fall on herbs (a male herbalist sweeps out his own medicine hut). 5. Have intercourse with your wife when preparing medicines. NB. "Many cures require that he should have relations with the patient" (if female, scil. as payment) (Rev. Th. Landmann)	12. Talk at all when searching for herbs (except possibly with master). 13. Speak or Whistle when mixing herbs 14. Call herbs by common name (K 89). 15. Tell people what herbs you use. 16. Behave like an ordinary person (but jump about, spit, point your medicine horn). 17. Accept thanks for medicines given.	13. Eat at all when preparing medicines. 14. Eat pork for some days after mixing medicines. 15. Eat food unless medicated. 16. Eat any meat except parts reserved for you from inwards. 17. Throw water out of hut	5. Give medicines away without charge 6. Leave your herbs lying about.

To Table XII

SANCTIONS

(a) 2. Lest you lose 'dignity'.
14. Lest you be killed/executed, i. e., "sent home" for being too weak to attend tribal ceremonies.
16. Lest you be fined.

(b) 2. Ancestors will give you up!

(c) 7. You will be charged before the kraalhead and 'fined'.

(d) 10. Lest you as chief become undesirably fierce (Krige: 257).
15. Lest you suffer immediate death (Lugg, 1929: 356).
16. Lest the chief be harmed when he comes into contact with you.
Lest you die (Grout 161); Lest you be killed (Carbutt).

TABLE XII

Role Taboo Productive	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special Words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special food avoided Food-producing work avoided	e. Miscellaneous
PATRIARCH of Kraal	Do Not: 1. Leave Great Hut when preparing Sacrifice (K 291). 2. See visitors during preparations (except attendant and chief calling). 3. Wear ordinary clothes (but special dress) 4. SIGN: Skin cloak (T: 513 isiPhuku). 5. Touch unlucky persons or animals. Look at 'bad' sights (widow, woman with miscarriage, cow that aborted).	Do Not: 1. Sleep in any of your wives' huts (but in a men's hut) on eve of SAC or of your child's developmental rite (K: 83, 94, 290). 2. Have intercourse at time of SAC	Do Not: 1. Speak about your intention of holding SAC (when ordering the brewing of beer). 2. Talk much/Utter obscenities. 3. Be clumsy/Cause beast to bellow (opposite also recorded). 4. Stand when beast is about to fall. 5. Stand in hut (when goat/sheep is sacrificed there).	Do Not: 1. Eat blood of slaughtered beast, nor drink of beer offered to ancestors. 2. Eat pork or part of beast, esp. inwards, not reserved to you. 3. Eat food prepared by a woman/Allow any beef (SAC meat) to be cooked by women. 4. Feast alone ("The being alone will wipe you out") (Col: isiSulu)	Do Not: 1. Sleep in hut containing a fire; (i.e. a woman's hut).
Companions (family, neighbours)	6. Touch patriarch when officiating. 7. Touch his belongings, esp. skin cloak, medicines. 8. Enter pen in which patriarch (or person delegated) praises ancestors, stabs the beast. (For ritual reasons or old age patriarch often remains outside pen) (K: 95, 294).		6. Speak till all meat is eaten (Ccc: 59). 7. Speak/Be noisy when patriarch addresses or thanks the ancestors after meat is eaten (Gr: 140-3; Ccc: 182)	5. Eat of slaughtered beast before U permits it. 6. Eat of spec. parts offered to ancestors in roof of hut. 7. Eat prior to Kraalhead, esp. morning meal imVuka (T: 685). 8. Milk before Kraalhead's cows are milked (K: 48).	
CHIEF as tribal priest	9. Leave isolation hut/Enter other hut esp. at First Fruits when 'strengthened' with Black Treatment till after ritual bath (Sh: 106, K: 255/258). 10. Allow ritual objects to be seen (but keep them in isolation hut or apse of Great Hut) viz., Hoop of Power, fire-sticks, hearth stones. spear, axe, hoe, sherds, divinatory pot, penis box (V: 358, 379; K: 243). 11. SIGN: Variegated body paint/Two 'costumes'.	3. Come into contact with adolescents. 4. Have intercourse during war, First Fruits.	8. Talk loudly to people during rite. 9. Use ancestral praises set apart for First Fruits on other occasions (V: 360). 10. Approach 'Lords of Heaven' directly for rain (but use ancestors as go-betweens) (Ccc: 92, K: 247). 11. Sleep/Lie down during Weeding (First Fruits) ceremony (V 368-80) (but stand in pen for whole night).	9. Eat food on ritual occasions (but fast at least at intervals). 10. Eat meat of bull killed for 'strengthening' of army 11. Drink beer/Eat any food prepared by women (K: 236, 255, 257). 12. Eat of first fruits unless tribe is present. 13. Eat cowpeas. 14. Throw away water.	
Companions	(Collectors of magical substances): 12. Allow anyone to see them (V: 364). (Subjects) 13. Touch King's body in dances. 14. Absent yourself from First Fruits (Kück 137). 15. Enter King's isolation hut (except his M/and attendants). 16. Carry arms/Fight at tribal assemblies (V: 361; LHS: 148).	(Chief's wives): 5. Leave hut/Loiter about outside during his strengthening treatment.	12. Speak directly with king during rites (but use go-between, his 'mouth').	15. Eat medicines used to 'strengthen' the King, esp. 'black' medicines. 16. Eat crops before King's permission or without attending the First Fruits 17. Hoe/Plant/Gather crops before the appropriate Royal Rites (V: 360, Kück 137; K: 191, 252).	

To Table XIII

SANCTIONS

(a) 1. Lest luck desert you in the hunt.
3. Lest you become too lazy to run.
10. Lest the hunters return empty-handed; lest game be scared away; Misfortunes will befall the party; they may lose their way.
11. Their weapons will break.
18. You will be killed.

(b) 1. Lest you become "weak"; your strength and enthusiasm will vanish.
4. Your eyes will become dim and you will be slain in battle.

(c) 1. The animals will vanish, flee.

(d) 4. You'll be unable to kill another buck again.
10. You will shake like yam leaves, as if you had the palsy (Bryant: 1905: 121: iDumbi; Wanger: Collector no, 927).
(Hot food): Your head will be bashed in; (marrow): lest you lose courage and your cattle (Isaacs: II, 250). N.B. Marrow is prerogative of king, of kraalhead.

TABLE XIII

Role Taboo Productive	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special words avoided Gestures avoided	d. Food/Work Fasting. Special foods avoided Food-producing activities	e. Miscellaneous
HUNTER	Do Not: 1. Be seen when going alone on hunt 2. Wear ordinary clothes (but spec. dress). 3. Sit with old men/young women 4. Walk through a group of people. 5. Move out of formation of hunters. 6. Look at 'evil' sights. 7. Use weapons for non-hunting purposes (e.g., Play with them on hunt). 8. Touch animals killed by others and secured by taboo mark (D 319; K 206; Angas)	Do Not: 1. Have sex intercourse before hunt	Do Not: 1. Speak to anyone before starting Talk at all during hunt 2. Talk much at meeting place (but singing is allowed). 3. Boast beforehand. 4. Use bad language. 5. Raise false alarm. 6. Carry weapons in unusual way. 7. Let gun carriers walk at wings.	Do Not: 1. Eat sour milk before start. 2. Eat anything/ Breakfast before hunt. 3. Eat meat, pancreas, cowpeas on day of hunt. 4. Eat of first buck killed by you 5. Eat head/tail of buck killed by another hunter. 6. Throw water out of hut. 7. Drink beer before hunt	
companions	9. (Wife): Leave Kraal/Walk outside hut. 10. (Friends): Use hunter's possessions 11. Scatter/Step over his weapons		8. Thatch huts, cut grass, sweep huts. 9. Laugh, be noisy, quarrel. 10. Use bad language/Be disobedient. 11. 'Swear' in kraal whose U is on hunt. 12. (Messenger):Speak at all (LHS 187) (He carries branch as SIGN).	8. Cook meat (but only bones without flesh) so that hunters have luck.	
WARRIOR	12. Keep company with junior/other regiment. 13. Pay/Receive visits. 14. Leave weapons lying about/Use them on hunt. 15. Approach king when just returned from campaign, embassy, spying (Vijn: 150) 16. Go to war without calling ancestors (K). 17. Wear ordinary dress (but spec. outfit). 18. Touch things carelessly e.g. King's possessions a Child on return from raid before r/r 19. Return without stabbing spear (Ll: 194).	2. Come near a woman at all. 3. Deflower your sweetheart (K 111). 4. Have intercourse after strengthening of army (D 306) 5. Look at chief's wives. 6. (Officers): Be married at all/ Have your wives and children live at military Kraal at all (N 123, 143). 7. (Warriors):Marry before king gives permission (Vijn: 100).	13. Talk (much) while in training (but appeal to ancestors, sing war songs). 14. Laugh, not even at funny things. 15. Quarrel or Weep (!). 16. Use ordinary words for certain things (but spec. vocabulary). 17. Be dull or dispirited. 18. Stand (but sit on toes with knees bent).	9. Take food from hostile kraal without breaking food vessels. 10. Eat sour milk, beestings, colocasia, marrow, fish, birds, 'hot' foods 'soft' foods, hippo, fat meat, weakening foods (e.g. umDokwe) (but eat 'hard' foods, e.g., meat, beer, cooked mealies). 11. Eat at all before 'strengthening' (K 265-8-9, 274, 86, 111; A 268; R: 18-38). 12. Eat meat with knife and fork (but stuff piece in mouth-then tear!). 13. Drink water during First Fruits (i.e. when eating meat). 14. Throw water out of hut door.	1. Flog your child
Companions: warrior's wife + M-in-l especially	20. Enter barracks/Loiter near them when taking food there (return at once) (K 271). 21. Wear ornaments in wartime (but paint your face, wear rabbit tail/berries round neck). 22. Use warrior's possessions. 23. SIGN (for hut from which warrior has come forth): wild asparagus (K 271-7).	7. (Wife): Commit adultery in your husband's absence.	19. Weep, lament when warrior leaves home (even his WIM). 20. Quarrel/Be noisy in his absence (but behave circumspectly) (K 277). 21. Tease/Annoy a warrior.		2. Light fire in hut vacated by warrior (K 278).

E. THE ARCHITECTONICS OF RESTRAINTS

1. *Regimen of Restraints*

One of the first inferences we can draw from the Tables is that restraints do not occur in isolation. Many ethnographic works contain lists of apparently disconnected taboos. No wonder the theoretical elaborations built upon such disjointed evidence have remained faulty: they could see in restraints only signs of some intellectual aberration, the morbid expression of perverted wishes, or signs of the mystical quality of primitive philosophy. The Tables show quite unmistakably that restraints are observed in association. They suggest indeed that restraints form regular and recurring combinations. Thus when we examine the restraints which anyone of the listed persons has to observe in a particular situation, we see that they extend over the whole gamut of possibilities, i.e., from the prohibitions of contact to those of sex, expressive behaviour and food and work. The totality of restraints a person has to observe in a particular situation will be called regimen of restraints. It stands to reason that the demands on a person who is required to adjust his entire behaviour potential to a particular regimen are far-reaching and exacting. The contrast, for instance, in the behaviour of a woman pursuing her everyday activities and one isolated in the confinement hut with restraints imposed on her all along the line, shows the type of adjustment which every Zulu has to make on many occasions.

Each regimen of restraints has a configuration of its own. The avoidances asked of children and adolescents towards their seniors stress expressive behaviour and food restrictions. The avoidances which mark the conduct of an exemplary wife towards her husband show a preponderance of sexual and speech restraints; the observances of a commoner in relation to his chief show both elaboration and numerical increase in the expressive behaviour category which may justify us in giving them a special name, viz., etiquette. From such a bias each regimen gets a particular feeling tone, an over-all character which makes it possible to infer the situation a person is in by the peculiar restraints he observes. On the other hand the regimens show a definite patterning. For instance, in all regimens of avoidances (characterizing the conduct of persons of inferior status towards their superiors) there occur interdicts on standing before the superior, on jumping over his legs, on pointing or gazing at him, on speaking loudly or vulgarly in his presence. These particular interdicts are (more or less) absent in the Zila types of regimen. We can thus speak of patterns of restraint and point out that certain patterns are repeated in several situations and thus transferred. Transfers of patterns of prohibition do not only occur from status relationship to status relationship. The pattern of the regimens which a woman has to observe in 'feminine situations' is remarkably similar: whether she is in her changes, has given birth to a child or laments the death of her husband, she avoids the pen, the male side of the hut, the cattle of her H, the eating of game, and invariably she has to observe the SM (sour milk) taboo. 'The feminine pattern' is thus transferred along most of the diachronic stages through which a woman passes.

2. *Conjuncture of Regimens*

Before dealing in detail with the pattern of restraints, two other striking features of their architectonics must be pointed out. Our Tables artificially separate the regimens which a certain person may have to observe at one and the same time. As a social personality any human being combines in himself a number of "statuses' based on his sex, age, political rank, and occupation. His physiological condition at a particular moment may impose on him restraints other than those demanded towards his superior. His occupational activities involve him in a third set of prohibitions. It is suggested that the grand total of regimens of restraints observed by an individual at any particular moment and with reference to all possible demands upon him be called conjuncture of regimens.

To illustrate this concept. A man who visits his Wi's people has to observe the regimen of taboos towards his M-in-l. At the same time, should the chief arrive at the kraal, he would have to observe the avoidances appropriate to his status as commoner. And if a death occurred in his Wi's family, he would in addition be subject to the mourning regimen. The complete con-

juncture of regimens to which a chief may be subject may be made up of the restraint regimen of husband, clan member, family priest, mediator between tribe and supernatural powers. Likewise every Zulu woman observes in conjunction a number of restraint regimens. They are closely interwoven into a complex conjuncture which cannot be mastered without adequate educational and ritual preparation. Yet the conjuncture of regimens is by no means fixed in its complexity. It undergoes continuous change. The severity of the restraint regimen of bride and Da-in-l is gradually softened until, when a woman is very old, very little is left of either regimen. While this process of attrition goes on these two fundamental regimens combine intermittently with minor regimens to which a woman is subject, e.g., as cook, potmaker, brewer, or when menstruating, when she is with child, or in confinement, or when she suckles a baby.

The Zulu, as a rule, are not aware of patterns, although they know about regimens. Such an intelligent informant as Mnyayiza Zulu (141) accepted the idea of patterning, but failed to point them out on his own. His interest was mainly directed to pointing out exceptions! The personal name of the superior status is avoided by the inferior status in the following relationships: Wi-H, Chn-Parents, Commoner-Chief, Living-Dead kin. In the last two cases modifications were noted: in ritual situations the name of the superior may be used, e.g., the chief's name in an oath, the ancestor's name in prayer, after the Bringing Home. Standing over is reprehensible in the inferior before the superior status, e.g., Son - Father, Wi - H; Subject - Chief. Food left over by a superior must not be eaten by the inferior, e.g., So - F; Wi - H (especially in the royal family); Ego - Parent-in-law; Commoner - Chief. The prohibition to touch the body of a person of superior status is observed by Ch towards F (only a baby is exempt!), Wi towards H (a woman may comb her H's hair if directed to do so), Ego and parents-in-law, commoner and chief. A woman might remove an insect from her H which might hurt him, but in doing so she would have to announce her intention. Modern couples, Mnyayiza added, no longer observe this restraint but touch each other indiscriminately. When a bride is habituated in a kraal she may touch her M-in-l. Similar rules apply to personal belongings. The inferior may not touch those of his superior: Chn (especially half-grown boys) = F; Wi = H; Ego = Parents-in-law; Commoners = Chief. Modifications are noted with regard to Wis. One Wi is appointed to keep the H's residence clean and in order: she may also handle his clothes; a bride may touch her HM's belongings where circumstances demand it. More irregularities occur with the SM taboo. A bride avoids the SM of her H's kraal only for a time; a H, however, that of his in-laws permanently. Chn may have avoided their F's SM in the past altogether; today they are given it to make them strong, (but they still cannot eat it without his express permission.) Commoners may eat the king's SM, but not the milk from his personal milch cow. Mnyayiza's modification of the patterns of restraint strongly suggests that they are structurally motivated. A Wi may not eat her H's left-overs - this is so strong a prohibition that it is classed with both Hl and Za - yet it does no harm to her Chn. Among them it is the eSo, the heir, who must on no account eat them (Za), although his younger siblings do. This state of affairs suggests that the mystical sanctions attached in these two instances are ancillary rather than essential features of the restraint.

An important fact to note with reference to the transfer of avoidance patterns is that the transferred clusters consist of restraints which in Polynesia are classed as taboo proper. The following comparisons are culled from Lehmann (1930). The reservation of an area is illustrated in Hawaii, where no commoner could enter the king's courtyard or use the royal mat or wear royal clothes (p. 119). On the other hand a criminal reaching the chief before the executioner could do his work was considered free (p. 128). As to sex regulations the Maori *ariki* had the power to interdict intercourse to his kinsmen (p. 87). The Tonga engagement places the promiscuous girl under the exclusive right of her intended (p. 167). There, too, men may not sleep on their wives' mats (p. 161). The most startling restraint analogies occur in speech and expressive behaviour. Among the Tonga and in Hawaii nobody was permitted to pass over the chief's head (p.102, 119). Standing before or 'over' the king was avoided, a commoner threw himself on the ground and withdrew. The pointing with fingers at a tortoise (ritual food) is tabooed to women (p. 179). In Samoa stepping over the king's legs is punishable with death (p. 110). In Hawaii a commoner's shadow must not fall on the king (p. 117); the king's name is avoided because of his sacred nature (p. 122, 157). When the king talks everybody else must be silent (p.105). Special court languages exist (p.126). Zulu food avoidances are duplicated in Polynesian taboos. The food controller taboos foods in short supply; the first eating of crops is

reserved to an officiant (p.75). Commoners may not be present when the Tonga chief eats or drinks, nor may they eat and drink in his presence (p.102 ff). Men and women avoid eating together (p.161). Body-servants may eat their royal master's left-overs, commoners would die of them (p.110). Certain animals of the chase are reserved for the Hawaiian king (p.131), special parts of the tortoise for the priest (p. 154). Women in Tonga must not touch the men's fishing nets (p. 179).

F. CHARACTERISTICS OF AVOIDANCES AND TABOOS

In the light of the information incorporated in the Tables, it is now possible to set out in a preliminary analysis the characteristics of two kinds of restraints: Za and Hl.

The restraints subsumed under Hl fall exclusively on persons in dyadic relationships, i.e., such as can be paired off. In such relationships a bio-social basis is clearly evident. Children and parents are joined by the fact of the succession of generations, husband and wife by that of marriage, spouses and in-laws by a combination of marriage and the succession of generations; subjects and chiefs are linked by the bio-social fact of leadership-and-group organization which man shares with the higher animals; clan-members and strangers by the fact of kinship and the living and dead members of a family by the fact of death.

Using our linguistic material we had preliminarily defined Hl avoidances as those restraints which are imposed upon a person of inferior status in his conduct towards his superiors. The more precise analysis made possible by the Tables shows that this definition is too narrow, since the superior status is in every instance seen to observe certain avoidances towards his subordinate partner as well. Such reciprocity is a special characteristic of s t a t u s restraints. It is not found in the Za situations. It must, however, be admitted that the number of avoidances is much greater for the subordinate and we shall see that the punishment for many breaches of the Hl norms lies in the hands of the superordinate status. Hl avoidances can thus be described as status restraints.

From the point of view of our analysis, a status can be defined as one of two poles in a pattern of reciprocal conduct. This definition comes close to Linton's (1936: 113): 'The functioning of societies depends upon the presence of patterns of reciprocal behaviour between individuals or groups... The polar positions in such patterns of reciprocal behaviour are... known as s t a t u s e s. A s t a t u s, in the abstract, is a position in a particular pattern. It is thus quite correct to speak of each individual as having many statuses, since each individual participate in the expression of many patterns. However, unless the term is qualified in some way, the status of any individual means the sum total of all the statuses which he occupies.'

The j u r a l concept of s t a t u s as an 'ensemble of rights and duties centred in a person' does not take account of living social relationships of the person concerned in which the anthropologist is mainly interested. The generally accepted s o c i o l o g i c a l definition of status, on the other hand, is too comprehensive to be useful for our analysis. For it sees in status 'the position of an individual as determined by his relations to all members of the group to which he belongs and from which he derives his amount of influence' (Maciver: 166-8; Park and Burgess: 36).

The polar statuses we have distinguished are positions in reciprocal relationships derived from universal bio-social facts. The name status restraints which we used tentatively for Hl avoidances is therefore justified and is to be preferred to the expression 'respect taboos' (Firth).

Besides indicating status, avoidances possess another quality, viz., the re-iterated manifestation of definite attitudes. In all dyadic social relationships, the person of lower status continually repeats expressions of deferential restraint. His superior is by custom obliged to reassure his subordinate partner by iterative manifestation of a corresponding restraint on his part. The continual 're-documentation of attitudes' (Evans-Pritchard: 1934: no. 194) which is brought about in the social relationships noted in Tables I-VI cannot fail to determine the Zulu ethos. Certainly Zulu ethos excludes, at least in theory, the neglect of a subordinate by his superior. It follows that the observance of Hl restraints is expected only as long as the correl-

ative relationship to which they owe their being continues to exist. If a man gets divorced he no longer performs the avoidances toward his Wi which characterized his status vis-à-vis her as H. When a chief is deposed, some commoners may continue to reverence him by avoiding certain actions in his presence, but there is no obligation on them to do so, and their conduct would arouse suspicion in the new chief that they withhold recognition of him.

Turning to the restraints under the Za concept it is obvious that the social situation in which they occur is completely different from those of avoidances. Taboos are at first sight not observed with reference to other persons; the typical Za regimen is not reciprocal. Rather, persons under Za are subject to isolation including confinement in reserved areas and restrictions on contact with others. In addition they must show in their dress distinct signs denoting the special condition they are in. Za restraints can thus not be re-iterated documentations of the attitude of one person towards another to whom he is linked in a special relationship. They rather accentuate and characterize irregularly occurring critical situations, and consequently cannot be continuous as are Hl regimens.

It is possible to sub-divide the situations in which Za regimens occur into three groups; viz., those occurring at diachronic stages (puberty, wedding, confinement, death and, in an attenuate form, menstruation), those which involve the performance of occupational tasks (diviner, hunter, weather-maker, leech); and thirdly, situations in which a ritual leader is required (at a sacrifice, at the First Fruits and, as we shall see, at the consumption of milk). Expressed in simple terms the diachronic Za regimens require the person concerned to live in a manner different from the normal. Whether this is done to protect the person against magical dangers threatening him during 'the passage', or whether society has to be protected against the dangers emanating from him is of secondary importance. Considering the physiological occasions for diachronic regimens it is arguable that the institution of isolating a person in a transition stage preceded the elaboration of magical danger theories to explain the isolation*5*.

The occupational and leadership taboos listed in Tables X-XIII likewise appear to serve a purpose. The occupational regimens seem to endow the persons concerned with the special skills, and in leadership regimens with the ritual power needed in performing their tasks. They might therefore be called productive taboos in distinction from the protective taboos of the diachronic stages. However, the Zulu do not invariably associate with these regimens the notion that they are undertaken to ensure the success of the tasks. Nothing more may be involved than a recognition that everyday behaviour is incompatible with occupational and leadership tasks. The differentiation between protective and productive implications of taboo regimens reflects the frequent differentiation of magical practices into protective and productive (Firth: 1938: 154). The purposive nature of taboo regimens might be considered proved by the fact that whenever the purpose implied has been realized a release rite is solemnized. But again, all that may be meant is to indicate that the diachronic stage is passed, that the occupational task has been completed and the leadership function performed.

Taboo regimens differ from avoidance regimens in one further respect, that of number. In the reciprocal regimens of status avoidances, the subordinate status has to observe the greater number of restraints and those of greater stringency. In the case of Za regimens it seems significant that the more important the occupational or leadership role, the more vital the status passage, the closer becomes the network of taboo controls. The food taboos of an expectant mother are more numerous than those of a menstruating woman, and they increase in number and severity if it is a first pregnancy or when the confinement is near (Table VIII). The weather-maker observes an astonishing variety and multiplicity of sometimes trivial conditions to make his defence against lightning effective (Table XI). The regulations concerning the chief at the First Fruits are so elaborate that they severely limit his freedom of action otherwise so pronounced. The multiplicity, intricacy and triviality of taboo regimens appear thus to be a device to supply a putative cause whenever trouble occurs (110).

The characteristics of taboo regimens so far discussed make Za restraints appear to be self-centred. But a social referent is present. It is the social group whose limits are outlined by the taboos which the Za observer's family, his occupational associates, or his followers have to observe with him, and which are best named companionship taboos. A woman's confinement regimen involves her husband, the mortuary taboos for a kraalhead a whole lineage. The hunter's company subject themselves to a joint taboo regimen; the chief's abstentions before the

First Fruits are also imposed upon his whole tribe. In addition the more vital a diachronic passage - e.g., puberty anticipates the hiving off of an individual from his family of orientation, marriage the establishment of his family of procreation, - the more significant an occupational or leadership role, the more liable become the companions. It is instructive in this connection to compare the few companionship taboos of the victorious warrior with the great number observed by the companions of diviner, weather-maker and chief as tribal priest. By making a whole group of companions responsible in a taboo regimen situation as many incentives are supplied for the meticulous observance of the prohibitions. This in turn cannot but help to intensify the belief in the efficacy of taboos and to increase the solidarity of the groups concerned.

To sum up: Avoidances (Hl) are restraints observed in bi-polar bio-social relations; they function as mechanisms through which the statuses involved re-affirm their social distance and appropriate mutual attitudes in recurrent contact situations. Taboos (Za) are restraints observed in diachronic, occupational and leadership ritual; they impose isolation, an attitude of contemplation and behaviour restrictions upon the individual concerned and involve defined groups of companions in these matters. In diachronic regimens the situations are biologically determined. In occupational regimens the situations arise from economic necessities. Leadership regimens emerge in situations requiring the organization of social groups. In all three cases a strong tendency to rhythmical repetition can be observed.

G. THE SYSTEM OF TABOOS

The Tables reveal that avoidances and taboos form in their totality a coherent system of behaviour controls. Against the use of the term 'system of taboos' Lehmann (1930: 256-7) has advanced the objection that it may lead to the erroneous view that taboos being so closely interconnected can only exist together or must otherwise collapse in their entirety. Such a view was held in the middle of the 19th century by some missionaries to the Polynesians and led to false expectations and measures. For they hoped that with the breakdown of one of the most outstanding taboos all other prohibitions would become meaningless to the people and they would therefore abandon them. An historical event, the sweeping abolition of taboos in Hawaii in 1819, a generation before the whites arrived, seemed to support such a conclusion. Redfield (p. 128) has recalled that to most Hawaiians the event was catastrophic. One day the royal ladies ate the forbidden fruit in public, then the king joined them. The people felt that the taboos were permanently broken and the old gods overturned,and the high priest himself destroyed the temple.

But trends inherent in Hawaii culture had produced tensions, to wit, the inconsistency between the high position and power of some women and the lowly position of women in general, and the encroachments on the taboo order in the conflicts between individuals and leading families for power. Thus Kroeber could conclude that the sudden abandonment of taboos was the result of a "kind of social staleness". The Hawaiians were tired of their religion and this implies that they did not necessarily discard all taboos because one was ostentatiously broken. Moreover, influences from the advancing Western civilization had already affected Hawaii culture. For 40 years the island had received weapons, cloth and other goods of the white man. Trade and mission activities in Oceania had their repercussions in Hawaii society. Hawaiians had heard of the overthrow of traditional religion in Tahiti. A strain had been placed on the social and political system which had to be met by changes. Redfield comes thus to the conclusion that the abandoning of taboos was a reform on the margin of expanding white civilization. These two explanations give a more correct interpretation of the occurrence than the mechanistic one of the early missionaries, without jettisoning the significant discovery that avoidances and taboos represent a structured functional whole.

Certainly the Zulu system of restraints has developed a pronounced tendency towards formal cohesion and uniformity. On the one hand we see the regimens of restraints repeat themselves in patterns and form characteristic differences between regimens of avoidances and regimens of taboos, both of which emerge with distinct configurations. The formal tendency is seen particularly clearly in a number of sanctions which threaten nothing but the compulsive and automatic repetition of the act of violation, a nightmarish exaggeration of the forbidden behaviour.

A person indulging in sexual intercourse during mourning, for instance, becomes lecherous. The girl who giggles during a sacrifice will laugh unrestrainedly ever after. The violation of the taboos obligatory after lightning has struck a kraal results in renewed bolts of heaven setting up, as it were, a closed circuit of violations and punishments. Corresponding to this is that the ritual cancellation of a restraint frequently consists in its provocative violation; in fact it may consist in the doubling and intensification of the breach. For instance, when the widows of Chief Mathole Buthelezi were released from the sour milk taboo, they went outside the kraal to eat sour milk in the veld with one spoon, and from one pot, an unheard of accumulation - as we shall see - of breaches of the sour milk regimen. In this sense one is justified in speaking of a tendency in Zulu thought and custom to systematize restraints.

The acknowledgment of such a tendency must not lead us to assume that the Zulu system forms a Procrustean bed of behaviour norms which like Bagehot's 'cake of custom' cannot easily be broken. It will rather be shown that individuals frequently omit generally accepted restraints and are capable of 'inventing' their own critical prohibitions and avoidances. Thus Zulu restraints do not form a mail-shirt like order in which the existence of one link ensures the functioning of all others.

CHAPTER ONE: HLONIPHA OF SPEECH

I. SURVEY OF ZULU NAMES

In order to understand the principles underlying respect behaviour it is desirable to discuss the linguistic before the overt behaviour. The correct use of names is part of respect behaviour. In Zulu we distinguish the following kinds of names: individual names (In), group names (Gr), kinship terms (k/t) and rank terms (r/t).

A. INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Each Zulu has a number of names from childhood on.

1. The most important individual name is the *iGama*. (The synonym *uBizo* is not used in Zululand except by teachers). The *iGama* is the true, great or personal name. It is given to a newborn child by its F, hence it is known as *iGama-lika-Yise*, or by its GF(FF). The name is often chosen after consultation with lineage (extended family) members and bestowed on the child before witnesses. There is no special naming ceremony. Sometimes the name incorporates the first word uttered by the F when the birth is announced to him by the midwives (who often use obscene words in doing so).

Since the name is given at birth, it is also known as *elokuZalwa* (birth name) and because it is used at the child's home, as *elas'eKhaya* (home name). Occasionally the pers/n has genealogical significance, as when an ancestral name is repeated, e.g., the eSo of Dumisweni Buthelezi is Xoko after a GGF. More frequently the pers/n refers to an event during the pregnancy of the M or at the birth of the child, e.g., to a famine, death, hut building, a natural phenomenon, quarrel, law case, epidemic, visit of an important person, or incident in the child's life history. E.g., Princess Magogo as a child suffered from retention of urine. A Zulu doctor advised that an *iGogo* (klipspringer) be killed for her. She was cured and henceforth called Magogo. The general Bantu practice of giving repelling names to a child whose elder siblings have died, so that it does not attract the attention of evil spirits (Meinhof: 1912: 47) is not very noticeable among the Zulu. An informant who could not give one instance of a repellant name goes by the name of Manyala (=disgrace) himself! A M may give a pers/n to her child, but normally women hesitate to do so: they 'fear for the safety of the child'. The real reason is they have no right to bestow a pers/n on a descendant of their H's. The pers/n is used by everyone of the child's social environment before his puberty and by parents and grandparents even afterwards, when he acquires a variety of other names.

2. Another individual name is the *isiDlaliso*, the pet or play name bestowed by a mother or by other relatives upon a child. The chief, too, may give such a name to the child of an important official, and even to a councillor. Such an *iGama-le-nKosi* has a tendency to stick. An *iGama-loku-Fekethisa* is a derisory name given to a person with mental or physical peculiarities, e.g. Mabata: Mr. Flatfoot, sometimes by himself or as a nick-name (*isiFeqo*). Children invent such a name for a dotard or a decrepit person, when it is known as *iGama-loku-Guga*.

3. A third individual name is the *eloBusha* or *iGama-loBusha*, the youth, love or engagement name, or less suitably: the puberty name. It is also known as *iGama-lobuNsizwa* for a boy, and *iGama-lobunTombi* for a girl. (This name is listed as *elobu-Fana* in Krige. But the Zulu term *umFana* implies 'male child'; only in Natal and further south does it mean youth, young man.) The youth name may be chosen by a person's age-mates to commemorate a striking occurrence during his puberty ceremony or a peculiarity of its bearer. More frequently a young man chooses the love name for his sweetheart as part of the preliminaries to marriage, and assumes

his own youth/n when he has brought together the bride-price cattle. According to Krige all a youth's age-mates and his juniors must call him by this name. It would be considered abusive if they used any other in address or reference. (394) adds that it is the name used reciprocally among youthful collateral affines.

4. Among individual names must also be classed the congeries of names which goes to make up a persons 'praises'. A Ch may be given an individual honour name *(isiBongo)* by its parents to commemorate an event in its early years or one of its outstanding characteristics. (Krige gives *umGanunameva* where *umGanu* refers to a valuable fruit-tree.) Girls, too, qualify for honour names and use them in ritual situations, e.g., when provoking the rain goddess in the *ukuBhina* rite. Chn occasionally assume such a name themselves in anticipation of their achievements when grown up!

The crystallization point of a person's 'praises' is the *izAngelo*, the praises given a Ch by its M (Samuelson: *iziThokozo*, praises of pet Chn, by old women.) They often refer to the woman's history at her H's homestead. Mpande's *izAngelo* was Sohekazi, Mathole Buthelezi's, Sonomo, an alternative being Sondiye. Such Chn's praises may become the core of the praise name in the lineage formed by their descendants. They are ritually used by the womenfolk, e.g., when Ms and GMs or sisters thank a Ch for gifts, or when they praise him for a brave deed. Old women in appealing to the ancestors may remember the *izAngelo* of a deceased person and address him by it. Since women are debarred from using the 'agnatic' praises or epopee, the children's praises form a useful alternative.

At the establishment of a regiment additional honour names are given to young men for special feats. They are combined in the *isiGiyo* or dance name. The bearer shouts it during dancing displays at an army review or wedding. The recital in public of dance-names was strictly regulated. Only names acquired in a military camp could be uttered. Strict precedence had to be observed. Fame, seniority and aplomb of the bearers decided the order in which they could perform the leap dance during which their honour name was applauded by the onlookers (Stuart: 1925: 93-101).

Chiefs, and especially kings, acquire a multiplicity of honour names. They are combined with praise names into the famous 'Praises'. These incorporate attributes of the chief concerned, allusions to 'events not always agreeable' and to 'notable actions, not always laudable'. As the praise names of commoners form their memoirs, those of chiefs and kings sum up chapters of dynastic history. Today many allusions in them are no longer intelligible. They should not be recited in the absence of their 'owner'.

Linguistically not verse, the praises are the most important category of poetry the Zulu know besides love-songs and lullabys. They are framed in short sentences, the language is 'intensely idiomatic' and puns abound. When recited stress is laid on the penultimate syllables and intervals between phrases are prolonged. The king's bard, or praiser, is clad in a leopard skin and his head is ornamented with gall-bladders. He wields shield and stick and works himself up into a high pitch of elation. The chief's praises are recited on the occasion of a victory, on the arrival of important visitors, at great tribal meetings, and when the chief distributes bounties. I heard the royal praises recited when one of King Solomon's sons arrived at a commoner's kraal to attend a wedding *6*.

B. GROUP NAMES

Group names can be used either collectively or individually, i.e., they may refer to either a group or an individual member of that group.

1. The most important group name is the *isiBongo* (clan/n), also called *isiZalo*. It refers to an exogamous, patrilineal kinship group. The clan/n was usually the pers/n of the clan's founder or of his homestead (Bryant: 1929: 15). The constituent lineages are often no longer able to trace their descent from this ancestor. The founder's pers/n may then be the only genealogical link. The *isiBongo* may, of course, have been adopted for reasons of prestige or as a claim to relationship advanced for political reasons.

Kohler reminds us that the proper bearer of the clan/n is the head of the homestead. His patrilineal ancestors bore this name, his agnatic descendants will transmit it to poster-

ity. Males share this name with their agnates. A woman, in many respects, has no clan/n. When asked she gives her F's, even when married. (Under the influence of modern registration practices women tend to give their H's clan/n). Children are not known by their clan/n but by their pers/n.

The clan/n is more than a 'name'. Persons with the same clan/n are considered kin to the extent that they may not marry one another under incest rules. Special rules of hospitality apply to them. The clan/n does not necessarily indicate rank. There are non-royalty *Zulu* for instance.

2. The clan name is supplemented by the *isiThakazelo*, the courtesy name *7*.

Court/ns have a documentary significance within the kinship structure. They record otherwise forgotten links or support claims to relationship which are fictional. They act as records of the processes of fission and fusion. Some court/ns are the pers/ns of an ancient forbear, a clan celebrity, a culture hero, e.g., Sibewu of the Miya clan. Other court/ns refer to an ancestor who broke away from a larger kinship grouping and founded a new lineage, clan-segment or sub-clan. Certain court/ns appear as alternatives to the clan/n, when they refer to two or more sons of one father.

If a court/n is common to two clans with different *iziBongo*, it imposes a taboo on intermarriage, e.g., on Miya and a group of Dhlamini who share the court/n of Mzizi. This also happens if the clan/n of the one group is the court/n of another, e.g. the Magwenyane may not intermarry with the Bhengu, since the former have Bhengu as court/n. However, where different court/ns distinguish the segments of one and the same clan, the court/ns 'break the relationship' and intermarriage between the segments becomes possible. Examples are the Ngcobo Nyuswa, Ngcobo Mafunze and Ngcobo Ngongoma, also the Dlamini Mzizi and Dlamini Sibalukhulu and the Zulu Didi and Zulu Vebi. Court/ns then assume the full functions of a clan/n.

A special place is taken by the court/n of *Ndabezitha*. It is claimed by the Zulu clan as a mark of distinction, by the Buthelezi, who also employ Shenge as court/n, by the Mbatha (emBateni) who have Shandu as second court/n, by the Qoqo (kwaQoqo), by the eGazini (whereas the emGazini have Ntshangase as court/n like the Biyela, who are derived from emGazini stock), by the Khumalo (who besides Ndabezitha have Ndaba by itself and Ntungwa as court/ns) and by the Mabaso (who likewise have Ndaba as second court/n). Ndaba is claimed as *isiThakazelo* also by the Sibiya, the Ncwecwe and the Mangazi.

3. The third group name is the regimental name *(iButho)*. It is (or was) given to all members of an age-class on being organized into a military unit by king or chief. It often referred to an incident at the camp and thus 'timed' the regiment. Because of the destruction of the Zulu military system after the 1879 war and the assumption by rival sovereign chiefs of the right to create regiments and name them, old Zulu do not always know their national regim/n. They then know a factional one. Nubile girls and women were also grouped in age-classes and in the past were given a regim/n of their own.

C. KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terms are either (a) d e s c r i p t i v e, when they have only a single referent, e.g. husband, or (b) c l a s s i f i c a t o r y, when they refer to a lineal relative in the first instance and to certain collateral relatives as well. Persons thus bracketed together often occupy analogous positions in the kinship structure.

Kinship terms may be combined with pers/ns to form address names on the principle of teknonymy. Such names may be either i n p r o s p e c t, when they refer to a person's family of orientation, e.g., F of N.N. = personal name of his child, or in r e t r o s p e c t, i.e., they refer to the bearer's family of procreation as in Da of N.N. = F's pers/n. Kinship terms may also be coupled with group names, e.g., M of-clan/n or M of-court/n. This use is restricted to the names of women.

D. NAMES OF RANK OR OFFICE

A fourth group of names, used in address and reference, comprises the names of rank or office. Examples are *umNumzane* (head of homestead), *inKosi* (chief, king, lit. master), and *umNtwana* (prince, princess). To these may be added a term like *inKosi yoHlanga*, a hereditary chief, as distinct from an *inKosi yoZalo*, a lineage head. *inKosikazi* may be classed with r/ts and also *inKehli*, i.e. chief wife and betrothed girl respectively. (451) mentions *uMana* for *umNawe nKosana*, i.e. the So following the heir, and *iBusa nKosana*, the third So in rank, two terms which are known in large kraals only.

II. NAME AVOIDANCES IN THE FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

A. FATHER

A child may not use his F's pers/n. In general the avoidance is not extended to the root. Some informants, e.g., Mgoqo Magubane (178), assert that the Chn avoid it. For *umGoqo* (crosspiece) they say* *umValo*. His Sos would be fined for breaking this Hl rule. The F is not supposed to be called by name, for he is the greatest person in the kraal. His Chn ought to avoid the root, e.g., Chief Manyala Biyela's Chn and subjects use* *iChilo* instead of *amaNyala* (disgrace). The avoidance of the F's pers/n applies in situations when he is being addressed or called by a Ch or when it replies to him.

The F's pers/n is nowadays freely given, when required by whites. The Biyela Wis were loath to give it even then. Occasionally its semi-ritual use occurs. (185): "My Sos and Das sometimes walk round the homestead and shout their F's pers/n. They do so when they are pleased or proud of some action of his, also when angry with outsiders and as a sort of challenge to them." If her Sos used their F's pers/n when they have fallen out with him, a 'case' would result before the extended family and they would be fined. The F's pers/n is used in ritual situations, e.g., in an oath during his life time, but preferably so after his death, and then also in invocations and prayers.

Zulu informants explain that the avoidance of the F's pers/n expresses respect for the older generation rather than that it is an acknowledgment of paternity. It is the name avoidance p a r e x c e l l e n c e .

In reference the F's group names (Gr: 1:2:3) are said to be used by his Chn, i.e. when the father has to be identified. On solemn occasions, e.g. when a Ch thanks his F for a gift, or when apologizing to him, it uses the clan/n. (The Wis of Beshu Biyela were adamant that even in such a situation they could not use their Fs' respective group name). (360) suggests that Chn do not use the F's group names in address, because these are the proper terms for his Wis to use! (453): "A young Ch cannot call his F with his clan/n, only when he is grown up, i.e., long after his enrolment and marriage and he has Chn of his own and is considered by his F to be 'mature'. This applies to Sos. Das have to say *Baba* even after their marriage."

Sos and Das generally address their F with the k/t *Baba* which means p a t e r rather than g e n i t o r. The same term with the prefix u- is used in reference. If a Ch wishes to call his F out of a group this term with the personal pronoun added is employed, or he is pointed at or a third person is sent to fetch him. *uYihlo* is used in the 2nd person and in reference only, thus never with a personal pronoun. *uYise* is correspondingly used in the 3rd person. Both these terms cannot be used in the wide classificatory sense as is the case with *uBaba*. (An exception to this rule is the heir of the Third House in a large homestead who is called *uYise*. He takes over certain of the F's ritual and jural functions on the latter's death). To express the idea of genitor descriptive expressions are resorted to, e.g., *uBaba mPela* (real, actual father) or *umZala-ii* (sire, begetter).

The classificatory use of *uBaba* is extensive. (360) and (365) assert that the extended use of *Baba* is an innovation! According to (328) and S: 567 a Zulu calls the following persons *Baba:* his F, FBr and FSi(!), also all the older members of the family (of first ascending generation upward being understood). (329) generalizes: 'We call all the equals of our F *Baba*, no matter who!" On being challenged he concedes that the MBr is *uMalume*, the FSiH *umKhwenyane* or

umLingane, the FSi may be called *uDade wabo-kwaBaba* or *mNtwana omkhulu*. But the MSiH is again *Baba*, since he calls his WiSiCh *mNtanami*. (452): "Among in-laws the HFSi is called *Baba*, since she is identified with HF." *Baba* is thus used for a number of females who can be identified with F or HF and also for males among the M's collaterals. In (452)'s kraal even a FFSiDa is called *Baba*, since she is Ego's F's cousin! Classificatory extension of *Baba* does thus not always imply potential transfer of functions! Princess Magogo: "*Baba* can be used as a term of endearment towards Chn. A M may call her son *Baba* from the time he is born to when he is grown up. The same use can be made of the term *Mame* with reference to a Da. Thus employed the terms mean something like: 'my boy', 'my girl!'" *Baba* is a polite term for all (elderly) persons in authority. (360): "*Baba* can be applied to the master of a communal hunt, who in turn addresses the hunters as *baNgane bami* (my friends)." Whenever on my walks I greeted an elderly man with *umNumzane*, he would reply *Baba*.

B. MOTHER

The mother is addressed and referred to by her Chn with the k/t *Mame* (vW) which means mater, not genetrix. If the physical M is meant the descriptive phrase *uMame imPela* (real mother) or more commonly: *uMama owangiZalayo*, 'mother who has borne me' is used. There seems to be some latitude in the avoidance of the M's pers/n, for instance, in some Dladla and Mtimkulu lineages Das are said to use the M's pers/n (148). This laxity seems to reveal the ritual insignificance of a M's pers/n. An old informant could not recall it for some time, and excused himself by saying: "It is so long, long ago" (scil., that I used it). A M's or any related woman's pers/n is, however, occasionally used in individual prayers, for instance when the spirit causing a 'diviner's illness' is that of a M. Hence the hesitation of the informant just quoted may have been due, not to lapse of memory, but to a ritual avoidance.

The root of the M's pers/n is rarely, if ever, avoided. An exception is Mnukeni Ndaba (174): His M's pers/n being Ganile, he uses the verbal form **ukwAnela* for the common *ukuGanile* (to be betrothed). As in the case of *uBaba* the term for M has special forms for the 2nd person *(uNyoko)* and 3rd person *(uNina)* (vW). These words do not combine with personal pronouns as do other k/ts (S:567).

uMame can, like *uBaba*, be used in a classificatory sense. (328): A Zulu calls his real M *Mame*, also his F's other wives and all other women of the parental generation who are consanguineous kin *(umDeni, aboZala, abaseKhaya)*. Thus the MSi is *Mame*, but not the FSi. (329): 'We call all the equals of our mother *Mame*, e.g., the F's Wis, FBrWis, and the MSi too for she calls me *mNtanami*. But the FSi is not *Mame*, although she addresses her BrChn as *abaNtanami*. As there are many Ms in a polygynous homestead, the combination Ma+clan name makes possible identification in reference *(Ma* is short for *Mame)*. One informant asserted that this form is an innovation! Even a H may call his Wi *Mame:* he does so as a joke or when he is pleased with her, and when she has many Chn.

C. CHILDREN

A F calls and refers to his Chn by their personal names, irrespective of whether they are firstborn or junior, boys or girls. The Chn's pers/ns are also used by their Ms and other members of the parental generation (FBrs, FSis, MSis and MBrs), as well as by the grandparents on both sides. The pers/n of the Ch is sometimes superseded in general use by the pet or play name or by an individual honour name.

Parents sometimes, though rarely, use the clan/n or court/n of the child, i.e., the F's group names, e.g., when praising it for a good deed, or asking for a favour. One informant states that he requests his son, 'Give me my food, Ntombela!', Ntombela being their clan/n. It is more common in solemn address and in reference for the parents to use the k/ts, *umNtwana* (S), *umNtanami* for a small child, and *inDodanayami*, my So, and *inDodakaziyami*, my Da, for adolescents (vW). Such usage would be indicated during the puberty rite, when thanking the Ch for a gift, when sending him on an important message, even when conversing

'gently' with him. (453): "I can call my Chn by clan/n and court/n as long as we haven't quarrelled." A fond parent may use *inTombi* (lit. full-grown girl) or *iNsizwa* (youth) even towards small Chn. It is also possible for parents to address their Chn with *mFowethu* (lit., 'our brother') in a classificatory sense. The So of a junWi may be called *iNganeyakwethu*. After their marriage a F may call his Sos by their regim/ns, but would be chary of doing so for fear of making them proud or conceited. A Da is still addressed with her pers/n after her marriage, even after the birth of a child. The tek/ns are used by the in-laws (both in retrospect and in prospect).

Heirs get favoured treatment in the ascription of individual and group names. This corresponds with their importance in perpetuating the agnatic line, in unfolding the kinship structure. The heir of the Great House may be referred to as *inKosana* by his siblings and parents, and the heir of the Left House as *iKhohlwa*. The eDa of a family segment is referred to as *inKosazana*. None of these r/ts are used in address, or in the hearing of siblings for fear of causing jealousy among them. The M of the heir concerned may, however, use the appropriate r/t when alone with her son! *iNdlunkulu* is identical with *inKosana;* it is more frequently used for princWi, Great Hut and Great House.

D. SIBLINGS

1. *Personal Name*

Chn use the pers/ns of one another (i.e., Br of Br, Si of Si and Br of Si and vice versa), both in address and reference and for purposes of identification. This state of affairs holds till puberty. Already before that time it may have been impressed upon a younger Ch that he must not use his elder sibling's pers/n in addressing him but only in reference. Now the substitute k/ts come to the fore.

2. *Kinship Terms and their Extended Use*

a. The k/t for Br is *mFowethu* (G, DV, S) and *Dadewethu* for Si. The possessive pronoun (1st person plural) means 'our' and is an integral part of the k/t. The combination *mFowami* (lit. brother with first person singular possessive pronoun) is rarely used and only when a M or a F addresses their So. The usual term for 'my son' is *nDodanayami*.

The k/t is used in address and reference among siblings to Hl the referent, to express respect for him. (211): "When addressing his Si a boy would use the k/t rather than her pers/n. The use indicates a definite desire to respect (Hl) her, to obtain a favour from her, to acknowledge her kinship rank (e.g., elder sister), or to express the nearness of the relation."

Traditionally the eSo of the princWi is *mNewethu* (G., S. 567: any superior status; DV: eBr, any superior; vW: *mNewethu* is used by Ego, male, for eBr, *mFowethu* for yoBr; both terms are used by Ego, female, for all Brs). (211): "*mNewethu* is a formal recognition of the rank of the heir and thus used by his yoBrs and all his Sis, even one older than himself. No Si would use the term for a yoBr." (453) maintained: "*mNewethu* is used by Sis of any of their Brs who have reached maturity" and he suggests that *Bhuti* (from Afrikaans boetie) is used for eBr. Other informants state that even *Baba* may nowadays be used in addressing the senBr. (452) argues that *mNewethu* may be applied to eSi too. S notes the 2nd and 3rd person singular forms *mNewenu* and *mNewabo*, your or his eBr.

The Br born next to Ego with the same M is his *mNawe* (S, DV: any yoBr or yoSi, but also HF or WiF or fellow parent-in-law). According to (452) *mNawe-we-nKosana* describes the So following the heir. In royal families he is next in succession and status to the heir. An alternative arrangement is for the heir of the *iQadi* House to be the *mNawe* of the chief heir. Where there is no 'genuine' *mNawe*, a senior So of one of the subsidiary houses may be appointed after the heir's accession as happened in Chief Gatsha's case.

A junior So (often the youngest) is appointed *uYise*. As such he has authority after the F's death to act as arbiter between the heir of the Great (Right) House, the *inKosana*, and the heir of the Left House, the *iKhohlo*. The *uYise* cannot preside over an assembly if the case concerns the whole kraal; this is the *inKosana's* function. Siblings address the junBr, who is ear-marked for this important ritual position, as *Baba* even if he is "still growing", for "he has been given

authority to separate us in a quarrel". The *uYise* cannot be addressed as *umNumzane* (Hl). The terms *inKosana, iKhohlo, uYise* are not used in address, only in reference and mainly by older people, not by siblings (451, 452).

(253) lists the persons who may be addressed as *mFowethu* to bring out the classificatory range of the term:

So of the same F and the same M;
A half-Br (So of the same F but different M);
A FyoBrSo *(nDodana-ka-Baba-omncane)* and a FeBrSo *(nDodana-ka-Baba-omkhulu)* after adolescence; if younger than the speaker they are addressed by their pers/ns before adolescence.
a Si to Hl her;
a HBr to Hl him. If widowed the woman may marry this HBr by levirate. She may address him not only as *mFowethu,* Br, but also as *mYeniwami,* H, a unique fact only equalled by the seraglio practice of the great Zulu tyrants: the royal maidens there were the king's "sisters": he could dispose of them against bride-price, but he could also marry them.
Co-Wis call one another *mFowethu;* even if there is an age and rank difference. The usage begins after the betrothal. At Mnyayiza Zulu's kraal the princWi called the junior Wis thus.
Other relatives clubbed together as *iziHlobo,* e.g., both parallel and cross cousins (the proper term for the latter being *abaZala.)*
Members of the same religious sect, whether male or female, and irrespective of age. Only elderly ladies are addressed as *Dadewethu.* The commonest address term in sects is *mZalwane.* S: 567 notes *umZalwana* brother and sister from the religious point of view.

b. S i s t e r: (394) calls and refers to his Si by her pers/n; he addresses her as *Dadewethu,* i.e., with the k/t. After his Si has put on her top-knot prior to marriage, he addresses her as *inKehli* (r/t) and for many years afterwards. S: 567 notes 2nd and 3rd person forms, viz., *mFowenu, mFowabo* and *Dadewenu, Dadewabo* and, like DV, restricts their meaning to 'paternal cousins' (FBrChn). The expression *Dadewami* is never used. If a M wishes to address her Da she may use *nDodakaziyami* or more commonly *mNtanami* (my child). *Dade* without possessive pronoun may be used by a nurse in charge of a non-related female Ch; she would address a non-related boy as *mFanawami.*

(253) reviews the persons to whom *Dadewethu* may be applied:

Si, eSi and yoSi, full and half.
HSi, whether married or not.
Co-Wis: possibly, but *mFowethu* is far more common. Alternative descriptive terms are *uZakwethu* and *umNakwethu,* lit. woman married to same H. Ma + clan/n (e.g., MaSibiya) is used among co-Wis, but not *oka-bani* (Daughter of N. N.) which the H uses "if he doesn't respect his WiF". The r/ts *inKosikazi* for the princWi and *iKhohlo,* or *wena-wase-Khohlo,* for Left Wi are used by co-Wis in address (451), but (452) thinks "it is unnecessary for them to do so".
Cousins: Parallel cousins (FBrDa and MsiDa) may be called *Dadewethu* but as we have seen also *mFowethu.* Cross cousins (i.e. FSiDa and MBrDa) are called by the k/t *mZala* but *mFowethu* is also possible. *Dadewethu* is unusual, the reason being that cross cousins no longer belong to the family *(uHlobo lunye);* their relationship is considered too distant!

3. Youth Name: eloBusha

From puberty onwards siblings no longer use the pers/n of one another, unless they are very intimate, but the youth name. Parents and their social equals ignore the youth name and continue to use their Ch's pers/n. Its use by others is taken as a sign of ill-will, disrespect, even contempt which is resented and results in a quarrel. Even a sweetheart must not use her lover's pers/n: he would take offence. A Si calls her Br by his youth name even after his marriage, but his Wi does not (394).

4. Group Names among Siblings

A Br or Si is never called by the clan/n (Gr:1) by his or her siblings. The regim/n (Gr:3) is the most common group name alternative, once it has been acquired, and this holds whatever the age and marital status of the person concerned. If a person is considered to have done a great deed, he is lauded by his Sis with his 'praises' (the individual praise name: *isiBongo)*.

III. NAME AVOIDANCES IN THE FAMILY OF PROCREATION

In marrying, a man does not only acquire a Wi, he also enters into regulated social contacts with his Wi's people*(emaKhweni, ubuLanda)*. V i c e v e r s a a woman enters into relations with her H's people *(abaKhwenyane)*. Both relations are characterized by peculiar name usages. *umLingane* is the kinship term used between men and women or parents (DV) whose children have married.

A. WIFE (HUSBAND SPEAKING)

1. With regard to a H's use of his Wi's pers/n, opinions differ widely. A few informants contend that he should not use it either in address or reference, especially in the presence of other persons (178). But even they admit that where a H conforms to this strict norm, he nevertheless uses a Wi's pers/n in certain circumstances, e.g., when he is drunk or in jocular mood, when the woman is happy, or when both are alone.

   In fact, a man frequently uses his Wi's pers/n when he is angry with her. In such circumstances a Wi has no redress, while a H would claim 'compensation' if his Wi used his pers/n in anger. (128), however, insists that if a man uses his Wi's name in an insulting manner in public, she is justified in claiming 'damages', i.e., a fine to wash away the insult. A H does not avoid the root of his Wi's pers/n. Xoshiwe asserted that her husband uses * *ukuGaleka* for *ukuXosha* (to chase), and that he does so out of consideration for her. But she is a Christian wife in a polygynous family, and maintains that her H is particularly fond of her. Her story is therefore suspect.

   The great majority of informants, however, are quite definite that a H does not avoid his Wi's pers/n, and that no wrong is done if he uses it. The Biyela wives were even of the opinion that calling a Wi by her pers/n is like using a courtesy expression, since the name was given to the woman by her F. In fact, while an unmarried woman is called by her pers/n by everyone at her F's home, she is addressed by it in her married home only by her H! If the homestead is not his own, but belongs to his F or eBr, the head of the homestead exercises the same privilege, but never a younger Br (Hl). It is thus possible to conclude: a woman's personal name is used correctly by her guardians only, i.e., by F, eBr, H, H's agnatic seniors. The exceptions to the rule are the woman's M and siblings.

2. The alternative names which a H may use in addressing and referring to his Wi are the following: -

   The woman's clan/n (Gr:1) in two combinations, viz., Da-of-clan/n, e.g., okaCebekhulu, or M-of-clan/n, e.g., MaCebekhulu. (178) calls his Wi MaNcanana because she hails from the clan of that name.

   The Wi's court/n (Gr:2), e.g., in the combination M-of-court/n. (168) has a Wi of the Bininda clan whose court/n is Mnomiya. He calls her Mabininda or MaMnomiya.

   The WiF's pers/n, using the principle of teknonymy in reverse, e.g., (178) calls his Wi okaMbosha after her father. A man whose WiF's pers/n is uZweni would call her wekaZweni, short for we-oka-Zweni. Many informants insist that this is the genuine Zulu way of calling a Wi. The method involves a violation of the Hl rule that a man should avoid his F-in-l's pers/n.

   By using the principle of teknonymy the H calls his Wi after the birth of their first child (son): M-of-N.N. (name of child), preferably in the form Naka-N.N., *Naka* being a contraction of *Nina-ka-*. The sex of the child does not affect the issue. (129) disagreed on this point, saying that it was improper for a H to use such a name in particular if the child was a son.

   The Wi's youth name (In:2). This is customary when the H is pleased with his Wi. Nobusuku Ntuli, now Mhlongo, was called *Shawuhlaka* by her lover, when she 'declared

her love' to him. Twenty years later he still calls her thus. Momeli Sithole calls his Wi by her pers/n, Nomgqibelo, or by her clan/n, MaMalevu, or by her youth name, *Dubumbuso*. He does so to compensate her for the pleasures of her father's kraal and home district which she left behind to join him! She is very pleased when called by this last name, for it reminds her of her childhood! However, (452) says: "I leave the youth name alone because we are now married. Nobody told me to give it up; perhaps I did it because I am strict."

Finally a H may use the k/t "wife", especially in reference. It occurs in four forms (G): *uMkami, owaKwami, umFaziwami* and *inKosikaziyami*. None of the many informants I interviewed volunteered *uMkami*. When asked about it they denied its employment or hedged about. While a H shouts all other names, he may not do so with the k/t (H1).

The reason seems to lie in the sexual implications of the term. The individual names designate a woman in her individuality and identify her. The group names honour her as a member of a distinct kinship group. The teknonymy names link her to her begetter or to her offspring, to two agnatic groups linked through her. They all help to define her social position and to use them is not embarrassing.

It is otherwise with the term "wife". The explanation that the kinship term implies "woman as object of sexual gratification" was arrived at with a group of informants at Eshowe gradually. They said, at first, it was no disgrace for the H to shout *uMkami*, but people would laugh at him for doing so; it was just a custom *(iSiko, umThetho)*. When we compared this custom with the similar differential use of the kinship term 'husband' by a Wi, the group volunteered that people would say of a man, whose Wi used the k/t in public, that he was 'light', of no consequence. When we then contrasted the association-free k/ts for parent and child, the group realized that the terms *uMkami* (wife) and *umYeni* (husband) suggest cohabitation. Hence they are rarely used in public. The group now concurred that it was the public allusion to a man's sexual relations through the use of his k/t which made him 'light!

A H may also use the term *Makoti* or the aristocratic *mLobokazi* (bride) for his young wife, but the usage is also denied (451, 452, 453). Even in Dingane's days a H could call his Wi *umNtwana* (Gardiner: 219).

3. *Concluding Remarks*

The names used for a married woman by the inmates of her H's kraal, i.e., her affines, are mainly the forms: Da-of-N.N. or Da-of-clan/n. Her parents-in-law address her by Ma+Gr:1 or Ma+Gr:2; HBrs and their Wis, and the public in general, as Da-of-clan/n or court/n; unmarried H's siblings as M-of-N.N.

Two Sis married to one H are distinguished by adjectives. The senSi is called *oka-bani-omkhulu* (the great Da-of-N.N., the yoSi: *oka-bani-omncane* (the small-Da-of-N.N.). The same holds for combinations with group/ns. Two women married to the same man are known as *Zakwethu* to each other.

The comparative constancy of naming usage can be proved from the literature. Bleek (1952: 32) gives the names a H used in 1860 for his Wis in a polygynous home as pers/n, WiF's pers/n (all different), and Wi's clan/n, referred to as 'tribal name'. Callaway (1868: 45) bears out the interpretation given by us to the kinship term 'wife': "Should a bridegroom address his bride thus on the wedding day, i.e. *mFazi-ndini* (my wife indeed), it would be an insult and imply loss of virtue, and if not founded in truth it would be resented by absolute refusal to marry".

B. HUSBAND (WIFE SPEAKING)

1. In addressing her H a woman has to observe strict avoidance rules. It is impossible for her to use her H's pers/n in address or in reference. The avoidance is, however, much less strict than that of the pers/n of her HF.

Situational factors may be taken into account, such as the H's or Wi's emotional state, or the intention underlying the use of the pers/n. Mqoko Magubane volunteered that his Wi uses

his pers/n when she is pleased with him, and he takes no exception. Another informant said that his Wi might use his pers/n in his absence without doing wrong.

The H's pers/n is nowadays given to white men for government, church and scientific purposes. But in uttering it a Wi uses round-about methods. The name may be supplied by a member of the party accompanying her. Or the woman gives the enquirer clues, by which he can guess the name. She may for instance, mention the name of her H's homestead, refer to his special occupation (e.g., "he looks after the prisoners"), and indicate her H's position in the family tree, whether he is an elder or a younger son. Embarrassment is shown when a Wi finally utters it. (185) gave her H's pers/n to us without hesitation, but corrected our pronunciation of it rather loudly. Normally she even avoids the root of his name. I never observed a woman spitting after she had given the name of her H.

When a woman utters her H's pers/n in anger, in a quarrel or with the intention of annoying him, his ire is justified because his Wi has violated an avoidance. In such an event, a H may chase his Wi from the homestead. She returns to her F's kraal and cannot go back to her H until she brings a beast to cleanse her from the offence.

An old woman past child-bearing, who sits on the men's side in the hut, helps in reciting the names of her H's ancestors during a sacrifice or during a difficult confinement of one of her Das-in-l, and who may eat the meat otherwise reserved for the men, still avoids her H's pers/n. It is only when she is very old, an *isAlukazi*, that the restriction is lifted and she may jocularly refer to her H by his pers/n.

A woman uses her H's pers/n ritually after his death in invocations to him. Christian women including those belonging to Zionist sects no longer adhere to this name avoidance. The ancestral appeal is felt to be part of the pagan order.

2. A woman begins to avoid her H's pers/n when she accepts him as a lover in the *Qoma*, whereupon they become publicly known as intended for each other. In some instances the girl drops the use of the pers/n of her lover even sooner, i.e., when she accepts him privately as her sweetheart. Henceforth she employs one of his group names. The adoption of the name avoidance thus signalizes the transformation of a flirtation into a binding relationship, a 'betrothal'. With it mutual visits at each other's homestead are allowed; this involves permission for partial sexual gratification which must, however, not result in impregnation.

Bryant (1949: 564 and in ch. on Engagement) shows how the status change brought on by *ukuQoma* is elaborated. Throughout the wooing the young man calls his girl *iGxila*. After their 'engagement' she becomes his *isiGxebe* (sweetheart) or *inTombi* (girl:S:568), while he becomes her *iSoka* (lover, lit. circumcised youth).

In terms of our name classification these expressions fall under r/ts. It should be remembered that the period of love-making is also the time of the use of the most insulting and obscene language, e.g. a girl, or a boy, may be called and addressed as *Xhaphile* (You have lapped up scil. excrements). Its function may be to break down 'sexual shyness'.

3. The substitute names of address and reference used by a Wi for her H are:

T h e G r o u p N a m e s: Clan/n and court/n have almost the same value, although some Hs express a preference for the court/n. The H's regim/n should be avoided by a Wi in address, especially in the chief's family. It may be used in reference, e.g., in talking about him to friends, or to her Chn. Mhuqeni Mahaye's Wi addresses him as Mahaye (clan/n) or Zulu (court/n) and uses both these terms in reference together with his regim/n, imBokodebomvu.

T h e r/t : A Wi cannot address (Hl) her H as *umNumzana* (head of homestead) but refers to him thus. This is considered a dignified term. Its employment is out of the question during the life time of the HF, since he is then the head. An informant whose F is still alive may vehemently insist on being called *umNumzana* without pointing out the condition to trap his Wi. Nor would it be used in the presence of the chief, for he is head of the district.

A H may be addressed and referred to by means of teknonymy. (128) speaks of her H as *u-Yise-ka-Mathola*, He-the-F-of-Mathola, where Mathola is a son. Mkuba Ngema and (452) observe that such usage is a violation of respect custom *(Hlonipha)*. A woman who really wanted to Hl her H would avoid their Ch's pers/n and say *Yise-ka-Ntombazana* (F-of-a-girl) or *Yise-ka-mFana* (F-of-a-boy). Mncube mentions that a barren, childless woman

may call her H: F-of-N. N., N. N. being his Br's child! Callaway (1868: 316) gives an instance of a recently bereaved widow which suggests that a deceased H could be addressed by teknonymy at a time when to appeal to him by his pers/n is as yet avoided.

Among themselves young Wis may refer to their common H by his engagement, love or dance name and also by his youth name. They may do so even in his presence, when they dally with him. But it is correct for the youth name to be used by contemporaries and juniors of the bearer's own sex only.

Kinship term: Recently women have begun to refer to their Hs as *uBaba* (father). They are not 'fined' for this usage, but the men dislike it, for it identifies a man with his F, his Wi's F-in-l.

The k/t proper for H, viz., *umYeni* or *inDoda* (G, DV) was not volunteered by my women informants as either a term of address or reference. The Biyela Wis stated indignantly that they would never use the terms. Chief Ephraim Ndwandwe suggested that they may use it in reference but not in calling a H or in addressing him. The group of Eshowe men, mentioned under "Wife", said a woman could use the term when talking to her husband in private, in particular, a woman whose H neglects her sexually. She would tell him that he did not behave like her man *(inDoda)*. The k/t for husband has thus, like the term for 'wife', a decided sexual implication.

According to H. L. Samuelson (p. 20) a woman may address her H's grandfather as *nDoda-yami*. Here the principle of alternate generation identification seems involved, as is the case between grandfather and grandchild, grandmother and grandson. Certainly the usage cannot be explained as the survival of a one-time more intimate relationship*8*.

Individual honour name: According to Stuart (1925: 93-101), when a man marries, he tells his Wi the praises his M gave him, (but not those given him by his age-mates, agnates and the king). His Wi recites them, when she wishes to please him.

4. A Wi's avoidance of her H's pers/n is reinforced in the avoiding of the root of his name. Gabade Matonzi's Wi uses **iVashane* for *iGade* (lump of earth) or *iGabade* (small feather). (130), in avoiding the root of her H's pers/n, which is Maqutshane, speaks of **iGuludla* instead of *iQhubu* (boil, projection) and for *uQhuqho* (a fever) she says **uVevo*. (128), whose H's name is SoNyangane, replaces *iNyanga* with * *imPheku*.

   The strictness with which the avoidance of the root is observed depends on the social situation. When the H and the old people of his lineage are absent, a Wi dispenses with the root avoidance. (179) did not avoid her H's root during the life time of his F, as the root avoidance might imply that she considered him and not his F as head of the homestead. She began to avoid the root after her F-in-l's death.

   The name avoidances of a Wi referring to her H thus ensure that she does not identify him with his F. In avoiding *umNumzane* or *uBaba* for her H before the HF's death and in beginning to avoid her H's root after that event, she respects her F-in-l's position.

5. The reasons given by women for these name avoidances can be arranged under the following heads:-

   It is part of the *Hlonipha* custom. The Wis must respectfully avoid the H's pers/n, the root of his name, the H himself. This is sometimes expressed very formally: We avoid the root because the H's name is near! To-day one hears the explanation: *'nguBaba'*, s c i l., it is the HF's custom. (124) called this reply usual with church people only. Another elliptical explanation is: 'It is custom.'

   A woman who breaks this avoidance is called disobedient (to the H's people's customs, to the teaching received at her F's) by her co-Wis and her M-in-l. She is expected to show respect and not break the routine of her H's homestead.

   The ancestors will be angry. They may be so offended that they will send an illness to the homestead.

   The offending woman is sent home by her H. She must fetch a beast from her F to appease her H's ancestors and cleanse herself from the avoidance breach.

6. "Once a woman is married she adopts all the k/ts and names used by her H to designate

individual relatives. The same applies to a man in the case of his Wi's relatives." How true this Zulu generalization is can be seen in the following account.

IV. COLLATERALS AMONG CONSANGUINEOUS KIN

A. THE PARENTS' COLLATERALS

1. Father's Brother

The usage with regard to the names of the FBrs resembles that for the F, and is a suitable illustration of the principle of the extension of kinship attitudes. The pers/n of a paternal uncle is avoided, whether he be the elder or younger brother of the F.

An alternative in address is the classificatory k/t *Baba* (G, DV, S) alone and in reference with the descriptive adjectives *omkhulu* or *omncane* (FeBr, FyoBr) respectively. S notes the 2nd and 3rd person forms *uYihlo* and *uYise* and even *Babekazi*. Clan/n, court/n and regim/n are not used by BrSo or BrDa in addressing the FBr. However, they do not avoid the root of the FBr's pers/n.

The FBrWi is addressed by Ego as *Mame*, whether she is the senior or junior Brother's Wi. Descriptive terms, viz., *Mame-omkhulu* for FeBrWi and *Mame-omncane* for FyoBroWi are used in reference. Their clan/ns or court/ns may by used in the appropriate combinations.

2. Father's Sister

The FSi's pers/n is avoided by Ego. The reason appears in the substitute name, the k/t *Baba!* To identify her the expression *uDade-ka-Baba* may be employed. The term *uBabekazi* recorded by G, DV and S was rejected by the Eshowe Four who wish to reserve it for FBrs. When told that the suffix *-kazi* implies a female they accept this and argue that in this combination it means relationship in general. (Bryant: 1905 gives three meanings of *Babekazi:* FBr, FSi and F's cross-cousin).

According to S: 567 the 2nd and 3rd person forms *uYihlo* and *uYise* are used for your/his FSi, even *uYihlokazi* and *uYisekazi*. A special k/t for FSi is *umNtwana-omkhulu*.

The pers/n of a FSiH is avoided by Ego. He is addressed and referred to as *Baba* or *mKhwenyane* (G, vW), the classificatory k/t for many in-laws. The second term is used more frequently and with the intention of honouring him. His Gr/ns may by used if the speaker is of about the same age.

3. Mother's Brother

The pers/n of a MBr is avoided by his SiChn, whether he is older or younger than his Si. The root is never avoided. He is addressed by the k/t which is also used in reference, viz., *uMalume* (lit. male mother) (G, DV, S). The term may be shouted across the homestead by the Chn. Clan/n, court/n and regim/n cannot be used by them. A SiCh would not be beaten for breaking this rule, nor fined, but scolded. Normally no distinction is made between elder and younger MBr but if necessary *Malume-omkhulu* and *Malume-omncane* are used. S, DV note *uNyokolume* and *uNinalume* for MBr in the 2nd and 3rd person respectively.

There is no formal teasing or joking between a Zulu MBr and his SiChn, but a maternal uncle is the friendliest of the parental collaterals. He may play with a SiCh and come down to its level. When he goes to visit at his Br-in-l's home, he says: "I am going to see my SiChn." The Chn in turn are fond of their MBr; they prefer to visit at his place rather than at their FBr's, or at the home of FSi and MSi.

The MBrWi is also referred to as *uMalume* (G). The extension of the term from H to Wi cannot indicate identity of function: it is a polite extension. To avoid confusion it may become necessary to refer to her as *uMka-Malume* (= wife of male mother) or *uMalumekazi* (vW).

4. Mother's Sister

A MSi's pers/n is avoided by her SiChn. A Ch addresses a MSi, whether she is older or younger than its M, as *Makazi* or *Mame* (S, vW). The k/t is also used in reference (with the u-prefix), before and after her marriage. S: 567 notes the 2nd and 3rd person forms: *Nyokokazi*

and *Ninakazi*.

A MSi's clan/n and court/n may be used by her SiChn. Her puberty name is not allowed (Hl).

A MSiH is addressed and referred to as *Baba* (G, vW). His pers/n must be avoided by his WiSiChn. His clan/n, court/n and regim/n may be used by them in address and reference.

B. EGO'S CONSANGUINEOUS COLLATERALS

1. Parallel Cousins

The FBrChn are classed with real Brs and Sis. They may be addressed by their pers/ns or the classificatory k/t *mNewethu* (G); *mFowethu* and *Dadewethu* are used. (394) calls his FBrDa *Dadewethu* in address and in reference. If she is younger than himself, he may use her pers/n; if she is older and near marriage he changes over to the r/t *inKehli*. He in turn is called by his FBrDa (he being her FBrSo) *mNewethu*, when she addresses him and in reference. If she is his senior, she may use his pers/n as identifier in reference; if she is younger only the regim/n, never the pers/n (Hl). vW notes *ukaYise* for parallel cousin on the father's side.

The second set of ortho-cousins, the MSiChn may be addressed and referred to by their pers/ns before their marriage. The classificatory k/t *mFowethu* (G) and *Dadewethu* (G, DV) are mainly used in address; there are descriptive terms like *umNta-kaMame* or *umNta-ka-Nina* or simply *ukaNina* in reference (vW). After their marriage this usage may be continued, especially if older addresses younger. But the young cousin addressing a married maternal ortho-cousin often uses his clan/n (which differs from his own and that of his mother).

2. Cross-cousins

Both sets of cross-cousins are addressed and referred to as *abaZala* the k/t, irrespective of sex. G notes for FSiDa *Mame*, and for MBrDa *mFo*. A person may use the personal name of his FSiChn and of his MBrChn before and after marriage for purposes of identification. But it is a sign of respect if a married cross-cousin is addressed by his clan/n. In both cases it would differ from the speaker's. Clan/n and court/n are also used in reference but custom does not enforce this usage. In the case of a MBrDa, the tendency is to continue calling her by her pers/n even after her marriage.

(394) calls and addresses his MBrDa as *mZala*, adding the pers/n in reference. There is no differentiation between elder and younger MBrDa. The MBrDas call him, their FSiSo, *mZala* too. In reference they add his pers/n, if older than he , and his clan/n if younger. Younger FSiDas call him, their MBrSo, *mZala*, in reference *mZala*- plus-pers/n. The younger FSiDas use his regim/n in address and reference *9*.

C. CONTEMPORARY COLLATERAL AFFINES

1. Brother's Wife

a. Male speaking (levirate in view)

A man may not use his BrWi's pers/n in address. If he uses it, he commits 'a mean act' and shows himself disrespectful to his Br and his BrWi. He can be 'fined' a goat, even a beast, according to the 'sentence' in the lineage assembly. He may, however, use his BrWi's pers/n when identifying her, and also when he is angry with her, when she has provoked him. Such facts would be taken into consideration by the assembly.

He may use the youth name of his BrWi, whether she is older or younger than himself, both of his yoBrWi and his eBrWi. The use of her youth name does not make adultery with a brother's wife easier; it is allowed since he may marry her by levirate, i.e., act as substitute H after his Br's death. The youth name bestowed by her first husband is thus retained.

A man may in addition use for his BrWi the teknonymy name (oka + her father's pers/n or Ma + her F's name); also Ma+ group names (i.e. Ma+clan/n and Ma+court/n) both in address and in reference. (394) uses the following r/ts: *Makoti*, even *mLobokazi* (bride). The classificatory k/t is *uMkami* and the descriptive k/t *uMka-mFowethu* for eBrWi and yoBrWi and, especially for the former *uMka-mNewethu*. The terms are used in reference and in response, although in greeting a simple *sakuBona* would do. DV note *uMakoti wakwethu* for BrWi.

b. Female speaking

A girl or woman calls her BrWi not by her pers/n but uses r/t or youth name. The r/t is *uMakoti* or *umLobokazi*. The latter is more common and considered more respectful; it may be shouted across the homestead. Besides the r/t, youth name and tek/ns may be used, also the clan/n and court/n. If the woman concerned wished to express her thanks in solemn fashion, she might use in succession the BrWi's clan/n, her H's clan/n and the r/t, e.g., MaNgema, MaMhlongo, *mLoboKazi!* She would do so when she is in a particularly good mood.

c. Brother's Wife's Sister

Ego (male) calls his BrWiSi *mLamuwami* in address and uses this k/t plus her pers/n in reference (DV: *umLamu* = collaterals to a man's wife). The pers/n alone would do if the BrWiSi is younger than the speaker. An alternative k/t for BrWiSi is *Sibali* (from Afrikaans *swaer*) and *Sibali-* plus-youth name would be used in reference. Group names may be used reciprocally between a BrWiBr and a SiHBr if they live in the same neighbourhood. This usage is not favoured if they live far apart. The group names concerned are clan/n and court/n.

A woman addresses her BrWiBr as *mLamuwami* and refers to him as *umLamuwami* - plus-youth name. A male addresses his BrWiBr similarly and SiHBr and BrWiBr use the k/t and the three group names reciprocally (394).

2. *Sister's Husband*

a. Male speaking:

A man does not avoid his SiH's pers/n and uses it to identify him. The same applies to the other individual name, the youth name. The k/t is *umKhwenyanewethu*. It is frequently used. Clan/n, court/n and regim/n are not excluded. K/t- plus-youth name are combined for identification. These terms are used reciprocally between WiBr and SiH.

b. Female speaking:

A married woman addresses her SiH by the k/t *umKhwenyanawethu*, shortened to *umKhwenyawethu* *10*. She may also use his group names and his youth name. The pers/n is strictly avoided. "It takes a quarrel for her to use it" and she is 'fined' for doing so. Its careless use produces a quarrel. Even if the woman is unmarried the same rules apply. It makes no difference that she may later be married to her SiH.

3. *Wife's Brother*

A man generally avoids his WiBr's pers/n in address, especially if he is the WieBr. But custom is not uniform. (178) maintains that a WieBr's pers/n must be avoided because on the death of his F, he will perform the functions of a F-in-l (WiF) towards Ego. Others say that they do not avoid the name, even if the WiBr is a married man.

As an alternative for the WiBr's pers/n the k/t *umLamuwami* is used with descriptive adjectives *omkhulu* or *omncane* as the case may be. The group names (1 - 3) are reciprocally used between a man and his WiBr. In reference (394) uses k/t-plus-youth name.

A person avoids the pers/n of his WiBrWi even if he does not avoid the name of the WiBr. "This is the strictest avoidance" in the contemporary generation of affines. It is extended to the Ms of the WiBrWis. The k/t for WiBrWi is *umLamuwami* or *umKhwekazi*. The explanation according to (453) is: "I call my WiBr *mLamuwami* and cannot call his Wi by her pers/n; not even my Wi could do so. For the cattle which I paid might have been used to pay her *Lobola*. Moreover, if my WiBrM dies, his Wi will take over her position and all matters so far referred to my WiBrM will then be referred to her." The avoidance anticipates thus substitution of WiBrM by her Da-in-l. "She is a grown-up person, takes a responsible position in her H's kraal and must be Hl'd."

4. *Wife's Sister*

The Zulu practise both sororate proper (a younger sister is married as a substitute, when the older sister dies) and sororal polygyny (a man having married an older sister also marries

the younger sister) (Radcliffe-Brown: 1950 : 64).

A man does not avoid his WiSi's pers/n. It is used by him as is her clan/n, court/n and even her youth name. The k/t for WiSi is *umLamu* or *umLamuwami*, the same term as for BrWiSi. Husbands may address a WiyoSi by her youth name, but this usage is considered lax. After her marriage a WiSi should be addressed like any other married woman with clan/n and court/n. But frequently men continue to call their married WiSis by their pers/n, and they reciprocate.

Relations with a WiSiH are easy. He is considered a 'comrade' or friend, since he married into the same homestead as Ego. He is addressed by his pers/n. The k/t *umNakwethu* may be used in address and reference.

5. Husband's Brother

A man's avoidance of the pers/n of his wife's people is not as strict as a Wi's avoidance of the personal names of her H's people. A woman customarily avoids her HBr's pers/n in address, reference and root. (179) maintains that she does not avoid the root of her HBr's pers/n. even after his F's death and his advancement to the deceased's position. But Chief Manyala's princWi "avoids the word *imFe* (sweet reed) because her HeBr (heir of Left House) is called *uMfenyane*". She told a bystander of the avoidance and he gave the name to us.

A distinction is, of course, made between HyoBr and HeBr, the avoidance being stricter for the latter. The eBr is addressed by the Group name, the yoBrs by their pers/n or dance name *(iziGiyo)*. After they have joined a regiment the use of the regim/n or the individual praise name is adopted. (185) uses the clan/n to address her H and his seven Brs, which is simplification indeed. But this does not imply marital identification: the k/t *mYeni* would never be used by her for the HBrs. Some informants would raise no objection if she did use *mYeni*.

In place of the pers/n the k/t *umFowethu* is used, also *umNewethu* (S: 567 has *Mamezala* as a common term for HBr, HSi and HF.) The classificatory term *Baba* may be used by a woman in addressing HeBr, since he represents the HF. (396) distinguishes between elder and younger HBr in reference, using Gr:3 for Brs older than her H and In:2 if they are younger. Mncube, quoting Gobana Duma, says that a HyoBr must be Hl'd in name, since he is competent, according to Zulu law, to inherit the woman by leviratic right, if her H should die. (This informant is a woman of Inanda Reserve.)

To sum up: A HBr is addressed and referred to very much like the H. If the HBr is a man of importance, a chief, or at the head of a homestead, his regim/n is avoided in address, but may be used in reference.

(130): A Wi does not avoid her HBrSos' pers/ns, nor those of her HSiSos. She calls them by their pers/ns and has a right to do so! If she uses their clan/n or regim/n it is out of politeness, respect. A Wi does not avoid the pers/n of her HBrWi. It is a sign of politeness to address her by her clan/n, court/n or tek/n. The k/t is also used: it is *uZakwethu*, also *umNaKwethu*.

6. Husband's Sister

With regard to HSis seniority is as important as in the case of the HBrs. A woman avoids the pers/n of her HeSi, using the k/t to address her. It is either the classificatory *uDadewethu* or *Sis* (from Afrikaans *suster)* or the descriptive term *umNtwana-omkhulu*. The corresponding term for a HyoSi is *umNtwana-omncane* also *uDade-omncane*. The pers/n of the latter is not avoided. Mncube adds *umYeniwami*, i.e. female husband and a tek/n, viz., *uNina-ka-bani*, N.N. being her firstborn. (103) corrects Mncube by saying that *umYeniwami* is used for HFeSi and HFyoSi, not of HSi.

Clan/n and court/n are used to address a HeSi, especially after she has married. A bride lives in close and constant contact with her HSis until they are married off. The root of a HSi's name is not avoided, and the respecting of her pers/n may not go further than that it is not shouted across the homestead. The relationship is certainly much laxer than that between a woman and her HBr. The special position of the HeSi anticipates the special position she will have as FeSi to the children of her BrWi.

The H of a HSi (HSiH) has his pers/n avoided by the Wis of his Br-in-l. They use his clan/n, court/n and k/t *(umKhwenyana)* in address and reference.

V. NAME AVOIDANCES AMONG IN-LAWS

A. FIRST ASCENDING GENERATION : HUSBAND SPEAKING

1. *Wife's Father*

A man avoids his WiF's pers/n in address and reference. But the restriction is not absolute. Informants agree that it is less strict than the analogous avoidance by a woman of her HF's pers/n. A man regularly uses his WF's pers/n in one form of addressing his Wi (i.e. *oka+* WiF's pers/n). This form is avoided in the WiF's presence, when the combination Ma+clan/n is used.

The WiF's pers/n is not always avoided in reference, and the root is freely used. It depends on the personal relationship between a man and his So-in-l, and on the intentions expressed when the breach is committed, whether the former would institute 'a case' to have his DaH 'fined'. Sos-in-l of royal status use their WiF's pers/n with greater assurance than commoners, even in addressing them.

The following alternatives are used for the avoided pers/n: Clan/n; court/n and regim/n, i.e., the same names as for unrelated persons. The descriptive k/t (G, vW) *umKhwe* may be used, also the classificatory k/t, *uBaba*. (S: 567 does not distinguish between WiF and HF, since he renders *umKhwe* with F-in-l.)

2. *Wife's Mother*

The position is very different with the WiM. A man must avoid her pers/n (as well as pers/ns and roots of WiM-co-Wis) in address, reference and root. All Zulu children, girls as well as boys, are taught this avoidance from infancy. The phrase used is *Unga-mBizi uNina womFazi wakho:* You must never refer to your WiM by name.

Three old men behaved in the following manner, when asked for their WiM's name. (175) said he could not remember it, although a few minutes previously he had given me an example of how to avoid its root. After refusing for ten minutes, he called his Wi to get her permission for revealing her M's name to us. He maintained that without this precaution he would have been 'fined'. (178), the leopard hunter, said he had forgotten his WiM's name. (164)'s excuse was that he did not know his M-in-l's name at all.

The avoiding by a man of the root of his M-in-l's name follows the same principles as the root avoidances of women. (175) replaces the word *ukuPhoqa* by * *ukuThasha*, since his WiM's pers/n is *Nokuphoqa*. (162) uses **umuPhi* for *ubuLawu*, churning medicine, his M-in-l's name being Nobulawu.

Among the reasons given for the avoidance of the WiM's pers/n is that the man fears *(ukwEsaba)* both the name and the woman. He could be 'fined' for uttering it. The Wi's family would take into account whether the H acted under provocation.

Some men avoid the root only when other people beside their Wis are present. If (162) were to use the word *ubuLawu*, his Wi, Da of Nobulawu, would accuse him: "You hate me". If he were justifiably angry with her, he could use the root. His other Wis would interpret it as a sign of their H's anger with Nobulawu's Da in particular. (179) sets the fine very low at 10/-. Others say it would amount to 1 - 2 beasts. (128)'s statement that it would be 10 beasts makes it equivalent to the bride-price! In the informant's opinion this is so, because the offender by using his M-in-l's pers/n degrades her to the status of her Da whose pers/n her H may use; it might even suggest incestuous relations. The question of a fine is theoretical, since my informants have never heard of a breach of this avoidance.

Alternative names used for the pers/n of his WiM are the k/t: *umKhwekazi* and *uMame*, (S:567 does not distinguish between WiM and HM, and calls both *umKhwekazi)*, the clan/n, court/n both with the prefix *Ma* signifying M (mater). The name of the royal clan, which is otherwise avoided, may be used in such combined names, e.g. (128) is addressed as *MaZulu* or *MaNdabezitha*.

B. FIRST ASCENDING GENERATION : WIFE SPEAKING

1. Husband's Mother

In a woman's relation with her M-in-l the linguistic avoidance is clear cut. The customary division of labour enforces their co-operation and a young Wi may have to live with her HM in the Great Hut for many months after the wedding. A woman avoids her HM's pers/n in address and reference. The root is avoided in the majority of cases noted, but not always. (155) whose HM is called Madwanubane uses the word **iCudwane* for *iDabane* (a weed). (179) replaces *Khona* with **Lokhu* because her HM's pers/n is Khonelani. Similarly (128), the pers/n of whose HM is Mbenukazi, uses **inHlanyelo* for *iMbewu* (seed for planting).

Recourse is had to the following alternative names: Velemu Nxumalo's Wi uses her HM's clan/n (Ma-Sithole), or her court/n (MaMgqikazi). Some informants object to the use of the HM's clan/n in this connection and suggest that the HMH's clan/n be used, which is, of course, the WiH's clan/n. The k/t, either the classificatory term *uMame* or descriptive terms *(uMamezala)* may be used. The r/t *inKosikazi* (princWi) is also employed. There is a tendency for a root-*Hlonipha*-word to be elevated to the position of an alternative pers/n, e.g., (130)'s M-in-l, NoMlingo (M-of-The Mouth) may be referred to as *uMginyo* (Gullet).

No psychological tension seems to be expressed in this avoidance of a woman's name by her Da-in-l. The Biyela Wis said that if they forgot to avoid their M-in-l's root, she would remind them and they would rectify the error. None of my informants mentioned 'fines' or cleansing rites in this connection. That the avoidance is a genuine concern of young Wis is patent. In the last example NoMlingo is not really the pers/n of the woman's HM. It was given by way of explanation because the real pers/n (viz. NoMlomo) could not be revealed to me. In all other respects the resemblance of the avoidance to that of the HF's name is great. A girl begins to avoid her future M-in-l's pers/n and the root after she has 'declared her love' to her young man, i.e., in anticipation of her status change at the wedding.

2. Husband's Father

A man's avoidance of his WiM's pers/n is reduplicated in the avoidance by a woman of her HF's pers/n. She strictly avoids it in address, reference and root. Of the women I interviewed all without exception hesitated to give the HF's pers/n. They showed signs of embarrassment, expressed their unwillingness to reveal it, or conveniently 'forgot' it. (179) used a round-about way, asking us: "Do you know the word **inJomane?*" (a well-known Hl-word for *iHashi*, horse). When we nodded, she continued: "You are a bit out - it was Muhayi". An old woman spat into the air after she had given her HF's pers/n. She had done wrong *(uKhulume kaBi)* and expressed her repentance *(uyaXolisa)*. A man does not spit when he has violated a name avoidance, nor does a woman spit if she uses her H's pers/n; the wrong is not so great, for they are "one flesh". She would not even spit if her H were dead. Even a Christian, like (189), would give a short forced laugh on uttering her HF's pers/n. The Watchtower woman obliged us after prolonged refusal by writing her HF's pers/n; she would not utter it.

Women strictly avoid the root of the HF's pers/n, e.g. (153) uses **inCandelo* for *imBuya* (a plant) since her HF's pers/n is Shekimbuya. She does not venture to say *imBuya* even when the Wis of her F-in-l are absent. (124)'s Wi avoids her HF's pers/n *(Sibhamu*, i.e. Gun-man) in the root, saying **isiDubulo* (Something-to-shoot) for *isiBhamu*. If the HF's name has two syllables both may be avoided. (179) avoids the two syllables *-ha* and *-yi* and the Biyela Wis the syllables *si* and *swa*, the HF's personal name being Siswani. Thus with them *isiSu* (stomach) is turned into **isiCundelo*, *iSwayi* (salt) is replaced by **iTshiwa*, *iSwak* becomes **iCaya* and *iSobho* (soup) **iNyimbinyimbi* (gravy). This elaboration of the root avoidance may be royal etiquette. It leads to an entirely new name being used by Das-in-l for the pers/n of their HF, e.g., uMpikathi for uMkhonto.

A girl begins to avoid her future F-in-l's pers/n when she declares her love to his So at the Betrothal, and when the *Hlobonga* visits have commenced or alternatively when the bride-price has been paid. According to others a girl may not speak at all to her young man's F until the cattle have been transferred.

A woman does not avoid the root of her H's pers/n as long as his F is alive. Her avoidance of the H's root is tantamount to her wishing her HF dead, to treating her H as the real head of the

homestead. (A similar avoidance refers to the r/ts, *umNumzana, uBaba, inKosi)*. A woman continues to avoid her HF's pers/n after his death, but not necessarily its root. (130) does so, although her HF was already dead when she got married. His name being Mlungu, she refers to him, if occasion arises as uMgqoki (One-who-wears-clothes). She might also use the phrase: "The-head-of-the-home-who-is-dead."

The grounds on which the HF's pers/n is avoided are stated in the following words: A woman fears *(ukwEsaba)* her F-in-l. (130) adds, she fears H, HF and HM. All three being dead, she prays to them, but uses their clan/n, making no difference between them (by individual name). A breach of the F-in-l avoidance would, of course, create an uproar in the H's homestead and a woman shrinks from the bitter comments of HM and co-Wis. (153) says: "If I violated the HF's root, every homestead inmate would be upset; a great hubbub would be made, and I should feel a shudder *(uValo)* at my temerity!" (188): Respectful fear makes a woman avoid HF's and even HM's pers/n after their deaths.

When a woman utters her HF's pers/n a whole train of reaction is set going. If it is the first time, she might merely be warned. If the offence is repeated and she is 'lucky' the HF would scold her, and her H might abstain from eating the food she cooks (Za). When she continues in her ways, she is expelled from her H's homestead and sent to her F. He will remonstrate with her, and point out the disgrace she has brought on herself and her people. She now realizes that the two families are against her - a severe strain. Her F has to plead her case with her H's people and to bring a 'fine', a beast. Notwithstanding the legal term ('fine') used, an important part is the ritual 'cleansing'.

All the agnates of the H living at his homestead, i.e., HF, H, HBrs, and their Wis, but also the offending Wi and her co-Wis participate in 'the cleansing', i.e., eating of the meat. Only after this rite may she resume cooking and her food is now eaten again by H and HF. (124) sums up: "For a woman to avoid the HF's pers/n is much more important than to avoid her H's pers/n and in a different way." The avoiding of the root of the HF's pers/n is sufficiently explained to most Zulu by the phrase: I avoid the F of my H! Some informants give the impression that the violation of the root avoidance is of little consequence: Nothing would happen. Others maintain that it is viewed in as serious a light as the breach of the name avoidance itself and similarly rectified.

A HF's pers/n is used by his Da-in-l in certain circumstances. When a woman is provoked beyond endurance by her H, and wishes to draw public attention to this, she utters her HF's name and in such circumstances her action may be condoned by 'the public'. It is used by an old woman in 'prayers', incantations, in the recital of her H's genealogy, which she may remember much better than her H or any of his Brs. It is also employed in the name formed by teknonymy (So-of-N. N.) which she may give to her H.

Alternative names which a woman may use in place of her HF's pers/n are the group/ns: clan/n, court/n and regim/n. Some consider the use by a Da-in-l of the regim/n an unwelcome innovation. This agrees with the general dislike of the use of the regim/n of a person of authority by one of inferior status (Chief: commoner; husband: wife). The k/ts are also used. They are either descriptive: *Babezala*, or classificatory, *umZala* or *uBaba*, which are preferred today. The r/t *umNumzana* is customary if the woman lives with her H at his F's homestead. After the HF's death, he is referred to as 'the dead family head'. The Watchtower woman referred to her HF as *usoKhaya*, a contraction from *uYise-we-Khaya*, father of the home, which is equivalent to *umNumzana*.

The question whether Das-in-l avoid roots in the same way as Wis is answered in various ways. (152), Matholane Ndwandwe maintains that his Wis avoid the root of his name. Thus instead of *iTholane* (calf) they say * *iNkonyane*. His Das-in-l, however would not use *iNkonyane* but * *iQeko* (calf). His Wis would also avoid his F's root, i.e., the pers/n of their HF, but the Das-in-l would not, since his F is only their HFF. Thus while his Wis avoid Mvumvu using **iHungene* instead of *imVu* (sheep), his Das-in-l do not. (Mvumvu is Matholane's F's pers/n.)

(159) is one of Dinizulu's widows: She has not heard of the king's wives *Hlonipha'ing* his name differently from his Das-in-l. Nor would that be the rule among commoners. Also among her F's people, the Sibiya, there is no difference. Among her M's people, the Matholane, however, there is. Wis avoid Matholane with *Makonyane. But the Das-in-l cannot Hl thus, because Makonyane might be the name of their HFyoBr, whom Wis do not Hl, but Das-in-l would. Her

Das-in-l, being also those of Dinizulu, avoid *iZulu* (HF's root) with * *iBenga*, like Dinizulu's Wis (widows).

C. COLLATERALS OF PARENTS-IN-LAW

1. HFBr and HFSi

A woman avoids the pers/n of her HFBr in address, reference and root. The same group names (Gr:1, Gr:2 and Gr:3), the same k/t *(uBaba* and *uBabezala)* as for the HF are used in its place.

A woman refers to her HFSi as *uBabekazi* or *uBaba*, which is the k/t used by her H (the woman's BrSo). In address she uses the clan/n and court/n of HFSi. The HFSi's pers/n is thus respectfully avoided.

2. HMBr and HMSi

The pers/ns of these affines are avoided by a woman, but their roots are not. The substitute names are k/t, viz., HMBr: *uMalume* in address and reference; the corresponding k/t for HMSi is *umKhwekazi*.

3. WiFBr and WiFSi

A man avoids the pers/n of his WiFBr. If he violates this rule he commits an 'actionable' offence and is 'fined' one to two head of cattle. No distinction is made between eBr and yoBr. The root is not avoided. In greeting and replying the classificatory k/t *(Baba)* is used (G has *umKhwe)*, and the group names are likewise possible. The regim/n may apparently be employed. One informant volunteered that only in or after a quarrel with his WiFBr would a man use his clan/n and court/n. It indicates that the relationship has broken down and that the footing on which they meet is now that of "strangers".

In the case of the WiFSi her pers/n is avoided by the H. He would be 'fined' for a breach of this avoidance only in the case of an eSi. The alternative name used in address is the classificatory k/t, Anti (from English: aunt), or the descriptive term *uDade-woBaba* (G has *umKhwekazi)*. The group names are also in vogue, although the regim/n is hardly ever used.

4. WiMBr and WiMSi

A man avoids the pers/n of his WiMBr and his WiMSi but not the root of the names. They are addressed and referred to by the classificatory k/t *uMalume* for WiMBr and *umKhwekazi* for WiMSi. The group names (Gr:1 & 2) are also possible, but (451) denies this.

D. CHILDREN-IN-LAW

1. Son's Wife

(Man speaking): A man uses *oka*+F's pers/n in addressing and referring to his SoWi, also the Ma+clan/n and Ma+court/n *11*. (159) does not know how Dinizulu would have addressed his Das-in-l, as he died before his Sos got married, nor how Solomon or Cetshwayo addressed their Das-in-l. In her own, the Sibiya clan, it is *umThetho* that a family head never talks to or sees a Da-in-l. He could 'greet' her, but never speak to her. The k/t is *uMalokazana*, *umLobokazi* or *uMakoti* (vW).

A F-in-l does not use his SoWi's pers/n except if very much annoyed with her. It is really wrong on his part to employ it. Nor may he use her youth name, only her H and Brs may do so. If a man uses his Da-in-l's pers/n or youth name inadvertently, he apologizes to her.

(W o m a n s p e a k i n g): A woman calls her SoWi by her F's pers/n to Hl her, also *Ma+* clan/n (possibly court/n). She may also use her Da-in-l's youth name, "because it has been given to her by my son, my family!" She does not use her SoWi's pers/n, unless she is very cross with her and has lost her temper. She uses the same descriptive terms as her husband.

2. Daughter's Husband

(M a n s p e a k i n g): He does not avoid his DaH's pers/n; he may call him by it, in fact. If

he wants to respect (Hl) him, he would use his youth name, his group names (1, 2, 3), also the k/t *mKhwenyana*, (S) *isiGodo* , also *inDodana* , or the k/t-plus-DaHF's pers/n (So-in-l of N.N.) The k/t for DaH and SiH are the same!
(W o m a n s p e a k i n g:) A woman may not use the pers/n of her DaH, and must avoid it in address, reference and in the root. (109) says it is allowed in reference. Nor may she use the youth name, although her Da may. Nothing happens if she breaks the rule - it is just custom! She uses her DaH's k/t (*umKhwenyana*) in address and reference. She may use his clan/n to identify him.

A woman avoids the root of her DaH's pers/n. If this pers/n is Umanzi (Waterman), water is no longer called *amaNzi* by her but perhaps **amaYiwa* or**amaNdambi* or **amaJilinda* or **amaDa* or **amaNcubane* , as used by different WiMs. If the DaH's name is *Undlu* (Homely one), she avoids the word for house, *iNdlu* , and uses * *inKatheko* or * *iNcumba* instead. (Other examples: for *inDoda* (man): **iNjeza* ; for *umFanyana* (boy): * *umKhapheyena* ; for *Dla* (eat): * *Jikiba*; for *Lala* (sleep): * *Biyama.)*

VI. ALTERNATE GENERATIONS

A. EGO'S COGNATES: GRANDPARENTS

1. Father's Father

A child may not use his FF's pers/n. The root, however, is not avoided. Nor may FF's clan/n, court/n, (and regim/n) be used, although they are the child's own. The same custom applies to FFBrs.

A person addresses his paternal GF (and his Brs) by the k/t (*Babamkhulu*). S: 567 notes 2nd and 3rd person forms: *uYihlomkhulu* and *uYisemkhulu* . (209) has never heard of a violation, it is old Hl custom. The child does not know the FF's pers/n for it is never mentioned by the parents in its presence. If the root is avoided, the child's curiosity might be aroused. It would then be told: "It's the FF's name". The children get to know the name when they grow up, e.g., when people from other homesteads call them "Chn of N.N.'s homestead." (140) adds that in reference, to identify oneself, the FF's name need not be avoided. "It is quite proper for me to refer to my paternal grandfather's place as '*umuZi-ka-Mbiko* ', (Mbiko being his FF's pers/n." Others object to a child doing so.

(209) does not know of a breach or a punishment. The Eshowe Four say a child would be thrashed for using his FF's pers/n and scolded for using his clan/n and court/n. On the whole the Zulu do not Hl a FF's pers/n as they do their F's: "Even my Wis do not respect my FF (HFF to them) as much as they do my F (HF)." The reason is that the relation between grandparents and grandchildren is more affectionate than between parents and children.

2. Father's Mother

The pers/n of a FM is avoided in address and reference. It may be used in the GM's absence with impunity. The root is not avoided. In address and reference the k/t is used, viz., *uMakhulu* or *uKhulu* (reference), short for *Mamamkhulu* (address), also *Gogo* (address)(!) S has 2nd and 3rd person forms, viz., *uNyokokhulu* and *uNinakhulu* . Clan/n, court/n, even the youth name may be used too.

3. Mother's Father

The pers/n of Ego's MF is avoided in address and reference. The root is not avoided. The k/t for MF is *uBabamkhulu* or *Khokhomkhulu* (G has *Khokho* or *Khulu*). It is used in address or reference. The MFBr's personal name is treated likewise; the MFSi is addressed and referred to as *Khokho* (k/t).

4. Mother's Mother

The pers/n of the MM is avoided in address and reference but not in the root. The k/t used instead is *Makhulu* or *Gogo (Khokho)* , (G: *Khulu*). Clan/n, court/n are possible in addres-

sing and referring to a maternal grandmother. vW notes *uKhokho* for grandparent.

B. EGO'S AFFINES

5. WiFF and WiFM also Wi's great-grandfather and Wi's great-grandmother

A man avoids his WiFF's pers/n only in addressing him. He would use either the k/t *(uBabamkhulu)* or more frequently his individual honour name and the group names (175) maintains that the pers/n may be used, at least in reference. The root is not avoided. The k/t for a WiFM is *uKhulu, uGogo* or *uMakhulu*.

A man does not avoid his WiFFM's pers/n, nor that of her paternal GFF's other Wis. He may use the group names (clan/n and court/n) of these women, or the classificatory k/t: *uKhokho*. Some informants say that the pers/n could be used in address with impunity.

The pers/n of a woman's MF is not avoided by her H, except in addressing him, when the group names (clan/court/regim) are used. These are also used in reference besides the classificatory k/t, *uBabamkhulu*.

In the same way a man avoids the pers/n of his WiMM only in address, using her group names (clan/court) instead. The root is not avoided.

6. HFF and HFM, also HMF and HMM

A married woman avoids her H's paternal grandfather's (HFF) pers/n in reference and in root. Naturally the question of addressing him seldom arises. She uses the k/t, the classificatory *umKhulu* (address), or *Babamkhulu*, the descriptive *uYisemkhulu* (only in reference), also *inDodayami* (address). This last term is equivalent to the k/t for her husband. She may also use the r/t *umNumzana*.

A woman avoids the HFF's root: (265) cannot call clouds by the common word, since her HFF was Mafu (lit. Clouds). She uses **amAndi* instead.

A woman normally takes over the Hl words current in the kraal she marries into. In the case of this particular avoidance the fear of being 'fined' is not present. But a woman would still be afraid of breaking an age-long custom. Women informants hesitated to give me the HFF's name, even after they had asserted that it could be passed on in case of necessity. Only the Watchtower woman was unconcerned; she did not avoid the HFF's root. (125) supporting the above rules, and allowing that the HFF's pers/n might be used in reference, stated that beyond the HFF name avoidances become lax.

(152)'s Wis avoid their H's pers/n in address, reference and root (**iNkonyane* for *iTholane)*. They respect the HF's name also in the root (using **iHungane* for *imVu*, sheep, since the HF's pers/n is Mvumvi). They cannot use the HF's name before the H; they would be fined a goat or a beast. He does not know what name they use when they talk among themselves about their HF. His Wis further avoid the HFF's pers/n, Mavundla, but not the root, for Mavundla is of the "fourth" generation. But Matholane's mothers and Mavundla's Das-in-l still avoid this root.

Married women do not refrain from referring to the HFM by her pers/n. They would not address her by it, but use the classificatory k/t *MaKhulu, Gogo, Khulu*. The group names (Gr: 1 and 2) may be used in address. The avoidance, on the testimony of a number of women, is less strict than that concerning the HFF, presumably because the feeling of companionship among women softens the avoidance relationship. Yet the Hl of action is observed towards her. For instance the Biyela Wis do not undress in the presence of their HFM.

A woman avoids her HMF's pers/n in address and reference but not in root. She uses the group names (clan/court/regim) in address and also the k/t *uBabamkhulu*.

A woman avoids her HMM's personal name, but not all informants are agreed on this. She uses the group/ns (clan/court) in address and also the classificatory k/t: *uKhokho*. The root is not avoided. vW registers the same k/t as for HFM.

7. HFFF and Other Old People

(265) asserts that she avoids the pers/n of her HFFF, the GF of her F-in-l in reference and root. In talking about him she uses the k/t *umKhulu* or *uKhokho*. But as she has forgotten

the pers/n she cannot in fact avoid the root! She thinks that as a general rule, the name of the GF of a woman's F-in-l is no longer respectfully avoided. (153) confirms this: "Women do not respect the pers/n of HFFF or his forbears beyond. They are all *abaDala*, a term which includes any old men and women; they are addressed as *Khokho*." Generally speaking a woman avoids her H's pers/n somewhat, but especially her HF's name. Beyond them she does not avoid pers/ns at least not in the root.

C. SECOND DESCENDING GENERATION

A grandparent (FF, FM, also MF and MM) addresses the Sos and Das of his Sos and Das by their pers/n (thus both agnates and those born of the daughters). The k/t *umZukulu* (DV,-G has *umZikhulu)* or *umNtan-omNtanami* (i.e. child of my child) is employed in friendly, endearing talk and in semi-ritual situations (when he wants to send the child on a message). Both k/ts are used with descriptive qualifiers. S has *umZukulwane*. A GF uses the pers/n when shouting for the child, when he wishes to scold it for a wrong, when he curses it, when he wants to identify it. vW renders *umZukulu* as great-grandchild.

Grandparents sometimes use a child's clan/n, when on very friendly terms with him, when praising him for a good action, when the child is upset and cries and they wish to soothe it. Both paternal and maternal grandparents may do so towards both GSos and GDas.

The FF addresses his GDa as *Mkami* (i.e., my wife) also *Makotiwami* (my bride). Two reasons are given: His affectionate regard for her; also when his GDa receives *Hlobonga* visits from her lover, he will vacate his hut for them. His hut would have been taboo to his own Da for that purpose. (451) has not heard of this being done. Another term which a FF uses for his SoDa is *mNakwethu*, a term which two men who have married Sis use reciprocally of each other. It is equivalent to Br-in-l. The FM addresses her SoSo as *mYeniwami*, i.e., my husband. He will sleep in her hut with his sweetheart and later his bride until she has her own hut or he his Residence. Corresponding to the *mNakwethu*, she addresses her GSo as *Zakwethu*, i.e., co-Wi.

These intimate naming customs epitomize the "easy" relationship between alternate generations. Children may stand or sit on their GF's and GM's knees, may pull the GF's beard or ear; they may go over to the GF's side of the hut without let or hindrance, they may even use the GF's spoon, and they do eat together with the grandparents. All these actions would be considered disrespectful if directed towards the F or M, and warnings, scoldings, thrashing would follow and punishment by any person catching the child doing so.

In return GChn are fondled by their grandparents, e.g., a woman kisses her GSo on both cheeks, as is Zulu custom, as long as he is a child. He may, however, not kiss back.

VII. NAME AVOIDANCES IN THE ROYAL FAMILY

A. NAME AVOIDANCES IN THE FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

1. Father

(159), Dinizulu's widow: "My Sos and Das avoided their F's pers/n but not the root. They also avoided his clan/n (this is not mentioned by other informants). In addressing him they would use the court/n *(Ndabezitha)*, and in reference the r/t *(inKosi)*. There is only one *inKosi* in the country; if the term were adopted by one of the princes it would indicate treasonable designs on his part". Magogo elaborates: "The king's Chn never said *Baba* to their F, they used *nKosi* (King). It would have been a sign of contempt to address a person of such a high rank as *Baba*. When the royal Chn heard a commoner's Ch address his F *Baba*, they commented: That's really *emaPhatheleni* ('suburban' usage, uncourt-like)".

Reyher (p. 139) mentions that Solomon's Chn addressed him as Zulu (clan/n) and Magogo, one of Dinizulu's Das, concurs. (Chief Mpungose Siphoso objected to this statement, but must have based his objection on the usage among commoners, he himself not being a hereditary

chief). The royal Chn could respond to their F with his court/n, Ndabezitha, and on a solemn occasion address him with the names of royal ancestors, viz., Situli, Mageba, besides Zulu and Ndabezitha. They could not use *Ngonyama*, the praise name of the king employed by his men, or *weMnyama* which is used by women. (The word for F in the second and third person, *Yihlo, Yise,* was never used at the royal court in reference to the king.)

The princes and princesses avoided their F's radicle, also the roots of other agnatic ascendants of the king. E.g., avoiding the root *Dina* in Dinizulu, they would use **Khathele* for *Diniwe*. To avoid Mpande they replaced *iMpande* (root) with **iNgxabo*, and Cetshwayo made them use **amaNga* (lies) for *amaCebo* . Yet they would use the royal ancestors' pers/n in oaths. In quiet conversation Chn might be called Da-of-NN or So-of-NN, using the king's pers/n. But this is done in whispers. It might occur during a discussion as to their *uBaba mPela* (Magogo).

2. Mother

Since the king had many Wis naming conduct could not be so narrowly circumscribed in their case as in the king's. The Chn of the king's Wis did not dare to call their "mothers" *Mame*. Magogo states: "The Chn addressed and responded to their Ms with *Baba* (!) or *ManKosi* (M- or Wi-of-king). Only in very quiet conversation might they use *Mama*. *Nina* and *Nyoko* (second and third person forms of mother) could be used, since there were many Wis at the royal kraal. The use of *Baba* for M was possible, since the term was not applied to the F himself, and had thus no referent. The Chn did not avoid the M's root; but they would never use her full pers/n. In addressing their Ms, the royal Chn could employ the *Ma*+clan/n and *Ma* +court/n forms.

3. Children

It is the king who names the Chn. A charming instance is recorded in Colenso-Durnford (I, 57). The Colensos (Bishop and Daughter) visiting Cetshwayo in his exile at the Castle informed him of the birth of a Da, and asked him to name her. "Tell them (the Wis) to call it *unTombi-yoLwandle* (Girl-of-the-Sea) and *uNomDlambi* (Mother-of-Foam)". "Ah," said Mkhosana, his attendant, "these names will make them weep, when they hear them!"

The king (Dinizulu) called his Chn by their pers/ns, according to Magogo, and also used the k/t, *mNtanami*. The latter was more common in semi-ritual situations, e.g., when handing over a gift, also after a child's death and in reference. The king's Wis, in addressing their Chn, used their pers/ns, also the royal court/ns, praise-names and even the clan/n (Zulu).

To outsiders any royal child is an *umNtwana* (prince, princess); he is addressed as such, but if he is to be identified his pers/n may be used with impunity.

B. THE FAMILY OF PROCREATION: HUSBAND (KING) AND HIS WIVES

1. Royal Wives Speaking

Reyher (p. 36) describes a love scene between Solomon and Christina, his first wife, after their marriage. Solomon said: "Don't call me *nKosi* any longer. Men must call me that. You are to call me Zulu!" This is a case of inversion, since what is permitted to the Wis and Chn of the king, namely to call H and F by his clan name, is avoided among commoners. (159), Dinizulu's widow, addressed him with his court/n (Ndabezitha), or the names of the royal ancestors, as could be done by any commoner, and thirdly, with a r/t: *Nkonyana yenKosi* (Calf-of-the-Lord). She did this 'for variety'. She avoided also the root. For *iZulu* (heaven) she said **iBenga*. Saying this, she added: "I shall avoid him till I die!" She began to avoid him "when he took me." She began her career at the royal homestead as a cook. The king never wooed her, nor did he pay bride-price to her F who had given her to Dinizulu as a gift. In reference she called him *umNtwana* (r/t) as long as his F, Cetshwayo, was alive. After the latter's death, she adopted the now appropriate r/t *(nKosi)*. The king was never addressed by clan/n (but cf. evidence above) or regim/n, although his Wis knew it (*imBokodebomvu*). Only important officials and councillors could use it.

(161), another of Dinizulu's widows, bears out these statements: "I began to respectfully avoid him when I fell in love with him, i.e. at 'the betrothal'. Even before this I did not use his

pers/n, but the r/t *(umNtwana)* and later *inKosi* in address." She avoided the king's pers/n in reference and address, but not so strictly the root, because he was only her H. Implied is that he was not her F-in-l, for whom the root avoidance is strict. Her explanation for the apparent laxity is interesting: "Because bride-price had been paid for me!"

(201) pointed out that the Wi of the king would never call him to come to her, as a commoner's Wi might well do with her H. The king's Wis have to send a go-between. When she herself is called, she responds with the king's court/n. A Wi of royalty may not use the spouse's regim/n at all.

Such elaboration of polite forms may be designated etiquette. It is found in other high-ranking families. The Biyela Wis began to Hl their H's pers/n when their bride-price had been paid. But even before this date they had never used his pers/n, for being a chief's So they addressed him by a second individual name, i.e. one not given him by his F (or M), such as his dancing or honour name. The latter name is Mbazo and is, like the pers/n, avoided by both Wis since their marriage. Another instance of name refinement is that the Biyela Wis avoid the two syllables of their H's root, i.e., both *bhe* and *shu* his name being *Bheshu*. Instead of *iBheshu* (article of dress) they say * *iShani;* **ukuHela* for *ukuBhema* (to smoke) and for *iShumi* (ten) they say * *iNani*.

2. Husband (King) Speaking

(159): "Dinizulu did not avoid his Wis' pers/ns in any way. He either used their pers/ns, e.g. Shukela, or Da+F's pers/n (oka+N.N.). He did so with all his Wis without distinction." This is corroborated for an earlier generation in the name commonly used for Cetshwayo's princWi, okaMsweli, umSweli being her F's pers/n. The Resident Magistrate of Zululand in 1879, unaware of this rule, sent the Zulu who had reported the death of one of the king's Wis back to enquire the name of the deceased, whom they had described in Zulu fashion as her F's Da (Colenso). (161): "Dinizulu used my pers/n. He did not call me by my F's pers/n." (She was not put into one of the recognised houses. Was this the reason for this irregularity?) Reyher (p. 137) talking of Solomon's first Wi, says that she was known at the royal homestead by her clan/n (Sibiya). When it was necessary to distinguish between the various Sibiya Wis, she would be addressed, or referred to, as Da-of-Hesekia (her F's pers/n). Her intimate friends among her co-Wis could address her by her pers/n, Christina.

Concerning a royal H's names for his Wis, my evidence points to little difference from the naming conduct in the family of commoners. The Wis of a son of Ncabakucesha, elder brother of Manyala Biyela, the reigning chief, say: "Our H calls us by our pers/ns when he is in a jocular mood or when drunk. Or he uses our 'love name' (*iGama lezinTombi.*), viz., Mbanga and Shiyabethemba respectively. He also uses our group names, i.e., Ma+clan/n or Ma+court/n. Finally he may call us Da-of-our F or FF, using their pers/ns." By the first method, the elder of the two is called okaSobandla; according to the second method the younger is called okaMfunyela. In spite of the rule that the F-in-l's pers/n is avoided by the Da's H, the second method is said to be preferred by Hs.

While there is thus no elaboration of naming in the downward direction, there is insistence on etiquette as regards teknonymy names which point upwards. (156) is Zibhebhu's Da. (Zibhebhu was one of the thirteen kinglets of the Wolseley Settlement of 1880 and the leader of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu.) She is addressed *weka-Mtanenkosi* by her H, where Mtanenkosi is one of the names of her FF. It is chosen because the pers/n of Zibhebhu, the woman's F, must be avoided by every member of his 'tribe', including of course, his Das' Hs or sons-in-law. *Mtanenkosi* is not in fact the woman's paternal GF's pers/n. This is Maphitha which is avoided for the same reason that Zibhebhu's is. *Mtanenkosi* was the individual honour name given to Maphitha for being heir to Sojiyisa, half-Br to Senzangakhona. The term *weka-Mtanenkosi* is employed by all Hs married to GDas of Maphitha.

An alternative address for married Das of royal blood is the r/t *oka-mNtwana* (Da-of-prince). To call 'a princess' by her clan/n is impossible, as the royal clan/n is avoided (Za) by the whole tribe, except within the royal family. (156) is also called Nombendhle by her H, for he may use her pers/n, although she is a princess. (377) remarks that she, Christina Zulu (now Sibiya), cannot be addressed as okaMahanana (Da-of- F's pers/n), as she is Hl'd as a 'half-sister' to Mnyayiza and Magogo. She is spoken to as *umNtwana* : princess.

A bride at the king's or a chief's hom e is known and addressed as *mLobokazi* rather than as *Makoti* which is more current among commoners.

C. AFFINAL RELATIONS IN THE ROYAL FAMILY

1. HBr (i.e. the King's Br)

(160), king Solomon's widow, says: "I avoid the personal names of my HBrs in address, reference and root, even those of the king's yoBrs and half-Brs, since they are all of royal blood. Quite young HBrs could be called by their pers/ns with impunity." No difficulty arose, since Solomon's homestead and Dinizulu's (where Solomon's Brs would normally reside) were separate and distinct units.

2. HF

(159), Dinizulu's widow, avoided the pers/n of her HF (Cetshwayo), both in address and reference. In replying to him she used his court/n (Ndabezitha) and r/t *(inKosi)*. As long as Cetshwayo was alive, Dinizulu could not be called *inKosi* , only *umNtwana* (Hl) just as in a commoner's homestead no one but the head may be called *umNumzana*. In avoiding the HF's root she used * *ukwAtha* for *ukuCeba* (to slander) and * *amaNga* for *amaCebo* (slanderous report). Although Cetshwayo has been dead for 70 years, she does not yet use his pers/n and refused to name him in our presence. She can, in fact, not take an oath by his name, although her husband could. She would be called a lunatic or disobedient, if she used the H's or HF's pers/n in such a manner.

3. HM

The HM's pers/n is, according to Magogo, strictly avoided. Her HM's pers/n was Ncabuthi. She cannot use the name or its root, even after her M-in-l's death. Instead of *umuThi* she uses **umCakathi*. In addressing her she would use terms like *Ndlunkulu* (r/t), or MaShenge (Wife+court/n of husband) or *Ma-nKosi* (Wi-of-chief), also the plain clan/n (Mjali), a method of etiquette which could never be adopted in a commoner's family! Magogo adds that her M-in-l addressed her as *mNtanami* , 'my child', a term of endearment.

Chief Ephraim Ndwandwe's comments strike a different note: The royal Ms-in-l were 'tigers'; a royal Wi could not call her HM by the k/t, nor by any of the terms used by a commoner's Da-in-l. Royal Ms are generally addressed as *Ndlunkulu* but also as *mNtwana* even by the king's young Wis.

In 1956 Magogo Zulu was thanked by her in-laws with Ndabezitha, her royal F's court/n. Even her So, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, when she had greeted him with Shenge (the Buthelezi court/n) responded to her with Ndabezitha. In 1959 this usage had changed. Magogo now honoured Gatsha Mangosuthu as Ndabezitha and he her as Mageba!

The royal HM's pers/n has to be avoided. Dinizulu's M's pers/n was Nomvimbi. It was avoided even in the root. Hence *umVimbi* (heavy rainfall) was called **umXina* in the royal family. It should have been * *umCina* but for the fact that Dinizulu's Wis also avoided the click in Cetshwayo's (the HF's) name. Nomvimbi's honour name *(izAngelo)* was SomaKhoyisa; but this name too had to be avoided by her Das-in-l, and could not be used as a substitute for the pers/n.

4. WiF

(156), Zibhebhu's Da, says that her H avoids the pers/n of his WiF in address but not in reference or root. If he used the name he could not be fined. Since the WiF is a chief, his DaH would also avoid his clan/n. In calling his Wi by one of the composite methods, he would prefer the form of Da-of-WiFF's pers/n. In addressing his WiF he could use the latter's court/n (Ndabezitha).

5. WiM

(156), Zibhebhu's Da: Her H avoids the pers/n of his WiM in address, reference and root, especially in her presence. The name being Balindile, her H uses * *ukuMa* for *ukuLinda* (to wait). He would not avoid the root if only his Wi were present. But if he used it in 'inappropri-

te' situations, he could be 'fined'.

D. KING AND COMMONERS IN NAME AVOIDANCES

1. Commoners Speaking

Colenso-Durnford (I, 12) report that the Zulu chiefs, petitioning for their king's return after his banishment in 1879, learned to make open use of his name against the custom of their land, because if they prayed for his return under any figurative expressions, they found that their having asked for him at all was denied (by the White officials). One of these designations was 'The Bone', another 'The Shadow'. These are, of course, avoidance terms.

Frazer (1929: 257) gives a general rule: "No man mentions the name of the chief, or of progenitors of the chief, nor common words which resemble in sound the tabooed names." He quotes the following examples: "Among the Ndwandwe the name of the sun *Langa* was changed to **Gala* since a chief more than a hundred years ago was called Langa. The substitute word is retained even today. Among the Xumalo the verb *alusa* is changed to **kagesa* (?) because Mayusi (Malusi) was once their chief."

Besides these avoidances observed by each tribe separately each Zulu commoner-in theory - avoids the pers/n of the king (in his presence) except in an oath. Nor is the king addressed by his clan/n or regim/n but by the k/t *Baba*. (327, 329) denied that the king could be addressed as *Baba*, they considered it rude to do so. When they were told that it was on record that Shaka was thus addressed, they yielded. (453) said that in the Nkandla district commoners address their chiefs, e.g., Shezi, Biyela, with their clan/ns. This may indicate that the social distance between chiefs and commoners there is not as great as elsewhere.

The king is greeted with special praise names, viz., *Bayede* (Hail!), *Ngonyama* (Lion), *Wena oHlanga* (Thou of the Origin), *isiLwane* (Monster) by the men, and *weMnyama* (Thou Black one) by the women. In replying to him everyone would use *inKosi*, some even *umNumzane*. These terms were reserved for the king. In his absence, however, his Brs and grown-up Sos were favoured with the long string of royal praise-names, as first reported in Gardiner (p. 91): Noble Elephant, Thou-who-art-forever, Thou-who art-as-high-as-the-Heaven, Thou-who-begettest-men, The peace-maker, Thou-Black-one, The-Source-of-the-Country. I heard commoners address one of Solomon's Sos with *inKosi* rather than *umNtwana* . In theory it is only the court/n *Ndabezitha* which the king shares with the members of the royal clan.

Since commoners address the king as *Baba*, it is felt unseemly that his Chn should do the same. The use of *Baba* in two situations (family and tribe) appears to be incompatible: it is therefore suppressed in one group. In this connection Gluckman's hypothesis (1940: 29) applies, viz., that as the kinship basis of the pre-Shakan political order disappeared, the emerging power groups were described by extension in kinship terms. Hence the chief became "father", and his subjects his "children", "for is not the king father of his people, not only of his family ?".

But the matter is not as simple as that, since the royal Chn do not address their F as *Baba* but their Ms. Moreover, Magogo rejects Gluckman's hypothesis, saying commoners call the king *Baba* to Hl him, not 'to share him' with the royal Chn. Already the first white traders (e.g., Isaacs) addressed Shaka and his successors as "father". Magogo's contention is supported by Colenso-Durnford (I: 102; II: 393). Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi , Mpande's Prime Minister, called all Mpande's offspring his "children", and they in turn referred to him as their *Baba*. Cetshwayo reporting on his visit to Queen Victoria talked of her as his *Mame*, and the Zulu viewed him as her son. "He is now the son of the Queen, not of Mpande only". In fact "the title of parent is the highest and most respectful that can be given" irrespective of any political implications.

(329):Commoners could not call the chief's Ms *Mame* but used the r/t *inDlovu-Kazi* , and addressed the king's Wis as *Ndlunkulu*, a term which applies to all women of the royal homestead including the Ms. Here the tendency to etiquette counteracted the tendency to extend k/ts.

2. The King Speaking

The king addresses his subjects by their pers/ns. If he knows a person well, he could ad-

dress him by his clan/n to show him respect! (Hl). According to (168) the pers/n is honourable, because the king used to call people by it! (The king here adopts the naming conduct of a parent towards his subjects.)

The king sometimes gives a personal name to the child of an officer or commoner, e.g., Lokothwayo Nkwanyane (232) mentioned that Mpande gave him the name of *NguboayiHlangani*. Chief Gatsha on hearing this, asked: "What happened?" It was the time when Cetshwayo was gathering followers in opposition to Mpande. The king, giving one of his seraglio girls to Lokothwayo's father to wed, told her: 'You must bear a son, and I shall call him *Nguboayi-Hlangani* (The clothes-don't-meet-over-the-chest), an expression indicating his straitened circumstances. When the informant was born he received also a name from his father, viz., Lokothwayo (He who foretells) in reference to this incident.

The king also gave special honour names *(iziBongo)* to any of his warriors or officers who had distinguished themselves in war. These would be added to the praises a person had accumulated at his parents', and his age-mates coined additional phrases, also his regiment and its officers (Stuart: 1925: 93-101). Magogo corroborates this: The king normally used the pers/n. Yet he was at liberty to use clan/ns too, if he wanted to distinguish persons. The commoners might feel embarrassed at being thus singled out, as the clan/n from the king's mouth was not something due to them. Women were mainly addressed by their pers/ns by the king. Although the king was addressed as *Baba* by commoners, she cannot remember him ever addressing them reciprocally as his 'children'.

VIII. THE RITUAL USE OF NAMES

A. NAMING RITUAL CONCERNING INDIVIDUALS

1. Spitting

In exceptional circumstances the use of the pers/n of certain relatives normally avoided is permissible. When an old person gives a pers/n to the investigator which under the Hl rules he may not utter, he spits into the air or on the ground. This ritual gesture signifies that the name was not uttered with the intention of calling the person, viz., *AngimBizanga* , "I did not call him!" A woman spits if she used her HF's name unintentionally but not if it is her H's. A man would spit if he had to give his Da-in-l's name. Such spitting is resorted to in the presence of the person concerned, lest he be offended, but mainly in his absence and after his death. No spitting is practised when the name of the chief is uttered in oaths. Perhaps it is for this reason that Princess Magogo said she did not know the custom at all (only the spitting when mourners throw clods into the grave).

2. Asseverations

A distinction will be made between asseveration, the ritual assertion of the truth of a statement in everyday situations, and the taking of an oath, the ritual confirmation of a statement made in court. This usage is partly suggested by Diamond (p. 162, 176, 279) who discusses the oath under ordeal as a legal procedure, viz., the giving of evidence where no witnesses are available as in witchcraft and adultery cases. Asseveration is frequently described in the literature as "swearing an oath".

The pers/ns of persons in authority may be used in asseveration but also their r/ts, e.g., *inKosi*, My chief! Owen (p. 69) frequently heard the Chn at Dingane's court call on the name of the king. When he challenged them, they replied: "How are we to confirm our words without an oath? We shall be beaten all day if we do not swear; we were created unto this practice; our fathers swore before us; the king himself swears." The same author (p. 12) also shows that asseverations were used to compel a person to abide by a decision once taken: "The Zulu threatened to throw his assegai at my driver, and, on stepping forward, swore by the chief Dingane, the fatal word, that he would not go further. Having sworn by his chief, it was impossible for him to retract!"

The pers/ns used in asseveration are those of the F, FF, the founder of the clan, the chief

and his ancestors. (138): "Only the kraalhead, as heir of the Great House, may 'swear' by the pers/n of a dead F, and perhaps also the heir of the Left House. but this would be unusual." (124): "I cannot swear by my F's pers/n, only by my paternal GF's." (122): "This is 'Zulu law' for the Sos of commoners and results, of course, in Sos using different names when asseverating, than Fs." *12*

In the royal family the practice differs. Owen's youthful informants told him that Dingane swore by Shaka, his Br and predecessor. Smith A. (p. 93) reports that then all the Zulu swore by Shaka and that those who were known to have taken a false oath were killed. A chief "swore he would kill a man for alleged trespass. I would not consent to it. After a great deal of trouble he was prevailed upon to take an emetic to make him vomit up his oath and clear his conscience on that score." (176), of the Zulu royal lineage, says there is no difference in strength between an asseveration by his F (Sitheku) or by his FF (Mpande), but he uses the latter more frequently. Besides he uses Cetshwayo's name who was his FeBr. This shows that the name of a member of the senior branch of the lineage is preferred to a direct ascendant. Men may also asseverate by their F's grave. (152): *"NgiFunga uZwide kaMtolo.* I also swear by Langa (a clan founder) but not by his burial place, since it is forgotten." (155) also uses the name of the founder of his clan, viz., Macingwane-waseNgonyameni. This expression occurs first and last in the genealogy and praises of his clan. The informant's So follows his F's practice.

The use in asseveration of a royal name is a declaration of loyalty. During Cetshwayo's exile Zibhebhu demanded that no Zulu living in his district should 'swear' by Mpande or Cetshwayo or by Cetshwayo's mother but by Zibhebhu and his father and mother instead (Colenso-Durnford: I, 19). (152) says: "Oaths by the national kings are stronger than those by ancestral names. Nobody may swear by an ancestor to whom he does not belong, excepting the king's ancestors, (a case of inversion). All Zulu to whichever clan they belong swear by Cetshwayo, the last independent ruler of the country." I heard Princess Magogo recite to her grandson, the heir to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the names of Cetshwayo and Dinizulu. Since the child was only 18 months, he could only mumble the names in imitation. The three year old daughter of the chief pronounced the names well already. (393) who had moved from the Usuthu to the Mandlakazi region, stated: "As an Usuthu I swore by Mpande and Cetshwayo, and still do so. But the ordinary Mandlakazi adherent swears by Maphitha. The Mandlakazi don't admit that Maphitha is, like Cetshwayo, a descendant of Senzangakhona; they don't like this to be mentioned." (393) appeared embarrassed when asked, how he 'swears' and his answer may have been coloured by the fact that he was interviewed in Usuthu territory. The manifestation in asseveration of group membership and loyalty to the ruler named comes out in the reply by the Chn whom Owen wanted to stop swearing by the king's name: "Could you draw us away from our king?"

Special rules determine the asseveration of women. Das may 'swear' by their F's pers/n. "Wives", (168) stated categorically, "do not *funga*, nor swear an oath. They are not allowed to! This rule was given me by my F who fought at Isandlwana!" implying that it could not be questioned. On being challenged (168) admitted that this generalization applied to pers/ns of the H's ancestors only. Wis might, however, use the names of their own ancestors. (130), a woman, agreed, for when she swears, she does so by her F's name but also by her eSi and so does her unmarried yoSi. When asked why, she replied: "I do so because Kambutela, my eSi, is dead and cannot hear any more!" Her H too, swears by his eSi, Kasimangele, and (130) admits that a suggestion of incest is present in this practice. She adds that women prefer to swear by the FF rather than by their F. *Mamezala* is another asseveration formula which man or woman employs when angered or really serious. The reference is to the mother. (159), Dinizulu's widow, is decisive: "I do not use my HF's name, nor can I swear by him, only my H could!" (130), however blurts out: "Although I avoid my HF's name even in the root (for *ukuZwa* she says **ukuLalela*, since he is called uZweni), I employ his name in oaths." She admits that the F-in-l's pers/n is frequently thus used.

3. Legal Oaths

Zulu legal procedure is sometimes said not to know the oath. My informants, Princess Magogo and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, assured me that both in a family palaver or tribal court *(inDaba-yoZalo* and *iCala)* the presiding member could call on plaintiff, defendant or witness

to take an oath. Its usual form is: "May N.N. (pers/n of F) rise from the dead!" (*Kukunga vuka muHayi* !) or else: "May I dig up N.N. (my F) from his grave!" *(Nginga-Phanda uBaba eNgcwabeni)* The taker of an oath curses himself if he should lie or refers to an unthinkable offence.

A woman accused of adultery may be ordered: *Funga!* She then throws her hands over her shoulder (over right or left or both). The gesture means: "What I speak is true, otherwise I might drape a bad garment!", the implication being: I could be sleeping with my HF. A man would say: *"NgingaQumba"* i.e. I would get constipated, flatulent, blown up like a dead animal, also simply *NgaFa* ! Would I die!, and thirdly: *LingaDuma lingiThathe* ! Might lightning strike me, or briefly: *iJoyi!* (the mysterious process involved, i.e. the mystic sanction appealed to).

The chief can insist on such an oath being taken. It differs from asseveration in that it has to be made in court, at the behest of the presiding legal authority, and that it is felt to be stronger than the formulas of asseveration which occur in conversations, at the speaker's initiative, and so frequently that their value is nominal. Moreover, the legal oath calls up the vision of a mystic sanction or is a verbal violation of a taboo while asseverations merely mention the name of an ancestor, and consist in the breach of a name avoidance.

4. Calling Names

The legitimate, ritual use of a pers/n in oaths and asseverations must be distinguished from the illegitimate one of 'swearing at a person' i.e., of insulting him by calling him names *(isiThuko)*. A member of the same clan (but different lineage) might refer to a common ancestor in a friendly and honorary manner, and this happens also between friends and neighbours. (162): "But if my So calls me in *anger* by an ancestor's name he would be 'fined' by me. A Da would never use such an insulting expression. If my Wi called me thus, I would have her mulcted in one beast - to be paid by her people. Only the king, when angry, might use his subjects' ancestral names and do so with impunity. It has happened."*13*

It is a much more serious matter if the ancestral names are used by an unrelated person with the intention of insulting or hurting a person. The offender obviously wants to express his contempt for the person insulted and his GF! Hence (176) says: "I would fight (with weapons)!" (162):"It will be a court case with two aspects: a breach of the peace, for which the king would get a beast, and an insult for which the injured person would get 'damages'." In law case Nkandla 78/1923, the plaintiff claimed £ 15 damages for 'defamation of character'. The names complained of were those of Shaka, Dingane, Mpande and Senzangakhona! A tribesman who is told of such a case will immediately ask: "What was the plaintiff's clan/n?" When he hears "Zulu" the case is clear to him. The defendant had not shown disrespect to former kings but had insulted the plaintiff by calling him the names of his ancestors before third persons and in a derogatory sense. He had made sure that the offensive intention was made plain by certain obscene phrases: *mSunu-ka-Nyoko, maLebe-ka-Nyoko, ziGalagala zikaNyoko, wena Shaka, Dingane, Mpande, Senzangakhona!* (Your mother's vagina, your mother's vaginal walls, your mother's gaping vagina, you Shaka, etc.)

In law case Nkandla 12/1927 defendant swore at plaintiff: *mSunu-ka-Nina* (genetrix). In this type of swearing no pers/n but a k/t, viz., *Nina* = mother is used. S: 285 gives similar examples, viz., *mSatha-Nyoko* and *mSatha-Nina* . (146): "It is necessary that such cases be dealt with in the chief's court and the offender fined because the blood gets hot, you get angry and it becomes a case of fighting." Such cases are frequent between women and dealt with more leniently than a case between men. If the women do not report to the H or F there is no case and no fine.

5. Personal Names in Maleficent Ritual

a. C u r s e: *ukuQaliseka* is wishing a person death or misfortune. Ephraim Ndwandwe: "If a F or H resorts to cursing against Ch or Wi it i s really effective. A M is reluctant to use it; she curses only under great provocation. A stranger may curse, but with less effect." Occasions for cursing arise when a Ch has committed a heinous wrong, e.g., if he steals from his father. The formula used is: "You'll be a thief to your grave, to your death!" The pers/n need not be used, since the curser and the cursed person face each other. Public cursing is not unknown. It is resorted to by the injured person. The pers/n of the referent may, but need not,

be used. The phrase is: "The person who did such and such... may he get death!" Private and public cursing was considered equivalent to killing in law.

b. Evil Spell: To wish evil to a person a wizard has to be engaged by the interested person. To limit the effect to the intended victim his pers/n has to be used in the following spell-casting processes:

ukuThaka, at the mixing of the "poisons" (magical substances);
ukuKhwifa: at the chewing and spitting of magic in the direction of the victim;
ukuGqiba: when burying magical substances in the path, at the victim's kraal gate or his hut door;
ukuDwebela: at the drawing of a line across a path and the strewing of magical substances into it (Wanger: Collector 109; and Krige: 63).

Because a wizard works after sunset, or in the night, no Zulu likes to respond when his name is called after nightfall.

B. FAMILY TREES, GENEALOGIES AND PRAISES

1. Genealogies

The enumeration of the agnatic forbears takes place in certain non-ritual situations: Children are taught their family tree as a matter of education in lineage affairs, Sos more so than Das. When a legal case is in the offing, whenever family matters are under discussion, e.g., during arguments about cattle claims, the genealogy is gone over. The recital of the genealogy is customary on the following ritual occasions: (a) impending disaster: When a person is about to be arrested (!); when an illness has reached a crisis; before warriors leave for a raid; (b) at the great events of life: When a birth is difficult; at the puberty rite of So, and possibly Da (Krige, 95/6); at a wedding; at the Bringing Home, when the deceased's name is mentioned for the first time; (c) at a SAC, when an ancestor may be appealed to for help or, more seldom, thanked *14*. (d) *ukuKhuleka* , to announce one's presence, at a chief's place, to salute. In the past this word was not used in connection with ancestors.

At the following stages of a SAC genealogies or praises are recited:

ukuBonga: The bard recites the praises of one, some or all the ancestors for whom praises are remembered. In some sacrifices or rites only excerpts are given. After the 'praising' the bard performs a leap dance *ukuGiya* in the pen, and is in turn lauded by the onlookers. S:34 renders *ukuBonga* as: to offer prayer and SAC to ancestors, to worship.

ukuThetha: i.e. to complain. In general, to ritually appeal to the ancestors, e.g., through SAC; in particular, to state one's concern, including a reproof of the ancestors. (S: 457: to scold or find fault with noisily; to offer prayer and praises to ancestors, to offer SAC.)

ukuBika: The kraalhead, or bard, reports to the ancestors details of the beast selected for them (S: 27: to report an occurrence.) Then follows the stabbing of the beast. If it bellows this is taken as a favourable sign, and the kraalhead draws the ancestors' attention to this. *ukuBika* thus includes presentation of the victim but not the dedication of the meat in the apse.

ukuBonga On the second day after the feast with the neighbours and in their presence the ancestors are thanked by the family head. This is a specialized meaning of *ukuBonga*.

Chief Ephraim Ndwandwe, perhaps under missionary influence, asserts that in his indigenous condition the Zulu did not pray. But already Callaway (1868: 140, 144) quotes several prayers. The ancestors are addressed as 'You of below', 'Our fathers'. Behind this appeal to the ancestral group lies the idea: they are to crowd like a host round their troubled descendants The prayer takes the form of an appeal to renew the consideration which a F showed to his offspring while alive, or to his responsibilities towards his Chn under the kinship ethos. When the beast is offered, the kraalhead says: "There is your food. I pray for a healthy body, that I may live comfortably; thou So-and-so treat me with mercy!" When the ox cries at the stabbing, or bellows, the owner says: "Cry, ox of the ancestors!", and he mentions their names, thinking that they have granted him his request because of the cry. It is the ox which replies in

place of the silent family gods.

2. Order of Descent

During a recital of the genealogy, the ancestors are enumerated in the putative order of their descent. The start is mostly made with the founder of the lineage, e.g., (179) begins with Mdunge, her H's remotest forbear. If the ancestors of one generation are recited, those of the Great House precede those of the Left House. Callaway (1868: 144)records: "They begin and end their prayers with the name of the father whom they know, because he is expected to treat them with the kindness and gentleness they remember when he was alive." In a number of genealogies recorded by me the informants began with the most recent forbear.

Because of avoidance of names, several incongruous names have slipped into the known versions of the royal genealogy. (i) Avoidance names were interpreted as persons existing independently of the actual bearer, E.g., Ndaba, according to Bryant (1929), is a Hl name, the real pers/n having been lost. Similarly Callaway argues that *uHlanga* (reed bed/origin), which is a royal appellation, hides someone whose pers/n is unknown to us. We remember in this connection, that Cetshwayo after his flight from the Battle of Ulundi (1879) was referred to by his subjects as The Bone and The Shadow. (ii) Royal ancestors were called by way of Hl by secondary individual names, not the name given them by their fathers. Nodidi, for instance, is a nickname for Senzangakhona, not a separate person.

The principle established concerning Ndaba of the Zulu clan holds for other important families. Names reputedly belonging to clan or segment founders, to culture heroes and to persons famous for deeds of valour, may be avoided (Hl). Leslie found that Manzini, an ancestor of the Zungu chief's line, was avoided in the root.

Maria Ntshangase mentions one Mamba as founder of her clan. All clan members and their wives avoid the root out of respect, the substitute word being * *umQwaleni*. Another important ancestor was *uZiko* (Mr. Fireplace) and all Ntshangase men, their wives and children avoid the root *Ziko*.

A married woman, who through long disuse may forget her own ancestral line, is less likely to forget its "founder".Muthiyanduna Cebekhulu (now Mahaye), a woman of about 60 years, cannot recite her ancestors, but states that her clan's founder is *Mangete* whom all Cebekhulu avoid in the root *nge*. For *ukuNgena* (to marry by levirate) her people say **ukuPhoseka*. Her H does not participate in this avoidance.

Not all clans observe the avoidance of the pers/n of the founder, although it is used in identification and oaths, e.g., the Sithole have an ancient called Jobe. The country they live in is known as *iZwe-likaJobe* (Jobe's land). He is respected, but the name is not avoided in the root. It is used by all agnates in oaths, and an oath by him is considered stronger than that by a person's own F or GF's pers/n (122). Bryant (1929: 251) gives the Sithole family tree as Magabo (or Mnyanda) -- Mndayi--Mgqikazi--Bagela--Mazizikazi (?)--Mcankulu or Jobe, but calls it unreliable.

(152) gives the following rule concerning this naming custom: If the founder's pers/n becomes the name of the clan, it is not Hl'd but used as clan/n in address and reference. Then arises the logical difficulty of identifying the individual founder! If the name is avoided, then the clan/n differs, e.g., Mnyamana of Buthelezi clan (!). We can establish a third rule: married women participate in their spouses' name avoidance, married men do not.

The custom of calling a Ch by his FF's pers/n is stated by Bryant (1929: 38) to be still in vogue, especially "where the grandfather was a greater celebrity than the father." A structural rather than an individual factor seems, however, involved. A person does not swear by his F's name (except a woman); at any rate the GF's pers/n is the stronger oath. If a woman is descended from a chief her husband does not call her by her F's name but by her paternal FF's. Matholane Ndwandwe asserts that in his clan the roots of the forefathers are avoided only in the alternate ascending generations: He does not avoid the pers/n or root of Mvumvu, his F, but he avoids name and root of Mavundhla, his GF. He does not avoid name and root of his GGF (FFF), Pangato, for he was respected by his GSo, Matholane's F. Matholane again avoids the name and root of Langa, although he is so distant that some Ndwandwe would no longer avoid the name (Bryant: 1929: 161 and H.L. Samuelson: 29). However, whatever the name avoidances

in the recital of genealogies, in prayers to and praises of the agnatic ascendants, the ancestors' personal names are never avoided.

3. Female Forbears

Although one of Callaway's informants reports that the head of each house, and not all the dead of the 'tribe' indiscriminately, is worshipped by the Chn of that house, Callaway mentions elsewhere (1868 p. 70, 140), that grandfathers a n d grandmothers are named. Today strong objections are raised to this. At the Mbatha kraal (132) a strict agnatic dogma was expounded: "The spirit of a woman does not exist!" *(awuko)*. To mention the affinal clan/n at a SAC in the agnates' kraal is a strict taboo (Za). The U's forbears would be irreparably offended.

Many informants are prepared to admit that the pers/ns of the following women may be mentioned at a SAC: (a) important 'dams' whose Houses segmented off into powerful sections of the lineage; (b) a female ancestor pointed out by a diviner as the cause of an illness; (c) "a name that is inserted" by way of precaution. Male informants hasten to add that the pers/n of a female can never be uttered by itself in a ritual situation. It must be accompanied by the pers/n of an agnatic male. Callaway's quotation from a prayer: "Bring Muhayi, our mother, and all our mothers who are in the ground, out of whom we have come" suggests that the Zulu attitude in this respect has hardened.

While Zulu men treat the pers/n of a female forbear with some disdain, Zulu women are handicapped by the general prohibition of using the pers/n of their H's ancestors. So strict is the rule, that a Wi may not report (Hl) that she has seen one of her H's ancestors in a dream. This holds even if the life of an inmate of the homestead depended on quick action. She must keep silent and hope that the diviner will find out what is amiss and who is responsible.

However, under certain conditions a Wi's appeal to her H's ancestors is possible. (185): "When the trouble is serious and concerns us women especially, e.g., in a long-delayed delivery, the H's princWi, or preferably the HM, walks into the cattle pen and calls out the H's ancestral names." She also suggests what steps will be taken to appease their wrath. In such an exceptional appeal the H's ancestors should be appealed to as a group with the clan/n. In other words, the avoidance of the pers/ns is even then considered desirable. The women are, however, free to use the pet-names *(izAngelo)* which the Ms of the ancestors concerned once bestowed upon them. The power women possess of creating a certain name involves thus also their power to use it ritually.

When a woman grows older and is past child-bearing, the strict avoidance of her H's ancestors in ritual is relaxed. For one thing, the woman hearing the genealogies and praises shouted aloud on many occasions remembers them. In old age she may even have to assist the family head in the recital of his own family tree. This, however, she may not do inside the hut, where the meat is being dedicated, but only in the pen (Hl). In Chief Matholane Ndwandwe's case his FM, Maqonqela, might do this. This privilege is not a matter of age but also of rank. Since she presides over the Great Hut she possesses tremendous ritual importance. Maria Ntshangase (now Zulu) prays to a female ancestor of her H with a suspiratory prayer, short and simple: "N.N., why can't you help me!"

Under certain conditions, a woman may appeal to her own ancestors or particular individuals among them. These conditions are (a) that she gets permission from, or at least previously reports to, her H's ancestors - she does so by addressing them in the apse of her hut or Great Hut -; (b) that she leaves her H's homestead and addresses her forbears outside of it in the veld. They cannot be called to her H's home, since "the two sets of ancestors would quarrel."

The occasions when a woman may appeal to her own ancestors are laid down by custom: in personal troubles, or when she is sick or in labour. (187) is a lonely woman whose children have left her. She appeals frequently to her own ancestors 'to bring them back'. When her child is sick, however, her own ancestors are powerless; they can only help h e r. A Ch can only be cured by its agnatic forbears, and to appeal to them on behalf of a woman who is still childbearing is the privilege of the HM or the H himself.

(177) is straightforward: "There is no prayer to the ancestors of the Wi. No help can be ex-

pected from them because she has been 'brought over', obtained for bride cattle which have left her H's homestead and been received by her F's family (including their ancestors)." As an afterthought she adds: "The Mkhize ancestors could help, if the bride-price has been fully paid, but certainly not if part of it was still outstanding." This remark illustrates the cattle-bride-exchange logic which argues: payment is complete, there is no basis for further claims, the pleased ancestors will render their assistance as reward for the fulfilment of obligations. (cf. Law Case Nkandla 32/1929).

When a woman calls on her ancestors in sickness or personal trouble her invocation is usually short and hurried. Her appeal does not stand comparison with the institutionalized manner of her H's prayer to his ancestors. This must of course, have an effect on the confidence with which these different prayers are offered. In such suspiratory prayers a woman uses the pers/ns of her F or M, of her FF or FM respectively.

4. *Family Tree*

Individual Case: Khanyiseni Khanyile (286)

He laughs when asked to give his family tree. He begins with Masekwana, whom he calls GF at first; but he turns out to be GFFF; he begat Ntokotsha, who begat Bekeleni; he begat Mhlahlo, who is informant's father. At first he says, he does not know anyone beyond Masekwana. Q: Was there no one called Khanyile? Yes, he is a remote ancestor of Masekwana. Q: Is he the clan founder? No, Ngwane is, who begat Khanyile. Q: Why is the clan not called after Ngwane? The correct clan-name is Khanyile-kaNgwane. The name Ngwane is not avoided. Q: Are there any other Khanyile? No, all are of Ngwane. Yet there are some called Khanyile-kaLanga-ongena-Ndlebe. I don't know when they branched off; it is a long time ago; they now want to be considered a different clan; but they do not yet intermarry, not even among young men is there a desire to do so!

Q: Is there any name avoided as Mnyamana is avoided among Buthelezi? No, not in the Khanyile clan. We call Mandondo by name, he was the chief of the Khanyile and begat Ngoza. He comes before Masekwana, and so does Langa. Mandondo was chief at the time of Shaka and he and Ngoza were killed by Shaka. Kisi was the heir of Ngoza (his *nKosana)*, he had a kraal near Pietermaritzburg. Kisi can be regarded as the F (not the real F, but FBr) of Masekwana, and Masekwana, although of the Great House, was not the heir.

He recites the family tree to his GSos (GChn) so that any who are bright may learn it. "I also recite it when involved in an argument, e.g., a Mahayi person once claimed at court that he was a Khanyile; but I proved to him that he was not of the same status as we, for his F was a cook *(iNceku)*, and my F an *inDuna* ; he went out to war while the cook stayed at home cooking. Dinizulu then asked for my family tree and I recited it. I might also recite the family tree in a law case over old bride-cattle claims, e.g., an *Ethula* claim."

" I also recite the family tree when I slaughter a beast (to ancestors); and while the beast is being stabbed I recite the praises." He gives praises of Mhlahlo (F), Bekeleni (GF), Ntokotsha (GFF), but says only old people know Masekwana's praises.

Mhlalo kaBekeleni (F). *Dada bhula amanzi ngezimpiko. Mathanga adabula iziziba zoMkhomazi* (river). *Nomabheshu agwanqa etebhile njengentombi. Idada eliminza lingafi likaBekeleni. Nhlama idliwa ngabade, abafishane bafe. uMngandeni, noziyingili. Bekeleni* (FF), *Mhlabisa ndlovu, sidunu singamakhowendlovu. Ndaba zafika kuqala kuDlungwana waseMbelebeleni, uphuzi oluhlanza amagawu namade namafishane. Gombela kwelayizolo. Mdaka ungezukoma. Owadla isibaya.*

Ntokotsha kaMasekwane (FFF). *Wena kaSimangaguma lakwa dadewabo, uNxoshane odle isibaya sikaBango, wazibangela wazibangela ukwaliwa ngabakwabo. Obesixokolo singamatshe ombela. Ubeba simuke.*15*

He recites praises on the following occasions:

When he kills a beast: he faces the top of the kraal, where the cattle are gathered.

When departing for a raid, in the morning, the cattle are already out; he then stands at the top of the pen, facing the gate across the empty pen.

At the wedding of his Da: "I recite ancestral praises *esiGcawini* ."

At Bringing Home of F: "I recite praises in mournful mood. There are no praises for GMs!"

He could mention his M, but not her In:l (she was Nosinqwazi Cebekhulu); he had to say, *Wena wa* -FF's p e r s / n. And then he begins to recite his M's praises, when he is in great difficulties, on the point of being killed (e.g., on battle field, when he sees many people dying round him). "I would then also sing the Hymn of the Khanyile." At slaughter for the ancestors M's praises are not recited, although he may say: "I refer also to you Mother. I cannot recite her praises since she is not a Khanyile. I was born in the Khanyile kraal, she came from another one, that's why; avoiding her praises in F's kraal is a matter of Hl. The F's ancestors are the great people in the homestead."

5. *Praises*

Praises are mainly used by agnatic descendants of the ancestors. It is the senior representative of the lineage, the head of the homestead, who addresses the forbears either as group or as individuals. Chief Manyala Biyela, for instance, dispenses with a praiser and recites the praises himself. His sons are better acquainted with them, partly "because he being nearer to the ancestors has to avoid (Hl) their names more!" When a kraalhead has no bard, he is often assisted by his Sos and sometimes his aged M. (152): "The kraalhead recites the praises or he appoints a brother (either older or younger) to do so, according to ability. Brs appoint one another to act as reciters at their respective homes. After the death of the family head, it is the heir of the Great House who utters the deceased's pers/n and his praises for the first time at the Bringing Home."

Frequently the praises are recited by a bard *(imBongi)*, any old man of the homestead in the case of commoners. He could say the praises even if he were a clan-stranger (152). Good memory is taken into consideration rather than position in the kinship structure, also length of residence in the homestead and trustworthiness. In olden times every headman and chief had, according to Krige (p. 340), his own bard, a professional man and specialist. There was a bard at every military barracks and several bards at the royal homestead. A bard's task was to recite the praises of the ancestors of his master and at public occasions also those of important visitors.

The last bard of any note was Cetshwayo's praiser Mahlangeni, a fine old man killed by Zibhebhu at Mahlabathini in 1883 (S:34).

The praises of the king are recited for the first time immediately after the funeral of his predecessor, the bard singing them in front of the warriors dispersing from the grave (Krige: 173). When Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's FBr, who had acted as his regent during the chief's minority, arrived at the young chief's singing and drinking party, he recited the praises of Gatsha's F before he entered. (The chief took notice of it, but the crowd inside, not very much). The king, or any of his agnates, have their praises recited (by anyone who knows) when entering a homestead on a visit, e.g., when Clement Zulu, a younger Br of King Cyprian's visited a kraal unannounced and was recognized an old man there recited the royal praises. There is, however, an avoidance rule that the king's praises should not be recited in his absence. In reciting the praises the bard strikes an upright attitude and utters the verses in a high-pitched, singing tone with obvious signs of great concentration and tension.

Women have to act in a special manner, when their H's ancestral praises are sung in the homestead. While the male agnates gather in the cattle pen, their wives have to retire into the Great Hut, dressed in their best clothes and wearing their ornaments, and with their top-knots freshly ochred. Complete silence is imposed upon them during the recital (Hl or Za). If they have business out of doors, they must move behind the huts, so that they cannot watch the proceedings in the pen and cannot be seen themselves.

The HM, the mother of the family head, his Brs and unmarried Das are under no such restriction. They move freely about the homestead. Women cannot utter the praises at least as long as they are still child-bearing. (125) gives as reason: The pers/ns of HF and HFF, etc. occur in them, and these names are avoided in daily life.

C. THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF A SUBSTITUTE KINSHIP TERM

Certain Zulu kinship terms are associated with religious notions. For instance, a spirit snake that appears in the homestead is referred to as *uBabamkhulu* (grandfather). When a child cries on seeing it, it is told: "Don't cry, it is *uBabamkhulu!*" Another k/t with religious

connotation is Nkulunkulu, lit. the great-great-great-one. The term is used with various meanings:

GGGF, the lineage head of the fourth or fifth ascending generation;
the founder of the clan or tribe;
the person who divided a clan, tribe or lineage, i.e., split it off from the parent clan according to accepted segmentation procedures.
Finally *uNkulunkulu* is applied to the first human being. As the chief is the *uBaba* of all his men, so *uNkulunkulu* is the ancestor of all men. The first woman is known to some Zulu as *uNkulunkulu* too (cf. Genesis 5,2). *Nkulunkulu* in the first three of these meanings is addressed in invocations and at sacrifices, since the pers/n concerned is remembered; in the last meaning it is not. Common to all four forms is that a k/t is used where a pers/n is respectfully avoided or not known.

The Zulu do not consider that mankind originated by sexual reproduction but by a process resembling vegetative reproduction. There occurred a hiving-off, a division from a pre-existent entity. This entity is either called *uHlanga* (reed-bed) or *umHlaba* (earth). The agent responsible for the splitting off is *uNkulunkulu:* "the Great-great-one created the nations out of the reed" (Bleek: 2). *uHlanga,* also *inHlanga,* means "(a) reed capable of stooling; (b) lineage from which families break away and become independent; (c) original stock: this must be nameless since various clans and tribes with different names have arisen from it and the original stock cannot be identified with any of these." With this would agree the fact, mentioned by Callaway, that *uHlanga* is an avoidance term for the first man whose real pers/n was forgotten through being Hl'd. Possibly certain interdicts which Engelbrecht notes fit in here: The reed plant is considered an object of respect; people are not allowed to strike one another with reeds; the cutting of reed may be undertaken only at the command of the chief, who is the controller of reed.

The other covering name of the first man, according to Callaway, is *umHlaba* = earth. It is the general collective name given to the ancestors as those dwelling in the earth. As such they have power over life and death. This is well brought out in the phrase: 'he is made sick by the earth', or 'he is summoned by the earth' (i.e., he dies). The ancestors (= earth) also have control over the good and bad fortune of their descendants. This is illustrated in the phrase: *Ngibhekwe uNyanya* (I have been regarded by *Nyanya,* i.e., I am fortunate). In this **uNyanya* is a *Hlonipha* synonym for *uHlanga* which as a name should be avoided. Callaway, indeed, surmises that the words *uHlanga* and *umHlaba* are personal names of some great ancestors, now forgotten, but formerly honoured for their great deeds.

Engelbrecht states that today *oHlangeni* refers to maize stalk and not reed: "As the maize stalk produces cobs and then decays, so the cob produces the grains. The grains are the *oNkulunkulu* of houses, i.e., the known founders of clans and tribes." Since their descendants can be separated out, they are worshipped by those of their own families. *uNkulunkulu,* then, is conceived as the cob. As the originator of multiple descent lines, he belongs to all clans and can have no clan name of his own, nor has he any family to which he belongs. In other words, he does not fit into the unilineal descent scheme of the agnatic order of any particular Zulu lineage. He has no house or homestead in which he might receive sacrificial offerings. Nobody kills a beast for *uNkulunkulu* , for his praises are not known. He closely resembles an ancestor for whom cattle are no longer slaughtered. Such an ancestor is said to have the grasshoppers of the veld for his food. There is no one who claims: For my part, I am of the house of *uNkulunkulu.*

But although Nkulunkulu cannot be identified by personal name, as an individual, his function as splitter of families or clan segments is that of any Zulu lineage head, who divides his kinship unit into Great House, Left House and Right House. He can therefore be classed with GGFs and founders of clans and be known, like them, as an *uNkulunkulu* . What he cannot do is to respond to appeals, to receive the praises and sacrifices of a particular family or segment.

Boys learn early in life about this inaccessibility of *uNkulunkulu* . They used to be sent by their parents into the veld to go and call *Nkulunkulu.* They called and called without avail. He does not answer and cannot answer. The boys shout louder until they are hoarse. When they report their failure at home, they are told: 'He is a long way off', or 'It is now no matter' since the boys had been sent away because the parents wanted to attend to private business. In

this manner the children come to realize that *uNkulunkulu's* name has no respect paid to it *(iGama likaNkulunkulu aliHlonipheki)*. 'It is no more than the name of an old crone (is-A l u k a z i) without power', says one of Callaway's informants. It lacks the individualizing quality of a personal name which gives it real power within the kinship group of its bearer.

As the name is not known, the person behind the kinship term *uNkulunkulu* remains himself unknown. Callaway (1868: 10) thinks that many misunderstandings have arisen (among whites) from the inquiry: *uNkulunkulu ubani na?* (Who or what is *uNkulunkulu?*) To the Zulu this question must mean: 'What is his name?' The Native cannot tell you this name, except it be *uHlanga, umHlaba,* for which names *uNkulunkulu* is a substitute k/t, or descriptive terms concerning his activities, viz., *uMenzi* (Creator), *uMvelinqangi* (The first Emerger) and *umDabuko* (The splitter off). All three terms can also be used of clan founders, chiefs, lineage heads.

In comparison with the frequency with which the ancestral names of lineages and clans are used by their descendants, and those of the royal clan by all members of the Zulu nation, e.g., in oaths, the name *uNkulunkulu* is very little used in ritual situations. *uNkulunkulu* has no power since he is a nameless being without the backing of a descendant kinship group. Although referred to by all Zulu, *uNkulunkulu* is not worshipped by any (Callaway: 1868: 10, 43, 70ff, 104, 148; Meinhof: 1912: 69; Baumann: 1940: 54.)

IX. ANALYSIS OF SPEECH AVOIDANCES

A. LINGUISTIC

1. Tribal and Female Hlonipha Language

The avoidance of the pers/n is elaborated in certain cases by the additional avoidance of the root. This avoidance affects the language of the speaker, for words in which the root occurs have to be replaced. Group names are free from this practice except where the individuality of the referent is still clearly felt, e.g., if the clan name refers to a culture hero or a renowned chief.

The assertion often made, e.g., by Wanger (1917: 142), that men do not observe name and root avoidances is incorrect. Strict observance prescribes for them the avoidance of the root of the pers/n of the WiM. The root of an outstanding lineage or clan ancestor is avoided by all his descendants, whether male or female, e.g., that of Mnyamana Buthelezi, just as the pers/n of the chief or king is (or was) avoided in the root by all his subjects. Wanger's conclusion that the exclusive linguistic avoidances of women throw light upon their status, must in consequence be rejected.

Complementary assertions are made by Eric Walker (1928: 118) on the authority of J.B. Lindley, viz., (a) "Zulu women have a private language of about 5,000 words"; (b) "The Hl custom causes the vocabulary to increase continually" by the use of traditional substitutes and the invention of new ones. However, the avoidance of roots does not result in the formation of a separate language, and the increase in substitute words can never be greater than the corresponding increase in the population, since all substitute words must have a name referent. Except for the name avoidances concerning tribal leaders and clan ancestors, of which an individual can have only a few, an individual's Hl (= root substitute) vocabulary e q u a l s the number of names of his avoided affines t i m e s the number of possible homonyms in the language. How extensive a woman's substitute vocabulary is depends greatly on the number of avoided in-laws she has. Nor has a woman her substitute vocabulary in common with other women, unless they married into the same family, since the names of Hs, Sos-in-l and Fs-in-l most likely differ. Nor can the substitute words be called a private language since anyone's substitute words are known by his kinsmen and neighbours and these may indeed be called upon to interpret the substitute words to outsiders.

In consequence Bryant (1949: 221) notes correctly that, since each woman avoids no more than about half a dozen roots, the consequences are hardly noticeable in any particular woman's speech, though the whole female aggregate is considerable. While this is true, a M of many

married Das will have a language usage which outsiders may at first find difficult to understand, since she has to avoid the roots of all her DasHs, not to mention her own H's, her HF's and HFBrs' and perhaps even her own F's and FF's (Asmus: 212). Women married into the royal family being subject to court etiquette in relation to a complex affinal lineage have to learn to avoid more names and roots than commoners. Frazer has noted (1929: 258): "At the king's kraal it is sometimes difficult to understand the speech of the royal wives as they avoid the names (and words resembling them) of the king, his forefathers, his and their brothers back for generations!"

European shopkeepers used to find it difficult to guess what women wanted, since the objects they wished to buy might have names like their husbands! Another practical difficulty occurs in school. The Bantu Teachers' Journal (Natal) some time ago noted that the teaching of Zulu to small children was complicated by the fact that they had been taught by their mothers to avoid certain words. On the whole intelligibility is not affected to a large extent. Frazer summed up the position: "When to the tribal (chief's name) and national (king's name) taboos we add the family taboos on the names of connexions by marriage... we can understand.. (that) the Zulu language... almost presents the appearance of .. a double one; indeed for a multitude of things it possesses three or four synonyms which, through the blending of tribes, are known all over Zululand."

2. Name Avoidances and Special Vocabularies

Like other people the Zulu avoid in polite language the cruder expressions referring to physiological processes like eating, defecating, mating, dying, and to a number of body organs and their excretions. Apart from euphemisms which are used in this connection, we have s u b r o s a statements in Zulu in which certain unpleasant facts are expressed in acceptable terms. Among special vocabularies may be included the *isiPhico*, the playful modification of ordinary speech practised by children and the idiomatic expressions used in age-groups to mislead outsiders with meanings unintelligible to the un-initiated. Finally there are the cases of professional jargon especially of leeches and herbalists. They have developed cover terms either to keep the clients in the dark or to mislead competitors. Gerstner illustrates this profusely.

Sociologically euphemisms, s u b r o s a statements, secret languages and professional jargon differ in several respects from the speech avoidances investigated. The cover terms refer only incidentally to human referents and are not significant in setting the moral tone in bi-polar relationships. They rather aim at maintaining solidarity within an association of age-mates or craftsmen by means of a shared secret. Thirdly, the objects referred to have no symbolical significance in the hierarchy of authorities which supports Zulu kinship and political structure. Quite a number of expressions, however, belong to both phenomena. E.g., the ordinary terms for 'to die' *(ukuFa, ukuBhubha)* may not be used for 'fallen warrior' for whom **ukuSala* ('to remain behind') is common, nor may the king's illness be referred to as *ukuGula* (to be sick), but only as * *ukuDunguzela* (to ail, be out of sorts). Certain animals are so closely associated with the human family, that the language used about them is practically Hl: The normal expression for 'to be with young' *(Mithi)*, or 'to give birth to' *(ukuZala)* may not be used of a cat, or she will take offence and depart; the appropriate word is * *ukuHlanza*. If the red ants with the painful bite are named *ubuBhede* they will invade the kraal, hence they are spoken of as *oMakoti* (brides) or *abaYeni* (grooms). The real name of the porcupine is *iNgungumbane:* to prevent it causing destruction in the gardens it is respectfully referred to as *umFazana, inKosana,* even *uNomKhubulwane* (Princess of Heaven!) i.e., k/t and r/t are used to avoid their proper names. A mouse to be used as bait in a trap for a wild cat is addressed by the Hl term * *umJonjo* and others. If it were spoken to by its ordinary name as *imPuku* it would not catch anything having been treated with contempt (Callaway: 1866: 3).

3. The Morphology of Avoidance Words

The typical form of a boy's pers/n commences with So (short for *Yise*, father), e.g. Somahashi (F-of-Horses) and for girls with No (short for *Nina* , mother), e.g. Nompi (M-of-War). Names for males are formed from the present or perfect of the passive of the verb concerned, e.g., Mzunywa (Mr.-Was-Surprised); for females names are derived from the perfect of the neuter form of the verb, e.g., Zumekile (Miss-Surprised). It should also be remembered that

in reference the pers/n carries the prefix u-, which is dropped in address.

In forming avoidance names, the Zulu follow what Krige (p. 30) calls universally accepted rules of transformation without telling us what these are. Westermann is of the opinion that the substitute vocabulary comprises nouns and verbs which are "structurally" Zulu, but it is unknown where they originated. They are not artificial creations, but remnants of an obsolete language, or borrowings from a neighbouring dialect. An example of a survival is given by Werner. The amaMbala (?) had an ancestor uLanga. Hence they avoid *iLanga* (sun) for which they say * *isOtha*. *16* She surmises that this is the word for sun in another language and refers to Hehe *liZowa liSota*, 'the sun sets'. Werner and Wanger incline to the view that the substitute words are in the majority of cases either arbitrary inventions or derivatives from Zulu.

There does exist a great number of traditional substitutes which are generally understood. They have been collected in long lists by Colenso (1905: 40), Bryant (1905: 738-47) and by Doke (1939: 344). In Doke and Vilakazi's Standard Dictionary they are indicated by an asterisk, a practice which we have followed. Where a man's name is Sandla, for instance, a commonly heard substitute for *isAndla* (hand) is * *isAmukelo* (the receiving thing). Apart from such circumscriptions there are also cases of completely different terms, e.g., *inHliziyo* and * *inKedama* (heart).

At a first glance the following traditional methods of forming substitute words can be distinguished: (a) The substitute word is a synonym of the original and conveys the idea easily. E.g., if a man's pers/n is uDinwa, his Wi, in order to avoid *ukuDinwa* (to be fed up) uses * *uku-Khathaza* (to bore). (b) Substitution may be restricted to one sound. Women commonly prefer the h sound and the frontal click; men choose the lateral click. A woman who must avoid *umBango* (rivalry) alters it to **umHango*, a man to * *umXango*. Where women would form * *isiCiko* for *isiVimbo* (stopper), men might substitute with * *isiXiko*. (c) Frequently the substitute word is placed in the same noun class as the original word, i.e., it is treated grammatically in the same way. E.g., a common substitute word for *uKhuni* (firewood) is * *uThezo* from *ukuTheza* (to cut wood): it is in the l u - class like *uKhuni* .

Mncube has discussed in great detail the formation of Hl words. His findings are here summarized and simplified: The words are formed by (a) the substitution of sounds, including elision; (b) deverbative and deideophonic substitutes are formed; (c) substitutes by nominal transposition or association occur; (d) substitutes may comprise words from other languages, with no known connections, or unmeaning syllables.

B. THE SOCIOLOGICAL FUNCTION OF NAMING USAGE

1. Theories

Theories concerning primitive name avoidances have centred about (a) the sacredness of names and (b) names as carriers of magical forces. Krige (p. 233), for instance, says that the Zulu king's name is sacred, since - that is the only proof she offers - it is used in oaths. But many other names are so used, viz., the name of F, eSi, HF, clan founder and royal ancestors. The theory would thus have to be reformulated: the names of certain persons in authority are sacred. Sacredness in that sense is a structural reflexion, i.e., it is modifiable according to changing social situations. It is no longer numinous, absolute. At any rate it is significant that the most massive name avoidances centre in the family of orientation on F and M, and in the family of procreation on HF and WiM, i.e., in the first ascending generation. Beyond it avoidances become lax and the 'sacredness' of names evaporates.

The magical theory of names is expressed by Mncube: "To my mind the root of name avoidances is closely linked with the desire to conceal the name in order to protect the soul." The name implies the soul because it is viewed as potent. Words, names are avoided because they are considered to be carriers of mystic power, force (Westermann). The impression which our survey conveyed, certainly contradicts the magical view. Names function rather as counters which are exchanged in a social situation or as tools with which in a setting certain intentions are expressed. Undoubtedly the magical theory has been overdone. Indeed, Colenso (1874: 192) points out that it was a missionary who interpreted Langalibalele's name on the mystical as-

sumption as: 'He who has power to scorch the earth and deprive it of its power to yield bread for man and beast." The more authentic explanation of a native, viz., Baso, chief Putini's son, was much more sober: 'Langalibalele's original name was uMthethwa and was changed to "The-Sun-is-Glaring" because the sun was very parching during the year in which he succeeded his brother Dhlomo!'

2. The Function of the Personal Name

The In: 1 is used in the family of orientation, i.e., by the parents, grandparents and age-mates of a person before his puberty. Subsidiary names (In: 2-4) are of little importance at this stage. Between puberty and marriage a multiplicity of names reflects the unfolding of the social personality. The youth name symbolizes the love element and anticipates the founding of a family of procreation; the regimental name symbolizes the tribal system which the youth is henceforth to serve. In the family of procreation the H's pers/n is avoided by his Wis and Chn, as well as by his age-mates and all his juniors. His parents and all seniors, however, do not avoid it: he has not changed his status with regard to them. The Wi's pers/n is likewise avoided by her Chn and juniors, but in relation to her husband her status is that of a child and hence he uses her pers/n. A third stage is reached with the death of the bearer of the pers/n. After a comparatively short latent period, the pers/n of the deceased, if he was the founder of a family, is ritually used in prayers and praises, in genealogies and oaths mainly by his descendants who avoided it while he was alive. A woman's pers/n is not used in oaths or prayers unless her rank in the family of procreation makes her set up a significant segment in the lineage. The pers/n has lastly significance also in the political sphere. The chief uses a man's pers/n throughout his life, but has, of course, no occasion to use it ritually when his subject has died. A commoner, on the other hand, uses the king's name ritually in oaths during the king's lifetime and after his death.

The suitability of the pers/n for ritual use seems to be based on four factors:

a. The ritual significance of a man's name is linked with the necessity to identify him.
Throughout a person's life his pers/n is used by parents and chief for purposes of identification. After his death, when he joins his forbears, his descendants are placed in the position to have to single him out from among the group of ancestors. Ancestors are rarely addressed by their clan name - whenever it is used the speaker's father is meant - but rather by enumeration of personal names in family tree and praises, although a rank term, *amaKhosi* , Lords! is customary in prayers. Since the ancestors are addressed by their descendants only - it is Za for non-members to do so -, there is no need for the naming of the group, but individuals within it need to be identified.

b. The normal direction of the personal name's use is downwards; its upward use is a ritual inversion.
The address direction of the pers/n is from superordinate to subordinate status: parents-children, husband-wife, chief-commoner. The superordinate status in fact functions as the giver of individual names (Parents: In: 1; Husband: In:3; Chief: In: 2). The use of the pers/n upward in the social scale is avoided and interpreted as upsetting the social order. In the fourth relationship, however, in which the personal name is employed, i.e., between (dead) ancestor and (living) descendant, the position is reversed: it is the subordinate status which uses the pers/n of the superordinate. In this reversal of the naming direction rests a great deal of the ritual significance of the practice of prayer to the ancestors.

c. The avoidance of the personal name is unnecessary in the absence of the referent, the bearer of the name.
This is especially evident as regards the in-laws. A man uses his Wi's F's name in his absence and legitimately in the teknonymy name for his Wi; he avoids his F-in-l's pers/n in his presence. A Wi avoids the pers/n of both her parents-in-law, but since she lives and works in the almost continuous presence of her mother-in-law the avoidance concerning her name is always observed, while that concerning her HF's name is disregarded in his absence. Death is, of course, the great creator of absences. Hence after a kraalhead's death his pers/n is no longer

avoided. In the royal family this rule is elaborated somewhat: "Upon the death of a royal personage, it is made the law, by way of showing respect to the memory of the deceased, that no one shall pronounce his name.... during the life time of his successor as perpetual chief mourner. Thus as long as Shaka reigned... it was death to mention uNandi, his mother!" (Lucas).

d. The personal name is a means to secure a person's influence beyond death.

The use of the pers/n of a deceased by his descendants is technically a breach of a name avoidance which they observed throughout his life time. Its ritual effectiveness lies in the fact that by means of it the influence of the bearer is extended beyond his physical existence. The name is appealed to for help and condemned for failure to help; inexplicable events, such as luck and ill-luck, are ascribed to the name of an agnatic ascendant so that its bearer is conceived of as their originator from beyond, and the name appears to be equipped with the power of willing and acting. The power that determines human fate from beyond is no mystery to the Zulu if it can be identified with the pers/n of an agnatic ascendant. Such identification sets the mind at rest.

3. The Group Names

with the exception of Gr:2 are used in an upward direction between affines, e.g., between children-in-law and parents-in-law and between wife and husband. They are used reciprocally between affinal collaterals and strangers. The naming of an individual with his group name is honorary in intention. It increases, as it were, the social distance by multiplying the social referents. Gr: 1 and Gr: 2 seem thus to perform some of the functions of the polite plural in many European languages (cf. Behagel, Cassirer, Whorf). But they go beyond it by identifying an individual with social entities which surpass him in social range and historical depth. In many instances the change from unmarried to married status involves the replacement of an individual name by a group name, e.g., among cross-cousins, affinal collaterals, affines of the first ascending generation (of opposite sex). It is marriage then which makes a consanguineous kin outside the co-residential limits eligible for identification with his clan.

Gr: 1 may not be used in an upward direction in the nuclear family and in the tribe, i.e., a F cannot be addressed with his clan name by his Chn, nor the chief with his by his subjects. The avoidance is linked with the fact that the kraalhead and the chief represent their respective groups. Kohler says: "The clan name really belongs to 'the head' only," and (103) stresses the agnatic aspect: "The clan name with u-prefix can only refer to a man."

4. Kinship Terms

With regard to kinship terms our survey reveals certain bases upon which their classificatory extension within consanguineous kin occurs. Malinowski (Parenthood) and Radcliffe-Brown (1950: 9,23) have given currency to the view that classificatory extensions express the potential identity of social position of the several referents, e.g., of siblings of like sex, as well as similarity of kinship attitudes and conduct expectations of an original referent and his substitute. But our survey reveals that grouping together is the important thing, not substitution (Hocart: 173-9). Mere proximity in the social structure, even where substitution of function is impossible leads to classificatory identification, e.g., HF and HM are both called *umZali*, HMBr and HMBrWi are bracketed as *MameZala*, the loan-word *Sibali* is used for BrWiSi and BrWiBr and *umLamu* for SiHBr and SiHSi. Another important reason for classifying people together is that of honouring them. Thus *uBaba* is not only applied to FBr as the substitution theory demands but also to FSi and to other women in authoritative positions, especially in the royal family, i.e., F's princWi, all Ms, HM and HFW[i] (391, Magogo, 387). In this way even a child can be addressed as *Baba* (Colenso, F.E.: 1885: II, 71).

Classificatory identification has further implications: The fact that a GM calls her SoSo *mYeniwami* and a GF his SoDa *mLobokaziwami* cannot be explained by the substitution theory. The great difference in age makes real substitution impossible. The same factor enters, of course, in the custom of a Wi calling her HBr *mYeniwami* although in the same breath she may also call him *mFowami*, i.e., H and Br together! Since a H cannot be a Br and a GSo not a

bridegroom the classificatory identification seems to be playful in nature. Nor must it be overlooked that certain kinship terms are definitely avoided. The chief is not called *Baba* by his Ch, a Wi will not call her H *mYeniwami*, a H shrinks from addressing his Wi as *Mkami*. The reasons may be sexual in the latter and non-sexual in the former instance, but the crux of the matter is that some kinship terms are in certain social situations considered incompatible with the appropriate respect attitude!

5. Rank Terms

The inadequacy of the system of kinship terms to exhaust the complexities and diversities of social relations and situations is shown in the considerable use that is made in Zulu of rank terms. By means of rank terms elder Br and elder Si are singled out among siblings, and Wis presiding over the different Houses from their co-Wis. Kraalhead and tribal leader are unmistakably identified by means of them. While kinship terms have a tendency to extension, rank terms on the contrary, tend to be restricted in their application. Avoidances concerning them are in consequence particularly strict. Rank terms are critical terms for purposes of recognizing authority. There can be only one *umNumzane* in the kraal, and only one *inKosi* in the country. Rank terms express thus the sociological tendency of securing a monopoly of certain social positions, concerning which even the merest suggestion of substitution is abhorred.

6. Other Aspects of Naming

Because anthropologists have considered kinship terms the only tools of structural analysis, they have overlooked certain aspects of naming. In the family of procreation husband and wife occupy nodal positions. They join two families of affines. The multiplicity of names which they may use of and to each other expresses the principles of affinity, ascent and descent singly and in permutations. The names with which a Wi is addressed in her H's kraal recognize her (a) as a member of her clan which in itself has no claim to be recognized there; (b) as the link between her So and her F by means of the teknonymy names; and (c) as an individual in her own right, as the use of individual names suggests. In short, the ingrafting of a woman in her H's lineage creates a multiplicity of social relations which is recognized in a variety of names, most of which positively express respect for her. Since the H represents the continuous stream of agnatic descent, his names are less numerous and varied. It should be noted that the name avoidances in the family of procreation show greater differentiation than in the family of orientation. They illustrate that the relations between affines are less compact than between cognates and allow of greater variety of interpretation.

7. Inversion

Naming is subject to the principle of inversion which is also observed in ritual avoidance action. What is meant by inversion is best shown in examples. While a commoner's pers/n is avoided in his family, a chief's is not avoided in his tribe: it may be used in reference and in oaths. (103) suggests that since most chiefs are descended from a few clans, the need for identification is pressing. But the social need for contrasts in behaviour is behind the inversion. (393) said decisively: "A king's pers/n is not avoided except by his Wis and Chn!" For this reason he objected to the avoidance name for his chief Gatsha, viz., * *iPhazuka*, "for there is no difference in this between king and chiefs!" A further inversion occurs as regards the avoidance of the root. If a commoner bears the name of an object, e.g., *umKhonto*, Mr. Spear, his Wis (in reference) give him another name, say, * *uMpikathi*, since they and their Das-in-l avoid the root. In the case of chiefs the tendency is for the object to be given a new name. A chief called *MaHashi* (Mr. Horse) was the cause of the animal being called **iPele* in his tribe, a practice continued after his death. Among the Buthelezi a branch *(iGatsha)* is now called * *iPhuzi*. This is plainly not a case of sacred name with chiefs and profane name with commoners. The sociological situation enforces the practice. In a commoner's case only Wis and Das-in-l are involved and it cannot be expected that other people interest themselves in the root. In the case of royalty the whole tribe is involved and a new term for the object after which the chief is called becomes a general necessity *17*.

A third instance of inversion is that while in a commoner's family the Chn must not address

their F by his clan name, in the royal family they do. Again, while strangers address a commoner by his clan name, subjects never address the king by his clan name. The Zulu explanation sounds tautologous: "The king's clan name is not used by his subjects because the Zulu as a people respectfully avoid the whole royal clan." It looks as if the naming practices in the two situations differ because they cannot be allowed to be alike. If both commoners and king were honoured in the same way, where would the distinction between them be? Since children do not address the family head by either his In: 1 or his Gr: 1 nor do his subjects address a chief by his In: 1 or his Gr: 1, family heads and chiefs resemble in this respect *uNkulunkulu* the first man or, as some have it, God, whose individual and group names are not used by Man and, in fact, are unknown *18*.

A fourth instance of inversion occurs at the accession of a new ruler. A.Smith (p. 84) gives two examples: (i) After Nandi's death Shaka, her son, ordered that the word *uNandi* (sweetness) should be replaced by * *umToti*. Dingane, out of opposition to Shaka, re-admitted *nandi* "and now the men commonly say *nandi*, but the women usually *mtoti*." (ii) When Shaka's mother was reported pregnant, Mudli, SenzangaKhona's FBr and regent, denied the charge and called 'it' an intestinal beetle (*iShaka*). When born the child was thus called. On becoming king Shaka ordered that henceforth the beetle be called * *iShuda* (Fynn: 16).

8. Selection of Names

The variety of names, individual and group, kinship and rank terms, yields the possibility of selection. For the modification of the general avoidance rules there is a scale of detailed variations which may be handled according to the feeling tone of the partners in the naming situation and the intentions to be conveyed by the speaker. Naming is not stereotype as the extension theory makes one believe, but allows of the expression of individual states of mind within the structural framework. For a detailed study of the selection practised with the individual names we may distinguish the following types of conduct: (a) Conduct in which the speaker establishes by means of the appropriate name usage a favourable relation with the person addressed. This is possible on various levels, that of intimacy, normalcy, respect and ritual solemnity. (b) Conduct which results in unfavourable relations between the speaker and the person addressed occurs on the levels of inadvertent violation of the naming rules, or as a manifestation of ill-will, of disrespect or formal rupture. For instance while a woman may use the youth name of her lover normally before her wedding, after it the youth name is appropriate only in intimate contact. In old age it becomes an expression of solemn and serene reminiscence. Its proper ritual use is at the Betrothal. Concerning the negative side of the scale, the inadvertent use by the bride of her HF's pers/n is simply corrected. Somewhat later her use of the name acquires the significance of a manifestation of evil intentions and she is consequently warned. If the name is deliberately used to provoke and annoy, it is a definite sign of the woman's disrespect for her husband's father and results in her being fined. If a woman is maltreated, however, she may use her HF's name in public to draw attention to the treatment she receives and as a formal notice that she intends to quit. Whenever a name avoidance is violated the Zulu are therefore bent on establishing motive and intention, a fact quite imcompatible with the sacred name or the automatic extension theory. Whorf's dictum that language belongs to the background phenomena of culture is certainly not true for names. They have an immense practical significance and are handled consciously and deliberately as indices of attitudes in the most varied situations.

9. The intensity of naming avoidances

can be measured by the number and complexity of the avoidances involved. For instance in the agnatic group the avoidance of the pers/n of the proximate ascending generation is more intense than that of the alternate, i.e., second ascending generation and centres more in the male than the female members. While "mothers" are avoided in their pers/ns mainly, and "fathers" in their personal and group names, a FF when dead may be appealed to by his pers/n.

Between affines the most intense avoidances centre in HF and WiM but do not seem to go much beyond their generation. Whereas avoidances between the generations among agnates centre round the group names (Gr: 1/2), they centre on the pers/n among affines and this to such an extent, that the root is involved as well (H, HF, WiM). Nadel in Radcliffe-Brown (1950:352-5) speaks of the intensification of an attitude through sex contrast, in reviewing the attitudes of Ego towards F and FSi, M and MBr. Concerning a person's F and HF, M and WiM an intensification of the attitude of respect takes place also, but cannot be due to sex contrast. Here the relation becomes qualified by marriage to the affine's child.

10. The degree of consciousness
with which the system of names is handled is shown in the fact that there are recognized processes of rectifying a breach of name avoidances. Insistence on the proper usage is the method employed towards brides who have not yet adjusted to the avoidances of their in-laws. Educational correction, by way of warning, scolding and beating is used towards children and brides who are slow to learn. Compensation is demanded mainly from the bride's people for her lapses if these reveal truculence. The fact that fines may be claimed reveals that name usage has a jural aspect, i.e., it indicates obligations of the lower and responsibilities of the higher status concerned. Ritual cleansing of the offender is demanded mainly if the avoidance violated is that of a parent-in-law's name. This shows that breaches of name usage between affines have ritual significance.

One of the traditional misunderstandings concerning Hl restricts it to linguistic avoidances. Our Tables have shown that there are many avoidance actions. For each relationship in which they occur a brief introduction will give the background to the statuses linked. The listing of the avoidances will be accompanied by reference to Zulu explanations and comments. Finally, an analysis will attempt to prove that avoidance in action forms a system of communication which partly differs from, and partly resembles, language.

CHAPTER TWO: HLONIPHA OF ACTION

I. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

A. SOCIOLOGICAL SETTING

1. The sociological setting between F and Chn

The physiological link between F and Ch is of cultural significance mainly in cases of illegitimacy, when the progenitor is unknown or when he contests his responsibility in court. Generally speaking a Ch belongs to the pater (sociological father) who paid the bride-price for the child's M. If no bride-price was paid a Ch belongs to its MF's family.

The emotional bond between F and Ch is not very strong among the Zulu; the Ch grows up in its M's hut. However, a Ch shows feelings of respect, even fear towards its F. Strict obedience and the acceptance of the F's authority are expected of each Ch.

A F teaches his Sos all about animal husbandry. He instructs them in the proper conduct towards age-mates, women, chief and councillors. A craftsman introduces his Sos to the skills and secrets of his craft.

A girl is not taught directly by her F, but he shows considerable interest in her approximation to the ideal of a *iNtombazana imPela* (perfect girl).

A F is thus engaged with inculcating in his Chn the values of Zulu culture. He is also the disciplinarian who punishes the Chn for breaches of conduct norms.

In the economic sphere the F acts as entrepreneur of the family. He thus controls also his Chn's activities. His Chn's earnings should be surrendered to him unless they live apart. On the other hand a F is responsible for the bride-price for his eSo's first Wi. He should supply his married Da with a milch cow.

The F is the legal guardian of his Ch. He is responsible for the fines which his married Da incurs. The F's legal relations to his Sos are determined by the necessity of making arrangements for his succession and the distribution of the inheritance. The private belongings of the F are not inheritable. They are destroyed at his death or buried with him. Very valuable objects may, after a latent period, be passed on to his Sos but not without reconditioning, e.g., a spear is re-hafted.

Ritually the F is supreme. Only he may address the ancestors; he selects the sacrificial beast, he acts as family priest at a wedding and at the First Fruits. He is concerned with the rites of passage of his Chn. His personal name may not be uttered by his Wis or Chn in his life time, but is revived after his death to serve as a name to call him by.

2. The Relations between M and Chn

The excessive stress placed on the F's authority in the patrilineal system of the Zulu does not reduce the importance of the personal bond between M and Chn.

The emotional link between M and Ch is very intimate. It is based on close physical contact during the suckling period and the prolonged carrying of the infant by the M. The M is expected to be gentle and is loved.

Early intimacy is strengthened in the educational relationship between M and Ch. Furthermore, the M acts as go-between between Ch and F. The M trains her Das in domestic and agricultural duties. She prepares them for marriage, both in domestic skills and in the more recondite art of managing a husband. A woman gives marriage advice to her So even, and helps in selecting a partner for him.

Economically the M presides over the household of her hut, an establishment with its own grain pit, granaries, fields, beer and food kitchen, with defined claims to certain portions of a beast slaughtered, with cattle allocated for milking, etc. Within this unit the M is the dispenser of food. Her Chn are expected to help her in the production of crops and the preparation of food. The M's private property may not amount to much, but it is inheritable by Sos and Das mainly, the former getting any livestock, the latter pots, pans, medicines.

The Chn's position in succession, descent and inheritance is determined by their M's rank (Great House, Left House, etc.). For each Ch his link with the M's lineage is important, not

only for purposes of forbidden degrees, but also as a possible refuge, when friction within the agnatic lineage has arisen. A woman often presides over her married So's homestead, when he has left his F's establishment, and a chief's widow always holds a formidable position in the councils of her So, her H's successor.

The foregoing functions are focussed in the important r i t u a l f u n c t i o n s which a M performs for her Chn. She participates actively in the rites of passage of her Das but not at the wedding. She inculcates in Chn the mystical sanctions which support such a conduct system as that of *ukuHlonipha* and *ukuZila*.

When Holleman (1952: 63) says of the Shona that "the structural element is absent in the relationship between M and Ch" the same cannot be said of the corresponding Zulu relationship. The structural significance of the F's and the M's positions differ: a F's position secures the continuity of the lineage; the M's significance lies in the fact that she presides over a family segment. The solidarity of full siblings is well expressed in the phrase 'from the same womb'.

B. RESPECTFUL RESTRAINTS IN PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

1. Reserved Area

The position of the F is acknowledged in recognizing certain parts of hut and homestead as specifically his. Infants are prevented from entering the F's side of the hut or from sitting where he sleeps. The avoidance refers first of all to the F's Residence. In the M's family hut the Ch, according to some, may go anywhere, according to others it can enter on the male side only if sent on an errand but often on condition that it moves about on its knees. A Ch may, of course, be called to the male side by its F.

Chn may not approach their F or peep at him through the door of the hut whilst he is eating. They are excluded from the Great Hut when he is eating SM, but a F may call his Chn to finish off his left-overs.

Chn, especially Sos, may not touch or use their F's belongings, viz., his head-rest, stool, sleeping and sitting mats; his coat, goat-skin, head-ring; his weapons, knives and sticks. It is specially enjoined upon a Ch not to touch the F's eating utensils, such as spoons, (kept in a grass case *umGodlo*) *19*, plate and pots.

In strict families Chn may not eat with their M's spoon either, nor may a Ch use his F's eating mat or meat tray. All left-overs a Ch eats must first be placed in his own vessel.

Boys should not urinate where their F passes water above the homestead; they must frequent a place below the kraal (Bryant: 1949: 516).

Chn should not walk over their F's grave. At the Mbatha kraal GChn were allowed to do so, but (247) thought not even they should do it.

2. Sexual Restraints

Chn are warned against seeing their parents' nakedness (private parts). This is a Hl rather than a Za, since it seems to imply an incursion into the parents' privacy. The rule is extended to any adults. Exposure during bathing is considered a matter of course.

Adolescents may not approach members of the other sex with serious intentions without their parents' permission. Ndesheni Zulu: "When I dress for visiting a girl, I go behind the hut so that my F (Mnyayiza) will not see me (Hl), or I will be considered an impolite, ill-mannered son". In the past, youths did not use a love-philtre unless a bull had been killed for them by their F (Colenso: 1905: *um-Phanda-ze-wule)*.

Girls should not have a child while still living at their F's homestead and under his tutelage.

A Zulu may not have sex relations with or marry a classificatory F or M. Many informants subsume this under Za rather than Hl, since it is viewed as equivalent to incest or adultery.

3. Speech and Gestures

Hl avoidances are plentiful; violation of norms show disrespect.

In general Chn should not speak when they are with their parents in the same hut unless they are being addressed. They should not remain in a hut where the parents wish to discuss a serious matter, or hang about a hut in which adults are busy attending to affairs.

Shouting by Chn indoors is frowned upon. Chn should not be noisy; they must not call others across the homestead (139).

A Ch should not grumble, argue or pass remarks when given an order by its parents. For a child to urge its parents to do something which they dislike doing is considered disrespectful.

The use by the Chn of the F's (and M's) pers/n is countered by the threat of educational and mystical sanctions.

The use of vulgar speech, bad language, even useless chatter in the presence of the F, and also the M, is prohibited.

Gifts from the parents should be received by a Ch with both hands cupped *(ukuKhangeza)*. In shaking his parents' hands, the child should support his right arm with the left. The rule is extended to any adult.

Spitting in front of parents (and adults) is interdicted.

To strike the F, even in fun, is taken as a serious offence.

It is unbecoming to sit before one's parents in special postures, e.g., girls with legs apart.

A boy must avoid responding to his F's call with *we* or *ya;* he should use the polite form: *Yebo, Baba!*

Serious offences in expressive conduct are: to pass in front of F (van Warmelo: 1938: 16-8), to step over the F's legs, to pour water on one's F; "to stand over" F or M, to leap over him, throwing one's shadow over them. This latter action is aggravated if accompanied by a brooding silence which signifies to the Zulu evil intentions.

No So, even after his marriage, should approach his F directly in any serious business. He should use a go-between, preferably his M or FSi. This rule is especially important as regards marriage plans.

A grown-up So, living at his F's homestead, should not beat his Chn before his F. Nor should he punish his Wi in her F-in-l's presence.

Girls should not gaze at F, at adults in general, at persons in authority; they should lower their eyes.

Girls are specially warned against the use of bad language in parents' hearing.

Their tendency to giggle when talking with F, or old people, is deemed disrespectful.

Playing and fighting in the presence of the parents is objected to. Serious educational and magical threats are uttered concerning this failing.

4. Food

Food should never be taken by Chn without parental permission. At least the M's (or eSi's) consent should be obtained before commencing to eat. A dutiful So will not even ask his M when the food will be ready, since she knows the time of meals.

Chn show disrespect if they eat before, i.e., in advance of the F, or while he is having his meal. Chn's time is after him, and in M's hut.

A Ch should not drink before his F, i.e. he must not sip beer by stealth, when sent by his F to fetch a pot of beer. At a party a Da of the kraalhead takes the pot(s) from the beer kitchen to the F's residence. After removing the froth, she tastes the beer on her F's explicit instructions, before she offers the pot to him. Traditionally (Colenso; 1855:103) this is said to show that the liquor has no poisonous matter in it, but tasting is a ritual occurring at the slaughter of a beast and First Fruits without such an implication.

Hands and face must be washed before and after a meal (Hl). This action which is never forgotten, has the feel of being ritual rather than hygienic. The spoon must not be left standing upright in the porridge.

A So must not use a spoon when eating soup or SM, if his parents, especially his F, are present, even if the So be a greyhead. This is an important custom *(iSiko eliKhulu)* (Za/Hl). The eSo may have his own spoon and plate and may on no account use his F's plate or spoon (231).

Food left over by the F may not be eaten by the Chn, boys and girls, unless on his orders. In the case of left-over curds, special precautions, classed as Hl, must be taken. The SM must

be transferred from the F's pot into another dish, from which alone the Ch may eat it. He cannot use a spoon, "because the F already used a spoon on the SM". He must take the SM out of the vessel with one hand and take it to the mouth with the other. This rule applies in particular to the eSo, the future heir, even when he is full-grown. "SM must not be eaten by anyone in the F's presence", is a strict formulation of this Hl rule.

For a So to kill a beast without his F's consent is a sign of disrespect.

No Ch should approach the apse, when food is stored there, without an order from its parents.

(107):Chn normally eat food in their M's hut. They are also given food in other family huts of the homestead, except where the co-Wi concerned is selfish. There is no rule that food should not be given to a co-Wi's child, or avoided in a household not one's own. Rather the opposite!

To review the working of these manifold rules we shall briefly describe two special cases. (372): When a So enters his F's hut he does not sit on mat or stool but on the bare floor lest he is chased out of the homestead or fined a goat or cow as determined by his F. If a So sits on his F's mat in his F's Residence, he indicates that he could have relations with FWi *(ukuPhinga, ukuFeba)*. For he assumes both the F's authority over his Chn and his relation to his Wis. The offence would not be so great in the case of a stranger who belongs to the F's age-group.

Ndesheni Zulu (139): "I cannot sit on a mat which either my F or M uses. A dangerous thing might befall me. My M's menstrual blood is on these mats, even on my F's mat, since she sleeps with him on it."

The avoidances with regard to a M are, of course, far more lenient, especially with regard to food and eating utensils, but also concerning the reserved area (Chn may go anywhere in their M's hut), speech and gestures. (139): "In my F's presence, I may not sit like a girl, with legs turned sideways, but in his absence, and before my M, I may sit in any way I like."

A So Hl his F also in food production. If he kills a bird or game, he must take it to his F who distributes the portions. Of a bird the F eats the body and the herdboy gets the head. A So may not eat without having been given his share by his F. This rule applies (s c i l. in theory) to all edible things: If a girl reaps a crop or acquires any food, she must present it to her F through her M. Any So or Da not observing this rule acquires a bad reputation. A child observing this rule is called *isiLomo* (good, dutiful).

Magogo Zulu describes the Hl observed by the royal Chn thus:

As to the Reserved Area "the Ms told their Chn: Don't go near the king, don't stand in the vicinity of the king's residence. The Chn were shooed away by servants, or even thrashed for a violation. The royal Chn sometimes raided strawberry beds in the king's garden: they were punished not for stealing but for coming too near the king! They might also be thrashed for touching the king's clothes."

Concerning speech "the royal Chn were not allowed to stand before the king: this shows disrespect, and amounts to a reduction of his dignity. They had to bend or kneel. In the case of an adult standing over the king, it amounts to a magical weighing down *(ukwEleka, ukwEngama)*." Cyprian's So, about 3-4 years, knelt when reporting to one of his FSis. Gatsha Buthelezi's Da, 2 years of age, does much of the Hl of action perfectly. At Mbatha's kraal, a boy of about 8, being called by his F, knelt about 5 paces from him.

"In the king's house his Chn move about on their knees even in his absence." Magogo in doing the cooking, had to support herself on her knuckles; she bears the callouses to this day!

"Chn have to salute the king on first catching sight of him; girls and small boys with *Ndabezitha*, big boys with *Bayede*. They must express their loyalty, *ukuKhulekela*. Chn must lower their eyelids when the king addresses them."

With regard to food, the Princess said: "Any food left over by the king is eaten by his attendant(s). They must take the food out of the king's vessels (from which they may never eat) and put it into their own, from which alone they may eat, or pass it on to other courtiers, even the king's Chn, but never to the king's Wis or his seniors. A royal child that gets hold of the king's spoon would be beaten within an inch of his life!"

C. SANCTIONS

In Hl of action between Chn and parents, two types of sanctions can be distinguished (cf. Table I): *1. Educational sanctions* assume the form of comment that the non-observance of a particular avoidance is a breach of custom or of the proper respect due to a person of superordination (Speech:-Food:1). The violation of a number of restraint rules (RA:2-RA:3-Sp:5-Sp:11) is said to indicate the child's disrespect or bad manners or patent disobedience (Sp:11/13). This view is taken most severely with regard to the So's eating his F's SM without permission. This in Zulu eyes is tantamount to rebellion against the F's authority (Food: 7).

Educational measures proper fall, first of all, into the linguistic field: (a) appeals, recommendations, advice are supplemented by (b) scoldings, warnings, *20* specially recorded by me for RA:2/3, although they also occur for all the stricter rules; and (c) the use of adjectival verdicts such as 'unseemly, ill-mannered, disobedient, disrespectful, boastful, conceited'. The frequent use of these linguistic expressions ensures a certain amount of conformity.

In quite a number of cases corporal punishment is recorded. An informant was given a blow on the face by his GF when he approached his F at mealtime. Corporal punishment takes the form of a beating or whipping with a thong or sjambok (RA:1, 2, 3; Sp:5). Beating is a common punishment for the use of the F's utensils, and when a Ch accepts a gift from his seniors without cupping his hands.

Punishment for girls is less severe than that for boys, the fact that the F inflicts it may have something to do with this. Girls who talk too much or too loudly, or who use vulgar language may be driven temporarily out of sight of the offended parent, whereas boys may receive a beating. Indeed it is asserted that obscene talk from an adult son merely, not to mention eating SM with his F's spoon, may lead to his being 'done away with'. Educational punishments thus pass over into proto-legal punishments, viz., banishment and execution. The rule about the spoon is so critical that a So fears the F's spoon.

In a special position are the sanctions against illegitimate pregnancy. They consist partly in the social consequences for the girl: she falls into disgrace with her age-mates; she may be forced by her F to marry a H of low standing. Physical control reinforces the many linguistic checks (such as warnings by the M and GM mainly, but also by her age-mates). A M periodically inspects the hymen of a marriageable Da. There is a double legal sanction: the girl's F claims damages for seduction from the male culprit, and the chief may fine the F for allowing his Da to conceive in the parental homestead. There is also a ritual sanction. The girl concerned defiles her F's homestead and has to undergo a cleansing. Critical prohibitions are thus enforced by a multiplicity of sanctions ranging from educational v i a social and legal sanctions to magical ones.

2. Magical sanctions: Under magical (or mystical) sanctions belong irrational analogies e.g., "Your Chn will do like you" (Sp: 3), i.e., an offence will be imitated by the offender's Chn! Or it is said a Ch may not see his parents eat as they in turn may not see their ancestors eat the sacrificial meat. Magical elements are a characteristic of educational situations. Magical sanctions emerge in controlling the behaviour of small Chn; they are continued into adolescence where the most important power conflicts within a patrilineal family occur.

Banishment, threatened in a conditional curse and made binding in a ritual, is inflicted upon a So who steps over his F's legs. Magically originated sickness, the stunting of growth, the crippling of limbs threaten especially the RA:3 prohibitions, also Sp:15-16: You'll not grow tall, you will remain a Ch. For the action prohibited in Food:7 eating with F's spoon-the sanction is: your body and limbs will grow crooked. Rule Food:5 shows that the magical sequel is sometimes made to fit the offence by analogy. A Ch who leaves his spoon standing in the porridge will have his food stick undigested in the stomach. Noisiness drives ancestors away, because it displeases them. The Ch who eats with his F's spoon is carried off by a bird from overseas!

If the critical respect rules are broken the Ch is threatened with magical, automatic death. Uttering the F's pers/n shortens the Ch's life, and so will casting one's shadow over F or M. A death-causing violation is punished by death! The suddenness of death may be graphically foretold: You'll fall and break your neck! Death may also come to close kin of the offender. The death of F and M follows love-making without previous parental permission. The responsi-

bility thus imposed upon the Ch for the life and death of his parents reflects the closely integrated Zulu family.

Perhaps the strongest magical sanction is that a breach of certain critical norms reveals or makes public the evil intentions of the offender. Touching a F's belongings indicates the culprit's wish to have his F dead, so that he may step into his F's position. The avoidance rules are for this reason particularly stringent in the case of an eSo. The spoon is of particular symbolic significance, since it carries the F's intimate body dirt, viz., spittle. The intense emotional and magical associations of the spoon are revealed in the statement, that an eSo who eats SM with his F's spoon feels a shudder *(uValo)* come over him.

The interdict against urinating at the F's place is connected with the belief that such action gains magical ascendancy over him on the analogy of the urinating habits of dogs (cf. *ukuThonya, ukuMela, ukuQonela*). The prohibition is closely connected with the prohibition against "standing over" (Bryant: 1949: 516). When a child strikes its F, this is interpreted as the revelation of an intention to kill him.

3. *Ordinary, critical and supplementary avoidances*: It is also possible to review the rules, not as to the nature of their sanctions, but as to their intensity. We can distinguish ordinary, critical and supplementary avoidances and prohibitions.

Critical prohibitions refer to symbols of power: the F's eating utensils, especially the spoon, his sitting and sleeping mats and personal name (In:1). The severest interpretation is laid upon their violation. In themselves they may appear immaterial, since a violation does not directly or physically interfere with or injure their owner. But the implication of their violation is, as has been demonstrated, far-reaching. Such critical rules are often worked out in great detail, and they have, in addition, a multiplicity of sanctions attached to them ranging from physical punishment to legal sanctions and magical threats. We may conclude that where an object has become a symbol of status, sanctions multiply and great emphasis is laid on their magical nature. A breach is a challenge to the F's authority, and undermines the kinship system. A common argument is: If the eSo does not show respect as regards his F's mat or spoon he could do anything, he is capable of any prohibited act, there are no limits to what he could do! And one informant declares: If a So takes his F's calabash to eat SM from, this is equivalent to his sitting on his F's mat. If he eats left-overs with a spoon it would have the same meaning, s c i l. to assume F's sexual rights and authority over the family.

In addition to the critical avoidances there are many ordinary restraints. They are not characterized by elaboration of detail (etiquette), nor by magical sanctions. But the educational and semi-legal sanctions attached to them indicate that they are significant and that a Ch's conduct is judged by them as being essential for defining status.

Finally there are subsidiary or supplementary avoidances, often without specific sanctions. Their main function is to implement the avoidances of the symbolic and definitional type; they are variations on the theme of superordination and subordination. They are not acknowledged as of symbolic value, yet linguistically they are classed with Hl.

It should be remembered that the parents and the F in particular, retain the right to impose new, or modify existing avoidances, and that he may release his Chn from the observance of a restraint or cancel it altogether in his family. This may be done in a special rite or by a mere announcement. A F may give his Ch permission to eat his left-overs. In this power to maintain the sytem of avoidances or to modify it the F exercises his authority. The M, on the other hand, frequently is the enjoiner of the rules, the warner of punishments to come, and the inventor of magical sanctions. This is especially true with conduct rules in the case of small Chn. She is also the go-between between the Chn and their F, and her function as such becomes especially important at critical times, e.g., when a Ch is courting and when it has committed a conduct breach.

II. HLONIPHA BETWEEN BRS AND SIS: SIBLINGS

A. GENERAL

Brothers and sisters begin life as equals. No distinction is made between them as to age and sex. They play, eat, fight and sleep together. They undergo certain rituals, e.g., ear-piercing, jointly.

After the ear-piercing this equality disappears. The differentiation is anticipated in their names. It is accentuated in the division of labour. Small boys go to the pasture with the calves. The girls accompany their mothers to fetch water and fuel, to hoe and weed in the fields. The differentiation becomes reflected in play activities. Make-believe play of boys refers to cattle, hunting and war, that of girls to domestic matters: cooking, minding babies, making bead work. In these diverse ways the future of the children is foreshadowed. Boys will grow up with their interests focussed on the cattle property of the homestead, the pasture lands and hunting grounds. Girls will pass into other families as wives, where the domestic and gardening skills learned at home will come in useful. A son, within the agnatic kinship, will found a new lineage on marrying, and the richer in cattle he is, the more branches this lineage will have. A daughter can at most hope to establish a branch within her husband's lineage by giving birth to a son.

Within the children's group certain ranks are increasingly distinguished, apart from the sex difference. Half-siblings separate at meal time, for they find their food mainly in their M's hut. Eldest Br and eSi in each household or elementary family are placed above their siblings. The system of Houses, which distinguishes Great House from the Left House, and possibly Right *(iQadi)* and Ancestral House *(isiZinda)*, produces cleavages in the child population of a kraal at a comparatively early stage. The immense tensions which build up when daughters of the different houses are married off and before the homestead property is allotted to the Houses greatly diversify the social contacts among their members.

Siblings of the same sex have more regular contacts than siblings of opposite sex. An eBr teaches his yoBrs some of the work expected of them, and so does an eSi with her yoSi. However, identity of position does not imply identity of interests and is thus not a guarantee of similarity in emotional reactions or in behaviour and attitudes. In some respects Brs and Sis stand in a closer, emotionally warmer relationship than siblings of the same sex who in certain situations may be rivals.

Mutual consideration and assistance between Br and Si is described as falling under Hl. As infants, Br and Si often share the same sleeping mat; in childhood they eat and drink from the same vessels, and their commensality is retained even when marriage separates them spatially. In love matters a Si acts as her Br's confidante and go-between, but the reverse is not true. A Br should not see his Si's lover arrive, should not know about his approaches to her (Hl/Za). A boy who spies on his Si's affairs becomes a liar for life! A Si cooks for her Br; and he provides for her after their F's death. Their economic prospects are not alike: the Br will inherit estate, and acquire the bride-price paid for his Si; she can own private property only. But no ritual link exists among the Zulu between cattle-procuring Si and Wi-obtaining Br. After marriage the relations between a Br and Si are complicated by the relations between Si and her Br's Wis, and between Br and SiH and SiHWis.

Two customs which make marriage more stable utilize the basic equivalence of siblings of the same sex. Leviratic unions ensure the continued existence of nuclear families within the lineage after the death of the F/H, without radical modification in the status of M and Chn. The sororate ensures the replacement of a deceased Wi by her Si, likewise with slight change in behaviour attitudes, and none at all in kinship terms. Even when a F is replaced in the family structure by his heir, the changes in behaviour and in terminology are reduced by the fact that in many situations the eSo has been treated like the F even before his F's death.

(301), a chief, married 14 wives who live in three homesteads; of the 14 two have died and two deserted. He describes how Chn Hl the chief heir. If a yoBr kills a bird, he should present it to the firstborn. This is first called a sacrifice, when challenged, a gift *(ukumuPha)*. A junSo might even present a goat to the eSo in the family; it resembles the tribute *(ukuHlabisa)*

of a commoner to his chief. By it the first-born's authority is acknowledged. The goat is slaughtered and all the boys eat it. Chn of other huts may also pay respect (Hl) to the potential heir; they present him with birds, or a goat to *Hlabisa*, and he gives them gifts in return. If the prospective heir is inconsiderate, his half-siblings are not bound to observe any respect towards him. The F, for his part, shows his respect (Hl) towards the first-born by giving him a beast *(ngiyaKhulumela)*. It remains in the kraal, and calves from it are accumulated against the bride-price for the first-born. The first-born of a woman, who is likely to be appointed princWi, is expected to Hl more (i.e., to be more affable) than his Brs who have no chance of being considered. His potential status being higher, his respectful treatment of his Brs must show a corresponding intensity. Ms do not always treat their first-born preferentially. They take the side of the youngest, the *iThunjana:* he is the favourite of both F and M, especially if he behaves well. The F is more inclined to be fair and to help those of his Sos with bride-cattle and milch cows after marriage who help him with earned money.

When quarrels arise between Brs the mutual respect (Hl) is interrupted. One of them would say: "I shall no longer eat from the same vessel with you!" This is a measure of his jealousy or the extent of the offence given to him. Whoever is the guilty party, it is a case of *ukunga-Hloniphi* (violation of Hl resulting in avoiding commensality). The parents request the boys to eat again from the same vessel; they may even enforce it by beating them.

Sis undoubtedly Hl the first-born, because when their F dies, it is this Br who will take his place. They make mats for him, brew beer and prepare his SM with special care.

B. BROTHERS

(309) says he respects his eBrs. Whatever they tell him to do, he does. If they ask him for money, he gives it to them. When they tell him to buy tobacco, or to drive the cattle home, he does so. He cannot give orders to them. But he can report to them his worries and his wants and they will provide for him. For not only does he Hl them, they Hl him in return. If the Heir proposes to a girl, he reports it to his yoBrs in the expectation that they will contribute to the gifts, and after their F's death even to the bride-price. When the yoBr gets engaged, he likewise reports the matter to his eBrs. Mutual reporting of important family events is a matter of Hl among Brs. (452) makes it clear that the 'organic' segmentation of a family, the orderly devolution of its compact function in descending generations, falls also under the ideal of Hl (equity). The *iQadi* is the first-born So, irrespective of the status of his M. (If a girl is the first-born, she will be placed in the *iQadi's* hut.) The princWi, whose So is the *inKosana* (chief heir) and the woman presiding over the Left House, whose son is the *iKhohlo*, are both appointed. And so is the *umNawe* (substitute heir), who must not be taken from the same house as the *inKosana*. The *uYise-wa-Bantu* is the last-born son. He gets no cattle, no property, but acts as ritual cook for his Brs, as arbiter in quarrels between *inKosana* and *iKhohlo*, and he presides over the ancestral home when his eBrs move away. An *uYise* gets his special beer pot and meat tray. When the Brs visit at another kraal, the *inKosana* must share the beer which is placed before him with the *uYise* (Hl).

The relations between Brs after their F's death is controlled by the Hl ideal, i.e., the carrying out of traditional kinship obligations which reiterate an acknowledgment of their ranking within the lineage. (453) describes the rendering of certain meat portions between Brs of a large kraal. Five Houses emerge in it in the course of time: *inKosana* (Chief Heir) and his *umNawe* (the *umNawe wenKosana*, also *iQadi*, or Support House); *iKhohlo* and *umNawe weKhohlo*, and *uYise (isiZinda)*. (453)'s first statement gives an overall rule: The only way of Hl between the two main Houses is for each heir to take his apportioned cattle! Subsequent statements add modifications. It is the duty of the head of each Support House to render that meat portion to the Heir of the Main House which is his due, i.e., the unstabbed sirloin, while they as heads in their own kraals or kraal sections eat the stabbed sirloin. In return the heirs of the Main Houses send the heads of the Support Houses *(abaNawe)* the left foreleg as a matter of Hl. Neither the heads of Support Houses nor of the Ancestral kraal may slaughter for ancestors independently; they have to report to the heir of their Main House first and he will

pass the information to the heir of the other Main House. Unless such reporting has been carried out Brs will not attend the SAC. The person who addresses the ancestors is chosen according to ability, even the heirs of the Support Houses may be called upon; the verbal approach to forbears is not a privileged action nor reserved to the senior status. The meat presentations symbolize the kinship ranking between Brs and maintain mutual confidence between them. They are not restricted to Brs belonging to one House and its affiliated Support House. (452): "*uYise* gives the unstabbed sirloin to the Chief Heir and the ribs *(umHlubulo)* to the Left Heir. In return he receives from them a hindleg *(umLenze)*. When the Chief Heir slaughters he renders the ribs to the Left Heir." These Hl interchanges are observed in the contemporary, first descending and even second descending generations, but not beyond, because there would not be enough meat to do so. (Hoernlé in Schapera 1937: 83; Bryant 1949: 415-22).

Mutual consideration between Brs is also expected in the marriage negotiations and exchanges. They are never undertaken without reporting from Support Houses *(abaNawe)* to Main Houses *(inKosana, iKhohlo)* and the Ancestral House must report to the Great House.

The first marriage negotiations which Brs have to settle jointly are those about their Sis. Their disposal falls under the *Ethula* procedure. An *umNawe* has to pass on the bride-cattle he receives for his eSi to the heir of the corresponding Main House. By such action they show respect (Hl) towards their seniors and acknowledge their authority. The fifth heir, *uYise*, pays his *Ethula* dues to the Chief Heir, not to the Left Heir. The tribute cattle are only paid for an eDa. If there is only one Da in the subsidiary House not all the bride-price is passed on to the Main House, but it is divided so that 8 head go to the heir of the Main House and 3 head are kept by the girl's F, one being the *iNgquthu* beast. If the bride-price is 16 head, 10 go to the heir of the Main House, 6 are kept by the F.

Later negotiations will turn on Das of the various Houses. The first matter to be attended to is the proper approach of the go-between. If the girl in question is the Da of the heir of a Main House, the groom's go-between cannot approach him directly but must first see the heir's *umNawe*. It is this understudy who conducts the negotiations between go-between and Main House head. If the girl is Da of the head of a subsidiary house the go-between either negotiates with him directly or one of his yoBrs. If the *uYise's* Da is sought in marriage he refers the go-between to the Chief Heir of the Main House to negotiate on his behalf. The duplication of negotiators is an avoidance of direct contact (Hl).

The heir of a Main House is not obliged to share with the head of his subsidiary House any bride-price he receives for his Das; this also holds for *uYise* who has no subsidiary House. The heir of a Main House may assist his understudy in paying bride-price and in this case there is no refund expected. If the heir of the other Main house or *uYise* is helped the refund is expected and actionable. There is no obligation on the head of an inferior House to assist in the collection of bride-price for a superior House. The avoidance character of these arrangements under the Hl ideal comes out in the fact that bride-cattle obtained by superior Houses are not shared immediately but passed on to inferior Houses only when these require the cattle for the obtaining of Wis.

If Chief Heir's Son wants to marry he does not go directly to his F *(inKosana)* but to his F's *umNawe* (understudy), who tells the Chief Heir: "Your son is grown up." The *inKosana* then reports to *iKhohlo*, and then the *umNawe wenKosana* is appointed to act as go-between *(umKhongi)* at the girl's place. When negotiations have been concluded *inKosana* and *iKhohlo* come together at *uYise's* place and count out the cattle that have to be paid. The question is not how many each has to pay, since normally the *inKosana* pays all. It is the *umNawe* who sometimes has to contribute, because he belongs to the same house. If the So of *umNawe* wants to marry, he reports to *inKosana wenKosana* (eSo of Chief Heir), and he reports to the *umNawe* of the lover's F, who then reports the whole matter to his *inKosana*. The heir of *inKosana* is appointed go-between. With *iKhohlo* the same arrangements are followed. If *uYise's* So wants to marry, the *uYise* himself reports to the understudy of Chief Heir, and the heir of the Chief Heir or any other So of his is appointed go-between.

Removal of a Kraal

inKosana and *iKhohlo* are expected to leave the paternal kraal and set up their own. *uYise*

remains at the home kraal, where their F is buried, now called *esiZindeni* (ancestral kraal).

If *inKosana* wants to remove from the kraal he reports to *uYise*, then to *iKhohlo*. It is a mere report; there is no necessity to obtain their consent. When *inKosana* "comes out" for the first time from F's kraal *(isiZinda)*, he reports to *uYise*, a beast is killed, the ancestors are spoken to. He then leaves with his *umNawe* (understudy). The same holds in case of *iKhohlo's* departure with his *umNawe*. At first the linked Brs may set up a joint kraal, but when it gets big, the understudy leaves his senior Br's homestead.

If *uYise* wants to leave the *isiZinda*, he must report to *inKosana*, and he reports to *iKhohlo*. They have to give their consent, for *isiZinda* is their ancient kraal, where they meet, where their F is buried. If *uYise* moves without his Brs' consent, this is bad, a quarrel arises *(ukungaHloniphi, ukuGanga)*. *uYise* has no need to consult his Brs about the new site, but points it out to them; they accept it without formal approval.

Contact with Ancestors

The *inKosana* can address his dead fathers at his new kraal, as if they were there, although their graves are at *isiZinda*, since he slaughtered a beast before he removed, and informed them and told them to leave with him. Since then ancestors are at the old site and the new site, they proliferate with the lineage! It is just as if they had left with *inKosana*, but the *isiZinda* is still their home *(eKhaya)*. If *inKosana* fails to contact his ancestors at the new home, if there is no reply to him, he can take a beast to *isiZinda* after having told people there to brew beer, and slaughter it at *uYise's* place and the meat goes into the Great Hut of *uYise*. It is n o t possible for *uYise* to go to the new kraal of *inKosana* and slaughter there, if he is not being responded to at *isiZinda*, but he can ask *inKosana* to come to him, and speak to the ancestors at *isiZinda* to obtain a response. The *uYise* supplies his own beast and the *inKosana* argues with the ancestors on *uYise's* behalf.

If *iKhohlo* gets no response at his new site, he goes to *inKosana*, and asks him to speak to *uYise* so that a SAC can be made at *isiZinda*. According to Hl it is not possible for *iKhohlo* to SAC at *inKosana's* because ritually the two new kraals are no more the same kraal, *umuZi omuNye*, but the *isiZinda* is still their home k r a a l *(umuZi wakhona, kwanKosana)*, and may still be called after *inKosana*, for he still controls *uYise* there and continues its descent line.

A return to *isiZinda* (Father's kraal) for a SAC in case of failure at the new kraals is described as an old custom; (452) agrees that *inKosana* and *iKhohlo* go there to honour (Hl) the graves.

It is known, he adds, that if everybody at *isiZinda* dies, and there are cattle in the estate, they will be taken by *inKosana*. If *inKosana* and his *umNawe* die, their cattle go to *uYise*. (The temptation occurs for *inKosana* to kill *uYise* and vice versa so that they can inherit in the place of the dead. Strangers do kill each other but killings between Brs for the purpose of inheriting also happen. Even on the battle field, a Br may stab you from behind for cattle or to possess himself of your wife).

In the family council all the Brs of a conjoint family have to participate; the *inKosana* (heir) presides; he summarizes the discussions and arrives at the decision which incorporates the weightier arguments. Economically Brs assist one another in the collection of the bride-price for a BrSo and, after the death of F, for the bride-price of a Br. Ritually the presence of all Brs at a SAC is required; an absentee is viewed as harbouring evil intentions, of using nefarious means of witchcraft against his kin. All these obligations fall under the Hl ideal.

C. BROTHERS AND SISTERS

1. *The general Hl between Br and Si* is thus described by (254): A boy Hl's his Si by saying *Dadewethu* (k/t); she in turn uses *mNewethu* (k/t). We walk side by side, not like husband and wife behind each other. If my brother leaves me behind, I shout: *Musa ukungiKhwaya* (Don't leave me behind; wait!) In my Br's residence I can go to either side; I can touch anything as long as my Br is not married. When he gets married I no longer touch all things freely, unless I receive instructions from my Br. My BrWi is more restricted than I; she may not go to his side in the hut; with me as Si it matters little where I go. I may still handle my Br's SM cala-

bash; if necessary, I may take things out of the apse, and even touch his sleeping mat. In fact his bride would send me to the man's side to fetch things for her. This easy relationship changes when I get married myself. The new arrangements begin with my wedding. Till then I have been under orders from my F; now I shall work and live at my H's in a strange kraal. My Br has not become afraid of me, but he wants me to Hl him more than before! He would now give me orders as to what I might do in his hut when I am on a visit in my F's kraal.

My Br may go into the girls' Residence (in the home kraal) and touch anything on the women's side, with the exception of my sleeping mat (Hl). If he is in need of one, I shall weave one for him. While I could touch his calabash and grind mealies for him, he would never grind mealies for me. This is because a male never touches a grindstone. It has never been done, although it is no Za. I have, however, seen boys playfully pretending to be grinding mealies.

(In Mbatha's kraal the Sis showed us the beadwork belonging to their eBr's belt, head square, horns, etc. As no Si makes beadwork for her Br, they were showing the work done by their Br's betrothed.)

(309), Mphenduleni Jele, has 5 "mothers", 9 brothers, 16 sisters, his own mother having 4 daughters and him as only son. Of his Sis, two are married, two unmarried. "My Sis Hl me as follows: I tell them: clean my clothes. They wash and iron them without delay, without objections. Whenever I return from an outing, my Sis bring water for me to wash and food to my Residence. When I have finished eating, they remove the vessels and bring water for rinsing my mouth. They don't need reminding. When there is a wedding in the neighbourhood, and my Sis brew beer as a contribution, they also take a pot to my betrothed who drinks it with her Brs and their age-mates. (This only after the *ukuQoma)*. In this way my Sis Hl me, my betrothed and her Brs. My Sis make mats for me, both sitting and sleeping. But I wear beadwork made for me by my betrothed only. I build my Residence myself, but my Sis thatch it for me; this is a way of Hl'ing me. They also sweep and smear it; they kindle a fire in it, if necessary, and kindle the lamp (Hl). Here Hl means services expressing sisterliness".

A Br, in turn, Hl's his unmarried Sis in the following manner: It is his obligation to see that every Si has got something 'to cover her', i.e., shawl, blanket, dress. He must also give his Si something to eat, i.e., mealie meal, cowpeas, groundnuts, foods which must be bought. (Meat is not bought, it is given by the U from the stock he owns). A Br also gives pocket money to his Sis. When he brings home £ 5, £ 3 go to his Wi, and £ 1 each to his unmarried Sis. When his Sis become engaged he reports it to his Wi, and obtains her consent for a present. All this is 'natural law'. He would be doing all this to his M if she were alive. He does it to his Sis, because they represent his M. If a Si becomes illicitly pregnant, he is responsible for obtaining from the man concerned one beast for 'depreciation' of Si and £ 5 for cleansing the home *(ukuGeza umuZi)*. This however, is not really a Hl matter, but one of law: the wrong-doer must be punished and the ritual condition of the homestead restored.

Incest

The relationship between Brs and Sis is coloured by the possibility of incest. The prohibition of incest is, in Lowie's opinion, not a taboo, and Seagle subsumes incest rules under law. These authors concentrated their attention on the legal measures which in many cultures are taken against incestuous persons. As we have seen the character of the sanction is not a decisive criterion in distinguishing between prohibitions in law and taboos or avoidances. Many restraints have both legal and mystical sanctions attached. Among the Zulu some will classify incest under avoidances (Hl), even if it is only "to honour the law", others under abstentions (Za). All are agreed that incest is "a bad thing".

Zulu terminology is rather indistinct. *ukuPhinga*, which may be used in this connection, is more correctly applied to adultery. *ukuGanga* means to commit a disgraceful act. S:271 has *isiManga* for (a) incest and (b) eruption caused by it. Wanger (Collector: 172) lists under *isiManga* the partners whose sexual intercourse is classed as incest, viz., Br and Si, F and Da, So and M. But *isiManga* has a wider connotation, and (301) objects to the term since it means only unheard of happenings and proposes *amaNyala* which admittedly refers to both adultery and incest. *21*

The Zulu are clear about the motives of incest: "Nature does it, for nature is not told!" *(imVelo ayiTshelwa, imVelo iyazEnzela)*. The temptation comes through dreams. A boy

dreams of getting hold of his Si in a sexual way, as he does of other girls. A girl may, of course, also dream of her Br making advances to her. It is a very bad dream to dream, says (301), and a boy would not talk about it to his age-mates, as he would do if the girl he dreamt of was unrelated. His silence reveals that he has been conditioned to disregard his Si as a sex partner, and the fact that he does not confide any of his sex dreams to his parents indicates that he has been conditioned to not talking about such subjects to them, but only to his peers *(oNtanga bakhe)*.

(306) gives an account of the educational process which imprints the incest prohibition. He claims that he grew up in a large kraal with many Brs and Sis. I introduce the discussion by praising the Zulu on avoiding incest in their families. Mbuxu, a rather fierce-looking man: It is not wonderful; it is Zulu *umThetho*, a natural condition! I deny that the incest avoidance is 'natural' and declare it the result of the education given to Zulu children. Mbuxu: The Zulu know very well that they must not marry a sister; they are aware of their sisters; a violator of the prohibition was killed.

Who made Chn aware of incest? They are told; he 'sees' (rather recognizes) her; she 'sees' him; they grow up in the same attitude (s c i l. of considering each other unsuitable for marriage). A Br becomes aware of his Si by the time he (or she) understands when F and M begin to talk about their being Br and Si, i.e. when they are about 5-6 years. At first Brs and Sis sleep on the same mat, under the same blanket with their M. If a boy is followed by a girl in the order of birth, a special mat is made for him. A girl, who is followed by a girl, continues to sleep on her M's mat until she is grown up, i.e., has become an *inTombi*. When the boy matures, gets "broken" *(ukuThomba, ukuPhuka)*, he is sent to the boys' residence. (301) sums up the educational efforts of the parents: As a boy grows up he is told repeatedly, both by his F and his M, that he must not sleep with his Sis. They prevent such an event by separating boys and girls of a certain age, making them sleep in separate residences.

Not only the parents tell a boy, his peers do likewise. (307) has not heard that the ancestors teach children directly, but they tell each other in the age-group: It is not possible to marry a Si! and the girls in their peer group *(amaQhikiza)* tell one another: You can't marry a Br! To the warning by F and M is always added the threat: If you marry a Si, you will be killed! And the death threat is also uttered in the peer group: The ancestors will kill you! A boy will not doubt the truth of this statement, for he has seen the effect of the doings of the ancestors, examples of their intervention. He has been told repeatedly: If you do something that is prohibited, misfortune will befall you! There is, of course, also proof positive that ancestors bestow gifts and are responsible for good luck. E.g., when he looks for work, he slaughters a goat for them and calls on them *(ukuThetha, ukuBonga)* and he will get a job.

(306) explains that it is not difficult to explain how the prohibition not to marry, not to have intercourse with, a Si is transferred to half-Sis. They are just taught the same way. F and M keep on telling them. Half-Brs and half-Sis are placed together in their respective Residences. This tends to consolidate the expected attitude. In a similar manner the incest lesson is transferred to ortho-cousins and cross-cousins. The parents keep on telling them: You are Brs and Sis, you can't marry each other! *22*

The Zulu realize that there is more to it than specific educational measures. Their theory, that a mystical "feeling of the navel" warns them against incestuous relations, especially in situations where the nature of the kinship relation between a young man and woman is not known, is proof of this.

(301) and (307) consider plausible the following explanation for the incest prohibition: In a family full-siblings have a 100% resemblance; half-siblings at least 50%. In marriage temperamental, intellectual similarity does not make for attraction. Polarity of qualities is basic to sexual attraction: there must be physical differences and complementary mental qualities to form a basis for satisfactory married experiences. This would exclude from sexual interest persons who have grown up in close contact and with a basis of hereditary likeness and equal social environment. (307) is quite ready to make a comparison between ourselves and our wives: He is tall and fat and has a tall but slim Wi; I am tall and brunet and have a short and fair wife. There is great laughter at this. (307) admits the principle, but points out that marriage partners seem to acquire an essential resemblance. (At any rate contrasted selection would work through unconscious biological urges).

(307) agrees with the explanation that love competition within the family of procreation would tend to hinder its functioning as an economic unit. Within it the division of labour is mainly on a sexual basis and tends to keep Brs and Sis apart, but it also arranges for complementary labour in a common task, e.g., in the construction of a homestead. If love were allowed within the family, erotic competition between Brs for the favours of the Sis would interfere with division and complementation of labour and the family as an economic unit would be in jeopardy. The ancestors would punish siblings who through incest break up the order they have established (Malinowski theory: cf. Meyer Fortes in Firth, R. (ed.) 1957: 165-79).

A profounder explanation is this:

The incompatibility between the roles, or status, of Si and Wi is impressed on the Zulu youth by two striking iterative actions: (a) The Eating of SM: On this the following argument develops between me and (307): Br and Si eat SM from the same pot. H and Wi cannot eat from the same pot. Eating together SM every day, as Br and Si do, is like a daily announcement of their siblinghood, of their inability to marry each other. The continuous remonstration by educational inhibition might bore, annoy and provoke the opposite reaction, i.e., a craving for the forbidden fruit. The daily eating together from one pot is a daily reiteration of the prohibition but in positive terms (we can do this together) and associated with a pleasurable experience: the eating of the food the Zulu appreciates most highly.

Moreover, if the Wi were to eat from her H's pot, she thereby would assume in a flagrant and flaunting manner the behaviour which becomes a Si, but not her as Wi (she has other privileges which the Si has not). She thus reveals that she is either irresponsible, or mad, or harbouring evil intentions against her H. Her action is uncanny, indicates witchcraft or lunacy and justifies her H in regarding her no longer as his Wi. He will cease intercourse with her, and instigate divorce proceedings. The argument gives no explanation of incest but describes Zulu feelings. To inculcate the incompatibility between the roles of Si and Wi in this positive manner shows the deep educational insight of the Zulu.

(b) Asseveration by Si: The second iterative action is the taking of an oath by the eSi's name. (307): A Br "touches" on his Si's name: *Dadewethu*, because he will not marry her; he suggests by so doing: Take notice, I shall hit you! The implication is of course: Your doubt in my veracity is equivalent to suggesting that I might lie with my Si and this is so enormous a charge that I will kill you for it. The Si referred to is the *inKosazana*, the first born Da of the princWi, and every So of the homestead swears by her. The asseveration really refers to something unthinkable, in fact impossible. (307) adds: It is not natural, it disgraces the whole family.

The incompatibility of roles is also brought out in the following comparison. (307): There are four types of love a man can experience: Love of mother, love of sister, love of wife and love of daughter. How does a man know which is the most intense? A man loves his Wi most, and a Wi loves her H most. How does a man distinguish between them? If a man has dresses and blankets, he will give the best to his M (!) the second best to his Wi, and the third best to his Si. For she will be married, will live with her H, and she will not bury her Br!

In spite of educational measures, the "feeling of the navel" (which corresponds to our greater attraction between contrasted qualities), the need to preserve the harmony of family life by excluding erotic competition, and incompatibility between roles of wife and sister, cases of incest do occur. The instances reported show a range of sanction from legal to mystical and none at all.

To sum up: The incest prohibition is an avoidance (Hl) of the Si by her Br based on his respecting her specific role: (a) as his M's assistant in the household economy, and as her domestic servant; (b) as potential bringer of cattle, the bride-price, with whom he may eat SM together; (c) as a person who in sexual matters is reserved to a stranger, a fact her Br refers to in asseveration, and (d) a means of increasing the social contacts of his family. These features contrast in every detail with a Wi's role: (a) She works for her H (or So); (b) She does not eat SM with her H and cattle are not expected for her; (c) She is sexually reserved to her H, her pers/n is not used by him in asseverations; (d) A Wi functions as internal differentiating agent in her H's lineage.

The incest prohibition is more than a respectful avoidance, though, as becomes clear when we examine the instances which my informants recall. (301): Case One arose between half-

siblings. They slept together in secret; it came out when the girl became pregnant. They did not live in the same kraal. The boy would not part with the girl, although the kraalhead urged it. When the second Ch was on the way the F (kraalhead) took the matter to the chief. The chief ordered the "boy" to pay a fine of two beasts t o h i s F. This was paid. He then got more Chn by her until they had produced six Chn altogether. The Chn all became "fools", the woman was kicked to death by a horse. The man is still alive, nothing happened to him. Case Two concerns a young man who was intimate with his paternal niece (BrDa). When she got in the family way, she was asked by her M who was responsible and she pointed out her FBr. He was taken before the chief and fined two head of cattle and told "to feed" the Ch until it was 5 years old (£2 per month to pay). This fine stopped the affair. The young man was a Christian and trustworthy; he did not return to the woman. There was no mystical punishment, the Ch is normal. (307) also remembers two cases. Case Three resembles Case One: A young man "married" his half-Si. The people despised him for this *(ukwEnza iChilo)*. He was taken to court and imprisoned for a time, after the F had reported the matter to the police. The young man's M and his Sis were very sad when the incest became known. The young man had been taught well, but childish iniquity made him become thievish, incestuous, a wizard! It was the ancestral spirits *(amaDlozi)* which made the thing come to light. Case Four concerns a F who slept with his Da. It was a public disgrace, but nobody took him to the charge office. None of his Wis dared do it, for fear of falling into disgrace with their H! The girl's M might be expected to have courage enough, but in fact she seldom interferes (!) After some time the ancestors will show him that he is doing wrong. He will repent, kill a goat for them perhaps, or offer a beast in sacrifice. This will put the matter right.

These examples show that, although there is comment by the public, the public as such does not interfere, not to mention the Wis, whose interests are most damaged. In two cases the F took the case to court. The question arises, whether he did so because the public interest was injured, or because he held that his own position as tutelary over his Da had been interfered with. When he cedes tutelage rights to a H, the legally binding process of gift exchanges and cattle payment has gone before. In the case of seduction he has legal redress in claiming damages, or insisting on subsequent marriage between seducer and Da. When his own So is the seducer neither bride-price nor damages can be expected and the F suffers a loss of expected advantages from the in-laws without possible compensation. No legal process, no ritual purification could put the matter right. For legal processes deal with affairs between legal entities, which in Bantu law are families, lineages, as represented by their heads, but never their individual members. And ritual purification is helpful only where the family deities (ancestors) have been offended by members of another descent line. (The fines reported are European-imposed.) - The customary Zulu way out from the impasse is two-fold: (a) the F allegedly kills the offender with his own hand, or (b) he banishes the pair from the homestead, the site controlled by his ancestors. The incest prohibition thus stands apart; it participates in Hl and Za, and is not a merely legal rule in Zulu thought.

III. HLONIPHA RELATIONS BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE

A. INTRODUCTION

The relations between H and Wi show a complicated intertwining of personal and sociological factors. Their e m o t i o n a l links date back to the early stages of their love-making, the gradual break-down of the ritually justified holding-back behaviour of the girl, the extended process of choosing partners, the mutual love visits after the betrothal, the dramatic events of the wedding and the imposition of the bridal avoidances afterwards which make of the bride a retiring person when in other cultures she is in her happiest mood.

There is an e d u c a t i o n a l a s p e c t to the relations between H and Wi whose necessity is implied in the patrilocal nature of Zulu marriage and whose curriculum consists in adjusting the 'strange' bride to the language usage and customs observed at her in-laws.

E c o n o m i c a l l y H and Wi complement each other. A Wi runs her own household, but

its economy is restricted to agricultural pursuits and her household forms part of a system whose overall control lies in the H's hands. He is not only the entrepreneur but engages in a variety of activities, cattle breeding, crafts, hunting, council work, martial enterprises (in the past) which contribute to the economy.

In the l e g a l aspect, the H exercises tutelary powers over his Wi; his decision as regards the appointment of Houses has important consequences as to the rights and duties of the presiding Wis and of the Chn they have borne. Zulu law attempts to solve the tension created by the predominating patrilineal arrangements concerning succession and inheritance and the important position a Wi holds with reference to her Chn and in particular her Sos with whom she often establishes a new homestead.

In the r i t u a l and r e l i g i o u s s p h e r e, it is true to say that while most rites are performed by male officiants, and the beings worshipped in them are the agnatic forbears of the H, the Wis gradually make themselves indispensable as helpers in ritual. The daily communion of SM and the periodic SAC to the ancestors accentuate ritual life, and allow women some measure of participation.

The Wi's status as a ward is expressed in a great number of respectful restraints of action towards her husband.

B. RESERVED AREA

A Wi may not enter the 'male' side of her own hut or of her H's residence. A woman 'knows this by nature'. Some Zulu acknowledge that the rule is not as strictly observed as it is worded. A Wi has regularly to smear with cowdung the man's side of her own and her H's hut. She is called there for purposes of sexual congress. Women must keep away from the men's meeting place at the top of the homestead. If one approaches, she may be told: Be-gone! Others would call her 'mad'. The rule applies only when a meeting is in progress.

A woman must not touch her husband's belongings: (a) his tools, e.g., sticks and axes; (b) his furniture (headrest and stool), (c) his clothes (kaross, sleeping mat in particular, also penis box); (d) his eating utensils (spoon and plate).

The reasons given for this avoidance range from the lax view "nothing would happen" to the general statement: "It is Zulu law (umTh)" (105). Some assert: "A breach is impossible, it is unheard of". A woman is taught before her wedding by her own people and warned again by her H's people not to touch her H's things. The rule is usually put in the prohibitive: *Musa*... Do not! She is told that if she breaks this 'law', she will be scolded bv her H, he may beat her, she may be fined, i.e., her F must pay damages. There is a historical case of a chief's Wi who touched his kaross and was executed for this. Even today there are law cases about transgressions of this nature.

Reasonable care and tending of the H's belongings by a woman are expected and regulated. The H delegates one of his Wis to look after his things in his Residence and in the Great Hut. It is the unauthorised handling, accidental or with evil intent, which is interpreted as a sign of disrespect. Magically the cases fall into the pattern of attempts at obtaining the H's body dirt.

These avoidances are also observed by (377), a Princess, sister to Mnyayiza, but married to a commoner. She does not touch his mats, blankets, eating utensils. He does not Hl (avoid) hers since she is his Wi. If she used his possessions, she would get a scolding, it would be called disobedience. She may touch his things and clothes for cleaning and arranging them, but not use them. On the other hand her H may touch and use, even dispose of her possessions, the last with her consent.

Another item of respectful restraint is that a Wi cannot walk by the side of her H. This refers especially to the time when H and Wi go to the woods to cut and collect firewood, or when they visit neighbours having a beer drink. Some Zulu class this rule among good manners rather than respectful restraint (Hl). Others argue that a woman who is in a happy mood might walk beside her H.

Certain implications are revealed in a law case at Nongoma, January 1953. A young couple had been drinking at the HBr's homestead. When the H went home, the Wi remained. He later sent a Ch to call her. She returned at once and immediately went up to her H's hut. She found

him asleep and asked the Ch to wake him. He questioned her why she was late; she replied the Ch might have dallied on the way. He then beat her. The court found the H in the wrong, since custom does not allow H and Wi to go together to the village for shopping or to a beer party. My informants thought the court might have overlooked that the rule does not hold if the party is within the lineage. (152) denied that the exception is to prevent possible adultery which is more frequent within the lineage than without. The H would lose dignity *(isiThunzi)* if he went to carousals outside his lineage with his Wi.

A Wi must not touch the cattle of her H's homestead. She may not enter the pen in the first months (or years) of married life. She obtains grain from the pits and the cowdung for smearing through a juvenile go-between. The avoidance is ended by a r/r, but is reimposed when she menstruates. A Wi may not milk the cattle or do any work connected with them. The multiplicity of sanctions indicates that cattle form a neuralgic spot of Zulu social relations. The consequences are unfavourable comment in her H's homestead. If a young woman were to milk her H's cow, or even the milch cow apportioned to her, everybody would be startled, it would cause a sensation, because she does something that is not done. She would be called an *isAlakutshelwa* or *iHlongandlebe*, a person who is disobedient, who does not abide by rules. She may be characterized as mad *(uHlanya)*. If the offence is repeated the judgments become harsher. She is said to jump the law *(ukwEqa umThetho)*. Her H scolds, even beats her. Her co-Wis abuse her and suspect her of being a witch *(umThakathi)*. In the end her H claims damages, a beast, from the woman's F. The justification of the rule is sought by many informants in the existing sanctions. More discerning informants say the conforming to the prohibitions is a symbolic acknowledgment, i.e. respecting of her married status *(ukuHlonipha ukuGana)*. Some time after her wedding the woman is ritually released from the avoidance of the cattle-pen; the milking rule is not rigidly enforced in practice contrary to the fierceness with which the general statement is defended. If there are no Sos in the homestead Das do the milking and the herding without ado. In at least one case recorded in Natal, a woman milked her cow for her child's benefit, who was sick, but as a precaution she took the cow outside the kraal. Dr. S.G. Lee estimated that one third of the Zulu women actually milk cows without harm to the integrity of their personality!

On certain ritual occasions women handle their F's or H's cattle, e.g., when the bride-cattle leave the groom's home the betrothed touches them with a switch: when the sky has to be provoked to produce rain girls herd their F's cattle; when the defilement of an illegitimate pregnancy has to be removed girls kill a beast belonging to the guilty man's kraal.

C. SEXUAL RESTRAINTS

In the sexual sphere prohibitions classed as Hl are imposed upon a Wi:

A woman is confined to her own side of the hut. She may not sleep on the H's side unless invited there. Her coming across uninvited makes her appear sexually forward, a quality not consonant with the ideal of respectful restraint. On the other hand, she may not refuse an invitation, when it is made.

A Wi should not look at or touch her H's reproductive organs. Bryant (1949: 570), concurring that this is an avoidance (Hl), ascribes it to fear of the H's organs. "They should be revered!" Such an expression does not reflect Zulu ideas correctly. No sacredness of the organs is presumed. It is rather a question of indecency, or impropriety which is unbecoming to a Wi. A Nkandla H brought a divorce suit against his Wi for seizing his testicles to prevent intercourse.

A woman should not step over her H's legs. The action is avoided not only with her H but with any man. The rule is reciprocal, i.e., a man should not step over a woman's legs. The action would lead to a quarrel even between age-mates of the same sex. The implications of this avoidance class it with other actions capable of magical overpowering.

The avoidance of sexual congress in certain circumstances is part of respectful conduct although it may also be classed as taboo proper. No sex intercourse is possible with a woman in her menses, after the birth of her child until it can walk or is weaned or until a r/r has been performed. Some Zulu believe that intercourse should cease during the last stages of

pregnancy and couple this restriction with a magical sanction: The child would be killed. Such restraint is sometimes described as an action to Hl the child. It is a "law" taught before marriage and is known by young people even before the ritual teaching.

Even adultery (Callaway: 1866: 265, 352; Shooter: 86) is subsumed under the actions which should be avoided under the Hl ideal. The Zulu say: A H's ownership rights must be respected, e.g., (178): "A woman belongs to one man, because she has been obtained with his cattle." Chief Phumanyova: "Nobody can interfere with my property. I have suffered for it (by paying bride-price). My leviratic successor should also be made to suffer." A sanction is the H's right to kill the adulterous pair when caught in the act. In the past the tribal court ordered the execution of the pair. Today the man is liable to a heavy fine. The Wi is threatened with social sanctions: co-Wis despise an adulterous woman, they call her a loose woman, a whore. The H lowers the status of an adulterous Wi: a first Wi may be degraded to a subordinate rank, her position is given to another Wi, possibly a newcomer. A H may condemn his adulterous Wi to menial tasks, to work of drudgery. The relationship between the two families linked by the marriage is in jeopardy: the Wi at fault is sent home and will be in disgrace at her F's home. The bride-price may be claimed back. The woman's guilt is considered to be less serious than the man's. Since the act is committed in secret, its prevention requires magical protective devices. In consequence Wis are so treated that they will transmit a disease to a paramour without being affected themselves. Whereas the sanctions against a Wi committing adultery are mainly social and semi-legal, those threatening the adulterer (who is the elusive partner) are pre-eminently magical, although legal measures are not excluded.

A young Wi who has given birth to a child does not sleep with her H nor eat SM. She walks behind the huts and does not shave her hair. If an u n s h a v e n woman walks between the ring of huts and pen this is interpreted as a wish on her part to have sexual intercourse, "which is something bad". At this time, the woman is "dirty", she has not yet been cleansed and it is "out of order" for her to want sex relations (372).

D. SPEECH RESTRAINTS

A married woman expresses her respect for her husband by speech avoidances. A woman may not use her H's pers/n. The rule is extended to apply to the root as well.

Two types of sanctions are mentioned: semi-legal and magical. The offending woman is sent to her F to obtain damages (a beast) to reconcile her to her H. The beast is called a fine, and is said to show that she feels sorry. From the magical point of view the beast is described as compensation for the child in her womb which a woman who violates the name avoidance is supposed to have killed. Since she angers the H's ancestors by her behaviour, her child will be stillborn. It is the ancestors of the H who bestow life; life is given within the agnatic group only.

The respectful Wi does not answer back when her H scolds her. She does not try to have the last word with him. It is particularly resented when a Wi shouts in her H's homestead, even if it is to call her Chn to a meal. Violations of these rules are considered signs of disobedience; she may be called mad; the ancestors of her H get angry and bring trouble on the woman's offspring. Some informants state that this rule is a refinement not known in all homesteads. But there is agreement that the privilege of shouting in a homestead belongs to its head. (125): "Wis never call out to their Hs; they would send a Ch to call him; Hs, on the other hand, shout for their Wis, even from a distance."

When a woman has a request or complaint to make she should not approach her H directly, especially if he is the kraalhead. She should use a go-between, in particular the HM. This restriction applies to young Wis mainly. For women who have had children the rule is relaxed. A Wi may not gaze into her H's eyes when he speaks to her. Her H may scold, even beat her for a violation, and she is called 'a breaker of good custom' or even a 'mad woman'.

A woman may not stand in the presence of her H, especially if he is of royal rank. She should kneel or move about on her knees. Owen (p. 89) and Gardiner (p. 203) report the respectful genuflexion of dozens of Dingane's Wis in the king's presence. No sexual implications can be traced; the action is a symbolic expression of subordinate status. In Chief Gatsha's home even today servants and also subject visitors move about on their knees. *22A*

As a Wi may not step over her H's legs, so she may not step over his sticks. Her thoughtlessness would bring misfortune *(iziNgozi)* on him: he becomes a habitual faller (epileptic?) and liable to receive wounds with these very sticks.

A Wi who respects her H and his ancestors does not wash herself within his homestead. "She cannot strip herself in her HF's kraal" (Magogo). Women wash themselves outside the homestead in a river or pool. The magical property of the body-dirt of women - menstrual blood - or more likely that of strangers, i.e., affines, may be involved, since Das may wash in their F's kraals and Ms in their Sos' kraals. Less likely the magical significance of water is involved, the belief that fertility, i.e., pregnancy rises out of 'the waters'. Or the rule is just a sociological method of imposing contrasted conduct on opposite sex groups or clans. For instance, Isaacs (I, 139) relates that he met Zihlandhlo, chief of the eMbo (Mkhize?) washing his feet inside a homestead, an action which is prohibited to all genuine Zulu. Modern practice no longer bears out this rule.

A Wi may not punish a child, not even her own, in her H's homestead. According to (110) a fine up to 10/- may be imposed on her. Law cases concerning this are on record.

E. FOOD RESTRICTIONS

Food regulations classed under Hl may be arranged under two headings: production rules and consumption rules.

The sexual division of labour is considered by some, not all, Zulu to be part of the respectful conduct ideal. Even where objections are raised to this wholesale incorporation it is admitted that prohibitions against certain kinds of work, e.g., that with cattle, may be heavily charged with magical sanctions. There also seems general agreement that the observance by a woman of the totality of labour arrangements is an expression of respectful restraint, if not towards the H as such, then to custom in general.

No woman should wantonly or defiantly do work reserved for men, especially her H. She must not herd or milk cattle; she must never touch the milk pails even for the purpose of washing them. She may not slaughter a beast, nor skin the dead animal nor cook beef.

Those informants who accept the subsuming of labour division rules under Hl restraints feel supported in their view by the fact that a woman past child-bearing helps the men to cook even sacrificial meat. Hunters allow their Wis to cook game, because - unlike cattle - it has no associations with the social structure and social processes (such as marriage, ancestor worship). The prohibition against working with cattle is nowadays extended to ploughing with cattle. Women are thus restricted to working the ground with hoes and to the growing of vegetables and the weeding and harvesting of the grain fields.

Men, on the other hand, should not do women's work in home or kitchen, e.g. hoe fields or cook vegetables. But exceptions occur. Dingiswayo, as a fugitive, served an old woman, fetching firewood and doing domestic chores for her. King Dingane plied the hoes in the fields to set an example to his subjects (Fynn).

A woman is not expected to clear bush when a field is laid out. She does not cut the poles for hut or fence, nor does she set up the framework of a hut. It is her work to see to the thatching. She does not carve wooden objects or make baskets or metal objects. She never carries arms or takes part in fighting. Any woman doing these things is said to be breaking custom and may be accused of disrespectful conduct.

A number of *food avoidances* characterize a Wi's life. She must not eat eland, pork, reed-buck, meat from the head or tail of a beast, sweetbread or liver. The eating of eland makes a woman barren or causes her to have a monster child. It impairs her H's power of procreation permanently and is thus established as a Hl avoidance. The eating of reedbuck makes a woman have children with blue eyes (reminiscent of ancestors or spirits perhaps); meat from the tail of a beast turns a woman into a loose character; that of the liver makes her forgetful. The tail of game animals is 'the sign' of the hunter and cannot and will not be eaten by their Wis.

Informants disagree as to whether these prohibitions are general or apply to the period of pregnancy. Contemporary informants may be excused doubts on this point, but uncertainty

existed also in the past. Colenso (1855: 110) mentions that on his visit to Chief Phakade's in 1850, some of Phakade's 'young girls' came and sat down before the Europeans. Shepstone offered one of them a piece of meat which she received in her fingers very pleasantly, but immediately gave it away to another. She was a chief's daughter and never ate the inside of a sheep. "Plain Woman" (p. 147) reports that her driver shot a gnu (wildebeeste) and called the women of the kraal where Miss Barter had outspanned to fetch it. They carried the meat home without objecting. Baumann (1950) makes it plausible that the avoidance of the tail is associated with a belief that the magical power of game is located in the extremities. (The Pietermaritzburg Archives give documentary proof that tails were cut off for magical reasons.)

A Wi may not slaughter a beast during her H's absence, nor may she then eat any meat at all, except a remainder already in her hut when her H leaves. If during his absence a gift of meat from a lineage member arrives it must be taken to the other homestead where the H has gone. These rules form part of respectful restraint.

At mealtime a Wi does not eat in the same place as her H, nor at the same time. She must, however, be present when he is consuming the meal prepared by her, even at a late hour.

The rule that a woman should not eat food left over by her H is enforced by severe magical threats. She will have difficulty in labour and pass faeces during delivery. Some informants state that this rule applies to the royal household only, others maintain it is generally observed. "A woman knows it from her own home". Like most rules it is stated in absolute terms, but exceptions occur. A H may permit or instruct his Wi to eat his food remnant. Usually leftovers are given to the Chn who as agnates are in more intimate relationship to him than his Wi, who is an affine.

A woman is told not to take snuff in front of a man, especially her H. She would be lacking in respect if she did.

The distribution of meat is not a simple economic transaction unaffected by mystical notions. This is revealed in the following report of the Department of Nutrition, Health Centre Polela, Natal (Cf. Fynn: 287ff):

H e a d: is entirely for the men of standing. Out of 50 men, 48 said they eat the head because they are the kraal heads. Two old men said the strength of the lion and leopard is in the head!

R i g h t f r o n t l e g *(uFuphi)* and part of the neck go to men and to young men, who are near to being kraalheads themselves.

H i p s *(amaGuma):* Old men, chief, sons-in-law.

F l a n k: Women.

R i g h t h i n d l e g (upper part: rump): Women. The marrow of these bones goes to the women of child-bearing age.

L u n g s a n d h e a r t go to boys *(abaFana)*. These parts stimulate the boys to herd well. A woman must not eat the heart, it will cause obstruction in labour.

L i v e r: Kraal head eats this, but he may give a portion to his Wi. The small lobe of the liver is eaten by an old woman. If it is eaten by a young man or woman, they will 'miss luck' or it will make them forgetful.

S p l e e n goes to the women.

O f f a l goes to anyone.

L e f t f o r e l e g goes to any visitors.

S t e r n u m (b r i s k e t) goes to the girls.

R i b Meat *(izoNyama):* a commoner sends it to his chief on pain of losing his herd or his life.

In all conduct regulations concerning the production and consumption of goods a woman is under the supervision of her husband. He alone judges whether she acts in the true Hl spirit. The H's authority derives ultimately from Nkulunkulu, the great or first ancestor. So says Bleek's informant: "The Great-great-great-one said: The husbands shall beat their Wis that sin, a woman that is not righteous", *(Wa-thi uNkulunkulu: amaDoda aShaye abaFazi abOnayo, umFazi ongaLungileyo)*. The editor, Professor Engelbrecht, soberly translates the latter phrase: "the Wife who does not tidy up things, or put things in order!"

IV. THE AVOIDANCE CUSTOMS AMONG IN-LAWS

A. DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

1. *Introduction*

A bride's position in her husband's homestead is precarious.
E m o t i o n a l l y she experiences a change-over from unrestrained girlhood in her F's homestead to the severe restrictions in the homestead of comparative strangers. "A yoWi has to accept all her H's restraint customs. At her own F's home she could go into every hut; she could even enter her F's Residence when sent or called there, although she would not stay there for long, since she was somewhat afraid of her F. No objection was raised to her going into the Great Hut. She went into any of the family huts of her M's co-Wis; she was used to enter her Brs' Residence, which she kept clean and smeared with cowdung; it was her duty to clean it regularly. She could go into any kitchen hut to help in brewing beer, cooking food or any other work of women. She would go to the kitchen and granary of a co-Wi, friendly to her M, and grind and cook there. But she was afraid of going to co-Wis with whom her M was not on good terms. She was free at her F's homestead. If she did wrong she was only beaten."

"The situation at her H's homestead is quite different. She now works and stays in her own hut (if any). She can visit the hut of her M-in-l only, where her H has been born; and entry to it is possible only after her H has paid a beast to his Wis and given 2/- each in addition. Visits to his other Wis' huts depend entirely on their good-will and friendliness. At her home she could use vulgar language and swear, it was possible for her to say: *umSunu-kaNyoko*. This is impossible at H's place; she would be fined at once. One of her co-Wis once swore at her H, she had difficulty in childbirth after this, and a beast had to be brought from her family to cleanse the homestead." (144)

A bride thus enters an arena of love and jealousy, affection and competition. A pronounced ambivalence between her demureness towards and her suspicions of her affines replaces the easy situation at her F's home.

E d u c a t i o n: A young woman has to submit to a change of standards in good manners, to learn the duties and rights of her new status, the values and ideals of her affines. This transition is not expected to be made without a formal process of teaching *(ukuLaya)*.

E c o n o m i c s: The bride represents the accession of an economic asset to her H's kraal. She joins the H's establishment after a complex exchange of prestations between the two families and the exchanges continue after the wedding. Her arrival makes possible the establishment of a new household in the kraal's economy. Fields, manpower, cattle are apportioned to the new household: granary, grain pit, kitchen, beer kitchen are set up for it in the course of time. The strength of the new household will depend on the number and sex of the Chn she will bear. Girls mean accession of cattle but the loss of workers; boys mean prestige, possibilities of alliances but loss of cattle.

K i n s h i p: From the beginning the importance of the Wi as producer of offspring for the H's lineage is kept in view. She is expected to strengthen it numerically and differentiate it sociologically. Behaviour norms between bride and in-laws, her H and co-Wis and the Chn of the kraal show that exogamy, the ingrafting of a strange element in the closely knit agnatic unit, is a sociological experiment whose conditions society strictly controls.

R i t u a l: The jural insignificance of the bride is compensated for by her ritual isolation during menstruation and childbirth and later widowhood. Her exclusion from agnatic rites makes her magically significant.

2. *The Bride and her HF*

Already Bleek (1860: 35) noted the contrast between the colourful and elaborate dress of a newly married woman and her bashfulness. "A yoWi hides herself almost entirely before strangers and is obliged to go out of the hut when such enter. She covers her face when speaking with her eBr (sic) and her So-in-l (!)."

a. Reserved Area

We can give more details about the bride's Reserved Area. A recently married woman must

not be where her HF is! If she meets her HF by chance she goes inside a hut or steps aside at a considerable distance. She must also hide her face. A bride avoids looking at her HF, nor does she gaze into his eyes when he addresses her. At first she wears a fringe of bead tassels over her eyes or a head band *(imVakazi)*, or she covers her face with a towel, when she sees her HF. She cannot have her breasts exposed in his presence, so the towel is made to cover her shoulders as well *(ukuGubuzela:* Wanger; DV do not note the term in this ritual sense). These avoidances are observed until the bride is ritually released from them *(ukwAmbula:* Owen: 94; Krige: 30; Bryant: 1949: 221). If the HF is dead, the yoWi may not come close to his

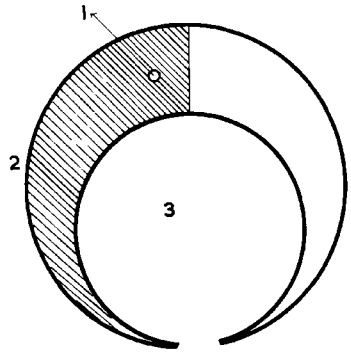


Fig. 1

grave but makes a wide detour. (347): "My So's bride cannot walk in that section of the homestead where my hut is situated (cf. Figure 1 shaded half). She cannot enter my residence (1), nor walk past in front of it (2)." She must move behind the huts, a rule which a number of informants assert holds during the HF's lifetime. A bride may not enter the pen (3). This is also a F-in-l avoidance, since "the bride observes it out of fear of his anger". The pen is, of course, also the place of the cattle, the property of the ancestors. A bride must not approach the apse of any hut until a goat is slaughtered to release her from this Hl. Till then she cannot handle any food vessels, especially SM calabashes. A young woman does not touch her HF's belongings, in particular his eating utensils, SM calabash, pots, spoons, plate, sleeping mat and headrest. Her H, HBrs, HF and HFBrs sit on one side in the huts, all other family members, including herself among the Wis, sit on the other.

The spheres of action of HF and Da-in-l are thus separated as if by an invisible barrier. Similar rules isolate her from other senior agnatic relatives of her H, the HFBrs, and HeBrs, and at first also from HM and HFWis. The HF avoidance rules are not merely negative restraints. The HF controls his SoWi also in a positive manner. She may not leave the homestead without his permission, so that he has full control over her movements. Indeed the Zulu describe the HF avoidances of a bride as the strictest restraints in existence. The spatial expanse of a kraal is divided for a bride into accessible and inaccesssible areas.

b. Sexual Restraints

The general rule is straightforward: a young woman must not have sexual intercourse with any of her H's agnatic kinsmen, hence the supplementary rule: in-laws of opposite sex cannot sleep in one and the same hut. (130) mentions as sanction that she would be killed by the chief's order, for having done 'something unusual'. Informants are agreed that the rule is observed concerning the HF, but admit that intercourse between a woman and her HBrs is not uncommon. A very old woman said with a sigh: "It is not allowed, but it is done." Virilocal marriage offers opportunities for illicit relations without the check which exists in non-agnatic adultery of establishing paternity by physically distinct signs. The solidarity between Brs in kinship matters, economic affairs and ritual events, moreover, frequently leads to attempts between Brs to settle adultery cases between them out of court as it were. In a case at Nkandla the chief concerned objected to such private settlement since "cases of adultery lead to bloodshed". While the tendency is to connive at cases between a man and his Br(s), public opinion is obviously disturbed when the HF is involved.

c. Speech

The bride's respectful conduct towards her F-in-l is clearly defined in speech avoidance. She must not talk with her HF at all is the first generalized statement made. To communicate with him, she should use a go-between, either her HM or a child. When after a r/r she is allowed to speak with her HF, she must take care not to approach him too closely, nor to speak aloud in his presence. Normally, when a person is called, he responds with *We*, but a newly married woman remains mute, indicating by her attitude and attention that she is listening. She avoids any talk that may be considered disrespectful. Such submissiveness is extended to all in-laws: she may not joke with any of them except her HSis, her Sis-in-l. If she violates the rule she is fined a goat (130).

A bride does not use the pers/n of her H's male agnatic kinsmen and avoids the roots of their names. The rule is not only observed with regard to HF, HFBrs, HBrs but extends to HM, HFWis and HeSi as well. The sanction is compensatory: a goat. When women use substitute words for the names of any of their in-laws, they declare this to be a case of *uBaba*, of honouring their HF.

Among the actions avoided by a yoWi are swearing at people and using vulgar language in her H's homestead. She may not use the names of her affines in asseveration, but continues to use her F's or Br's pers/ns, and other names of her patriliny.

It is considered most reprehensible for a yoWi to point her finger at an in-law. It reveals callous disregard of her position among her affines; she is fined a goat. No yoWi may stand in the presence of older members of her H's family. She goes down on her knees when entering her HF's hut. A woman may not eat standing. The violation angers her HF and the H's ancestors. (374) admits: Nothing happens, there is no punishment for it. But it is a thoroughly bad action. Munching food outside in the yard is viewed in the same light: *umLobokazi kaDli emZini kaNinazala* (Bryant: 1949: 221).

d. Food/Work

With regard to the production and consumption of food, a bride's avoidances are sanctioned by reference to her in-laws and her HF in particular. The bride may not carry firewood and water across her H's homestead. The Chn of the home, even the HM, do it for her. When a bride fetches water 'the pot goes out first', i.e., a small girl takes it out for her to the gate. There the bride picks it up and deposits it full at the same spot, where the small carrier takes it over again. The same is done with firewood. A bride who breaks this rule is said to be a 'fool' for she is expected to know custom. At this stage she does not cook yet nor touch ash. A bride cannot yet handle beer. She does not go near the place where the men of the homestead cook meat. She does not work in the fields, where her HF is buried, nor does she eat the crops of such fields.

A yoWi does not eat food in the presence of her in-laws until she is ritually released (Krige: 30). Informants are definite that this is a Hl custom, but cannot suggest what happens if it is violated. It is never broken, they say, for girls are taught this by their Ms at home. (347) adds: "A bride may not see me - her HF - eat. If she enters my hut while I am eating, I stop chewing. When she notices this she withdraws. If she is aware that I am eating in a hut, it is respectful for her (Hl) not to walk past its door." No bride eats the food left over by her HF.

A yoWi avoids the meat of her H's homestead. This avoidance is removed at the earliest opportunity. The rule against a bride working with cattle is more elaborate and tenacious, but exceptions are allowed right from the beginning; she may for instance, take the calves to their special pen immediately after her wedding, if there are no boys available. A young Wi may not eat the SM of her H (=HF)'s homestead. This is the most characteristic avoidance of a bride.

The avoidance of meat, cattle and milk may be interconnected. Various Zulu explanations suggest this. (372) says: "When a bride avoids (Hl) her H's SM, pen and calabashes, she respects (Hl) the whole homestead including inmates and ancestors through these objects. She must avoid the cattle for they have been received from the ancestors, the H's ancestors." (413) is asked why a bride cannot eat SM at her H's. A bride hearing this laughs, and (413) hesitates with his answer. Q: Would there be any indications to show if she ate SM in secret? Ans.: Yes, an illness caused by the ancestors would occur. The residents will go to the diviner, who

reveals that it is caused by the ancestors. As soon as this diagnosis has been made, the patient recovers. No sacrifice is necessary, nor is a confession by the bride called for - she would feel too ashamed *(amaHloni)* to make it; the diagnosis suffices. Her H might scold her, for she broke the avoidance. A diviner never makes a wrong guess, for if the woman had not eaten SM, no sickness would have come. In (413)'s opinion nothing happens to the cattle themselves if the bride ate SM. (347) at first did not see any connection between the avoidance by a son of his F's SM spoon and a yoWi's avoidance of her H's SM. But when I explained that the So may not handle his F's SM spoon because it is a symbol of his authority over the son and indeed the whole family, he agreed that a yoWi might not be allowed to eat the home's SM, since she has not been authorized to do so by her H or HF.

It should be noted that the avoidance is extended from the object (SM) to a symbol (spoon) and elaborated in the process.

The same informant discussed with me the notion underlying the avoidance rule which prevents Da-in-l and F-in-l from eating in each other's presence. If the HF enters a hut where the yoWi is eating, she spits out some of her food (Hl) and he withdraws. The obvious reason for her action is that she has not yet been released from the restriction. She is as yet a stranger. But there is a deeper meaning of 'to eat' which is involved. When the king ordered the killing of a wizard and the confiscation of his cattle, the procedure was called 'eating up'. 'To eat' in these circumstances means to exercise authority *(amAndla)*. When a H lies with his Wi he exercises his conjugal authority, and people talking vulgarly would say: *uDla uMkakhe* (he 'eats' his Wi). (347) now volunteers, that when a youth obtains the consent of a girl to sleep with her, although she is not his accepted sweetheart, the phrase is: *iNsizwa iDla iNtombazana,* (the boy 'eats' the girl). When the WiF uses up the bride-price he is said 'to eat' it, and similarly the 'utilization' of a woman as sex partner might be called 'eating' her. 'Eating' and 'having sex relations' overlap thus in meaning. However, Studerus points out that *ukuDla* has a third meaning, viz. 'to enjoy'.

The avoidance pattern between Da-in-l and F-in-l is by no means without loopholes. The Biyela Wis, whose elaborate etiquette has been noted repeatedly, confessed that they are so curious to see what their F-in-l is like and does, that they peep at him through a doorway when they get a chance. And they are convinced that he in turn peeps at them from behind a hiding place.

The bride's avoidances, in so far as they refer to her H's authority are removed one by one. Her classification as stranger is being abandoned gradually. If any avoidances are retained they concern her relationship to the HF.

3. Da-in-l Avoidances towards M-in-l

a. Reserved Area

The bride wears a cloth *(inCayi)* over her breasts. Her H bought it for her before the wedding. She puts it on after the wedding for at least two months and at most a year to Hl her HM in particular. It is the HM who tells the bride to take it off: there is no r/r for it. (The forehead fringe is worn to Hl everyone in the homestead including the HF as representative of his agnatic kinsmen.) At first the bride does not go into the HM's hut but lives in a kitchen. When she meets her M-in-l out of doors, she turns and runs away. The HM's permission to enter the hut is sometimes long delayed. A beast is slaughtered, beer made, a feast held (this seems to be wishful thinking). The HF gives it! It is eaten in the HM's hut by the women, while men eat in the U's residence (377).

b. Speech

When the bride speaks with her HM, she has to look down. She addresses her as *Mame.* If her husband's mother is of royal descent, she has to say Zulu (royal clan/n) and use other courtesy/ns, like Ndabezitha, Mageba, etc. The bride does not avoid the root of her HM's pers/n, but must not use her pers/n (Hl). The HM in turn addresses the bride, her Da-in-l, as *Makoti* or *mLobokazi,* and avoids her pers/n. If she uses it, the Da-in-l might report it to her H: "I won't Hl your M any longer, since she doesn't Hl me!" When at last a young woman wishes to obtain permission to speak to her royal HM, she says: *Bengikhuluma nawe, Zulu* (I was speaking with you, Zulu). *23*

When called a commoner's bride answers *We!*, but a royal HM expects to be responded to with Gr:2 and Gr:3 (377).

c. Food

A Da-in-l respects (Hl) her M-in-l by cooking food for her and serving it to her. When it is ready it is taken by a child acting as go-between to her HM (Hl). The materials for cooking are given to the Da-in-l by HM. Where a Da-in-l serves the food herself, she must also bring water with which the HM washes face and hands before eating. A Da-in-l may cook in her HM's kitchen soon after the wedding. If the yoWi is good-natured she may do so for a long time. If inclined to be self-assertive, she will tell her H: "Your M is giving me trouble". He then takes up the matter and builds her a kitchen. (413): "When the bride enters a hut in which her HM is just eating, the latter spits the food out of her mouth. So that the bride may eat in her presence, the HM gives her the *umLobokazi* goat. This goat is the bride's property, and its increase goes to her children. The first food she eats after the goat has been given is SM, which she eats in front of her M-in-l. They do not as yet eat from the same dish and at the same time. This is a mutual avoidance (Hl)."

B. THE AVOIDANCES OF A SO-IN-L

1. So-in-l and M-in-l

In theory the avoidances of a So-in-l are as stringent as those of a Da-in-l. In practice, mainly because of patrilocal marriage, they are less evident and certainly less continuous in application. There exists undoubtedly a definite tension between a person and his in-law of the first ascending generation of the opposite sex.

a. Reserved Area

A So-in-l should not meet his M-in-l on the path or in the veld. If he does so accidentally, respectful restraint conduct demands that he should step aside, if possible without being noticed by the woman, to let her pass (Shooter: 46). This rule may be refined to: Do not come upon your WiM unannounced (Leslie: 172). A man should not touch his M-in-l, even if an accident should make it necessary for him to render her assistance. He does not sleep in the same hut. Some disciplinarians assert that a So-in-l should never visit the home of his M-in-l.

When he visits the homestead of his in-laws as a young lover he certainly avoids his M-in-l. When he meets the M-in-l on the path he runs away. The young man hides outside the homestead until he can attract the attention of some child whom he instructs to call a girl who will act as his guide to his sweetheart's hut. The Ch is warned not to divulge anything to her F or M, for fear of a beating from the boys. "I go behind the huts so as not to be seen by my girl's F or M" (294).

b. Sexual Restraints

The prohibition against sex intercourse with a M-in-l is so strict that it is described as both Za and Hl. The sanction is said to be death, although no instance can be cited of such punishment having been inflicted. The general rule that a person should not sleep with in-laws of the opposite sex in one and the same hut includes the particular rule concerning the M-in-l.

c. Speech

A So-in-l should observe proper restraints in the area of expressive behaviour. He should never approach his future parents-in-law directly when proposing marriage to their Da, but always act through a go-between. He should not talk with his F-in-l in a loud voice and not approach him too closely. He should not speak to his M-in-l at all. He must not use the pers/ns of his parents-in-law. (Details and inconsistencies are described elsewhere).

At a later stage when talking to his M-in-l is unavoidable, the So-in-l is the first to greet: *sawuBona Mame*, or *mKhwekaziwami!* He cannot use Gr:1 or Gr:2 nor In:1, names which are all Hl'd. He also Hl's (avoids) the root of her In:1, e.g., buried mealies, *uNgobo*, are not

thus called by him if his M-in-l's name is *Ncobo*. Instead he would use, say, *umMbila* (mealies). If he is married to a number of Wis, he has a hard time to Hl all articles referred to by their Ms' names. If he slips up he is told he did wrong and he feels disgraced *(iHlazo)*. The disgrace can be cleared by the payment of a fine to the woman whose name has been called in vain! It would be in a family case *(inDaba)* that he is told to pay. "I never made such a mistake, but many of my age-mates slip up. They pay 5/- or 2/6d. Their brides watch them, and they watch their brides to see, that they do not call their F-in-l's pers/n. They would have to pay a fine of 10/6d. None of my Wis has so far been caught, but they might slip up to-morrow. In their case, it is I, their H, who would order them to get the fine." (Note that the legal procedure is dispensed with in the case of the inferior status) (413).

d. Food

As to food, a So-in-l may not eat in the presence of his parents-in-law. To take food or beer into one's F-in-l's Residence is considered disrespectful. A man has to avoid the SM of his Wi's homestead permanently. No r/r is possible from this avoidance, for that is where he has given his cattle to, in order to obtain a Wi.

2. So-in-l and F-in-l

(294): "Before marriage I hide from my F-in-l, I do not enter his hut. If I meet him in the veld, I just keep quiet, because it is not his homestead. When I visit his Da, I already know her F. We met at feasts, in the veld. He will greet me and I will reply. I Hl his pers/n but not as much as in the case of the M-in-l, in particular I do not Hl the root of his name. It is Zulu custom for a So-in-l to Hl a M-in-l more than a F-in-l. When I was a Ch, grown-ups already followed the custom. People follow a custom without knowing or bothering about its cause or purpose. They say: You must do so and so, it is the rule! A So-in-l may speak to his future F-in-l, for since you want to get married to his Da, it is to him that you must turn. But when I go to the girl's F, it is the go-between who actually speaks. When my F has agreed to the match and to the transaction, my future F-in-l sends for me, so that he may talk to me. I enter the kraal by the main gate for the first time, for I've come to see my future F-in-l. I go

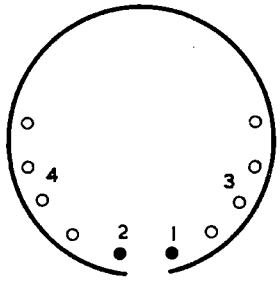


Fig. 2

to the Residence of my betrothed's Br. I may enter there, even if nobody is inside. My girl's Brs and Sis come to greet me, they talk to me. (See Fig. 2). My heart is beating with trepidation. My 'Sis-in-l' (4) bring a pot of beer. It is placed in front of me (2); it goes round. The bringer drinks first, then I; it then goes to the Brs of the girl. Then my girl's F comes in (1). He greets me, sits on the side of his Sos (3) near the door. I may not look into his eyes, I must look downward and I must sit with crossed legs *(Qhethile)*. This is the position normally assumed by girls." Before his F-in-l the only posture allowed to the So-in-l is the lower status posture. The two men, F-in-l and So-in-l, now discuss matters in general. If the bride-price has been paid, the F-in-l may thank for it *(Ngibonga-ke mKhwenyana wami)*. "My betrothed leaves the hut, when her F enters and spends the time in her M's hut. She may return, when my F-in-l leaves after a second beer-pot has been brought from which he may take a sip. He leaves saying *Hamba kahle mNtanami*, 'Farewell, my child'. This makes me feel proud. I may decide to stay behind with my 'Brs- and Sis-in-l' and even sleep at the homestead." (In giving this account John Shezi gives his F-in-l's pers/n in a low voice, for he recounts his

experiences in the presence of his Wis, Das of his Fs-in-l and his BrsWis.)

A So-in-l avoids the meat of his in-laws' homestead till the wedding. He is then called by them, and they slaughter something for him. "I eat the meat: it is done immediately after the bride-price is paid. It never happened to me that my sweetheart took meat into the veld for me to eat. It would be just as good as stealing! The abstention from meat and SM at first go together. But there is a r/r from the meat taboo; from the SM taboo never! A So-in-l is always given food such as porridge and vegetables at his in-laws. These foods don't matter." (294)

V. THE AVOIDANCES BETWEEN KING AND COMMONERS

1. The King's social position

The king's position as the coping stone of the Zulu power pyramid has been described by various authors. The normal Bantu chief occupies a fundamentally different position in his tribe from that of the Zulu tyrants of the 19th century. From the latter the present office of Zulu kingship derives glory as an alpine peak is set aglow from the rays of a sun already sunk below the horizon.

The king's economic position was encompassed in the phrase: the king owns everything, i.e., cattle as well as people. The king had to maintain his large royal kraals in which resided his families, the women of his seraglio, his courtiers and visitors. He had likewise to provision his army barracks and see to it that the poorer families among his commoners were provided for. Subjects who fled from the realm of the king committed high treason, as they broke the economical structure raised in elaborate magical rites and military enterprises. So persuasive was the argument of Zulu diplomacy in claiming fugitives as lost property that Capt. Gardiner agreed solemnly to return them to Shaka, and Shepstone later returned at least the cattle which the fugitives had taken with them to Natal.

The king's proprietary rights extended to medicines, of which he claimed to possess the most powerful, and to the forces of the sky, the atmospheric phenomena, which he claimed by virtue of his very name (Zulu) and the control of which he zealously defended against competitors, real and fictitious, such as rain-making chiefs and black-robed missionaries.

The royal establishment had to be supplied by a steady stream of cattle and other gifts in kind (beer, vegetables). The disposal of women in the seraglio to rising warriors for heavy lobola payments was one way of ensuring revenue, for the women were given to the king as tribute free of charge. Offerings of meat by individuals and tribal tributes in livestock did not suffice to balance the king's expenditure. Recurrent raids into neighbouring territories contributed the largest item. In many other ways the king's revenue was replenished. Regiments in the process of formation rendered services to the king's commissariat. In short, revenue was raised in the form of labour and tribute.

In the legal sphere the king did not like to initiate any legislation, although in the military organization he introduced many surprising innovations: abolition of circumcision to eliminate the long period of recuperation, the policy of indiscriminately killing the defeated tribes, the control of the marriage of the age-classes. In internal affairs, i.e., in the adjustment of the kinship structure to historical stresses and changes, the king would rely on his council to advise him, e.g., when Mpande issued a law which did away with compulsory leviratic marriages the councillors had to supply him with the information necessary for framing the new law to help him come to a decision. Formally the council's consent was also required in cases of a death sentence or a declaration of war. But such a he-man as Shaka committed many people to execution and overran many neighbours with war without prior consultation.

In the religious and magical sphere the king's paramountcy was built up by an elaborate and impressive ceremonial. By means of the legal fiction of being the senior representative of the senior clan the Zulu king collected in himself the ancestral ties which knit together the various clans and lineages. As mediator to the tribal ancestors he laid claim to their supreme help in circumstances, such as drought and famine, which affected the country as a whole. In the First Fruits the king assumed the role of benefactor of the whole tribe in its agricultural activities, securing their success and the well-being and health of his subjects in strenuous magical exertions. As *umThakathi omKhulu* he encompassed in his nature all the

effective powers, good or evil, of the tribal society. Old kings ensured the success of their military units by magical practices, whereas young kings established their reputation through unparalleled deeds of valour, as did Shaka.

The king's subjects owed him economic services and tribute, they accepted and acknowledged his suzerainty in professional activities, they clamoured for the king's intervention with the tribal ancestors in times of calamity, they experienced with joy the relief which the king obtained through powerful rain magic and basked in the sunshine of the king's military successes. Criticism of the king seems to have been moderate and clandestine in the time of their tyrannical greatness. It emerged only within his narrower circle of agnatic relatives since the violent actions of some of the tyrants exposed the Zulu body politic to great risks. To the commoners the king represented an ideal, and where he lacked essential qualities, the tribal ideology helped to see the king complete, i.e., as supreme, and all-powerful in economic, legal, religious and military enterprise.

Zulu subjects had a regimen of respect avoidances imposed upon them which signalized their subordination to the king in all spheres of human life.

2. Reserved Area

The king's supremacy was secured by his intensive isolation. No commoner approached the private section of the king's homestead, where the royal residences, the ritual huts and his seraglio were situated. This rule seemed self-evident in the period of the great despots. As a child may not touch his F's belongings, so a subject does not touch the king's things, unless he is given orders to do so. The king's clothes cannot be worn by a commoner, the royal insignia, the king's weapons must not be used by an unauthorized person. The boundary line of the king's possessory rights is difficult to define. In theory everything belonged to him: the land, the cattle, the people. In practice the boundary line expanded and receded with the increase and decline of the royal power.

A number of wild animals were claimed as royal game, viz. lion, leopard, blue wildebeeste (gnu), and rhino (Krige: 222). Their carcases had to be carried to the royal kraal and the skins were worked into royal cloaks. It was a violation of the respectful restraint due to the king to walk through his herds, not to mention stealing royal cattle (Shooter: 155). Walking through the king's herds made the animals pine and die. Cattle theft was punished with death and its general prohibition explained by the theory that all privately owned cattle were in fact the king's. Royal cattle could be distinguished by their uniform colour. Some chiefs had property marks cut into the cattle. The magical sanction mentioned shows that the fear of interfering with royal cattle was not based on legal concepts only. Some of the royal cattle at least were used in rituals at the graves of the royal ancestors, others served to supply the royal family with meat and milk. They were thus awe-inspiring. The disposal of land by a subordinate, say an *inDuna* or headman, violated the attitude of respect he owed to the king. Any object monopolized by the king became a symbol of his authority and could not be shared by commoners (454). Sikota Matiti was killed for erecting an *isiGodlo* (enclosure) like Cetshwayo.

To approach too near to the king (Shooter: 114, 156) was disrespectful; to look at the king (Leslie: 79) likewise. When the king was in the presence of women, or addressed them, they did not raise their eyelids. To touch the king's body was unheard of. In Shaka's time a person carrying arms who approached the king was killed and a similar fate befell the inmates of his homestead (Shooter: 157). When the king was sick or confined to his hut nobody in the tribe was allowed to leave his home (Hl) (Callaway: 1866: 367). The king, like the chiefs, refused to trade with the white man when a close relative was laid up. Impure people, e.g., mourners, warriors who had slain an enemy, were not allowed near the king.

The height of disrespect against the king was to move away from his jurisdiction. Desertion, like treason, was punished with death (Bird I: 120; Gardiner: 44-6; Krige: 224). The offence was the more heinous, as the king had by magical means secured the adhesion of all his subjects to his realm. Desertion was, therefore, tantamount to exposing the king's magical impotence, of challenging him with more powerful magic. Nevertheless Zulu society was confronted with the problem of fugitives throughout the 19th century.

3. Sexual Restraints

In the sphere of sex respectful restraints were and are still referred to the king's authority. The begetting of a child before marriage through seduction i.e., complete intercourse during betrothal visits, was not only a disgrace, involving the contamination of the girl's homestead. It was also a breach of the respect due to the king. He fined the head of the homestead for "defiling the king's grass". In olden times it was impossible for a couple to marry without the king's express permission. This was usually given at the First Fruits and to whole regiments and age-classes at a time. The assumption of the top-knot by women and of the head-ring by men, and the shaving of hair, all preliminary acts of marriage, were a breach of respect if undertaken without royal order (Gardiner: 100; Shooter: 47; Leslie: 62; Colenso: 1905: *jujwa* ;P.J. Schoeman).

Special precautions were taken to make commoners observe the utmost restraint in the presence of the royal Wis and 'girls'. Merely to meet them, even by accident, carried the threat of execution. Early observers report that men who had approached or entered the seraglio of the royal kraal were killed on the spot. No adjustment of the punishment to the degree of the offence was applied: to make advances to the royal maidens was as severely punished as merely gazing at them (Samuelson: 1929: 214). Normally the king's women could not be accommodated at a kraal, even if they arrived there in the late afternoon. Their arrival had to be reported to the king immediately. (On the sexual rights assumed by the Zulu despots cf. Smith, A.: 46-9).

4. Speech and Gesture

The exaltation of the royal rank is peculiarly emphasized by means of elaborate Speech and Gesture Restraints (= etiquette) in the conduct of commoners. Whereas a kraalhead must not be addressed before he has greeted the visitor, a visitor at the court greets the king vociferously first. The king often lets the visitor wait for a considerable time before he condescends to converse with him. In talking to the king loud and distinct speech is recommended. In the king's quarters any noise, laughter, coughing, sneezing, spitting, must be avoided, especially while the king is eating. Any offender was beaten and if he was a kraalhead fined; he had to offer a peace-offering, - or was killed! Under disrespectful behaviour, classed as breaches of the Hl of the king, we find: arguing with the king (or chief); grumbling at or disobeying his orders; talking deprecatingly about his authority; speaking evil of the king and using bad language. In the past people were killed; today, according to Chief Manyala Biyela, the sanction is social: the public resents criticism of the king; a person using offensive language about royalty gets a bad reputation (Isaacs: II, 299; Owen: 83; Krige: 238).

The use of the pers/n of the king or of his ancestors is a breach of respectful conduct, and so is the use of the root of their names (Bryant: 1949: 485). To call a third person within earshot of the king, but without his order, is a breach of respect. No person other than the king can be greeted with the royal salute, nor may the praises of the king be recited in his absence. A message from the king must not be received by a kraalhead in the assembly of his dependants but in the privacy of a private hut. To point to anyone, whether the king is present or not, and to step over the king's legs are interpreted as expressions of disrespect, as attempts to weaken the king's mystic powers. This applies especially to the rules against "standing over" the king or any person of royal blood. In an important matter the king must not be approached directly; a go-between must be employed, often a court official. When a party approaches the royal kraal, one enters, and is interviewed by a "receptionist"; if admitted, he returns to the party, conducts it into the kraal, and a hut is reserved for it. They are visited there by the king after some time, or called to his Residence (409) (van Warmelo: 1938: 147; Shooter: 132; Krige: 231).

In approaching the king the ideal of Hl (respectful restraint) demands that men do so crawling bent to one side, while women - who have little chance of ever coming near the king - must do so on their knees. An ordinary sitting posture before the king is rigidly prohibited. The visitor sits with his legs under his buttocks, a posture which is assumed by women before their husbands! Only royalty of high standing, e.g. the heir of an important royal branch, assumes the posture of men after greeting the king. The king, it is said, feels "a pain in his soul", is heartsore at a person without manners. Bystanders scold disrespectful persons severely. On leaving the king's presence the visitor must turn his back

on the king. To retrace one's steps facing him is the way of sorcerers (Krige: 239). The king's supremacy is recognised in the seating order. Chief Gatsha, for instance, with all his university training, must sit on a mat on the ground while the Paramount sits on a chair. When sitting in his tribal council, it is Chief Gatsha who sits on a chair and his councillors on mats. *23A*

(113) gives further particulars of court etiquette: in talking to the king there is no striking difference between commoners and princes. Quiet speech is expected after saluting the king with enthusiasm. The salute is *Bayede, Ndabezitha, Ngonyama, Wena-wo-Hlanga* (you of the origin) *Hlanga-lweZwe* (reed of the nation). The hand is raised before every sentence they utter, and after each sentence they cry the royal salute. Other expressions used are *nDlovu* (elephant), *Wena-oMnyama* (You Black one), *Zulu* (heaven). The reference to darkness invokes the feeling of fear. As a person can be injured or stabbed 'by the darkness', so the king can stab him. A. Smith (p.48) records: Thou art frightful, Centre of the Circle, Tiger of the People!

5. *Food/Work*

The Zulu king's power over crop fertility - a power claimed also by chiefs, and to some extent by kraalheads - is built on a foundation of respectful restraint (Hl) observed by his subjects. Nobody was allowed to harvest his crops before the king had given permission at the First Fruits and garnered his own. Nobody ate of the new crops until the king had eaten of them ritually. The sanction attached was death by execution. "Taking crops from one's own fields before the First Fruits was tantamount to stealing. Even if one hid the maize stalks, one was killed" (Isaacs: II, 241; Gardiner: 96; Krige: 229,249).

Certain medicinal plants were reserved to the king and no commoner dared to plant them. Nor were the medicines taken by the king to be administered to ordinary people. An offender would faint when next taking beer with the king and would be killed like a common thief. Drinking from the royal water hole was prohibited. The consumption of royal game was prohibited to hunters (Hl). (Lugg: 1929: 365; Krige: 238).

The royal cooks were not allowed to talk about the food they prepared for the king (Hl of the king). They must not cook dishes which the king had to avoid during taboo periods, e.g., when in mourning. Wherever King Solomon went, his own meat and food went with him, unless there was a woman attached to him in the kraal visited who would watch jealously over the preparing of his food and prevent his being "poisoned". The king's retinue always set up a temporary kitchen in which all meals for the king were prepared. Not even at his many betrothals did Solomon risk eating meat prepared for him by his in-laws (Reyher: 44). No commoner could eat food left over by the king (Krige: 236) on pain of a severe flogging or execution. The king's body attendants (*inSila, iNceku*) ate the remainder. Part of their respectful restraint was that they did not pass any food on to outsiders. Meat given to visitors, courtiers or warriors at court was never touched with both hands nor could it be cut with a knife. Bites were torn off with the teeth and at the most with the help of one hand only. No one dared to stand while eating meat before the king, everyone grovelled before the ruler like a dog (Isaacs: I: 348; Krige: 238). Nor was eating with a spoon before the king countenanced. "When the king calls you to drink beer with him you go flat out before him to receive the pot from his hands even if you are ever so high" (409). Hl of the king was mixed with fear *(ukwEsaba);* it made a forward gesture inadvisable (125).

When commoners took food and beer presents to the king, they had to take special care not to render them unclean. Thus beer-carriers had to wash their hands after they had urinated on the way (Krige: 202). Meat was never taken to the king directly, but offered to him through a go-between, i.e. a court official. This rule held even if the meat came from one of the king's agnates. Having set the gift down in a hut in the royal homestead, the carrier was prohibited from looking back upon it!

To sum up: Respectful restraints before the king resemble behaviour expected before ancestors.

6. *Case Study:* (Schoeman P.J.: 1946: 23-4; 27-9; 79)

A p p r o a c h t o t h e k i n g: A white hunter, with his native hunter camped three miles from the king's homestead, so that the king could be informed of their approach, and give his permission for their entering. Permission did not arrive at once, as is the custom, nor

directly. First meat and beer were sent to the camp plus a person from the royal household to make fire. Henceforth the hunter was no longer allowed to do any work in the camp himself, not even throwing fuel on the fire. Nor could he any longer converse with his servants, he could only give them orders. Nor could he sit at the same fire with them. The royal presents had to be received without any ostentatious gladness. They were to be considered as path-openers, later presents were to be bigger.

The following morning two dignified councillors of the king arrived, greeted him in respectful manner and sat down on the smoke side of the fire. As visitor in their country the hunter could not speak first. After ten minutes silence they intimated in a round-about manner that the king would have a hut ready for the visitor next day. Then free discussion followed.

The hunter approached the king's homestead with his own and the royal servant, and the two councillors. An honoured visitor may not carry anything. About one mile from the home, the bodyguard began to sing war-songs, and accelerated their progress. About 20 paces from the entrance the hunter stopped, the singing ceased and a messenger was dispatched to the gate guards. The visitor could sit down, but his companions not. Two other councillors came to meet him; they sat down before him and started a formal conversation. They could lead him only to the gate; from there a guard reported the hunter's arrival to the king, who sent out a very old councillor. While the first councillors had greeted him as *Baba*, (but referred to him as Ch of the king), this councillor greeted him as *mNtan'enKosi* (Ch of the king); and was greeted in return with *Baba*. On passing the guards at the entrance, they greeted him: *mNumzana*, raising their hands. He was led through labyrinthine paths between huts to a great open space, with a very large hut on one side. In the open space, whose floor was made of ant heap soil and rubbed smooth, sat about 30 royal officials. The chief officer *(inDuna yomHlaba)* greeted him with *nKosi* (Lord), and showed him into a hut, where the hunter could not sit down until a headman, inferior to the great *inDuna*, spread out a sitting mat. He was informed that the *iNgonyama* was on the point of arriving. The king was welcomed: "Lion, Elephant-calf; Bird-that-eats-all-other-birds; Sun-that-does-not-set; Thunder-that-is-heard-far-beyond-the-Boundary; Meat-tray-that-cannot-be-licked-empty; Buffalo-bull-on-whose-skin-a-whole-Regiment's-assegais-make-no-impression; Supporting-post-of-the-firmament... Black-mane-lion-that-roars-so-that-a-whole-Army's-shields-tremble; The-English-built-in-vain-walls-for-you; you-lept-over-them: Who-can-build-walls-against-the-sea?"

VI. HLONIPHA OF OUTSIDER OR STRANGER

In his attitude to strangers, i.e. persons with a clan-name other than his own, the Zulu oscillates between suspicion of their unknown intentions and welcome for several reasons:-

E c o n o m i c a l l y a newcomer is an asset to the tribe. He not only increases numbers, he may add to its wealth in goods, in offspring, in specialized knowledge and skill. For this reason Zulu chiefs were magically strengthened to attract strangers. From the kinship point of view a stranger is welcome because of the exogamy rules. He may marry a daughter and bring cattle in exchange, but to do so his antecedents must be known. In certain success legends outsiders marry the chief's Da and gain the chieftainship with her hand.

In r e l i g i o n a n d m a g i c the stranger appears to be endowed with unknown and therefore superior powers. No counter-magic is as yet available against his m a t e r i a m a g i c a; he enjoys the position of a monopolist. For rain magic, the First Fruits, even war magic, comparative strangers but with a reputation were engaged by Zulu kings.

In short, strangers were welcome since their arrival helped to differentiate society, giving it a wider range of personality and interests. Yet they were also cold-shouldered because conflicts tended to centre round them. As foreign bodies in the social organism they produced currents of sympathy and opposition.

1. Reserved Area

Before setting out the rules of respectful restraint in detail a historical case will be presented which indicates how strangers at the royal court were put under quarantine, as it were, through a system of isolating a d h o c prohibitions. (PAR: S.N.A.I./6/2, No.4): Messengers

Jojo and Jemlana arrived from the Lt. Governor of Natal at King Mpande's Nodwengu homestead in August 1848. (a) The messengers were civilly treated by the heads of the kraals at which they slept but with great reserve. The common people ran away in apparent alarm, when they saw the messengers with a letter. (b) At Nodwengu they were given a hut but a guard was put on them to prevent communication with the people. All the people avoided the Natal messengers. Those who unwittingly approached them were reprimanded by the guard who himself was afraid to say much to the two. (c) In the evening a messenger called them before the king, who sat on his chair, his people on the ground. All of them were ordered away except three to four body-guards. The strangers were ordered to sit to the leeward of the king as it was feared they had charms on them to injure the king. (When the Natal messengers gave a long list of complaints concerning the unauthorized crossing of the Tugela boundary by Zulu subjects, the king said: "Enough, I am satisfied you have come from the Government.") The next day they were again sent for, but as before, they were not allowed to produce the letter before him. We note some incipient taboos in this account. Another stranger who behaved suspiciously and was thought to have come from Chief Phakade was killed.

The entry of a stranger into a kraal can be compared with passing over a succession of barriers. On approaching he must Hl it and its U by stopping and saluting outside the gate. A boy is then dispatched by the kraalhead to find out where he comes from. Having reported these particulars to the family head, he is sent to lead the stranger inside. The visitor may not take his sticks, weapons and hat into the kraal (Samuelson, L.H.: 94). If he forgets to put them down, he will be reminded by the inmates of the lowest hut to do so. A commoner who entered a chief's homestead with his stick was shouted at by the chief: "Am I a dog, that a man should enter with his stick into my kraal?" He made the man run out in a hurry, return grovelling and ask for forgiveness. Not only the family head, even the children are conditioned to react strongly to violators of the custom. A white nurse who had been called to attend to a sick woman once went up to a kraal carrying her stick. A child who saw this screamed at her! Some informants, e.g. (108), say that the rule applies in homesteads of important men only. In the kraal of a commoner sticks may be carried up to and even into the boys' Residence.

A stranger's movements in the homestead of his host are restricted. He may not leave the hut assigned to him (the visitors' hut, the boys' Residence); if he does he is suspected of being mad. If for certain reasons, e.g., the eating of a meal, he is called to the Great Hut, he must under no circumstances come too near the pillar or the apse. He cannot eat the SM of the strange homestead *24*. No stranger may enter the pen, especially when a beast is being slaughtered or skinned.

The visitor's avoidances are reciprocated by corresponding restraints on the part of the owner of the homestead. He does not admit a stranger if a kraal inmate is sick or under treatment by a medical man or if the homestead is under a taboo regimen after a death or a lightning stroke. This rule may be disregarded after sunset! No kraalhead visits his visitor in the visitor's hut without having sent him a present first. When calling on him, the kraalhead may not carry a weapon or a stick. The hut assigned to a stranger must on no account be other than the boys' Residence or the travellers' hut *25*.

2. Sex

With regard to sexual matters strangers as potential marriage partners of a kraalhead's Das are welcome as long as they observe the boundaries of the proprieties. The dangers to be guarded against in this sphere are seduction and non-payment of lobola (bride-price). How close the relationship is is exemplified in the phrase *abaNtu basemZini* which means both 'strangers' and 'in-laws'.

Warriors who have killed an enemy become ritually strangers and cannot return to their homesteads unless they have been cleansed. They got rid of the contamination by lying with a woman of a strange tribe *(ukuQunga)*. According to Colenso (1905) the Zulu acquired a descriptive group name from this taboo proper, viz. *iNxeleha*, i.e. a person who because he has killed another, cannot mix with people, not even with his Wi's family until he is purified.

According to Gluckman (1940: 28) a dependant should not marry into the lineage of the kraalhead to whom he has become attached. He may of course still marry into a family with his sponsor's clan name. The adoption of the retainer converts him into a kinsman for all practical

purposes of the kraalhead. His spatial integration makes him a relative of the forbidden degree (cf. Nyandeni kraal infra p. 205) and the jural rights of exogamy are overridden by spatial implications.

3. Speech and Gesture

Stranger and host observe respectful restraints in their conversation with each other. On arrival a visitor salutes the kraalhead, but then remains silent until he is addressed (Hl). To break this rule is an insult. However, if the visitor is superior in rank to the host, he may begin the conversation. Women visitors do not salute at all but move at once behind the huts and walk behind them until they reach their female friend's family hut. A visitor must not approach the kraalhead in an upright position. The respectful restraint ideal insists that he approach stooping. He enters the kraalhead's Residence crawling and may not stand for long in his presence. The avoidance ideal demands that the host should at first not speak directly to a stranger but through a go-between. When the homestead is in mourning, the kraalhead should not talk to a stranger at all (Samuelson, L.H.: 94; Wanger: 1917: 647)

4. Food

Regulations concerning food consumption and production establish a respectful distance between stranger and host. There is a general rule that one should not eat food prepared by an unknown person. Doke-Vilakazi note the phrase: "We had loaves given to us but we feared to eat them, they smelt of white people." A passer-by is not thereby excluded from enjoying an odd meal in a kraal along his route. Strangers (non-lineage visitors) are occasionally regaled with meat. But it has to be offered on a special eating mat, never on the mats used by the members of the agnatic home group (Krige: 295). No person eats the SM of a strange kraal, even that of a neighbour who is unrelated (cf. Chapter on sour milk.) That this avoidance is not one of magical terror only is shown by the term *iliKhwababa*, the sour milk of a strange kraal, which is a term of contempt with "sour grapes" connotation.

The ideal kraalhead does not stint his unrelated visitor in food and drink. When beer is offered it must be tasted by an inmate of the kraal before being presented to the visitor. Strangers of an inferior rank need not be respected, and need not be given refreshments. The ideal of respectful restraints is obviously adjusted to the social situation (Shooter: 115; Callaway: 1866: 48).

VII. HLONIPHA RELATIONSHIP GRANDPARENTS-GRANDCHILDREN

1. Reserved Area

(425) on the relationship GPs - GChn: The GCh cannot go everywhere the GPs go, e.g. if the latter go to a neighbouring kraal to drink beer, the GCh cannot follow. When GF sits on his side, a GCh cannot go there (in GF's hut); a GCh can sleep on GM's mat but not on GF's (Hl); he cannot eat with GF's spoon (Hl) and is not allowed to eat with GM's either, but 'he just steals it'. GChn cannot eat from GF's SM calabash, but are given GM's SM; they cannot make a noise in GF's presence. They prefer GM to GF, and GF to their own F; GF is not so harsh, he is 'old'. He protects GChn against his So; he talks 'straight' to him, not to beat Chn. A So cannot beat his Chn in the presence of their GF or GM (Hl), nor in the presence of strangers (Hl). If he beats a Ch outside the huts, and GM tells him to stop, he must stop. GChn learn this and run to GF when F is angry.

2. Sexual Restraints

Q.: Why does GM say to GSo: *mYeniwami?* It is Zulu play, she does so in a playful manner. Also, if a GSo has a girl-friend, he can sleep with her in GM's house; he cannot do it in his M's house.

Why does GF call his GDa *Makotiwami:* It is playing with her; because she is begotten by his son; GDa could also sleep in GF's hut with her lover.

Grandparents avoid talking about certain things in the presence of GChn, i.e. things children are not allowed to do!

GChn, when small, as toddlers, can crawl over the GF's grave, when bigger, say 6 years and more, they cannot do that any more.

3. Food

(425) makes a lengthy statement: GPs can eat anything in front of GChn and v i c e v e r s a. Thus GChn are nearer to GPs than their own parents. The explanation is: GPs once used to beat their Chn; these have now become parents who beat their Chn; thus in the three generation set-up only the GP - GCh relationship is free of beating. This bears out Radcliffe-Brown (1950: 28): Conflict between parents and child, i.e. between proximate generations, is prevented by the intervention of the alternate generation.

In spite of the fact that GF is nearer death, and about to become an ancestor, a Ch fears F more than GF. GPs are called *amaDlozi!* Yet not only GPs, but also infants are called *amaDlozi* till they can walk, especially by their GPs, less frequently by the parents, who tend to call only their younger Chn thus. They do so when "they bring luck to the kraal", e.g., when a Ch passes water or defecates in his F's *iLawu* which is a sign of coming good luck. When a Ch carries something on its head, one does not have to wait for long, something good will turn up: e.g. the return of the Ch's F from work. Infants not only bring luck: they may also bring ill-luck, e.g. when Chn play-act death and mourning and they all cry aloud in the yard. This means bad luck. They imitate what happens: and this will bring events back. It is also for this reason that GPs call them *amaDlozi*.

A bride also brings luck or ill-luck: if she brings bad luck, it is said she has *umMnyama*. Chn have no *umMnyama*, because what they bring, they bring from the ancestors. What ancestors like and dislike "works" and "goes" through the children. In other words what comes through our, i.e. agnatic, group is not *umMnyama*, but good or bad luck; the evil that comes through a Wi, an affine, is *umMnyama:* gloom. The satirical widow adds here: Children can also do something quite wrong which does not come from the ancestors, e.g. when they set a hut on fire!

Ego's generation may, from comparing the behaviour of first ascending generation to that of first descending generation, conclude that old people become like children.

GChn are less afraid of GPs than of parents, because the former take greater care of them. M and F thrash their Chn, GPs do not want them to be thrashed. GPs are nearer to *iDlozi* state, this is natural. GPs love GChn more than their own Chn who are grown-ups now. GChn are not called by the pers/ns of GPs (Hl, umTh).

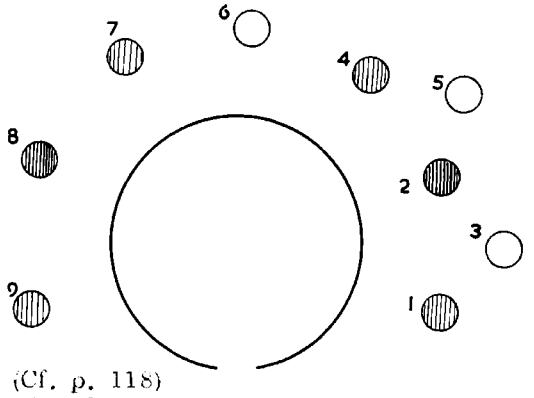


Fig. 3. (427)'s homestead (Cf. p. 118)
1. Residence of kraalhead. He intends to move into a hut at top of homestead
2. Kraalhead's elder wife
3. Kitchen of 2
4. Kraalhead's second wife
5. Her kitchen
6. Formerly hut of owner's grandfather; it may become his new Residence
7. Kraalhead's father's hut. Since his death it is occupied by kraalhead's mother and his father's mother
8. Kraalhead's first wife
9. Kraalhead's last wife *(uMakoti)*

There is thus fear between proximate generations: fear of punishment on Chn's part, fear of supercession on F's part. There is no fear between alternate generations: "replacement is a natural thing." Alternate generations are both sexually inactive and have other resemblances: they are without teeth, share the same food, are helpless; they are both nearer "the unknown" (425).

(427), a headman and medicine man: A GSo may reside in GF's hut with his Wis. For this reason the tophut (6) in his homestead is not Hl'd by his Wis. It is "theirs", since they are the same as the GF: *abaNakwethu!* For when (427) was born, his GM said: Now I have *umYeni wami;* that is why he, (427), can live in it after his GF's death and his Wis do not Hl it. They can eat there with their Chn and the SM is kept there. When the U wishes to talk to them he calls them there together; if he has no other hut, he can call his Wis to his GF's hut to sleep with him. It would be Za to sleep with his Wis in his F's hut since his F slept there with his M. Such a thing does not happen; a Zulu would rather sleep outside. My Wis can sing and dance, be happy in my GF's hut, it is my M who had to Hl it. But since she is now old and has produced a "generation", she can be there with her Das-in-l, and be happy and walk in front of her HF's hut.

His Wis still Hl his F's hut (7), although he is dead. When they enter, they can't sit where they like, they must sit on the women's side, never on F-in-l's side; his older Wis may walk in front; the brides not till they are released; beer is brewed, sometimes something is even slaughtered for them, and they are told by UM they can now walk in front, and enter the pen.

As he has five Wis and one "coming", and has here only 4 recorded, he admits that two Wis are living in one hut.

Milk Distribution in (427)'s homestead: (Since there is little milk available at present, his statements are rather general; perhaps also from fear of chasing milk away.)

Most calabashes are kept in UM's hut (7), but small ones in Wis' huts for small Chn. U, UM, UFM have a calabash each; when UM is away as at present, she leaves instructions for her milk to go to certain Chn: 'her calabash is there'. When UF died, his calabash was rinsed, well dried, it could be used by his Chn; curds were thrown to the dogs - or into the pen. The breaking of this calabash depends on people. (427) acted on principle: "What belongs to F belongs to Chn". UWis are grouped together in twos or threes, each group is given one cow; those grouped together by U are those of the 'same spirit'; those who quarrel are separated, with separate calabashes also. If there are more Wis in a group the milk of several cows may be milked into calabashes, but the milk of the cow of one group cannot go into the calabash of another group. The U's calabash is reserved for him: *NgeyeGula lomNumzane!* He can have more than one. The U may not eat from his Wis' calabashes (Hl). It is a disgrace to eat the SM of wives *(iHlazo)*. He can eat SM from his M's calabash, and she of his: M and So eat from the same pot, the M even in So's presence; she resembles a Si in this. He can eat his F's SM; a F, when old, eats his So's SM, for he is then like a child and eats anything nice.

But there is a difference at a chief's e.g. eMakhosini; there a F does not eat his So's SM; the king eats from his own calabashes only. There are sometimes several pails, but there is always one which belongs to U, into which his cows are milked. If there are not many cows, one pail is enough. There are separate cows for U, UM, UWis. At present he has no cows in milk.

The identification of GPs with GChn, even GChn-in-l, is "natural as there are three generations and these two have one between! The first gave birth to the second and the middle one has given birth to the third." For this reason (427) thinks - he is an exception - that Ego can marry a consanguineous kin of the alternate generation. For when the GM addresses her SoSo as *iSoka lami* this implies that the third generation can be married to the first. A GSo can go to his FM's place and marry a woman of her lineage. He begins again to avoid SM there. But when a GF calls his GDa: 'my bride', he cannot marry his SoDa. It doesn't happen, 'They just say so'. The FF identifies himself playfully with SoDaH. A Ch may be called *iDlozi*, but mostly it is the GP who is respected by this term. "When you come to the kraal and Chn crowd round you at once it is said: You have been greeted by the *amaDlozi* (by the 'innocents', lit. those that have nothing bad on them.) "He (427) doesn't know that the soul of a GF reappears in the body of a GCh: but when anything is 'done to ancestors' it is first given to GPs then to GChn. Beer

made for *amaDlozi* is first drunk by the old lady of the kraal, then GChn are called; on the first day of slaughter 'the pieces for the ancestors' are eaten by the GM first, who gives her GChn some morsels before any other meat is eaten; and the *iNanzi* is eaten on the fourth day by GM and Chn. If a F neglects to give his Chn clothes, the GM reminds him. (452: If only one cow is in milk the U and his GChn eat SM.) A GM does not invite GChn to partake of snuff. If a Ch comes up to her and takes some she does not object; but she doesn't teach snuff-taking.

(428), a tribal official:

Q: Why can a son not sleep in his F's hut *(iLawu)?* It is custom! Q: Can he sleep in GF's hut? He can, even with his Wi or betrothed. Q: Can he sleep in GF's hut because GF did not beget him? Yes, he is taken as a brother, *umFowethu;* the GM is jokingly called 'his wife', his lady. Q: Any explanation why it is impossible for a So to sleep with his bride where F slept with his Wi (SoM)? This is blocked by *inHlonipho!* Because it is the very house where F met M and begot him. Q: What happens? Nothing, but such a son could be fined for doing something that has never been done. Q: Who accuses him? His FBrs or Brs. Q: Who fines? The whole family *(umNdeni).* The offender is also scolded publicly. The beast, as an *inHlawulo,* is killed outside the kraal and it must be eaten outside (Hl), its blood must not be spilt inside. It is not killed for the ancestors, but to cleanse that particular house for what has been done in it. The bile is poured over the whole floor of the hut, since the *iDlozi* of the house was there when it happened, and someone may die in the *umuZi* because of it. It is not poured for the *iDlozi* to drink, but to calm down the misfortune.

The meat of this *inHlawulo* is not placed in the apse of the Great Hut or any hut, but eaten immediately until nothing is left. Only if they are satisfied and can't eat more, will any meat be placed in a hut; the meat is not divided according to special portions for eating groups; neighbours, strangers may help to eat it. Of the women only the old mothers eat, the yoWis of the offender and of his Brs Za this meat, because the meat is cleansing the house of the HF; the offender and his Brs eat. All this is done so that others do not do such a thing again.

Q: Is it Zulu belief that a F cannot help his So to beget Chn, because he has begot the son himself, but that a GF can? Yes, this is what I have heard, that the GF is the greater ancestor who can give children to the grandson. How does he do that? I don't know: I was told that to have luck you ask the GF. Is GF responsible for both impotence and ability to beget? Yes, so far as I have heard this is true. If it happens that both F and GF are dead, the two spirits are said to meet and jointly help the So to get Chn.

VIII. RELATIONSHIP JUNIORS-SENIORS

A. BASIC RELATIONSHIP

(307) reports on the basic relationship between grandparents and grandchildren.

A Child loves his GP more than his parents, because he stays with them for some time (after having learned to walk, when M returns to her H); he is fed by GF and GM. When the GF eats SM, also the GM, children always *Khangeza* (S: 210: hold out hands to receive, forming a hollow.) This is a sign of good breeding, also of respect for giver, and gratitude by receiver. All inferiors - Wi, Ch, subject - hold out their hands thus to receive even the smallest thing. When GF takes beer he talks to GCh as if he were full grown: "Drink here, *mNtane-mNtanami"* (My son's child, whether boy or girl), he allows him to eat and drink to his heart's content. When GP eats meat, the GChn are the first to be given some; this would not happen with either F or M.

Grandparents also get clothes for GChn: GF prepares a small *umuTsha* (loin cover) and *iBheshu* (back flap) just like an adult's for his GSo which makes him proud. GM makes a bead ornament for her GDa to wear round hip and neck *(umGexo; isiNyinga);* she gets an *iBhayi* (shoulder cloth) for a small girl. Today shirt and coat may be bought for a GSo.

In sleeping arrangements, conditions are easier in GP's hut than in M's family hut. GChn

sleep with GM on one mat. A boy might even be allowed to sleep on his GF's mat on his side of the hut. This would never happen in a family hut where at most a boy is allowed to sleep on his F's side, but always on a separate mat. The indulgence is also linguistically expressed. GPs say: "We are now just like Chn". They treat Chn as if they were of their age; the GSo is addressed by GM as *mYeni wami* (my H); the GDa by GF as *mLobokazi wami* (my bride). The GChn are not rebuffed, hardly ever scolded.

Q: How is it possible for GChn to Hl GP in such a situation? A certain distance is maintained. GPs do not allow over-familiarity: they pinch GChn when they become a nuisance; if they do something bad, the GM beats them with her belt *(isiFociya);* the GF uses a small whip, *uSwazi,* on his GSo, if he is disobedient, also when Chn swear at each other. They do not swear at GPs: they respect them (Hl). GPs would not punish Chn by taking away food.

B. MODIFICATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

1. Reserved Area of Hut

FBrs: Children may not enter on male side of hut, *iLawu,* belonging to FeBr or FyoBr. This applies to any child, boy or girl.

FeSi: Chn may go anywhere in FeSi's hut (where she is married) because girls respect a FeSiH as 'husband'; they call him not only *mKhwenyane* (Br-in-l), but also *mYeni* since they may marry there, i.e. FSiHBr.

FF: Chn may go on male or female side of FF's and FM's hut, especially girls, since they call the paternal GF *mYeni;* boys would be shy to do so, since a FF is harsher with them, but there is no law against it. It is "natural" shyness.

MF: A child may go into MF's hut, even when not called, because he is the GCh, he is supposed to learn many things from his MF; there is no restriction ('pasop', from Afrikaans: Attention!) The same applies to MM's Hut, with whom the relation is easy.

MBr: A child may not enter MBr's *iLawu* or male side of MBr's hut unless called. If he did it at his MBr's he might do it at his F's too. A Ch may enter on MBrWi's side of hut, since at home he may enter on M's side.

MSi: A Ch may go into woman's side of MSi's hut, but MSiH's side is classed with F's. He is bound to respect it, and would be beaten if he entered.

2. Use of Spoon

FBr: Chn may not use the FBr's spoon; there is no special severity with regard to the FeBr. With regard to the spoon of FBrWi, younger Chn would be told not to use it, but older Chn might use it with impunity.

FeSi: Chn may use their FeSi's spoon, even if they are of the male sex. But they may not use the spoon of her H, because he has the same status as the GF, they respect him as they do the GF: girls call FeSiH: *mYeni* like the GF.

FF: Chn cannot use the spoon of a paternal GF. It is a sign of disrespect, but "nothing would happen". They may use their FM's spoon. They frequently eat at their GM's hut: "that is where Chn eat". At a beer party at Ceza, a FM drank from *uKhezo* shared by all drinkers; she poured the left-over into a tin from which she allowed her 3-year old grandson to drink.

MF: Chn may use the spoon of MF and MM, because they do not have to respect him or her. He may tell them to use it.

MBr: A Ch may not use MBr's spoon. If he does use it, he will be chased away. If he is given SM left-overs, he may use the spoon to ladle the MBr's milk into his palm, but may not take it to his mouth. The MBrWi's spoon may be so used.

MSi: Her spoon may be used by a Ch but not that of the MSiH.

3. Use of Mat

FBr: A Ch may not sit on FBr's mat; he respectfully avoids it. Although this applies to

boys and girls, it would be a pardonable offence in case of girls. In the case of FBrWis' mats, girls might sit on them, boys not.

FeSi: Her mat may be used, sat upon by her BrChn, even by boys, but the FeSiH's mat is respected, because he is "the owner of the homestead".

FF: A Ch cannot sit on his FF's mat, unless told to do so. This applies to boys; girls are free to sit on it. A FM's mat is "free".

MF: A Ch may sit on his MF's and MM's mat.

MBr: A MBr's mat may not be used by his SisChn, but that of his Wi may. In their home a mat is given to Chn to sleep on, it may be the MBrWi's.

MSi: If a Ch comes unexpectedly on a visit he could use the MSi's mat. But if expected, he would be given his own mat to sleep on, possibly a new one.

4. Eating of Reserved Food

The division of meat according to traditional rules is only sometimes described as Hl, although it implements the family structure, stresses agnatic and affinal distinctions, consanguineous and neighbourly relations.

FBr: The *iNsonyama,* reserved to FBr (kraalhead), is eaten by Chn only if given; otherwise they have 'no chance'. The same applies to the mouth parts. A FBr may hand over SM leftovers to Chn to eat.

FeSi: Chn do not eat SM there, except the girl who looks after the baby, i.e. a young, immature BrDa, although no 'spoon' beast or goat has been slaughtered for her, only for the *uMakoti.* Such a girl who has eaten SM at her FeSiH's homestead may even marry into this family because she ate the SM when she was not nubile (215, 217, 218).

C. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUNIOR AND SENIOR GENERATIONS IN GENERAL

The principle of respectful avoidances (Hl) is traceable in the relations between younger and older age-groups and their members. Modern conditions may have affected this pattern more than others so far examined, but in the ideal it still has functional significance.

1. Reserved Areas

A member of a younger age-group may not go into the presence of his elders, unless he is invited or is presenting a message from a superior. He should not join his seniors at a discussion; he would risk a fight! A young man hesitates to sit in the meeting place of old men, nor does he carry weapons when visiting his seniors. If he is armed, he carefully puts his arms down outside his senior's homestead. In olden days, a junior could not enter the barracks of a senior regiment, unless by order of the king. To hit back when a senior strikes you is deprecated. To kill a member of a senior age-group is specially horrifying (Samuelson, L.H.: 93; Kidd: 302; Krige: 111; Shooter: 138).

The avoidances concerning seniors are crystallized in the prohibition not to touch the head-ring of a senior. It results in a case tried before the king. The perpetrator is fined; he was killed in the past. A rational exception is recognised: a boy may be told to fix the head-ring or to put his senior's hair in order. Head-rings have fallen into disuse, and thus an important symbol of status seniority has gone, a loss which makes it more difficult at present to gauge or test the subordination of juniors. "The head-ring is a sign of manhood. It can be assumed only at the chief's command. As the chief's mark it is treated with respect. If it is plucked off by someone in a quarrel, this is taken as contempt for the chief and the man heavily fined. If a man quits his tribe he takes off his head-ring" (Callaway 1866: 210).

2. Sexual Restraints

With regard to sex, respectful restraints are imposed upon junior age-groups. Younger boys, who presume to adult status, are told that they must not stay out late. The threat is couched in mystical terms: A huge man-eating monster will devour the violator of this rule; a lion will chase him; the hyena catch him. Young boys must be at home by sunset; older boys may stay out the whole night for purposes of love-making. External sex intercourse *(Hlobonga)* should

not be indulged in before the puberty rite (Owen: 35). Girls should agree to it only after having formally accepted a lover. The prohibition against full intercourse was in the past timed by circumcision (now abandoned by the Zulu); in recent times the dating by the puberty rite is no longer possible and has been replaced by the vague phrase "before being fully grown up". It purported to prevent the begetting of children before marriage and was supported by a multiplicity of sanctions as described elsewhere.

No person should marry before his senior sibling or senior age-class. No one was allowed to marry before an age-regiment was given permission by the king to put on the head-ring in the case of men and the top-knot in the case of women. Such permission was normally announced at the First Fruits (Krige: 119; Bryant: 1949: 495). The first indication that such permission had been granted was a general shaving of hair in anticipation of the more elaborate hair operations, the putting up of the top-knot and head-ring.

No man should inherit his deceased Br's widows unless he is himself a married man. People would comment adversely on such marriage, and it is likely to break up. An informant who at first asserted that a violation of the rule was an utter impossibility, later admitted that exceptions existed.

3. Speech

Restrained conduct is also imposed in the area of speech and expressive gestures. Nobody addresses his seniors without their express permission. To interrupt a senior when he is speaking, or to answer back when he reprimands you, his junior, or even to take part in a conversation between members of an older generation is to show disrespect. With reference to older people one's choice of words should be restrained, e.g., it is improper to say of them that "they die", the Hl expression is "they go home" (Samuelson, L.H.: 93; Bryant: 1949: 699).

The use of the pers/ns of seniors is interdicted. Respectful behaviour consists in using courtesy name or regimental name (Gr:2, Gr:3). To use your senior's clan/n is not favoured, as it is proper only among contemporaries. In the leap dances *(ukuGiya)* no junior is allowed to dance before his seniors have had their turn. The leap dance involves a ritual claim of superior fighting skill which goes with seniority. Nor may juniors dance in front of an older regiment; their position was at the sides, the so-called horns, of the battle formation (Leslie: 146; Krige: 113; Bryant: 1949:209).

Pointing at senior members of a court meeting during a law case is a blatant breach of avoidance respect.

4. Food

Eating customs are likewise regulated in favour of the senior age-groups. Juniors may not eat at the same place as their seniors. To eat before one's seniors, or to eat sitting in front of them is deprecated as a sign of bad manners. At public celebrations girls require special permission from the girl-queen to eat. The girl-queen can fine the disrespectful girl in beads and brass bracelets and may disregard her wishes with regard to her lover (Samuelson, L.H.: 94; Callaway: 1866: 254).

No junior person drinks beer with his seniors. Beer which has been placed in the apse for the ancestors is drunk only by very old inmates of the homestead; no young person may share it.

The manner of eating is also characterized by respect avoidances of juniors towards seniors. No junior should spread out his food on eating mat or platter. Boys disregarding this rule are in danger of having their heads bashed in at stickfights, and men of receiving a gashing wound. Girls will be opened up, i.e., deflowered.

Young boys should not milk from the udder of a cow into their mouths on the pasture. This practice was the privilege of boys ready for enrolment at a royal barracks, where they *Kleza'd*, i.e., sustained themselves by milking in this manner. For youngsters to do the same at home is looked upon as presumption. The warning against finishing last in eating in a group, reported by Wanger, and sanctioned with a threat of death in fighting, seems to belong to the age-group rules.

Nobody may partake of the sections of a slaughtered beast which are reserved to senior kin-

ship generations, nor of the meat offered to the ancestors in the apse, viz., ribs, *iBele, isiPhangha, isiXhanti* (hump, neck) which is eaten by selected family members only. This rule does not apply to cattle killed for soldiers in barracks, where members of a regiment were of the same age approximately. Among meat reserved for senior kinship members is that of a cow which died while giving birth to a calf (lest you cannot give birth to a child; you will die like the cow in childbirth); of a cow which has not yet been opened up and disembowelled (lest your wounds close externally only and you bleed to death internally); the underlip of a bullock (your child's lip will tremble like it); the entrails of a bullock (an enemy will stab you in the bowels); the liver of a bullock (you will lose your memory); the paunch of a bullock - the portion without villi is meant - (your Chn will be born without hair, with a head as naked as a knee); the flesh of a pig (lest your Chn resemble a pig); the flesh of a horse, elephant, game, especially kudu (lest you give birth to an elephant or horse); the flesh of fowl especially the fowl's brain and feet (You will become a tramp - an unpopular, sleepy person, you will be stabbed) (Wanger; Callaway: 1866: 280, 254; Krige: 388).

IX. THE AVOIDING OF ANCESTORS

A. THE ZULU AND THEIR ANCESTORS

Zulu ideas about their ancestors are closely associated with the idea of Life. Life is comprehended by contrast with the phenomenon of Death, which is viewed as Life departed from the body. There are two symbols for Life thus conceived: as shadow, since a dead body no longer throws a shadow, and as the reflection of a man in water or a mirror. The reflection symbol was noted by Sir James Frazer (1929: 192): "The Zulu will not look in a dark pool because a beast in it will take away their reflection (i.e. the life) so that they will die". The custom of a pregnant woman to keep a pot in which only she may look is associated with this idea: the woman gives life to her child through her reflection; a stranger will take the Ch's life away. Scriba shows the importance of this belief. The surface of river or lake is a door to another world. In losing one's life in the water one can find a new life beyond it.

The shadow symbol of life is more frequently reported. When the body perishes in death, the life-soul *(iDlozi* or *iThongo)* continues the body's existence. The 'primitive' view is that the soul is not an essence, but a concrete 'something' living on (Callaway). Frequently the life-soul is identified with *iThunzi* in the meaning of 'shadow', 'shade'. Man's existence after death passes through several stages. At first he lives as *iThunzi* in the veld (cf. the Ngoni belief, that the 'soul' goes into the bush where the deceased used to defecate: Read 1956:192). It is brought back in the Bringing Home SAC as *iDlozi* or *iThongo,* although this rite is performed only for important persons. Callaway surmizes that *iDlozi, iThongo, iThunzi* stand for personal names of ancestors who are being *hlonipha'd,* in short that they are substitute names. *iDlozi* has, however, also associations with semen which forms a third symbol of life.

The generally accepted term for the dead is *abaPhansi* (the Messrs. Below), the more usual Bantu word *umuZimu* being obsolete. Underground the kinship structure is reduplicated in an attenuated form. Power to control the living rests mainly with the agnatic links, the patrilineal line whose continued existence is ensured in the prayers and sacrifices of their descendants. (At least their memory is kept alive). Certain unrelated spirits are admitted and theoretically the royal ancestors maintain sovereignty even "below". But normally no person bothers about ancestors other than his own.

Ancestors appear in traditionally accepted manifestations. Spirit snakes are welcomed to a homestead and even allowed to dwell in the apse of a hut where they entwine themselves in the framework. The snakes represent rank and social structure: commoners appear as harmless brown snakes *(umHlwazi, umSenene, iNkwankwa);* kings as green or black *iMamba.* An old woman returns as a lizard. Spirit snakes are greeted with a sacrifice: their visit is a friendly occasion. The coming of a good spirit snake may be blocked by more powerful spirits; the snake

may also be enticed on to a wrong path by the machinations of an evildoer. A wizard may send his snake to announce misfortune or to convey it. When a Ch kills a spirit snake inadvertently it is not flung ouside the kraal but carefully buried in the ash heap.

Dreams are taken as warnings from the ancestors forecasting danger or impending important decisions concerning which they express their wishes. (Bleek calls the spirit which comes in dreams *iThongo)*. There are dreams which do not come from the ancestors; wizards have the power to send them to worry the dreamer, and so have lovers to please him. Related to dreams are omens which may be either lucky or unlucky and which are ultimately traceable to the ancestors (Krige: 288). Omens are frequently conveyed by omen animals, which are recognized by abnormal behaviour, e.g., a sheep that bleats when slaughtered foretells a misfortune: its flesh should not be eaten (Za); a dog which whines incessantly prophesies unwelcome visitors, perhaps a raiding party; a cock which crows in the doorway announces a welcome visit. The *abaLozi*, the whistling spirits of diviners, are sometimes thought of as their spirit attendants.

Ancestors manifest themselves also in certain illnesses with the following symptoms: fainting, rambling speech, unconsciousness. These are cured immediately after a SAC, and are caused by violations of Hl and Za. A kraalhead is told by a diviner which ancestor sent the illness, but he may slaughter a beast without such advice. A person of inferior status, a wife, child or dependant, may not divulge that he dreamt of the ancestor responsible (Hl): he must hope that a diviner will be called and that he will be able to pick out the ancestral agent.

Another form of spirit manifestation is the entry of spirits into a person whom they select to become a diviner. (These *amaKhosi* are more often agnatic than consanguineous kin). This results in a severe illness which must be combated by personal isolation, food avoidances, sexual abstention and the abnegation of social pleasures. The only remedy is a training course in divination as described elsewhere.

The attitude of the living members of a kinship group towards their ancestors is formed by the ritual of SAC. Beasts are slaughtered for deceased family members only. The beast must be killed in the pen and the whole lineage must partake of the meat. The occasions on which SACs are offered are sickness (of a special kind), bad omens, death, barrenness, building a new kraal, rites of passage, graduation of a diviner, rituals for rain, victory in war, effective medicines. There is reciprocal influence between the living and the dead members of the same lineage. The well-being of the living depends on the goodwill of their forbears. The 'existence' of the ancestors depends on sacrifices, genealogies, prayers and praises. In return they promote fertility in family, herd and fields, the produce of which is controlled by their descendants. There is an inherent ambivalence in the nature of the ancestors; they are superior to the living, yet they depend on them.

The relationship of ancestors to other religious entities is less distinct. Some clans identify thunder and lightning with a clan ancestor. Where such identification is not made, it is easy to personify thunder and lightning and to conceive of them as sky gods who punish those who have offended them. But the deities are vaguely conceived: the heavens (often equivalent to lightning) are also identified with the sound i.e. thunder. Thunder is also conceived of as being split in two: gently rolling thunder is said to be male, the shrill crashing thunder female.

uNkulunkulu is thought of in two roles: as creator of all things (and then often distinguished as umVelingqangi) and as first man. As creator of the physical world he is also thought of as founder of human society and the originator of its moral law. As first human being he resembles an otiose god: he cannot be worshipped as he has no particular descendants bearing his name. But being the founder of the human race he transcends the kinship limitations of ancestor worship. uNkulunkulu's daughter is uNomkhubulwana, conceived of as a princess, the deity responsible for the fertility of the fields and the fructifying rain. While her father is not worshipped, she is directly appealed to and receives offerings in supplications for rain in a ritual in which a field and its produce are reserved for her.

B. RESPECTFUL RESTRAINTS TOWARDS ANCESTORS

1. Reserved Areas

There are two areas reserved for the ancestors: the apse of the Great Hut and the upper part of the cattle pen. Since meat, beer and snuff are offered in the apse this seems to be their eating place. The upper part of the pen is the burial site for agnates (F, FF, FBr).

No person should approach the apse when offerings have been placed there; not even the kraalhead should then enter the hut. Nor may the hut door be opened when the ancestors are assumed to be eating. Family members of full sexual powers may not sleep in this hut; old women and children do. Where such are not available, men watch the hut during the night. Women should not look at a spirit snake and they should veil their heads before it (Hl). It represents their HF! (Krige: 285; Gluckman: 1950: 143).

No cattle may be killed for the ancestors outside the pen. Wives and strangers may not be present at a sacrifice. Young wives may not fetch dung or grain from the grain pits in the pen (Hl).

Nobody may walk across the grave at the top of the pen. After the burial it is covered with thorns. Later quickly growing trees are planted on it or stones placed on top. This custom has been known since 1687 (Bird: I, 60). To plough over the graves of the forbears in the fields is a violation of respect avoidances.

To appropriate the private belongings of a deceased kinsman is not allowed (Hl). It may be done in the case of a brother only if he was childless. When a person was executed most private belongings were left with the corpse, except certain items which were counted the emoluments of the executioners (Bird: I, 116; Gardiner: 95; Kidd: 82, 248).

2. Sexual Restraints

With regard to sexual matters the restraints imposed upon the widow of a kraalhead are important. No widow should on remarriage, whether by levirate or otherwise, leave her first H's domicile. She will be worried by her first H (Krige: 182; Callaway: 1868: 161). Her new H must visit her in the deceased's kraal. No man may enter a leviratic union unless he is already married and is fortified by the appropriate magical treatment. The levir can only be the deceased's yoBr. This rule excludes royalty as leviratic partners, since a king is by definition senior to any of his Brs. Nobody should marry a widow of a person not his Br (Hl): "You will follow the first H!" The first Ch born in a leviratic union must not live, if the first H was killed in war, lest its F be likewise slain. In these Hl rules magical sanctions aim (a) at retaining a tie of the widow with her first H and his kinship group; (b) at retaining the deceased's homestead as a functioning unit, and therewith its social structure, and (c) at counteracting Mpande's legislation which allowed widows to marry outside their first H's agnatic group, a legislation which is upheld in South African courts.

The prohibition against a So having sexual intercourse in his F's residence is an extension of a woman's HF avoidance. No such prohibition extends to the HFF's residence. It is significant in this respect that not infrequently when women were asked how they could Hl the ancestors the answer was a recital of HF's avoidances.

3. Speech

In the sphere of Speech and Gestures the ancestors' presence is the motive for a number of respect restraints. During a sacrifice, and especially when the ancestral praises are recited. the wives of the lineage members concerned have to gather in the Great Hut dressed in their finery. They have to keep silent. No noise is allowed when the offering is deposited in the apse or the ancestors will be driven away (Asmus: 66).

The pers/n of a deceased may not be used even by the new kraalhead before the Bringing Home. At that rite it is mentioned for the first time in the pen with the other ancestral names. Uttering a woman's clan/n in the homestead into which she married is prohibited (Za). The agnatic ancestors would be annoyed; the two clans would quarrel. A small lizard if thought to represent an old woman's spirit has its usual name avoided and is called by the woman's teknonymy name. At Nobamba Magogo was told as a child not to touch **Kasinqile* as the lizard *isiCashakazane* was there called (Krige: 169, 293; Wanger).

The names of the ancestors of the H are never used by his Wis, not even in oaths. The H,

for his part, need not avoid his Wis' ancestors' names in oaths, but feels no need to use them.

The prohibition against pointing at someone or stepping over him is applied with appropriate modifications to the ancestors. Nobody steps over a grave, especially if new, for fear of being smitten with an ailment of the foot. Nor does any one thrust his stick into the ground near a chief's grave or point at hills which are the burial ground of clan founders. It would be disrespectful to point at a spirit snake with the finger. A person who points his stick downward near such a snake is severely reprimanded (Krige: 286): the ancestor manifested in the snake might be injured.

4. Food

Certain food restrictions count as avoidances directed at the ancestors. No meat should be eaten, no beer drunk before the ancestors have been offered their share (Bryant: 1905: umBeko). (Some meat is roasted in the pen on the day of slaughtering. This is an exception.) The offerings in the apse must not get into contact with vegetable food and sour milk vessels which for this reason must be removed beforehand. The ideal of incompatibility is here concretely illustrated: men's SAC may not be interfered with by women's vessels. The gall of the slaughtered beast may not come in contact with a person not belonging to the clan (lineage). The bones and meat of the beast slaughtered for the Bringing Home of a kraalhead must never leave the homestead lest people carry away portions which are the ancestors' (Asmus: 66) and they depart for ever with them. On this occasion the gall may not be poured on the unmarried girls for they will draw the ancestors away on their marriage (Gluckman: 1940: 268). It is also feared that evil-intentioned visitors to this rite commit witchcraft with these parts. The blood of the beast should not drop on the ground; it is carefully collected by young girls; the stomach contents are scattered in the pen and mixed with the manure; the bones are burned and the ash scattered in the pen (Krige: 293-6). The skin of a beast slaughtered for the ancestors should not be used for the making of clothes (Hl). Correct custom is to hang it over the pen-fence to decay.

C. AVOIDANCES IN CASE OF DREAMS AND SICKNESS

Certain cases of dreams and sickness are explained as messages from the ancestors. Zulu behaviour concerning them falls into the abstention pattern. The person who has a bad dream must isolate himself. He may not leave his homestead and must on no account attend any festivities. It is best for him not to receive any visitors, unless these are well known to him or are of noble rank! He should not look out of his hut at all (Krige: 287, Kidd: 83). (In the particular case of the 'diviner's sickness' the afflicted person isolates himself by leaving his home and living in the wilds rather than by shutting himself up.) Sexual intercourse should be avoided by a person who has had a bad dream. A person who has had bad luck, including a bad dream, is not to laugh or be noisy. Nor should he talk to anyone, especially to members of the royal family.

The following food restrictions are observed by a person who has had a bad dream. He should eat only little and by himself, rather than in company. Beer should be avoided altogether. A person who dreamt about the death of a relative should not go on a hunt (Tyler: 107).

A person who has had bad luck, e.g., who was wounded on a hunt or who was bitten by a snake, ritually avoids the eating of SM. If you have a wound or are troubled with a sore, you must not cross water or a river without proper precautions, lest your sore gets worse and festers, or the poisonous snake living in the water enters your body and causes it to break out in a rash; you may also walk about at night like a somnambulist (Ludlow: 186; Kohler: 1941).

Historical instances of abstentions during sickness are reported in 1852. A certain Mr. Henry of Melkhout Kraal, who moved to Landela's kraal found him sick, so there was no possibility of trading. "A Native's (Kazolo) evidence makes it quite clear that Landela having been sick refused to trade." In the same year Mpande objected to engaging in trade because his sister was sick (PAR).

X. RESPECTFUL RESTRAINTS TOWARDS ATMOSPHERIC PHENOMENA

A. STORM, HAIL

Storms, hail are here classed together with some other events which are customarily responded to by the imposition of an avoidance regimen (cf. Weather-maker taboos). The Hl of action is directed at unspecified beings. Some informants incline to identify these as sky deities, while the main weight of evidence shows that they are really the ancestors. The events are conceived as initiating a special period, and the abstention regimen correspondingly extends over a defined period of time dedicated, so it appears, to the personified phenomena.

1. Reserved Area

One afternoon, when I was on a visit to Mpiyakhe Mtombela's homestead in the Nkandla District, a violent thunderstorm blew up. Livid flashes alternated with shattering crashes of thunder. The lively conversation died down. The kraalhead's unmarried SiDa shifted the milk calabashes from the central pillar to the apse while he shuffled on his haunches towards the open door and stared outside. Rain water came pouring in from all directions and the woman ladled it into a basin, which she emptied now and again cautiously into the yard without raising the rim above the threshold. She carefully made up the fire on the hearth. No living hut must be left without a fire during a storm. All the eating utensils, plates, spoons and the drinking water in its bucket were covered with mats. The door should be left ajar, otherwise 'the lord of heaven', 'the great one' thinks he is being excluded and strikes! As a bride avoids looking at her F-in-l, so a young woman, especially if she is nursing a child, veils her face during a storm and sits with eyes averted in the interior of the hut (Asmus: 145). Only her HF can offer countenance to the lightning.

Not all Zulu agree that these actions represent avoidances, e.g. (139) denied that lightning is respectfully avoided. But he belongs to a clan which considers itself in charge of lightning, viz., Zulu. Others (e.g., 107) explain these avoidances which in Mpiyakhe's family were performed quietly and without any fuss, as the result of natural fear, and not of respect (Hl). They seek support for the fear hypothesis in the signs of physiological fear to which especially women are prone or in such rules as that nobody should walk through a herd of cattle or ride on a horse in a storm, for the sweat of the animals attracts lightning. What makes us hesitate to accept the fear theory is the fact that even in a storm Zulu walking along a path take care to avoid the middle. They choose the edge, like Bilaam's ass, since the middle is reserved to lightning, the Lord *(inKosi)*. Lightning is also said to be attracted by all shiny things. For this reason all white objects, such as milk in a vessel, a mirror or iron and other glittering objects are covered over with a cloth or a pot lid and they must on no account be touched during electric discharges.

Moreover, in some clans a definite connection between thunderstorm and tribal structure exists. The term used for lightning, viz., *inKosi*, the Lord, is the very term which is reserved for the highest tribal authority. Like him lightning exercises power over life and death in a sovereign if arbitrary manner. Royal authority is consequently decked out with attributes of thunder and lightning. The royal clan name, *Zulu* (lit. the heavens), lends itself to this; at least one of the royal kraals of the 19th century recalled in its name, viz., *Kusemdumezulu*, (Thunder-Sky-Kraal) this privileged position. The Death kraal *(Bulawayo)* and Hawk kraal refer to similar royal symbols of power (von Fintel: a).

There is also a definite link with kinship. A number of clans avoid the founder's pers/n when it thunders. In a few cases an important ancestor is called "Thunder" in person *(Duma* and *CebeKhulu* clans). A Hl word must then be used to replace the common word for thunder. The undoubted link between SM complex and lightning complex points in the same direction (Cf. SM chapter). The assumption is further strengthened by the significance of lightning as a cure. An ailing Ch is cured by having it treated at a tree that has been struck by lightning (Carbutt: 10). After the ceremony M and Ch should not look back upon the tree. The link of lightning complex with F-in-l complex is an additional support for our hypothesis.

Krige (p. 282) sums up the literature on lightning: the Zulu believe in a power called Heaven or the Lord of Heaven. But the statements relied upon are in fact contradictory. Is thunder "the lord" or does the Lord cause thunder? The Lord seems to dwell in the sky, yet the heavens do

not belong to him. The sky was made by uNkulunkulu, but his abode is beneath. The Lord of the Heavens strikes, when he is supposed to be angry, yet it is said that he is playing when it thunders. There are in Zulu belief two heavens, male with a deep roar and female with a shrill sound which is considered bad. Last of all, thunder-storms, including lightning, can be controlled by doctors in a magical way, i.e., directed away from or towards a locality. Since the king also exercises authority over lightning, the latter is obviously conceived of as a symbol of authority.

2. Sexual Restraints

There are indications that sex may be interfered with by lightning or thunder. Sexual intercourse is abstained from during a storm. Girls must not walk across rings burned into the grass by lightning, for children born of them will have white streaks on the body (107).

3. Speech and Gestures

Many speech interdicts suggest that storm and night are conceived of in the manner of powerful members of an agnatic lineage. Chn are warned that loud talking, crying and coughing in the evening and at night incur fierce magical sanctions. The crying Ch is carried off by a wild animal or devoured by it. (A Training School student commented: This threat silenced me, but I do not believe the story much!)

Noise drives the ancestors away, and that implies all good fortune. Loud talking during a storm is objected to. When the storm is overhead the inmates of a hut are silent (Krige: 311). To sharpen knives during a storm is to show disrespect to lightning (Asmus: 146). The words for heaven, thunder, lightning are avoided. The avoidance assists in the personification of the avoided events: "You Hl lightning. You don't Za it!"

Two points should be noted: (i) The general rule that a person should not be loud in the presence of a superior is here applied in a situation where no superior status is present, where the correlated status must be imagined. (ii) The special experience of the night or of the storm creates a condition which makes the personification of the anxieties acceptable.

The pointing avoidance also holds with regard to thunder clouds and lightning. Lightning charms should not be pointed upwards or directed towards the sky or the offender will get a sore arm. This avoidance is incumbent on ordinary folk only for it is the lightning doctor's business to set up such charms. Ordinary people must not drive lightning pegs into the ground on hill tops or tie knots into the grass there. This is the occupational prerogative of the expert. The interdict against pointing at the sky or at ripening crops is rigorously observed during a drought. For the action is said to drive away rain or to stop it. The offender is fined by the chief, even killed. There is thus a three-fold control over weather: The king appeals to tribal ancestors for rain, the rain doctor is the legitimate expert, evil-doers arouse storms for nefarious purposes (Samuelson, L.H.: 159).

4. Food

A number of restrictions on the production and consumption of food are considered necessary to respect lightning. During a storm eating and drinking are refrained from. SM is not touched in sultry weather! Water is not touched or drunk, nor is any food cooked. The latter prohibition makes it clear that the fire which is lighted during a storm is a ritual fire (Shooter: 216; Krige: 318; Gluckman: 1950: 134).

Similar restrictions are observed after a hail storm. No SM may be eaten then, no cattle disposed of, no work be done in the fields (Za). The prohibition is especially strict for persons wearing a white dress or using a shiny tool, e.g., a hoe. The violation would result in a renewal of the hail or a general blighting of the crop (Gluckman: 1950: 135).

5. Lightning

A plethora of restrictions is imposed upon a family whose home, or one of whose inmates or beasts, has been struck by lightning. A person who has been killed by a thunderbolt is not mourned for, nor is a Bringing Home performed for him. (Since his spirit is not brought back to the kraal it can henceforth not control the destiny of his descendants.) If these prohibitions were not observed another stroke might be expected by the victim's kinsmen (107). Lightning

is supposed to have fetched him to the sky, while the Bringing Home makes of the deceased an *umPhansi*, a Mr. Below, which is incompatible with the sky destination. According to Callaway, a person is struck because he has offended against the Lord of the Sky, or was not obeying the regimen of restraints during a storm (1884: 57,60).

No person whose homestead has been struck may visit another kraal. In conveying the news of such misfortune to his MBr, my interpreter Mabanga shouted the message to him from outside the kraal fence. The lightning contagion might otherwise be conveyed to a related family.

The inhabitants of the afflicted kraal are under a taboo regimen. Food is abstained from until the inmates are ritually released. The taboo is especially strict with regard to SM. The Zulu assert that it turns useless, "bad". No animal struck by lightning may be eaten (Za). Its meat is reserved to the lightning doctor who may treat it to render it edible to the inmates (Kidd: 124). A tree struck by lightning may not be used as fuel. No work is done in the homestead for at least 24 hours. My Christian interpreter stayed away from his work for a whole day. "We Za'd because our house was struck." These avoidances and abstentions are modelled on the taboo regimen of mourning.

B. AVOIDANCES TOWARDS CELESTIAL BODIES AND THE SEASONS

1. The Moon

Lightning and hail are unpredictable phenomena with arbitrary effects; the phases of the moon are regular and anticipated. It is perhaps for this reason that present-day Zulu deny that special avoidances are observed in connection with the moon. The regular is less likely to inspire avoidances.

The general rule noted in Colenso (1871) was that no business could be carried out on the day of the new moon. This is specified by Bryant (1949: 543). No wedding should be held on an unlucky day, such as the day following the moonless night, *uSuku oluMnyama*. Certain diplomatic enterprises fell under this avoidance. Miss Colenso reports that the deputations of Zulu leaders on behalf of the exiled Cetshwayo could not conduct business on the day of the new moon. In the first case noted (1884: I, 169) the Resident told the chiefs that he could not hear them because it was Sunday, and they must therefore come the following day. The chiefs reminded him that "the morrow was their own (Zulu) 'sacred day', on which the chiefs might not enter upon a new undertaking". Yet the chiefs would obey the Resident's request. In the second instance (II, 110) the representatives of the chiefs arrived at the Umgeni, about 12 miles from Pietermaritzburg, at the time of the new moon, and spent the 'black' and the 'white' day at the banks of the river without moving further. Miss Colenso remarks that on account of this superstition the camp at Isandlwana would have been safe from attack on Jan. 22, 1879, which fell on the day of the new moon. It was the assault made by Lord Chelmsford on a party of the Zulu on their way to the rendezvous of the *iziMpi* which broke 'the charm'. This shows that the taboo was even then not adhered to if it was to the disadvantage of the observer. The loophole lies in the conditional nature of the rule: On these two days Zulu never commence anything of their own will.

In the fifties of the last century Zulu servants used to commence work with their masters at the time of the new moon (presumably after the black and white days). Consequently new moon became pay day. This reliance on Zulu time measuring had the seeds of conflict in it. For PAR: SNA. I/1/2, No. 108, records in 1849 the quarrel of J.M. Cockburn with his Native servant. The former, a newcomer, wished to pay the Zulu by the calendar month, the servant expected to be paid by the moon! The original practice shows that the taboo had not only a mystic magical aspect, but served the practical need of providing a time measure.

The taboo imposed upon boys, not to look at the full moon lest they wet their beds continually, suggests a magical link between moon and sexual organs. An adolescent informant confided in me, that he found out by experience that the threat did not come true. The rule may be an analogy with moon-determination of menstruation.

2. Eclipse of the Sun

The observances during an eclipse of the sun are revealing since they have to be devised on the spot. (259) being asked to comment on the expression *kuMnyama* said: "It means dark. In ancient times (sic) the sun became hidden, the rays failed to come out. People thought the world would perish!" Denying at first that the day had special customs or that sour milk was abstained from, he suddenly remembered: "The old people went out to fetch the boys with the herds, because they were puzzled about the event. Men did not slaughter on that day; women stopped brewing; potters and smiths ceased their work; the hunters returned from their hunt astonished at the sun's darkening. The cows were not milked, a Za observance, they were left with their calves. People did not work in the fields for they feared *(ukwEsaba)* the darkness. Nobody slept with his Wi that day, because the event was a miracle *(isiManga)*. A love visit in progress was stopped, a wedding likewise. It would be continued after the sun cleared. The matter would naturally be talked about, but loud exclamations were avoided. The Darkness had to be respected (Hl), for we did not know the outcome."

"A storm can be brought on by *uNkulunkulu* (creator). A storm is feared more, because the wizard wants to kill someone. Concerning the eclipse nobody knew what was up. We were just awaiting the outcome; we sat back as it were." The taboo regimen was imposed as a precaution.

uNkulunkulu being vague, he is sometimes replaced by the tribal leader as originator of celestial phenomena. In September 1849 one of Mpande's regiments mutinied and then fled across the Swazi border. Toohey, reporting this in PAR: S.N.A. I/1/2. No. 107, remarks that Mpande compared himself to the darkened sun saying: "See the sun is broken, broken in the middle and so am I, I am broken and done." Another instance of identifying the Zulu kings with the Heavens and its bodies is Shaka's murder. It is said to have been accompanied by upheavals in the firmament. Nobody slept that night after the murder, "for everyone thought the pillars of heaven would yield and the vault of heaven collapse." (von Fintel: a)

The Zulu response to startling atmospheric phenomena falls thus into the pattern of kinship behaviour. Abstentions from normal activities are organized on the basis of respect (Hl) towards the imaginary producer of the phenomena. He is considered to be in close liaison with the lineage structure of the person involved. The king or chief exercises a similar control over the phenomena but on a more extensive, tribal or national scale. Thirdly, the professional weather-maker exercises control over drought, rain and storms in the interests of his clients. Fourthly, evil-doers whose aim is to torment enemies or to destroy their lives direct these phenomena by means of witchcraft.

C. SEASONAL AND AGRICULTURAL RESTRAINTS

1. Summer Restraints

The increase of dangers from the weather in summer results in an increased sensitivity to transgressions of the ethos. (356): "Certain grasses may not be cut in summer, e.g., *umTshiki* or *umVithi* used for twine in thatch. If cut, thunder, lightning, hail will result and destroy crops and also homesteads. Every year the U announces the prohibition until it is known by his Wis. A lot are nevertheless caught. A case is brought by people who see the transgressors. The headman or chief imposes a fine of £ 1. The *imiZi* plant may not be cut either, its bark is used for twine needed in sleeping mats; the consequences of a violation are similar to those above. Both rules, 'not to cut', are placed under Hl custom: viz., to Hl *iZulu* (respect the heavens). They resemble the rule not to throw water out of a hut with a splash."

Certain musical instruments e.g., the *iGekle* may not be played before the kaffir corn is ripe. If played before, it thunders excessively. Another instrument made of reeds,

the *umTshingo*, is not played either to Hl *iZulu* (to respect the heavens). The boys sometimes play them in the hills before the time so that their parents don't hear them. In winter they play the flutes near the kraals but not when somebody has died (Za).

In general there are no winter prohibitions. The summer prohibitions are imposed because the weather may affect the crops. Among the summer taboos (356) mentions: When a woman is a widow and still wears her weeds, she may not sleep with a man. It is bad in summer, in winter her temptation might be excused. In summer she would be killed by her neighbours for she brings on bad storms. In a different context, he adds that the killing would be done with the connivance of the king. A widow may not go among cattle in summer. He admits that this is a general prohibition a transgression of which is aggravated by special conditions.

The *uNyenye* tree, used as lightning conductor, must be cut in winter, not in summer; this is to Hl *iZulu*, also Za: thunder results from the violation. Anyone may cut it and take it to the lightning doctor who uses it for the making fast of homesteads. A short piece is put on the roof top, larger pieces are put across the door (lintel), at the back of the hut, at the sides, and near the post.

2. Agricultural Restraints

(362): No interdicts are recorded for individual hoeing, weeding, harvesting. But in olden times before hoeing started, a man might 'plough' a piece of land and scatter a few seeds in it. This land would lie fallow for a year; it is to tell the field: this is what I intend doing next year. Also in a chief's area, people would gather before the hoeing season, each U bringing some grains of maize, some pumpkin seeds, and a small calabash of beer; they would hoe a small field, and scatter seed in it, a kind of reserved trial plot. The seed was mixed by an expert with special soil: he was an expert for multiplying the seed. This was done in early spring: the seeds could only be scattered either in the forenoon or afternoon, not at noon (Hl). The expert had avoided (Za) his Wi the previous night and so had all participants in the rite. If the expert was a woman, she had not slept with her H. There were no orgies in the fields with the Zulu; they Za'd. The rite was to secure plenty of crops in the chief's district. (Cf. Plot grown for Nomkhubulwana).

Fields become reserved areas through being treated with fertility magic. Hence arise the interdicts: Do not walk through a field fertilized with human remains, especially of a pregnant woman; do not urinate there (Asmus: 128; Krige: 194).

In the rite against birds in a kaffir corn field, the interdicts differ with the doctor engaged. He calls the people together, announces the day when the rite will be performed, tells them that rules must be observed so that his medicines will work, e.g., Do not sleep with your Wis the night before the rite! Do not wash your bodies (Za)! These rules are to be observed so that his medicines will work. Then the doctor goes out, makes a fire in the fields of grass, wood, herbs to make smoke rise. Further rules are then given out, e.g., When you see the birds don't shout! (Just look at them). Don't eat food in the fields. Do not frighten away the birds! The interdicts are to be observed for two or three nights and days. If persons break the rule, the birds come and devour the crops. The kraals whose crops are eaten up will be known as those where the interdicts were not observed; those whose crops are preserved Za'd. Nothing will be done against trespassers, since the violation mainly concerns sex, i.e. was done in private and not in public. If the doctor really knows his work, he is called again the following year. The one who violates again has his crops eaten entirely. It is thus confirmed that he does wrong. Nothing is done to him. He is punished by having his crops eaten. Q: How do the birds come to know of the violation? The custom is just like *ukuPhosana (ngesiPhoso somuThi:* throwing of herbs to harm someone) i.e., the birds work in a magical manner.

3. Restraints Concerning certain Crops

(359, 363, 364): The Zulu never Za'd pumpkins, but they did Za sweet cane and *iSelwa* before the *Doloqina* rite. To perform it the U digs up a root, *uSanhleni*, takes up a little sweet cane and *iSelwa*, touches all his joints with the samples, then takes a bite off each, spits out, and says *Doloqina*. Then they could eat these two crops; the rite doesn't apply to mealies.

Concerning *inDlubu* (according to S, extensively grown in his day) (302) reports: A stranger is not allowed to walk through an earth-nut field, the owner can charge him. Nothing would happen to the stranger but the earth-nuts won't produce, because the man may have eaten meat and that would affect the crop. Meat and earth-nuts do not agree. The owner, who goes into the *inDlubu* field after he has eaten meat throws a bone there to Hl the *izinDlubu* so that they continue producing. He has to respect *inDlubu* as a Wi Hl her H and v.v.! Q: Perhaps you don't Hl the plants, but the real owners? "I am the owner, there are not two owners, I planted them." Q: Perhaps you and the ancestors? "Yes, correct; by Zulu law the ancestors are the owners."

Q. May a stranger go through a mealie field? "It is not done. The owner throws a bone into the field, if pumpkins are growing in it, the same applies to a tobacco field." (A bone is thrown if meat has been eaten previously.) (302) did not say it explicitly, but seemed to imply that if it were not done, the crop would rot. "The owner may point at the produce in the fields; there are no Hl terms for the crops. (The pointing interdict thus applies to outsiders only.) He manures, makes holes, plants the seeds and hopes they will grow. He can't plant tobacco if he is *oSukwini* (has sexual stain); no such rules exist as regards *inDlubu* or pumpkin. Pumpkin and *inDlubu* are not mixed with meat; it is a general custom not to mix foods, it is not an avoidance. Meat and *inDlubu* might even be eaten at the same meal, but from separate pots, or trays, and not at the same time. The incompatibility is that of work rather than of the foods."

Not every Zulu grows earth-nuts. People who grow them also eat them. Certain people avoid earth-nuts. Diviners eat *inDlubu* but not cowpeas; royalty and women eat *inDlubu;* it is the best food for girls; they cook *inDlubu* for their lovers. It is food that is appreciated, and like beans in its taste, but beans came with the Indians, are new, and without 'customs' attached.

XI: ANALYSIS: HLONIPHA OF ACTION

A. RECIPROCITY

1. Introduction

In the description of the respectful avoidances between stranger and host, it was noted that the restraints placed upon the stranger found corresponding responses in the host. This is a general feature of conduct between linked statuses among the Zulu as the Tables have shown. We propose to name this characteristic of avoidances: reciprocity.

The term reciprocity recalls Malinowski's attempt (1926) to explain conformity to custom in such primitive societies as do not possess the compulsive mechanism of centralized authority. He established that such societies have a well-balanced system of "obligations (which Malinowski called laws) regarded as a right by one party and a duty by the other and kept in force by the mechanism of reciprocity and publicity inherent in the structure" of such societies. Hoebel argued against this view (1954: 178 ff) that reciprocity helps to understand social relations, since no social relations are unilateral, but it is not law. Malinowski overlooks two constituent facts of law in this connection, the sanction of legitimate physical coercion, and the main function of law which is the delegation and allocation of power against the tendencies to usurp and corrupt power by sectional interests. Seagle's comment is that Malinowski selected the customs relating to marriage, inheritance, property and pronounced them to be primitive law (1937: 283). Diamond (1951: 51-6) comes nearer to Malinowski's view when he says: "Reciprocity is not law, but may be considered to take the place of law at a low (cultural) level". Maciver (1944: 333) states: "The loss of reciprocal services following the non-implementation of tribal rules does not entitle us to call these rules 'legal' in the modern sense. The loss of return services and magical reactions as sanctions are primitive equivalents of our legal institutions, i.e. of penalties imposed by a specialized organ of society". Our term reciprocity is used in a much

more limited sense to describe the fact that the obligation to observe avoidances in a bi-polar relationship exists for both, the inferior as well as the superior status. As such it appears to be a moral ideal rather than a legal prescription, and it is well expressed in the proverb: 'Respect begets respect'(*KuHlonishwana kaBili*).

2. *Parents - Children*

The following avoidances, observed by parents towards their Chn are accepted by the majority of Zulu as expressions of respectful restraint (Hl).

a. *Reserved Area*

Parents should not see their child when it is passing through a developmental rite: the father does not enter the hut where his menstruating Da 'broods'. The avoidance is especially strict when he has *uSuku* (sexual stain). From the mother restrained conduct is expected at her So's puberty rite, and whenever she is in her changes. The real M of a young woman does not attend her Da's wedding lest she harm her Ch. Boys recently circumcised (the last general circumcision took place 150 years ago) could not be seen by their parents, lest their wounds should heal slowly (Braatvedt; Krige: 142n; Bryant: 1949: 490).

The ideal of respectful restraint limits the F's educational power. He should not beat his Ch over-much. If a Ch, threatened with chastisement, escapes to the Residence of the eldest So, the F may not enter it. He may go inside when he is free of anger, when his intentions are peaceful. A man should not beat his Da after he has received bride-price for her, nor should he quarrel with his So after he has got married. "Women are not allowed to beat their male children. If a M does the boys are allowed to kill her" (Smith, A.: 92).

Parents do not expose their sex organs to their children. (Chn do so among themselves: Girls examine one another's buttocks to report to their Brs on the sexual attractiveness of their friends. Girls are requested to expose themselves before their parents for a similar purpose.)

Parents must not indulge in sexual intercourse in the presence of their Chn. (Infants are disregarded. When a woman is called to her H's residence, the Chn remain in her hut in charge of bigger girls, or they are transferred to their GM's hut. Bigger Chn sleep in their own residential huts). The sanction sounds rational:"Your Chn will spread the report of your doings to other Chn. They may copy your action", which in this connection is described as 'incest'. Parents avoid sex intercourse whilst their Ch undergoes a rite of passage. One informant insisted that parents should not cohabit whilst their unmarried Ch is away from home, e.g., a So away on a hunt or at the mines.

A woman should no longer have Chn herself when her eSo has enlisted in a regiment, or when he has married and expects offspring himself. The underlying idea is the incompatibility of two proximate generations bearing Chn at the same time (Ludlow: 121; Asmus: 154).

The strictest prohibition concerns sex relations between parents and Chn. The abhorrence which such relations excite is expressed in the frequent classification of this prohibition with taboos (Za).

b. *Speech*

Parents should be careful about the subjects they touch on in the presence of their children. They should, for instance, not talk about sex. As soon as the Ch begins to talk it is presumed to understand the implications of improper talk.

c. *Food*

Few restrictions in the sphere of food are imposed on parents in their dealings with their Chn. They should not eat parts of an animal or the kinds of vegetable which are reserved for the young folk.

3. *Husband - Wife*

a. *Reserved Areas*

Reciprocal restraints emerge also in the relationship between H and Wi. Already after the

Betrothal a young man may not look at his girl if he wears no shirt (Hl) nor may he look her straight in the eyes (294). He avoids the women's side in every hut of the kraal. He may not touch his Wi's top-knot, especially when he is angry with her! To maltreat a Wi is to show disrespect to her (Bryant 1949:603). (102): "A H should not beat his Wi without reason! He should warn her, if she has incurred his displeasure, or send her home for a lesson on how to behave. A person who beats his Wi is thought of by the public as a 'fool', with bad manners. He is taught as much in the lessons before the wedding. If her conduct is trying, he should report her to her F."

After a man has apportioned his homestead into Great House and Left House it is no longer possible for him to dispose of cattle without the knowledge, and some Zulu would add, consent of the woman in charge of the House concerned. She should also be told to what use the cattle are to be put, e.g. fine or bride-price. This holds even if the purpose of the cattle transaction is the acquisition of an additional Wi (Shooter: 84). The family head cannot even give away a cow which has been attached to a House for milking purposes only. The rule does not apply in those high rank families where the head refuses to apportion Houses before his death. Informants belonging to such families blurt out: "My F surely never bothered to ask his Wis in such matters!"

For a husband to desert his Wi, which happens frequently under conditions of the modern labour market, is considered by rural Zulu as violation of the respect a H owes his Wi. The structural implications of virilocal marriage do not include such a possibility!

b. Sexual Restraints

Sex relations between a couple are regulated by rules which are said to be the outcome of the H's respectful restraint towards the woman. A man should not cohabit with his Wi when she is unclean: when she is in her changes, during and for some time after her confinement, and after a death has occurred in her family. The sanction threatens physical and mental weakness: the transgressor will be stupid and lacking in wit at an assembly of men. He will be easily wounded in hunt or war. An observant H gathers that when his Wi is not eating SM she is unapproachable. When she warns him off: "It is not right today," he at once desists. Intercourse is also avoided on ritual occasions: by the stabber before a sacrifice; by the family head when the homestead is moved to a new site; by the public in general during the rite for the driving away of birds, and on many other occasions. Such abstentions tend to be classed with taboos (Za).

A H's adultery is considered a breach of the respect due to his Wi. The general comment ranges from such phrases as: "The man has committed a mean act; he is indulging in a dirty habit!" to a reference to the magical sanctions: "A woman with whom a man commits adultery is a source of misfortune. The adulterer contracts this from her and it will manifest itself in a dangerous enterprise, like hunt or war."

A man should not reject a girl in marriage who has joined herself ritually to him by the *ukuBaleka* process. The man is expected to keep her. This forces her F to open bride-price negotiations with him. If the man refuses the girl, he must wash away the shame in a pot of water in the cattle-pen. The girl is released (without disgrace to herself) by a gift of a goat or 10/- in cash (Krige: 125).

c. Speech

In speech restrictions the H's regimen is lighter than the woman's. The groom should not move about in an undignified manner during the wedding. This would be disrespectful to the bride and her folk. After the wedding he may continue to call his Wi by her pers/n. He may, however, honour his Wi by calling her by her F's pers/n. A man should not scold his Wi in the presence of her Chn. A H does not use vulgar language towards his Wi, since he Hl's her.

d. Food

The eating by the H of food left over by his Wi would be breaking the respect custom. He will be called thief *(iSela)* by his Wis! Nor may he eat food that is customarily partaken of by women only, such as herbs, wild vegetables, cooked entrails and certain parts of a beast.

A transgressor will be killed or injured in a fight. A man must not drink beer in the kitchen in which it has been brewed. "It is never done". "Only a selfish man would do it". "This is Zulu law". But he may fetch it there (Colenso: 1868: 244). A H does not take grain from his Wi's pit or granary if she is in the homestead - he will be accused of disrespect towards her. This is permitted when she is absent.

A H may not refuse the food his Wi has cooked and sent to him. A refusal is commented upon disparagingly by his Wis: they accuse him in public of favoritism. Usually the H's refusal is the outcome of a quarrel between him and his Wi, or of his suspicion that she is committing witchcraft or adultery. If he has a good reason it should be placed before HF (or HM) for settlement.

A man does not perform a woman's agricultural or domestic work if he can help it. He is called a 'fool' if he touches a hoe. No man engages in the brewing of beer, the fetching of firewood and water, the hoeing of fields, the sowing of seeds, the weeding and harvesting of crops, the grinding of millet and maize, the making of pots, the weaving of mats and the thatching of huts. Nor does an adult man act as carrier. In olden times, as one informant put it, your Wi carried even your sticks. (In war time or on a hunt boys accompanied the men as carriers). It is true some of these types of work are done by a man, e.g., if his (only) wife is sick or even if she is lazy! Such a man may even be called 'wise' since he puts up with his predicament philosophically. A H also tills and weeds his own field, the grain of which goes into his own or the princWi's store. No man cooks vegetables, but the cooking of all meat (except game) of animals slaughtered for ancestors, purification, and pleasure is done by men. While men (or rather boys) do the milking, the women prepare the SM and pour it from the calabashes into the mixing pot. In the absence of women men do this work and a family head often does his own mixing of SM and boiled maize.

On the whole the sexual division of labour is viewed as custom *(iSiko)* or law (umTh) rather than respectful restraint. Yet a number of these customs are buttressed by magical sanctions. For instance, if a boy grinds maize on the grinding stone, the girl(s) will have aching wrists! Moreover, in a conflict situation, some of these rules become critical prohibitions classed with Hl, or even Za. To sum up: A man should not be disrespectful to his Wi, since she respects him.

4. The Restrained Conduct of Parents-in-Law towards Children-in-Law

a. HF and Da-in-L

The avoidances of the bride are to some extent reciprocated by the HF's respectful restraints towards her. A HF may not enter his So's residence as long as he lives with his bride there. Nor may he enter the family hut of his SoWi. After the r/r giving him access there, the women's side is barred to him. Some informants say a HF may enter his Da-in-l's hut in her absence, e.g., when she is in the fields, but must leave it on her return. He may not long remain in the same hut with his Da-in-l. A HF must not sleep in the same hut as his SoWi, but should rather sleep in a kitchen or beer hut; he cannot touch her mats or his Da-in-l's clothes, actions which under certain conditions are possible to the woman's H. The HF (as well as HFBrs and HBrs) may not see or look at the bride when she is still wearing her veil. These rules are observed to respectfully avoid the 'strange' woman (Hl). They are discontinued after a r/r, the killing of a beast for the SoWi by her HF.

As the bride avoids the HF's pers/n, he on his part does not call her by hers, although his So, the woman's H, uses it. He does not shout for her even if she is outside the homestead. He sends a child to fetch her. That this is a restraint on the HF's freedom of action is revealed in the fact that he shouts freely at his agnatic kinsfolk. Only after a r/r can he touch his SoWi's milk calabashes so that henceforth he can fill them from the milk pail. If his So is away and no SoSo available, a HF may milk and pour milk into his SoWi's calabash. He cannot touch her SM spoon, only her H may do so.

Thus, although the incidence of avoidances weighs more heavily on his Da-in-l, the HF meets her avoidances in essentials. There is a functional relation between the extent of his authority and the number of his avoidances: his agnatic kinsmen with less authority over the bride also ob-

serve fewer avoidances towards her.

b. WiM and DaH

No woman visits her So-in-l's homestead without observing the respect due to him. If she meets her So-in-l on the path she steps aside with averted eyes. WiM and DaH never shake hands nor do they touch each other. He may not help her even in an accident (Asmus: 212). The WiM enters her So-in-l's kraal only with his formal permission or that of his go-between. She cannot enter his Residence. Nor may she enter, and sweep or smear, the men's side of her Da's family hut. If she were to sit down on her DaH's mat everyone would be horrified.

She shows her respect in his kraal by wearing a cloth *(iNgubo)* over her shoulders to cover her breasts. She would not come to her So-in-l's homestead without such a cloth. She should also wear a fillet or headband, or a scarf over her top-knot. In default of this she may tie beads or grass round it. This is to Hl her DaH and his agnates (Farrer: 126, *umNqwazi* S: 331). When a young woman has a Ch, her HM stays with her in her hut for a few days only, then her own M takes over (Reyher: 67).

As the headband and shoulder cloth are also worn by a yoWi, both WiM and her Da show their respect to the latter's H and his lineage in a similar fashion. The essentials of this custom lie in the signalizing function of articles of dress which have an isolating effect. In addition the shoulder cloth by hiding prominent sexual characteristics acknowledges the authority of the wife-receiving group in regulating sex norms. In their own domicile avoidances with a sexual connotation are not entirely absent. The prohibition against a M-in-l having sex relations with her DaH, and of a HF with his SoWi, is so strict that informants say that it partakes of the nature of both Za (taboo) and Hl (avoidance). To prevent the occurrence of this type of incest it is insisted that no parent-in-law should sleep in the same hut as a child-in-law of the opposite sex, even if there are other sleepers in the hut.

The speech restrictions between in-laws are described elsewhere. Bleek noted: "When a young man marries another man's daughter the Hl custom is practised towards the So-in-l. The M of the girl shall wear a headband to appear bashful *(aHloniphe)* before him. The F of the girl shall say: *SakuBona mKhwenyana:* We see the son-in-law. His daughters say: We see thee son-in-law. The So-in-l shall say: We see you Sis-in-l *(baLamu bami)*. "

When a WiM calls on her Da, she prepares beer and takes it to her So-in-l's homestead. She places it in her Da's beer-kitchen to which she, but not her DaH, has free access, as it is her Da's place.

A M-in-l may not eat at her married Da's home before a beast is killed on her behalf by her So-in-l (Reyher: 66). She may not eat before her DaH and he avoids eating before her. To release her from this restraint the So-in-l gives her, say, £1. She may have to wait a long time for this, perhaps five years, or she may be released after her Da has given birth to a number of Chn. The M-in-l then makes beer, the So-in-l kills a goat for her and she and all members of the So-in-l's homestead eat of it, as a "breakfast".

No person eats SM in the homestead of his in-laws (affines). This avoidance rule holds for F-in-l as well as M-in-l, even though in their case the potential marriage relations which this restriction symbolizes is of no practical significance. No person would eat food left over by his Da-in-l or So-in-l.

To sum up: To the question why these rules and restrictions are observed by persons of seniority and authority towards their social subordinates, a typical Zulu, e.g., (347), will answer first that they are customary. He also admits that they may serve to prevent incest between parents-in-law and children-in-law. His most convincing explanation is that the avoidances are expressions of respectful restraint (Hl). Even parents-in-law are not free from the moral pressure of constraints, and the very exaggeration of the submissiveness of the bride towards her HF demands a social counter-weight.

5. Respectful Restraint of Older towards Younger Generations

a. Reserved Area

The principle of reciprocal respectful restraint can also be traced in the conduct expected of

old people towards their juniors. A grown-up man does not handle childish objects, e.g. a baby's calabash. This is done as much from contempt for childish things as from a desire to respect the child's possessions. For each calabash has its owner. The general distribution of work according to age and sex is observed as part of the Hl system. During the puberty rite of a So, the running of the homestead is delegated to him for some hours. It would be disregarding the status attained by his So, if the F were to interfere with this traditional reversal of authority (Krige: 92).

b. Sexual Restraints

In sexual matters the rule that mature people should not attend a love dance *(iJadu)* of their juniors (Bryant: 1905) falls under the ideal of avoidance. The youngsters must be given a chance. When I questioned an old man whether this rule was an instance of Hl he replied testily: "I've told you before, that each regiment respected the other as a natural thing." It is considered improper for a married man to have intracrural intercourse with an unmarried girl. Such action is equivalent to adultery. A polygynist who marries women much younger than himself does not pay love visits to them in their homestead before the wedding.

c. Speech

Concerning speech a general rule insists that young people should not be treated, or spoken to, haughtily by their seniors; they should not play the fool with them.

d. Food

No person eats food reserved for his juniors, e.g., the brain and the bones of a beast are the boys' share and never eaten by married men (Isaacs I: 195). The flesh of the bull killed at the First Fruits is reserved for the junior regiment(s); none of their seniors will touch it. Nor is the bull ever strangled by members of an old regiment (Krige: 254). Similarly the goat which is given to the girls of the bridal party after the consummation may not be eaten by married women (Owen: 85).

6. Respectful Restraint of Chief towards Commoners

Whatever impression one gets from the accounts of the arbitrariness of the great Zulu tyrants, the regulative ideal of the Zulu of today certainly is: The people respect their chief in avoidances; the chief ought also to respect his people, i.e., he must not treat his subjects in a wanton manner!

a. Reserved Area

The chief is not allowed to make laws, allot land, declare war, order a person to be killed without the consent of his councillors (Krige: 267). If the king acted against the council's advice, he might be deprived of one of his royal beasts; in other words he could be fined by the council (Gluckman: 1940: 33). A king could not have a person executed who on escaping from the henchmen succeeded in reaching his F's grave or in touching the king himself. The idea of asylum was thus not foreign to the Zulu, even if their language lacked a word for it (Samuelson, L. H.: 156). The rule that a chief should not share a room or hut with a commoner is cited by some Zulu as an instance of respect towards the inferior status. (It may with equal justification be considered as the very opposite of respect. Avoidance customs are subject to ambivalent interpretations!)

b. Sexual Restraints

Concerning sex, the ideal conduct for the king (chief) is not to make any advances to a commoner's daughter unless he contemplates marriage. The ruler is expected not to force, or use his authority over, a girl to make her cohabit with him. He should send a headman or councillor as go-between to call a girl to whom he has taken a fancy.

c. Speech

The king observes a number of speech restraints in the presence of commoners. He does not

laugh loudly or speak much. He is not overcommunicative and avoids all vulgar expressions. He should not put himself in a position where he could easily be challenged or contradicted. He should not express surprise or emotional upset, neither undue curiosity nor ignorance in the company of his subjects. Isaacs noted the lack of restraint with which Shaka received him in private as compared to the king's show of deference in assembly. (Similar experiences have been recorded by white visitors to Dingane, Mpande, Cetshwayo). The king does not give judgment in a law case directly, but through a "mouth". Nor does he speak to a strange visitor except through such an official (Krige: 232; de Villiers: 178).

d. Food

The king could not confiscate a person's property without sufficient reason nor use for his own purposes all the confiscated cattle or the whole war booty. A goodly proportion had to be apportioned to the officers in command and to warriors. The king must Hl the heroes! The cattle stationed at the various barracks could not be disposed of by the king over the head of the officer in charge. If a king begrudged his subjects beer or meat, they would talk about his stinginess; they would deny that he was a proper king. They might be tempted to poison him! The least a king could do in the way of hospitality was to offer subjects visiting his court some sour milk!

The Zulu do not hold uniform views about the significance of these customs. Nor indeed do they agree about their classification. (102), noting the gradual disappearance of respectful restraint conduct between king and commoners, offered the following classification: If a law is broken, legal punishment follows as well as public disgrace or at least comment. Hl is behaviour demonstrating a kind of attitude, that of respect. It costs less of an effort to Hl than to obey the law; its neglect is more difficult to punish except by withdrawing reciprocal recognition, by giving a person a bad reputation. *iSiko* (custom) is the traditional manner of doing things, tribal characteristic or peculiarity, e.g., the Zulu way of setting up a kraal. (139), Ndesheni Zulu, held different views. It is the H's duty to be considerate to his Wi; everyone must be considerate to everyone else: it is a general law (umTh) rather than a respectful restraint (Hl) in definite status links. The time-table according to which a polygynist calls his Wis to his residence is not a suitable example of a H's respect for his Wis, but a law (umTh) followed by all polygynists. The examples examined as reciprocal restraints might suitably have been viewed as instances of 'consideration'.

The same informant called certain conduct rules law (umTh) before lunch and as consistently custom, *iSiko*, after lunch, e.g., the M's absence from the wedding of her Da = *iSiko;* the F-in-l avoiding his Da-in-l's hut: *iSiko* not Hl!; M-in-l not visiting where her So-in-l sits: *iSiko*, not Hl! He admits at last that a M-in-l's avoidance of the men's side, i.e., where her So-in-l has intercourse with her Da, is Hl! Undoubtedly, being an aristocrat his view was affected by the idea that Hl characterizes a subordinate's position.

B. POSITIVE EXPRESSION OF RESTRAINTS, OF THE AVOIDANCE IDEAL

Not all respectful restraints are expressed in a negative manner. The negative formulation of moral demands has attracted the attention of investigators of 'primitive' morality. According to Wundt (Ethik III, p. 136 ff) negative rules emerge earlier than the positive ones on the analogy of logic, where the negative formulation of thought (Axiom of Contradiction) preceded the positive formulation (Axiom of Identity). Accordingly the penal law of the Hammurabi Code, the Egyptian Book of the Dead and the Decalogue contain mainly prohibitions. Lehmann (1930: 284) consequently contrasts imperatives with prohibitives, under which he subsumes (i) educational and legal prohibitions, (ii) avoidances, (iii) abstentions. Durkheim is likewise concerned with this contrast (1939: 310) when he discusses the positive aspects of negative cults, i.e., abstentions. Negative cults are a means of approaching the sacred. By detaching the devotee from the profane they elevate his religious tone. Positive acts, such as unctions, lustrations, benedictions achieve the same, and so do fasts, vigils, retreats, and periods of silence. Durkheim

thinks that isolated interdicts and positive ritual acts may be combined into systems of conduct, which may be described as a way of life. Meyer Fortes (1945: 66, 122) shows the easy transition (among the Tallensi) from negative to positive injunctions: *Kicher* (taboos) are literally forbidden things, but the meaning encompasses ritual injunctions as well as prohibitions.

The problem is best illustrated by examining the obligations of the H towards his Wi. It is easy to elicit from informants the restrictions a married woman has to observe in her relations with her H. It is much more difficult to obtain definite statements about the obligations a married man has towards his Wi(s). The main reason seems to be that they are expressed in a positive way. Here is a characteristic answer from a teacher of long standing: "I have done my best to find out (scil. the restrictions based upon the H). But the H's side is difficult to define. The H is bound to build a hut for his Wi. He is bound to give her a cow whose milk she alone is allowed to consume. He is under an obligation to sit down and eat the food she has cooked for him. He must call a medical man and pay his fee if she is sick. He is bound to follow the timetable of visits to his Wis. He is bound to avoid them on prescribed occasions. If he does not fulfil these obligations, he may call down misfortunes upon his head and his family. He will be looked upon as a mean person, as a H who has 'dirty habits'."

The H's obligations thus range over the whole expanse of the taboo pattern. They do not lack a mystic sanction (i.e. misfortune), nor ritual 'dirtiness' or contamination attaching to the defaulter. The only point lacking is the negative formulation although this could be supplied easily: Do not disappoint certain expectations on your Wi's part! Other informants do not hesitate to render the expectations thus, e.g., "a man can honour (Hl) his Wi by not troubling or worrying her, by not beating her, by not swearing at her, by not neglecting her in food and clothes, by giving her a garden plot. If he did not do these things, he would be looking down upon his Wi and his in-laws might bring an action against him for neglect" (178).

Every Zulu will agree that definite obligations are imposed on the chief in dealing with his subjects. Not many of them, as we have seen, are expressed in the form of an avoidance or interdict. Much depends on which actions are selected by individual informants as exemplifying a respect attitude (Hl). (102) singles out the fact that the king must act as refuge, that in this he shows his respect towards his subjects. The king, he adds, also shows his respect for commoners by obtaining a man's permission before marrying his daughter. Thirdly, in (102)'s opinion, the king shows Hl by addressing a person with his clan and regimental names. In his further evidence the negative formulation prevails: The king must not be harsh in talking to his subjects. He must not act without the consent of his councillors in political decisions.

He adds the ideal of Hl necessitates that any cruelty displayed by the king-in-council is not placed at the king's door but shouldered by his executive officers: the king is above criticism! The king has to be hospitable to visitors: beer and meat must be offered them, even if they are commoners. It is a matter of Hl'ing them. (But cf. evidence that visitors to the king's court almost always starved).

(113, 114) agree that the king Hl's his subjects, but their selection of actions signifying this attitude differs from those of (102). If you met the king by chance he would Hl you by beckoning you to come close. The king as a rule did not stop at a commoner's kraal. If he did it was a special honour for the kraalhead (Hl). In a discussion at court, in a legal argument the king might tell the audience to listen to a brilliant speaker, to remember his lucid exposition. Such pleading would be considered a special honour to the speaker. The king gave gifts to warriors, officers and officials, e.g., spears and cattle. He had cattle slaughtered for distinguished visitors to show his regard for them. Another way to Hl his subjects was to have wizards troubling the community killed! He was not obliged to listen to accusations of witchcraft. If he did, it was because he felt pity for his people and respected their view. The king could not confiscate a person's property without due cause. In this he showed Hl to his subjects. (The despots stretched the patience of their subjects.)

That old nobleman, Mnyayiza Zulu, on the other hand, regretted that in these days there was little opportunity for the display of mutual respect and restraints between king and commoners. He, and other old men, blamed the - in their view - unnecessary intermediate institution of the magistracy for this state of affairs.

The underlying principle comes out very clearly in the attitude and actions of parents towards their Chn. It is part of the Hl ideal that a So is given increasing consideration as he

grows up, likewise a Da. In her case a strong economic-ritual motive strengthens the Hl ideal, viz., the expectation that she will be a cattle-earner and cattle are needed for the worship of the ancestors. But the same intertwining of economic and ritual factors is present in the So's case. Sos are needed for the perpetuation of the ancestral line; they are needed as assistants at a cattle SAC. They help to establish the economic importance of a homestead, the work of their Wis "swells the coffers" of the kraal and these make possible numerous social contacts with other homesteads.

If a F neglected his duties towards his Chn his neighbours would gossip about it and, in specially bad cases, they would feel obliged to warn the F: "You do not Hl your Chn. You don't show them respect," (scil. by controlling your own desires). As a rule such a warning is well taken. Hl in this sense might be translated by "giving consideration", and only by implication is there a reference to avoidances. To give consideration to the subordinate status' interests is a positive responsibility, a duty of those in authority, whether in the family or in the tribe.

Mnyayiza (141), in trying to give positive instances of parental Hl, inadvertently slipped into negative examples: "Parents should talk gently to their children. Scolding is proper only if children are disobedient. The beating of children should be adjusted to their character: some need it, others not. As an aristocrat he would not admit that the punitive power of parents has any limits, but in the public view such exist. Severe parents are generally condemned. Cruelty is believed to draw upon parents some inescapable misfortune, some automatic reaction of the violated norms. Cursing, Mnyayiza thought, depended on the personality of the parents. Properly speaking parents should not curse their Chn, because of Hl. (Cursing is a grandparental privilege, and a last resort in the easy relationship between alternate generations. As this relationship may, for this very reason, sometimes break down, it requires the check of extreme verbal measures, for grandparents lack the alternative of physical force. Here is a locus where magic emerges.) Possessions belonging to a Ch may not be taken by its F without its consent. For instance he may not sell the increase of his So's cattle. In other words, a F must respect (Hl) his So's property rights. In so far as he does so he accepts restrictions on his freedom of action."

It would be incorrect to associate positive expressions of Hl with the superior statuses only. That they may also attach to an inferior status is well exemplified in the Chn's Hl. (183) says: "Since a Da grows up in her F's charge, she must weed and cook for him and give him food. On his behalf she brews beer, cuts thatch-grass, thatches huts, fetches water, collects firewood and carries manure to the fields. She must report to her F when going away from the homestead, she must obey her F's word, if he refuses any of her requests. She cannot give beer to her Brs without her F's consent. When people come to offer bride-price for her, they must be received by her eBr. When the girl is asked whether she loves the man, she must keep silent as a sign of consent. She may not love a man who has no cattle(!) When her lover comes on a visit, she cannot go out to greet him, but her eSi does."

Likewise the So's duties towards his parents contain many positive actions. 'He must milk for his F, plough fields, fence cattle-pens, build huts and repair them, chop wood, bring beer to where visitors are gathered, skin sacrificial beasts, herd cattle, take messages, give reports, weed in the fields, wash the F's clothes, bring sheep and goats home from the hills." Such duties are in substance indistinguishable from those formulated in a negative manner: A So must not beat his Chn in the presence of his F (the GP-GCh relationship cuts between); he must not scold his Wi in his F's presence (the authority rests with his F; but also a dependant should not be embarrassed before a superior); a So must not kill a cow without his F's consent.

Summary

The problem of positive restraints is in a measure a linguistic problem. Not all restraints can in every circumstance be expressed as prohibitions. If a child is told never to eat his meals without first washing his hands ritually, this is in many instances rendered as a positive injunction: Wash your hands before eating! Yet my informants insist that this rule is an avoidance (Hl). Obviously it is possible to view the rule in two equally valid directions - negatively: Do not eat without washing!, and positively: Wash before eating. One reason why the prohibitive form seems to be preferred is a psychological one. Prohibitions are believed to carry greater weight than positive commands. Moreover, many actions which belong to the Hl

of action are symbolic expressions of subordination and of necessity possess a positive character. A Ch on receiving a gift must stretch out both hands. A betrothed maiden respects her F-in-l by covering her face with a cloth. The chief is revered in elaborate and minutely circumscribed salutation.

There is a third, a sociological reason: the superior implements his authority by issuing interdicts; he retains his superiority by carrying out positive obligations. A comparison of respectful restraints imposed on inferior statuses with those expected of superior statuses associated with them shows that notwithstanding the insistence on reciprocity, the superior statuses have the better of the exchanges. In discussing this with intelligent Zulu, they will point out that this is a superficial and hasty impression. The balance is restored, in their opinion, by the positive obligations which the superior statuses are constrained to fulfil with regard to their inferiors. The Zulu conceive of these obligations as positive instances of Hl. They will admit that they are not avoidances or restraints in the narrow sense. But since they involve demands on the resources, both material and social, of the superior statuses, and thus involve limitations to their freedom of action, they assume the nature, if not the form, of restraints. Moreover, a superior cannot express himself except in positive actions, since by observing restraints he abrogates his status of superiority.

The heavier incidence of respectful restraints on the inferior statuses is thus implicit in the very relationship of superordination and subordination. Superiority is characterized by a wide scope of action, inferiority consists in restrictions on the scope of action. How consistently the Zulu accept this state of affairs in all walks of life has been demonstrated. The great number of avoidances and prohibitions in the conduct of subordinate statuses is in the final analysis due to the necessity of the associated superior statuses having to define the extent and the nature of subordination. Linguistically this leads to negative formulations, to prohibitions, to don'ts.

The respectful restraints of the superior status have by and large a different etiology. They are not imposed by a constituted superior personal authority, but by diffuse public comment or expectations. They are accepted voluntarily, are imperatives rather than prohibitives and for this reason formulated in a positive manner. Occasionally their non-fulfilment is admitted by a superior status with relish and justified as a right, as part of the dignity of a father, husband or ruler. But respectful restraints of superior statuses readily change into ritual obligations whose omission carries mystic sanctions similar to those found associated with some restraints. The sanction of an immanent, inexplicable but inevitable retribution is not foreign to Zulu thought. It can be traced not only in public opinion, it also arises as pangs of conscience in persons with superior status. Here we have also a locus for the emergence of magical sanctions which reflect public expectations. Because legal enforcement is rare in this sphere, magical sanctions are likely to be stronger.

Whether imposed from outside, by public opinion as guided by tradition and insight, or issuing from inner stirrings of the conscience of a superior the restraints and obligations of superior statuses appear as virtues rather than duties. They are suffused with the glory of voluntary adoption and voluntary execution. A high status is thus not only privileged in economic advantages and power prerogatives. Compared with it an inferior status appears underprivileged in the moral sphere even. For he is subject to many and exacting impositions and to an incisive curtailment of his sphere of control.

C. HLONIPHA OF ACTION - A LANGUAGE OF RESPECT EXPRESSIONS

To analyse the functions of respectful restraints in action an important criterion is that the explanation must cover the totality of phenomena. Native explanations, valuable as they are, are on varying levels of abstraction. They do give explanations of individual avoidances, but these are often contradictory, invented on the spur of the moment, and often appear irrational. Anthropological explanations have rarely, if ever, attempted an overall explanation. They have been built upon an arbitrary selection of facts, and have served to bolster theories, rather than

interpret the phenomenon in its entirety, and the one underlying principle has not been searched for.

The avoidance actions together seem to function as a system of expressing certain attitudes. In this system the subordinate status expresses obedience, demureness, submission, loyalty, devotion; where a superordinate status observes Hl, it expresses concern, consideration, condescension, responsibility. This system of symbolical expressions resembles language. Like the gesture language of the deaf and dumb it has a wider intelligibility than mere verbal language. Miss Barter in the 1870's made good use of the universally recognised symbolical value of withdrawal when a kraalhead refused to give her food which she needed for her sick brother. She had offered to purchase a goat; he had replied that the goats belonged to absent young men. She offered barter goods (a woollen blanket), the man refused to trade. She then sat down under her waggon screening herself behind the driver and hiding her face from the public gaze. When the kraal's women came out to greet her, she remained silent and did not lift her face. She told them through her driver acting as go-between that she would not speak with people who refused to sell her food. After discussion they went to the kraal and returned with bowls of vegetable food and sour milk (which were under their control). Miss Barter feigned indignation: 'I reject such stuff. I will not touch food of people who have plenty of meat and refuse to sell it although I offer a good price.' The women said nothing, left the food there and withdrew to the kraal. After a time a man came with a scraggy goat. Miss Barter: Shall I sleep cold (i.e. give a good blanket) to buy a bag of bones? and ordered her servant to pack the blanket. This was completely successful: the man brought a goat fit to kill.

Beyond these universal features Zulu avoidance expressions have peculiar features. For instance naming avoidances are found in many societies, but among the Zulu they are clothed in a local medium and serve a special cultural orientation. This implies that they can be truly understood only in this special setting, that an avoidance which may be appropriate in Zulu culture may be entirely out of place in a neighbouring culture. The expression of respect is thus conventional in nature. It makes use also of a process of categorization of respectful behaviour items. For instance *ukuKhophoza* is to look down with shyness or shame, to show deference by not looking into the face of a superior. *ukuKhothama* is the action of bowing or bending before a superior as if picking something from the ground, and in general to act humbly. *ukuKhangeza* is the holding out of hands alongside each other to make a hollow of the palms. Women and Chn hold out hands like this when receiving something from H and F. *ukuKhuleka* is the complex of actions expressing respect as a subordinate approaches his superior (posture, gait, speech, etc.)

It is however significant that, although there are many avoidance actions and many naming avoidances, the attitudes which are to be expressed are comparatively few. The subordinate member in a polar relation expresses his respect, the superordinate his consideration. The meaning being obvious, we must explain why it is necessary to insist on the frequent repetition of the same communication. What accounts for the pleonastic nature of Hl symbolism? The iterative documentation of the attitude of submission and deference, and of that of consideration and responsibility must be characteristic of a society which is based on the continuous face to face contact of authoritative status and subordinate status. In modern society with depersonalized authorities - the state, the church - and the absenteeism of family authorities, the Fs, such iterative documentation seems no longer apposite, although as we know totalitarian states have partially revived the practice. The system of Hl actions does provide for occasions when the person of authority is absent. This is achieved by the multiplicity of 'signs' towards which avoidances have to be observed in the absence of their 'owner'. The F's eating utensils (spoons, pots, calabashes, trays) must be as much avoided as the most significant parts of his body (head, shoulder, legs, penis); his sleeping furniture (neckrest, mat, blanket, bed site) is as reserved as his most important possessions (cattle: meat, milk, pen, bones and dung). Other authorities, e.g., the chief, the elders, the mother have similar external signs of their social persons towards which obeisances have to be performed by their inferiors.

The unit of the symbolical language of action is the single avoidance, the single naming custom. The units always occur in combinations of varying complexity and duration, yet they articulate constantly the attitudes appropriate to statuses in interaction. The patterns of avoidances which reappear in various relationships indicate that the language of Hl has also some

kind of syntax as it were. This stereotyped behaviour allows of an easy check, not so much on the psychic attitudes which we presume to be at the back of it, but on the normalcy of the actor concerned. The sensitive person may introduce a number of refinements in expressive avoidances; the stolid and obtuse reduces his avoidances to the essential minimum. The rebel, the truculent, the deviate and the deficient will not only omit but intentionally violate the avoidance norms. They are thus easily detected and, possibly, easily dealt with. Their defiance of the expressive norms is a signal of an intended rupture in personal relationships, as the incident of Shaka's avoidance violations towards his father Senzangakhona shows.

The symbolical language of avoidances is, however, not merely a means of expressing attitudes. It is probably more significant as a means of moulding attitudes. The link between action and feelings, between avoidances and inner restraints, between overt behaviour and psychic equivalent is hardly one of inner contents which must find outward expression. The relation is often valid in the reverse: as flight action produces fear, - as the famous James-Lange theory asserts -, so avoidances create respect. Tiny infants are urged to perform avoidances in speech and action: the drill they receive is not grasped by them in its purpose; they learn to respond automatically to an avoidance situation. The bride, likewise, has to submit to a course in expressions of demureness after the wedding (in which she was the ritual star performer) which renders her in-law avoidances 'natural', 'instinctive' responses.

Connected with this efflorescence of respect avoidances is the question of feigning, of hypocrisy in the expressions of deference. While in Western culture the decisive conflict is that between words and deeds, and the double-tongued person is a symbol of deceit, African conduct creates the possibility of moving in three realms: that of words, of avoidance expressions and actions. The Zulu has thus more chance of mystifying his opposite number than the white man. Moreover the three-track communication system gives him more possibilities of testing the reaction of an authority. The omission of an avoidance may be a preliminary test, its open violation a positive encroachment upon the prerogatives of the superior status whose ability to defend his position may reveal itself in his reactions.

A further quality of the symbolic language of avoidances in naming and action is that it allows of the dovetailing of expressions. We repeatedly noted a kind of dialogue in action avoidances between partners in a social setting. The restraints of the wooer, for instance, interlock with corresponding expressions of deference on the part of the wooed maiden. Co-operation is facilitated where the dovetailing of expressive behaviour indicates agreement between the partners. The smooth observation of avoidances in stimulus and response is thus a measure of the harmony existing between partners in bi-polar social relationships. Outsiders easily read off from observable avoidances what the attitudes between persons in such relations are and may do so without requiring verbal communications. The sensitivity of Africans to this code makes them much quicker than Europeans in sensing the atmosphere prevailing in a homestead, in a social institution.

Finally, attention must be drawn to the fact that at various points avoidance actions (Hl) pass over into (Za) prohibitions. This is so especially with the bride's avoidances towards the HF's signs of authority, and with the restraints observed by the Zulu towards certain atmospheric phenomena. The factor in common is that in both situations the superior status is indeterminate. The bride's attitude towards the HF is coloured by the nearness of his death and physical disappearance, or at least by the arrangements which make direct contact between them impossible. The Zulu's attitude towards thunder, lightning and hail is coloured by the view that they are sent by his ancestral superiors who are not immediately present.

CHAPTER THREE; THE SPATIAL EXPRESSION OF AVOIDANCE

A. THE KRAAL

Within a homestead a number of positions may be distinguished: outer and inner fence, ring of huts, kitchens, barns, the yard, the cattle enclosure (pen), the gates to homestead and pen, the ash-heaps, graves and privies, also the divisions of the kraal into Houses. Concerning most, if not all, of these loci respectful restraints are observed.

1. (343) says concerning the g a t e t o t h e h o m e s t e a d - few gates are seen nowadays- that the U has it treated by a doctor against the entry of baboon, *umKhovu*, lightning, spook *(umuNgcwi)*, and special snakes which act as familiars of wizards. No stranger passes the gate without stopping and drawing the attention of the inmates to his approach *(ukuKhuleka)* (Hl). Only when instructed by the U (through a child frequently) may he enter, but not without leaving his sticks and weapons, even his hat, at the gate and in the case of a leech his medicine bags, since 'the medicines might harm the Chn' (Hl).

2. T h e y a r d *(iGceke)* is the circular passage between the ring of huts and the cattle pen. The right side of the homestead is the privileged and honoured side. Here lies the Great House of the homestead; the eSo of the presiding Wi of this House is chief heir to the U's property and successor to his rank. Correspondingly the right-hand yard forms the honoured or Ceremonial Path. Up it move the parties in an anti-clockwise direction at the great ceremonies of the Zulu. They leave it going down the left-hand yard which has no ritual significance in agreement with the insignificance of the junior, the Left House. (225): "At the burial of the U the men who carry the stones for the grave niche have to walk up the right yard side. At the wedding of the homestead's So the bride's party comes up the Ceremonial Path to the visitors' huts allotted to them. When a girl enters a kraal for the purpose of a run-away match (*ukuBaleka*) she walks boldly up the Ceremonial Path. When the U holds a Coming of Age party for his eDa *(ukuKhehla* or *ukwEmula)* it is incumbent on the eligible men to use this same side."

No bride may move into the homestead in a clockwise direction from the left. She must move in an anti-clockwise direction and use the path behind the huts, the Path of Avoidance. A girl who comes on a visit to her lover uses it. That is where a bride, although she used the Ceremonial Path at her wedding, has to walk for months or years, in approaching her M-in-l's or her own hut. Normally she is released from the avoidance of the Ceremonial Path after she has had two or three Chn, sometimes only when she is past child-bearing, but never without explicit permission from her H or his Ms. A young man on a love visit walks behind the huts of his sweetheart's kraal to respect its head and does so even in his own kraal when leaving for the tryst. The assumption by a higher status - young man - of the behaviour appropriate to a lower status - young woman - is an inversion.

3. T h e g a t e t o t h e c a t t l e p e n is according to (343) barred against evil influences by a puffadder buried lengthwise under it. As the cattle walk across it, they become magically protected. For the building of a pen the basic differentiation is that of sexual division of labour. (243): "In a working bee with beer girls and women carry the stakes, but the cutting and planting of the stakes is done by men only. Any kind of timber may be used and no other abstentions are observed. The strongest stakes are chosen for the gate, and a doctor may be invited to 'strengthen' them. The circle is drawn by a specialist, and the wickerwork *(uPhico)* connecting the stakes made by a craftsman." But avoidances are easily developed from this situation, as seen in (258)'s account.

"The kraalhead orders four posts to be cut; women may not cut them (Hl/Za), but help to carry them home. He plants the first post at the top of the pen himself," which (258) but not (343) calls the pen's apse *(umSamo)*. "The other posts are set up in the remaining three quadrants. No magical substance is buried at the posts, but no stranger may touch them (Hl). *26* If he did, it would mean that he wanted to attack me. It's a case for the police to arrest him! Nor may a bride or Da-in-l touch them; they would be fined one beast. For the ritual intro-

duction of the first beast to the pen the U must have a cow with calf. He enumerates his ancestors, recites their praises and reports on the animal's arrival. No abstentions are observed." (243) insists: "Women and girls may not help in building a cattle pen; it is Hl to them; and I have never heard of it!"

Women unless released have no free access to the cattle pen except on ritual occasions. This exclusion was often given as a typical example of the avoidance custom. A bride must indeed not enter her H's cattle pen. A special rite *(ukuNgeniswa esiBayeni)* is held to introduce a young Wi to her H's pen: a beast is slaughtered for her. On exceptional occasions women join the men at the drinking of beer in the pen. But menstruation, confinement and widowhood are conditions which re-impose the pen avoidance. Male informants admit only reluctantly that there are exceptions to the pen avoidance. Yet women do enter the pen on ritual occasions. During a wedding the bridal party behaves in a provocative manner in the groom's pen. During the rain-producing *ukuBhina* girls of a neighbourhood enter the pens of various kraals. At the death of a kraalhead, his M or princWi breaks his SM calabash in the pen. She prays to the ancestors there when her Da-in-l has a difficult confinement. Older Wis who are incorporated in the family seem thus to be sharing the same privilege as the men. And so do Das at their F's home. When a beast is being slaughtered for the ancestors the girls of the homestead may be present in the pen and do not need to dress up and hide in the Great Hut as the owner's wives do. Before she leaves for the groom's kraal, a bride is ritually led through her home's cattle pen by her F. During certain rites, however, even released women are excluded. The puberty ritual for a boy is held in the pen and no woman dare attend, not even his own mother (Hl). During the slaughter of a beast and the subsequent roasting of certain pieces of meat the wives have to keep out of it. This holds also if the slaughtering is for pleasure or when a goat is killed.

The cattle pen serves indeed as a symbol of patrilineal power. The ancestral snake entwines itself on the fence of the pen. The skin of a beast killed for the ancestors used to be hung up on the fence to decay there. Large chunks of meat are stuck up on the fence posts at a SAC perhaps to dedicate them.

At the birth of a calf only men enter the pen, for which a specialist may have to be called. (253) does not abstain from sex intercourse previously; he cleanses his hands in ordinary water, and applies ash, salt and permanganate to the cow's vulva. At the castration of a bull-calf the specialist must have abstained from sexual intercourse the previous night. If he has not done so the animal will sicken and die.

4. No cattle pen is complete without grain pits. They are distributed all over the pen but are most frequently found on the upper side. The pits are dug by the kraalhead, his Brs and Sos at the founding of a kraal before the huts are set up. No abstentions are observed by them. The Wis may not approach but look on over the fence; brides and women in their menses may not do even that (Hl). When the digger is 6 ft. down in the narrow neck, a child is lowered to scoop out the pit itself. The earth brought up is thrown out below the kraal and nobody may touch the heap (Hl). It is heaped up so that the cattle may not walk across it (Za): they would break their legs (335). When the pit has been filled with maize or millet a stone lid is placed in the neck and sealed with cowdung and the neck is filled with earth. An adult must be present when a pit is opened and for this an old woman is preferred to a bride, since she knows the position of the pits, each of which belongs to a hut. After opening one up people wait till a fly enters the pit, settles on the grain and lives, lest the 'bad' air (monoxide) kill the child that enters the pit too soon. Old grain and new grain must never be mixed (Hl), a case of incompatibility. If old grain is over, it is scooped out and placed in a grass container in a hut. *27*

5. A number of avoidances exist concerning t h e a s h h e a p, which is seen on approaching a homestead. (103) is an exception when he asserts that an ash heap is not avoided, that wood ash from hut fires is not dealt with differently from ash from the bones of a slaughtered beast. The ash heap is generally avoided by a bride (Za/Hl). She does not touch the ash of her H's home for at least two weeks. No special sanction is known except perhaps that she will bear no Chn (238). It is only when she is given permission to cook that she is also told by the HM to remove the ashes from the hut in which she works. (226) asserts that a bride handles

the ash immediately after the wedding, but for men ash is taboo (Za). "They would be senseless if they touched it." The Mbatha Brs: "It is not their business, that's why they avoid it (Hl)." Nothing would happen if they went near the ash heaps, they would just be considered 'silly'! A stranger certainly must not tamper with a homestead's ash. He would be got hold of; there would be a case against him. For ash is used in maleficent magic against its owner. Hence the rule that the ash heap may not be above the kraal (Hl): it must be kept under constant observation.

The ritual and magical significance of ash is obvious. (121): "After a death, when everyone has to abstain from food and drink, a M gives her thirsty Chn water into which she drops a pinch of ash". (226): "If a person has called someone wizard and repents, he pays a beast in damages. Before the two men eat of the meat, they take some ash into the mouth as a sign of reconciliation". (227): "If two brothers quarrel each brings a goat to be slaughtered. Ash is thrown into a pot of water and both wash their hands in it as a sign of forgiveness." von Fintel (a) states: When a warrior leaves on a campaign marriageable girls in his homestead put ash on their heads as a s i g n of mourning. Possibly this was a taboo-sign marking the girls as inaccessible to lovers.

Most kraals have only one ash heap. In Mnyayiza's Nongoma kraal there were two heaps, one for the Great House, the other for the Left House. The women carried the ash of their huts to the heap of their side only. If a bride should deposit ash at the wrong side "people would be startled at this violation of an avoidance." She would be warned and if she repeated the offence fined. If a woman took away ash from the heap of the other side, she would be suspected of witchcraft. In the Mbatha homestead each of the three families has its own ash heap, and the women of each section deposit their ash separately. At my second visit the U's second So had just married. Two herdboys and a full-grown girl were roasting meat at the ash heap belonging to the U's section. Nothing was happening at the other heaps. Obviously ash heaps represent kinship structure and it is for this reason that they elicit respectful restraints.

(226), however, asserts: "There are no separate ash heaps in Zululand!" and observation proves this to be correct for the majority of homesteads. The Mbatha Brs said in reply that kraals with one ash heap had been doctored against lightning and the doctor had insisted on the mixing of ash as a condition to ensure the working of his medicines. But the difference between the two set-ups may be more readily explained by differences in family composition. (226)'s kraal is small and consists of a F living together with his Sos, where the family ethos emphasizes unity. To (226) and the average Zulu separate ash heaps suggest incipient segmentation and since he rejects an eventual break-up of the family he insists on a single ash heap. The Mbatha kraal embraces the families of three brothers. They want to be a composite structure, since Brs are more independent than Sos. They consequently assert their semi-independent status in separate ash heaps, and also in the appropriate avoidance observances. Mnyayiza's kraal illustrates the same principle. The separate ash heaps symbolize the potential segmentation of the two kraal-halves.

Ash is thus a symbol of kinship solidarity (one heap) and its internal differentiation (more than one heap). It is also a symbol of ancestral authority since brides and strangers avoid it. Thirdly, it acts as a sign delineating areas of labour: men do not handle it. The ritual use of ash often involves inversion, i.e., a violation of the avoidances referring to it. Finally ash may be illegitimately used by a wizard in killing magic.

Whatever possesses symbolic significance within lineage and neighbourhood may be abused if manipulated by evil-intentioned persons. In 1850 at Henry's Melkhout Kraal a milk thief violated the taboo against entering a strange cattle pen: he had come naked but covered with ash for protection (PAR). Ash is handled circumspectly because it is used to bring on thunder and lightning, also sickness. (von Fintel: b,p. 9). Ash heaps may be found in old gullies revealing that at one time doctors declared the nearness of ash heaps to homesteads as the cause of an epidemic; they thus forbade ash heaps near kraals. At Dingane's uMgungundlovu kraal the ash heaps are within the enclosure near the exit from the seraglio, one of the most closely watched parts of the kraal. Old ash in itself seems to be harmful. (412): "Ash must be removed from the fire place every day and at a sacrifice immediatly after eating the day's portion of meat. A new fire should never be made on old ashes, wherever a fire is kindled!" (Za).

Strictly speaking everything that comes out of a hut belongs to the ancestors domiciled there, sweepings and ash included. The Mbatha Brs agree that ash originates in important huts of the kraal, that it represents the home's 'dirt'. But they deny that it is sacred for that reason or associated with the ancestors. They accept however, that there is a difference between wood ash and bone ash. The cooking of the sacrificial meat is done with special communal wood and water, not with the supplies of an individual hut; it is supervised by the men in the yard, while daily cooking is women's task and is carried out in their respective huts. Wood ash is thrown on the ash heap while bone ash of a sacrificial victim is scattered in the cattle pen so that it is impossible to separate it out. Bone ash is thus treated as if it were of greater magical significance than wood ash. None of the bones may leave the homestead (Za). It is the bones of the beasts killed at the royal graves which when burnt produce abundant and immediate rain (410).

6. Special avoidances centre round the p l a c e s o f d e f e c a t i o n and urination. In large kraals the privies of men, women, boys and girls are kept apart and mutually avoided (Hl). Privies for defecation are usually kept below the kraal, that of men to the right with a special site for the kraalhead, and that for women to the left. Places for urination are similarly differentiated (Bryant: 1949: 203, 76, *isiThondo)*. The kraalhead's site is often above the homestead and no person inferior to him in status may pass water there. "It is a Hl with a touch of Za about it." It is thus possible to map out kinship categories by registering privy visits. The basis of this strict observance may be physiological. Man experiences a shudder at the superimposition of faeces and urine. Or the reason is magical. Earth clods moistened with royal urine were in demand as medicine at the First Fruits (Bryant: 1949, 516). When Dingane wished to defecate in the veld, servants accompanied him shooting arrows in all directions. A violation of the kraalhead's privy is interpreted as an attempt to gain magical ascendancy over him as a dog by voiding his urine on that of another gains mastery over him *(ukuThonya)*.

B. THE HUT

1. The Building of a Hut

Hut building involves more than technical skills. The family or lineage engaged and neighbours who come to help perform the tasks according to the traditional division of labour on sex lines. Something more may be implied in a reply which King Mpande in May 1851 addressed to the Governor of Natal, who had suggested that a royal kraal should be built on the banks of the Tugela, viz., "The King's men can build a cattle-kraal, but they cannot build huts, and it is too far for the (royal) women to walk there." Today's investigator is often given a general statement to the effect that no avoidances or abstentions are observed in hut building, but either the denial refers to a general regimen of taboos, as exists at mourning, and of this there is indeed no trace, or it refers to the erection of an additional hut in an established homestead, when few or no taboos are applicable. Beer is often prepared for the workers; the 'brewer' abstains from sexual intercourse. The men who set up the framework and the women who thatch it, do not observe any speech or food abstentions, but a thatcher whose task it is to climb the roof must have avoided sexual intercourse the previous night or the hut will leak, and for this reason a recent bride is barred. Nor may the thatchers use vulgar expressions or talk loudly while on top. *28*

When a new kraal is established or an old one moved to a new site a number of restraints are observed. (427) states: "There is no Hl/Za at the time of moving a homestead. Beer is made and a beast slaughtered. There is nothing wrong in H and Wi sleeping in a newly set up hut the first night. The first huts to be moved are the kitchens, then the family huts, then the Residences. The Great Hut is last; so that the *amaDlozi* can't go into another hut and remain behind; they follow when it is moved and for that reason the clan hymn is sung as it is their own hut." According to (195) it is the Great Hut which is built first, if the UM is to live in it.

When completed a beast is slaughtered to thank the ancestors and the abstentions and avoidances at a SAC will be observed. The old lady moves in after the smearing of the floor on the fourth day, so that it is empty for so long (193). If the UM is dead another than the Great Hut is built first and the U may sleep in it by himself (401); he abstains vicariously from sex intercourse, according to some until all the huts have been moved, otherwise his people will become lazy (140). As for a family hut the Wi concerned is ordered by the U to sleep in it first. If a hut is for the U's Da-in-l or his own bride she sleeps alone there for a week until she has rolled and smeared the floor and her H joins her only then (197). All huts have to be slept in immediately the thatch is up except a young men's Residence which is not used until complete and its floor well polished. Boys are detailed to sleep in a Residence and the king appoints an official to sleep in a royal hut for the first time *29*.

The following statistics were obtained from 20 informants in the Nkandla and Nongoma districts: No regimen of abstentions (Za) during hut building: (15). No interdicts for the women thatchers: (13). Some go into detail: No SM abstention (4); no meat abstention (4), no sex taboo (4). The following exceptions are noted: No loud or vulgar talking allowed on the roof (1). No sex intercourse (1), lest the hut leak; menstruating women may not thatch (5); nor bride (1). There is no interdict for men nor for the hut frame makers in general (17); and there are detailed denials: no SM taboo (2); no meat taboo (2); no sex interdict (2). The exceptions noted are: No sex intercourse when sleeping in a new hut on a new site on the first night, lest people of the family become lazy, since a new site always has misfortune.

With regard to sleeping in newly built huts the following figures were obtained: In the Great Hut (UM) a beast is sacrificed, its meat is placed for one night in the hut which remains unslept in till it is smeared on the fourth day and the old lady moves in (11 times). Family huts immediately the thatch is on are slept in by the wives to whom they belong: 12; by older boys: 5; by children: 2. A new Residence on an old site is slept in by the Wi appointed (3); on a new site by older boys, or by the U himself or by older men (7) until the cattle are moved (1). Some informants insist that the U's Residence should only be repaired, never completely rebuilt during his life time. If the hut is that of a chief he appoints an attendant to sleep in it first (1); if a Residence for boys, they sleep in it only after the floor is polished. The hut of a bride is slept in first by the bride alone (3); her H sleeps in it only after a week (1).

2. Doorway, Threshold and Door

According to (119): The Zulu have innumerable prohibitions concerning the doorway and the threshold."The doorway is a dangerous place because many people move in and out there." The restraints which refer to it resemble those for the two gates to pen and kraal. They ensure protection against lightning, strangers *30* and family members who disregard the social order. Outside the doorway one sometimes finds a screen (*iGuma*) about which no taboo or avoidance was reported to me. A plant serving as a magical protection may be grown outside the door. Visitors must not sit down or squat to the left or right of the doorway on the outside of the hut (Za). The owner of the homestead would quarrel with them. They should squat right in front of the doorway when greeting the residents. At Mnyayiza Zulu's Nongoma homestead I was told to move from the doorstep of a rectangular house where I had sat down in the shade.

Magical practices with reference to the doorway centre round three themes: political authority, love between man and woman, and supernatural misfortunes (especially lightning). The thatch grass from the doorway (*amaKhothamo eziNdlu*) is considered specially potent medicine to 'strengthen' the king and give him dignity. Since a doorway must be passed in a stooping attitude, what is caught up in the body-dirt wiped off from bending backs is the submissiveness appropriate to subjects. The doorway is a favourite place for the depositing of love charms. (343) denies this, but Colenso notes the relevant terms (*isiBunda*, *ukuXubela*). The doorway is specially secured against lightning by means of medicated pegs (*iziKhonkwane*). Charms are buried there during an epidemic to prevent the entry of an infectious disease. Agnatic ancestors in the shape of snakes enter freely through the doorway, stranger spirits are held back by medicines. (127 and 128) think that it is the kraalhead's ancestors who guard the doorway. And a twin baby should be buried under the doorway (Studerus).

The doorway is closed at night or in the absence of the hut owner by a wicker door. It is

taboo (Za) to touch a closed door or to force it (Zulu do not knock on doors!). Commoners are specially warned against touching the bar holding the door of a royal hut (Hl). Only the hut owner may touch wicker door and bar, or a person put in charge, a selected Wi in the case of the U's Residence, the real M or a favourite Si in the case of a boy's hut. No objection is raised to Chn touching the door or tumbling about the doorway if no person of authority is inside. In the day-time the doorway may be half-closed with a door-shield *(iHawulokuHonqa)*. It keeps out the wind and allows light to come in. To drop such a shield or step over it is avoided (Hl) even by men.

Nodody peeps into a hut and withdraws. This is bad manners and indicates disrespect. Once a person has looked in, he must enter and be greeted even if he has no real business. Standing outside the doorway is also to be avoided. Chn are warned against it; if they do it nevertheless, they are beaten (119). Women and Chn may not go past an open hut in which H or F is eating. (119) exempts Chn from this rule, (120) not. The wicker door must be leaned against the wall on the inside by the first person entering a hut. Some Zulu feel that visitors should not sit near the door inside, even if they are of high rank.

A stranger entering a hut in which there is a newborn baby must not forget to nibble an antidote hanging over the hut door inside and to spit the spittle over the child, so that any path-poisons he picked up are rendered harmless. The baby's M, returning from outside, does the same (Bryant: 1949: 615). Usually there is a strange collection of articles above the doorway. In Mqiniseni's homestead (Fig. 12) hut 2 had a whole shoulder girdle including the scapulae of a goat above the door. They could not be touched by a stranger (Za) because they had been doctored, one to make the flocks increase, the other to secure luck in hunting. In another hut (Fig. 13) two cobs of maize were kept above the door from last year's crop. They had been saved from this year's seed to be added as 'fertilizer' to next year's seed. These cobs may not be used in cooking or brewing (Hl/Za) and cannot be touched by strangers. They are eaten in a great famine only. The doorway serves also as repository of ordinary tools, etc. In the same hut loops of rope were suspended above the doorway to carry bundles of firewood. In the boys' Residence in (247)'s kraal (cf. Fig. 36) the sticks and knobsticks of the youthful owners could be seen above the doorway.

No person enters or leaves a hut backwards. Such an action shows utter disrespect for the owner. I was only laughed at for doing it once in error following European court etiquette. The entry of a defeated hail doctor into his medicine hut, however, is backwards, a reversal of the normal rule which has ritual significance. A pregnant woman may not peep out of the door (Za) lest her Ch only peep out during the confinement and return to the womb (Krige: 64). Callaway (1866: 244) records the following praise-name: 'Adder-which-obstructs-the-doorway; by what way-then-shall-the-children-come-out?' (121) had never heard of this but laughed and agreed that the doorway is here a symbol for the vagina and the adder for the penis. The analogy is taken further: the women's top-knot (*isiCholo*) is compared to the top of the hut, the word *uFundo* is used for both the projecting part of the spine and the back of the hut (Bryant: 1905: 19, 146), but (119) and (121) rejected the latter usage. The analogy of hut with woman's body has, of course, not occurred to the Zulu alone and Holleman (1940: 35) is wrong in asserting that the identification of hut with womb is peculiar to the Zulu *31*.

Marshalled in this manner, the evidence appears at first sight to offer a precise corroboration of psycho-analytical assertions, that a room is a universal, albeit unconscious symbol for a woman, as set out in E. Jones, P a p e r s o n P s y c h o - A n a l y s i s, ch. on Symbolism. Wilson and Hunter came to the conclusion, that all taboos including the door taboo showed symbolical (i.e., emotional, indeed sexual) associations which to the African had acquired the power of magical force. But there are objections to considering the African analogy of female body and hut as supporting the psycho-analytical claim: (a) The Native analogy is not unconscious, a quality indispensible in a psycho-analytical symbol. (b) The comparison is based on an obvious visual resemblance. (The Zulu hut with a small door and high threshold suggests the shape of a pregnant abdomen). (c) The Zulu, and presumably other people, acknowledge many other obviously genuine motives for observing door and doorway taboos. Not only parts but the whole hut are used as objects in reference to which inferior statuses have to behave with deference. "The hut is to a Wi her H whom she has to respectfully avoid", is the comment of a wise informant on hut avoidances. These will now be examinded in greater detail.

3. Fire place, Hearth-stones and Hut Fire

Some families take little notice of the fire place which is opposite the door. In (323)'s Residence Chn and bride stepped unconcernedly over it. (119) was more cautious: "Nobody steps over a fire place, not even the U (Hl). Chn would be reprimanded if they did. The rule is more strictly observed by women than men. Any transgressor gets bladder trouble!" But, he adds, this is just a sanction; it doesn't explain the taboo. There is a fire place in his Residence because it is a converted kitchen, but many Residences have no fire place. In hut 2 at Chief Mqiniseni Zungu's kraal a three-legged pot, cups, a half-full ladle were dumped in the fire place. Filemon, the self-styled 'heir' said a fire place could be walked over. His two Ms, MaNdlela and MaBiyela, disagreed: "In the Great Hut stepping over is tantamount to crossing legs!" (258) is a decided avoider of the fire place. Chn, women, the U himself and strangers walk round it in his Da-in-l's hut and also in all other huts. "It is indeed the biggest avoidance we have, i.e., the most stringent!" And since it is observed by everyone it differs from cattle pen and hut post (to be discussed presently) which are avoided only by strangers and Wis in special conditions.

The rules regarding the avoidance of fire are likewise not uniform. (119): "No fire is lighted in my Residence, not for magical reasons but practical ones. It is full of my clothes hanging from the roof. Smoke would make them sooty, and I would have to order my yoWi to dust and air them regularly, or to hang them up in a family hut which won't do. Further, no man lights and keeps up a fire, this is woman's work; and for a Residence only a certain Wi would be entrusted to attend to it." On the sexual division is thus superimposed a selection of Wis according to reliability: the women excluded cannot tend the fire (Hl). (258) has a fire made in his hut every night. "The old men of the homestead sit round it to warm their hands. Only after the fire burns can a lamp be lighted, and before the days of the lamp a reed *(uQunga* or *uBhaqa)*. In a boy's Residence no fire must be kindled, but a lamp may burn there. Fire in the Residence is thus a privilege of old men." At this point a young man, not belonging to the kraal, interrupted (258) to say that a fire may also be made in a boys' Residence, a statement which annoyed (258) visibly, but he did not react. In the boys' Residences which I visited the majority had no fire place, e.g., in (391)'s and (247)'s kraal. At Mbatha's kraal there was a fire place in the Residence of a recently married So.

Only a woman kindles and tends a fire, the princWi in the Great Hut, the Wi in charge in a U's Residence, a certain Si in a boy's Residence. A man attends to a fire only when he is stranded i.e. without a Wi. A new fire, and in particular the fire for cooking SAC meat, is kindled by the princWi with embers from the fire of the Great Hut; the kraalhead builds it up into a roaring flame and nobody else may tend it (Hl). People avoid the fire place in the yard on which only the U and his agnatic kinsmen cook SAC meat (Hl).

In the past (and again during the two world wars when matches were scarce) the kindling of a new fire was made with fire-sticks called *amaPhahla* (Twins). Both sticks, the long twirler or male, and the notched female, must be cut at the same time from a hard-wood tree with two stems. This work is done by a man and the sticks are used by him only. A woman does not know how to handle the drill, but at Laduma Madela's his Wis were photographed working it. The sparks produced by the twirling set the pad of *inKondlwane* grass alight; it is the owner's Wi who must take the brand away to kindle the fire. The fire-sticks are placed in the thatch of the Great Hut so that the Chn may not get at them. No stranger may remove them (Hl), neither may a bride touch them, "since it is the F-in-l who twirls them!" No hunter makes a fire in the bush or veld; he brings the game home. Game, like vegetables, must be cooked inside a hut, and unlike the SAC meat, his Wi cooks it.

Some of the fire interdicts are general, i.e. observed by many Zulu, others are imposed on special instructions of doctors. There should be no fire in the hut in which a Ch is born (Krige: 69). (132) explains: A woman in confinement does not cook for her H, just as a menstruating woman does not (Za). When the young M is released from confinement a beast is killed for her by her H and she enters the cattle pen to make a fire there. The smoke 'strengthens' the fields (on the assumption that the woman's fertility is transmitted). The effect of the rite rests in two taboo breaches: she enters the pen for the first time and she kindles a fire in it. A bride does not go with her H to cut firewood (Hl) and does not cook meals for him at first. Even when released from the latter avoidance she may not yet have a

fire of her own, until she is ritually given it. Naturally such an avoidance is easier to maintain with later Wis than with the first or only Wi.

The rule that a fire for cooking can only be in a family hut corresponds with the sexual division of labour. However, a kraalhead must not use a fire to warm himself other than one obtained from the Great Hut, from his princWi's hut rather than his own M's hut (Krige: 90). This rule seems to implement the ranking of the Wis. When the death of an important inmate has occurred in a kraal, no fire must burn in it for three days, no food is cooked, and neighbours oblige by sending food. A boy should not sit at a fire (Hl), especially milkers who have not washed off the milk stains from their legs, lest the udders crack*32*. The kraalhead must not sleep in a hut with a fire the night before a SAC. A person under treatment by a leech is frequently instructed not to come near a fire (Za). A firebrand must not be passed behind the back of a heavenherd (Hl/Za): it 'weakens' him. A big fire should not be made in a family hut on returning from a SAC to the ancestors (Krige: 291).

In several of the above examples fire, like SM, is avoided in certain female conditions, e.g., menstruation, confinement, 'bridal state'. Undoubtedly sex activity is associated with fire; the association is strenghtened by the shape of the fire place which suggests a vulva and the redness and heat of the fire which suggests coitus. (401) gives an interesting sidelight on this link by referring to a connection between fire and SM. "The rule against crossing the fire place applies to women. "One person present: "It is Za!" (401): "Easy, we call it Hl! Nkulunkulu is being respectfully avoided. If a woman stepped over, she would bear a child that coughs constantly, and she herself will suffer from whooping cough. A Ch is taught from infancy not to step over it. And men who violate the rule would suffer like women," - an afterthought following my question. "An ear-piercer may not warm himself at a fire before he pierces ears; they would get swollen. And milkers may not warm themselves at a fire with milk-bespattered legs. The milk should be washed off. This is Hl because you do not spill milk into the fire, never!" Throwing milk into a fire is obviously suggestive of the ejection of semen into the female organ.

However, fire is not associated with sex alone. (310) says concerning a reported taboo on fire in a warrior's hut: "On the contrary, light a fire in it before sunset, so that his doings are lighted up, scil. not afflicted with misfortune. There is a general rule that fire must be kindled in a kraal in the absence of men and before sunset, so as to light them in the distance, and for this reason the hut door must be left open." Several ideas may combine here: the magical transmission of light through darkness, the pretence that the H is at home to put an adulterer off, the symbolic double of the warrior, the representation of his life in the fire.

To sum up: Ritually unfit people must not come in contact with fire (at death, birth, puberty, early years of marriage). Persons who wish to acquire ritual fitness likewise shun it (U before SAC, ear-piercer). There are, however, a number of exceptions, which may be resolvable on two principles: they are individual deviations due to impositions by doctors or they are cases of ritual inversion.

4. The Hut Posts

Although there are huts without posts, most have two, one in front, the other behind the fire place. In Mtunzini's Residence no stranger may touch either. "A post is held by the owner of the kraal only!" To touch the posts is to show disrespect *(ukungaHloniphi, ukwEdelela, ukwEyisa)*. An obvious reason is that the U's spoon case and beer calabash hang on the backpost of his Residence while his SM spoon is kept on the back post of the Great Hut, a general custom. Chief Gatsha, Mtunzini's senior kinsman, leaned against the hindpost and may do so, since as an agnate he 'belongs' to the homestead. In the Residence of the Mbatha son there is a mild regime. The front post may be touched by a visitor on getting up after coming through the doorway to regain his balance (a practical consideration). If he should touch the other as well, he would be asked: What's your intention? Inmates of the homestead may touch them, especially the U and his Brs, but also Sos and Das because "the homestead is theirs!" The posts are thus ritual mirrors of the agnatic order. Visitors and strangers may not even sit near the posts. No harm would come their way if they did but their action would annoy the U. (343) is much stricter. "Strangers may not touch the front post at all (Za); even Wis are not to steady themselves on it (Hl). Agnates may touch it, since they are members of the H's

family." (167) who was adamant that the post must not be touched by a stranger (Hl), while every family member might touch it, threatened physical sanctions: "He will get a beating. I'll kick him."

Generally the back post is the more avoided of the two; spoons are hung up on it even in the Residences; clothes hang down from the rafters which it supports. The question whether evil magic or theft was feared, was denied by (132): "It is because the ancestors are near!" (251) corrects this: "The post is Hl'd because all young people crowd there, they touch the post and leave their body-dirt on it." Wizards scrape the body-dirt from the hut post! In Mpiyakhe's hut two SM calabashes were kept between back post and fire place. In the Great Hut of Chief Mqiniseni three SM calabashes, a mixing pot and a whey pot were arranged round the post. In hut 7 (Fig. 13) of the same kraal the back post could not be touched 'because it had been doctored against lightning!' There are thus several theories concerning the post: nearness of ancestors, receptacle of body-dirt, carrier of lightning medicine, carrier of spoons, site of SM receptacles. Another reason is deducible from the custom that the U's corpse is placed against the back post and that it used to be sawn down after burial. The differential avoidance observance shows that the post mirrors the authority structure within family and lineage and its centralization in the kraalhead.

Two kinds of rafters are supported by the posts: a single backbone rafter and several rib-rafters at right angles to it. These must not be touched by strangers (Za), lest they be suspected of witchcraft and be called wizards intent on bewitching the residents. From there small parcels of lost articles or body-dirt are thrown down by the ancestors during a seance with a whistling diviner.

5. Floor and Sweepings

Most floors are smeared with cow dung. In the past the floors of important royal huts were polished with bovine blood which gave them a black mirror effect. The hut floor and sweepings from it are also important in the spatial expression of restraints. In 1865 Zulu messengers reported to the Lt. Governor of Natal that King Mpande was suffering from swollen limbs. He attributed his condition to his hut sweeper Mjalele who allegedly bewitched him through the sweepings taken away from the king's hut (PAR: S.N.A. I/6/2, No. 95). Tribal body-dirt collectors clandestinely visited Phakatwayo and scraped body-dirt from his hut posts and floor 'where his essence was instilled'. The floor collects sweat from naked feet, and nasal mucus, the excretions of the children, perhaps also sexual discharges are rubbed into the floor. Since body-dirt links an agnatic group together, the floor must be treated with respect (238). The taboo on throwing out water through the doorway refers to water used by men in washing and containing their body-dirt.

When a bride grinds maize she must not kneel with naked knees but place them on a sitting mat. Otherwise she might 'prick' her knees or ritually dirty them. The avoidance is explained when we realize that the floor, lying above the *abaPhansi* (the dead), functions as a symbol of authority, agnatic as well as political. Contrariwise a woman who is about to give birth to a child is no longer allowed to sleep on her mat, but must either rest on the naked floor or on grass 'because she will be bleeding' (314). Any dirt is swept towards her so that she lies on it, or it is swept into the middle of the hut to be removed later (248). The hut is not swept out till the sixth day of the confinement. "This is a thing of the origin! A characteristic Zulu custom! (umTh)" (252). The young M herself must sweep the hut and throw the sweepings into a reed bed *(emHlangeni)*; if she should omit this a terrible storm would come. She could also bury the sweepings but must not burn them, otherwise she will never conceive again. Her H may not touch the sweepings (which contain her blood) nor should a wizard get hold of them.

A girl menstruating for the first time must sit on her GM's sleeping mat; if she did not the omission would bring on an unfortunate event (*umEhlo*). The sweepings are thrown into the apse and guarded 'police-fashion' till the girl leaves the seclusion hut, when her M hides them (257). According to (248) the hut is swept except the part where the girl 'broods'. No man may touch the sweepings (Za); if a wizard got hold of them he would cause the girl to get no husband. Before and after a love visit the hut is swept without special observances. At a wedding the huts given to the bridal party have been well swept beforehand. The groom's people have to avoid them (Hl) while the in-laws are staying there. After the bride's older companions have left,

their hut is swept and the sweepings are thrown into the yard as usual. The bride and her maids dwell in a hut in which she may be visited by the go-between only. When the girls leave, the bride moves into her H's Residence, her attendant being placed in a family hut. The sweepings of the girls' hut are burned by the groom's M.

At the death of a kraalhead the sweepings in which the corpse lay for a night are counted 'nothing' (252). They are scattered in the yard. But (314) says they must be buried. "When a person is sick the hut is swept to keep it clean. When a person bleeds they pick up the blood clots with cowdung and deposit them in the apse, the lump is taken outside when the bleeding has stopped. If a wizard got hold of the blood he would kill the patient through his wound. It is a natural custom: the patient's Wi or M guards the clots. A woman's blood from a wound is treated likewise, but not menstrual or puerperal blood. Nobody interferes with it (s c i l. to the extent of placing it in the apse), because it is dirty (*Ngcolile*)."

(252) sweeps her hut at any time of day although the norm is to sweep in the morning and evening. The broom is always kept in the angle between floor and wall, but no significance attaches to this. She collects the sweepings outside the door until the time of hoeing when she burns them in her gardens and hoes under the ash. (319) sweeps her family hut in the morning after mats and blankets have been rolled and hung up. The sweepings are carried away on a potsherd to the ash heap. In tidy homesteads each woman has her rubbish heap. They serve as boundary marks when the kraal is abandoned and the old site is divided up for gardens, i.e., there is spatial continuity of household areas. No sweeping is done at night and no sweepings are then thrown out of the hut (Hl) because wizards travel by night. (248): Wizards bewitch sweepings by night.

(248) contradicts (322)'s statement, which was supported by Mqiniseni's Wis, that sweepings are body-dirt *(inSila)*."Dirt in a hut just shows the carelessness of the woman." However, when the H is hunting his Wis do not sweep, lest he be killed." We don't even touch a broom then (Za) and his clothes are turned inside out." The following cases of inversion should be noted. When the chief set out on a raid, the women of his kraal took brooms and went through sweeping motions - to give luck to the chief's arms. (132): In a commoner's hut threshold dirt may not be swept into the hut, but must be swept into the yard. In the king's hut, especially after there have been many visitors, the sweepings are not taken outside but are swept inside to be collected into the royal Hoop of Power (Za). In short, the king has the right to get hold of his subjects' body-dirt. Sweeping is a woman's work and as such is part of her domestic duties without ritual significance. A man may not touch sweepings if his Wis are at home. He may sweep if they are away and do so in all huts, for they are all his (247). Here practical rather than ritual considerations enforce the inversion.

6. Furniture and Utensils

Certain utensils owe their treatment to the spatial expression of restraints. In Mqiniseni's kraal the grinding stone may not be kept in a hut where H and Wi may sleep together, but stays in the kitchen. When a Wi gets her family hut she can have the stone even on the men's side, since she will be called to the Residence by her H. Younger boys grind maize without harm; older boys avoid the stones (Hl). Some say nothing follows a violation, others say that the girl who plies the stones afterwards gets a pain in her wrists. "A Plain Woman" (p.146) brings out that a grinding stone must not be abused. She only got the stone, which she needed desperately, after the princWi concerned had assured herself that Miss Barter did not plan to grind 'medicines' which would have 'poisoned' the stone. In hut 7 of Mqiniseni's kraal, the grinding stone was on the Great Side near the middle. I was given it as seat after a sitting mat had been placed on it. In Mpiyakhe's kraal the kraalhead himself sat upon the stone without a mat.

The headrest must not be touched by a stranger (Hl). It would cause a quarrel between him and the owner (238). In Mthunzini's Residence his chief leaned against his headrest, for being a kinsman it is 'like his own'. A woman must provide her own headrest when she gets married. Chn may not use their M's headrest but may touch it. They must however leave their F's headrest alone (Hl). In some kraals (Mpiyakhe, Sikhakhane) a Ch was ordered to fetch a headrest from the F's Residence and it was offered to me as a seat. The untouchability of the headrest is thus relative. It reflects kinship structure and the prerogatives of agnates and visitors.

Both sitting and sleeping mats are subject to avoidances. Every hut dweller has his sitting mat which nobody else may use (Hl). This avoidance is particularly strict concerning the mats of a woman in the prime of life. Kraals belonging to a high rank U develop a pronounced mat etiquette supported by appropriate Hl rules. In (422)'s kraal the U sits on a mat, his Sos on calf skins; Chief Phumanyova sat on a chair, his chief councillor on a mat, the other councillors on the bare floor. Special mats are kept for strangers, the U keeps those for male visitors on his side or in his Residence, his Wi those for female visitors according to (377), a mat maker. "The U's sleeping mat always stays on his side of the hut, his Wi's on the female side. H and Wi avoid each other's mats, both sitting and sleeping." Where an iron double bedstead is found in a rondavel the regular sleeping in it of H and Wi is avoided lest the H be 'weakened' through constant contact with his Wi. Her place is on the floor - a case of incompatibility between male and female sphere.

C. THE HUT SECTIONS

1. The Hut Halves

In all living huts (i.e., Residences and family huts) two sides are distinguished, which are often described as 'left' and 'right'. Some confusion is produced by the fact that whereas the orientation of a homestead is made by the Zulu from below its gate, the orientation of the hut is conceived from the back, i.e., the end opposite the entrance. The designations 'right' and 'left' must therefore be used with caution. In giving spatial directions I shall consistently use an orientation, even for the hut, from the direction of approach, i.e., from below the kraal. The following Zulu terms for the two halves have been recorded:

	Left Side	Right Side
Wanger: 1917:	isiLili sesiFazane	isiLili samaDoda
Studerus	esoKhohlo	esokuNene
(258)	esokuPhosa	esobuNene
S:637 ff.	oHlangothini	-
(392)	kwesiNcane	kwesiKhulu
Bryant:1949:78	-	isiNina sangaseKhohlo
Mthunzini	uHlangothi oluKhulu	uHlangothi oluNcane
Mbatha	esokuDla	ubuNxele

The terms show two groupings; the first five suggesting that the left side is for the inferior status, the remaining three that it is reserved for the superior status.

The distinction between the two sides becomes important for seating arrangements. One side is that for men, the other for women. The matter is complicated by the fact that seating arrangements also distinguish rank, and that two or three scales are available for that. In the majority of cases the highest rank is seated next to the door (Fig. 5). The lesser ranks follow along the wall on either side (1). With this arrangement goes together the custom of placing sitting mats with their ornamented edges towards the door (247 and 251). In other arrangements the most honoured seat is halfway between door and apse against the midwall (3) or near the hut post (2). The lowest ranks, e.g., the unmarried Sos and Das of the homestead sit across the hut at the back somewhat forward from the apse. When a hut is crowded people of higher rank sit against the wall, those of lower rank within the same status in front of them. These arrangements express respect positively (Hl); to violate them would be a breach of Hl: Do not sit where you may not sit according to your rank!

The problem which side is the men's and which the women's is partly traditional, partly local and in a comparatively large number of cases due to an arbitrary decision of the kraalhead. A few case studies illustrate this. I visited the Mbatha kraal on two occasions (Fig. 4). Each time I was taken to the Residence of the heir. On the first occasion (1953) the U sat next

to the door on the left followed by his two Brs in order of seniority. I was seated next to the youngest Br at the middle of the wall, some women listened to us on the right side. The U stated that the middle seat was a seat of honour for a visitor. To honour him even more, the U might sit over against him on the right, the women's side, reducing his status as it were. The arrangement was a matter of etiquette, very much like Europeans offering a chair to visitors! On my second visit (1957) I was - in the absence of the U - placed on the right side at the door by the USo who alone was present and had invited me to partake of some roasted meat. He served the meat from near the hindpost. In Mnyayiza Zulu's Residence (Fig. 4) the old prince sat to the left of the door. I was seated at the middle of the opposite wall and my interpreter beyond me. A small girl passed by her F (or GF) on her knees on the left side and sat down near the apse. An adult So moved in a crouching manner also along the left wall and sat down at that side and opposite me. (When the So has made his obeisance and feels at ease, he may move further towards the apse and even cross over to the right back).

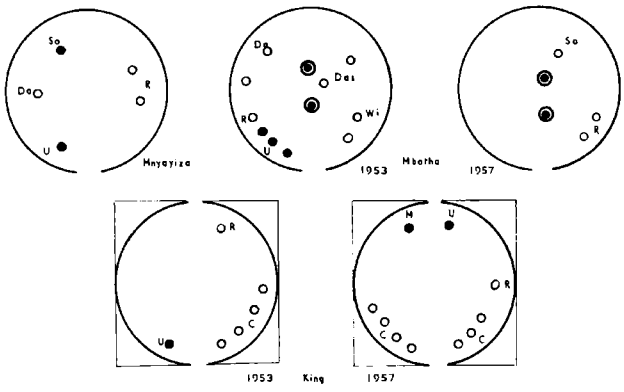


Fig. 4.

U = King, Prince or Kraalhead
So = Son of owner of homestead
Da = Daughter
C = Councillors
M = King's 'mouth' (= speaker)
Wi = Wife of owner of homestead
R = Author and his interpreter

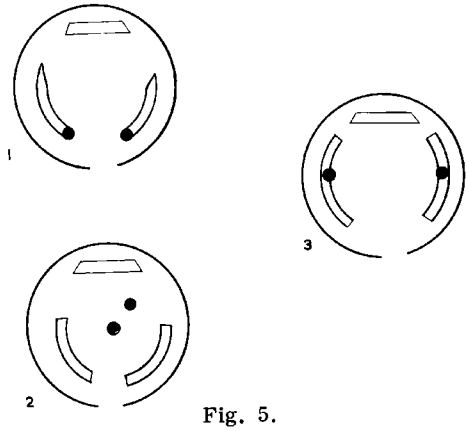


Fig. 5.

Position of Honour
1: at the door
2: at central hut post
3: at mid-wall

Mthunzini lived in a converted beer kitchen. He stated that the men's side is on the right, and that is where he ought to sit and sleep. But he moved to the left side with his mats and headrest because - the roof leaked! (Fig. 11).
In consequence he converted the right into the women's side. To honour his chief and me he moved to this temporarily inferior side, sitting near the door and his chief sat on the left side of the door. The left side was also the honoured side in a Residence of two young men at (247)'s kraal (Fig. 36). In their absence we were shown in by their M. On entering she at once moved to the right and sat down at the head end of the sleeping mat spread there. She called that side the Small Side and I and my interpreter moved to the left, the Great Side. The U stood at the foot end of the mat near the door, i.e., on the Small Side but in a superior position to his Wi's.

The following s e a t i n g a r r a n g e m e n t s were made in family huts. In the Great Hut of Mbatha's kraal (Fig. 25, hut 1), the U and I were seated on the left; the princWi was grinding maize on the right, where she also slept. A girl, over twenty years of age, had her sleeping site on the left. In other words, while with respect to the two women living in the hut the left was the inferior side, for the purpose of receiving male visitors it was turned into the honoured side, the right half retaining its status. At Mpiyakhe's homestead we were shown

into his Da-in-l's family hut. Here (Fig. 39) the seating and sleeping arrangements showed a similar inversion. The women and their Chn sat in the right half and two young male visitors likewise but towards the apse. The U sat on the left side at the middle of the wall and I was seated between him and the door. For sleeping the arrangement was for the USi and one Da-in-l on the right and another Da-in-l on the left side. In hut 2 at Chief Mqiniseni's Kraal (Fig. 12), occupied by two senior Wis of his, the Great Side was on the right and in it MaNdlela sat and worked on beads and mats during our visit and had her sleeping mats. The other Wi, MaBiyela, was domiciled in the Small Side but during our visit she sat with MaNdlela. We visitors were shown to the left, which by inversion became thus the honoured side. In hut 7 of the same homestead the M slept and worked on the left side, her Da-in-l (Wi of one of the kraal's Sos) occupied the right half. We were told to sit there, and I was given a grindstone at the middle of the wall as seat. What is important to remember is that avoidances (Hl) maintain these arrangements. For instance, in hut 7 (Fig. 13) the M's GChn might sleep on either side, but her Da-in-l must respectfully avoid her HM's side.

Seating arrangements for large companies follow the Hl pattern. In (323)'s Residence (cf. Fig. 6) I was seated to the left beside the door (2) and my interpreter (3) beyond me. The U (1)

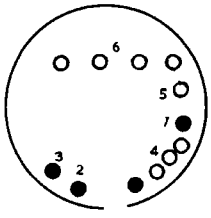


Fig. 6.

sat opposite us on the Small Side but at the middle of the wall. Between him and the door sat his senior Wis and a few male visitors (4). The Wi, a bride (5), who had prepared a meal for us in a kitchen, sat beyond the U, whereas a Da-in-l with Chn (6) from various households sat in front of the apse across the hut. This arrangement replaces the usual separation of honoured visitors and agnates on one side and Wis and Chn on the other by one in which the dividing line was between visitors and kraal inmates. (119)'s account abides more by kinship ranking. Ordinary visitors sit on the right side and so do the women! Honoured visitors, such as the chief, and Mthunzini's own Brs and FBrsSos sit on the left in order of seniority. Sos and BrSos, agnatic kinsman (*abaseKhaya*) of the first descending generation, sit in front of the apse. They sit there 'by nature' since they have been taught to do so from infancy. Even maternal kin, MBrs and MBrsSos, may sit there as long as they are young. (119)'s own Sos also sit in front of the apse, whatever their seniority, since 'Sos are not made conscious of their rank in their F's residence'.

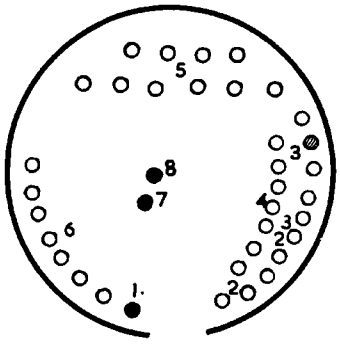


Fig. 7.

For a singing bout in Princess Magogo's hut (see Fig. 7) the chief (1) sat to the left next to the door, his white visitors (6) beyond him in approximate order of seniority! Princess Magogo (3), the chief's M, sat to the right at the middle of the wall. Near the door at this side sat the elder Buthelezi men (2) i.e., FBrs of the chief. The older women (3) sat against the

wall near the princess, the younger women (4) in the front rows. The young men (5), mainly visitors, but including cousins of the royal Zulu house, sat in front of the apse. When the chief's FeBr appeared (7), the usual dichotomy was broken and replaced by a triangular arrangement. He sat down somewhat to the left of the central hut post (8) facing the chief. That his seat had immediately become a place to be shunned became apparent when he scolded a servant who came too near, and ordered away a junior agnatic kinsman from the beer pot placed before him, the one-time regent.

There is thus in every living hut an inferior and a superior half. Studerus with an extensive experience states that men sit on the right and women on the left. My experience led me to huts where the opposite arrangement preponderated. Ranking among the members of either side may be so that the senior rank sits next to the door or against the midwall, and as we have seen also near the post. Once the main division is indicated by the seating of key persons, every new arrival finds his seat according to his rank without ado. *33* Visitors are incorporated in the ranking system by the U or any person placed in charge. Violation of the pattern set is a breach of respectful restraints (Hl).

Movement in the hut is controlled by the Hl rule that the inferior status must kneel in the presence of the superior status. Men entering the Residence of their chief go down on their knees at the doorway and move on their knees past their ruler at the door. Beyond this point they continue in a bent posture to their appropriate seat. Married women move about their family huts on their knees even if the H is not present. Gardiner depicts a scene in Dingane's hut with a large number of Wis on their knees before him. Servants who serve beer to various groups of persons move about on their knees. In Chief Gatsha's modern home they handed cups of tea round in this position. Chn go down on their knees before their parents, and so do youths and men with reference to the apse when the meat of a SAC has been deposited at the back of the hut.

A similar tendency to rank persons neatly into inferiors and superiors is shown in the sleeping arrangements. Halving the sleepers according to a sometimes artificial distinction is customary. Braatvedt (1949: 13) reports: "When sleeping in Native kraals, the three Braatvedt boys would sleep on one side, the Native family on the other." Leslie noted over a hundred years ago: When hunting the European slept on one side, up to nine Natives on the other side of the hut. In a Residence the owner sleeps on the men's side, his bride or Wi on the women's side unless she is called over for purposes of marital congress. In a family hut the woman occupier sleeps on the woman's side. When she is visited by her H she sleeps with him on the men's side if invited. Where a man has a Residence, and his Wis are called there in turn, the men's side in the family huts is given over to a big girl who assists the Wi concerned with work in garden and home and who remains with the Chn when the Wi is absent. The men's side is then reduced in status, but its original evaluation revived when men visit there. When a man is away for work his bride, who may not have her own hut, is quartered with his M. When the man returns, he cannot move into his M's hut which he has to avoid (Hl), but settles in a hut converted into a Residence and his Wi joins him there.

Chn are usually placed to sleep near the apse. This was the case in Mqiniseni's hut 2 where the 'heir's' Chn slept with two 'Ms'. All sleepers sleep with the head towards the apse, the seat of the ancestors, as some say. Crowding of the hut necessitates sleeping with the head to the wall and the feet towards the centre. Sleeping mats are rolled up every morning and placed in loops of rope along the wall above the sleeping place. Mats and loops are avoided by persons to whom they do not belong (Hl). A Ch may be ordered to take them down and to put them up. If any unauthorized person, even a kinsman, touches them it is a sign of disrespect. This applies even to a Wi touching her H's mat: only the Wi in charge of the H's residence may arrange his mats.

2. The Apse or back part of hut

The apse of a hut is used for storing clothes. In (247)'s Residence two boxes were in the apse, a pair of shoes, a dish of soap, and an excellent collection of bead work. "Clothes can't be kept near the door, since strangers pass there, and they must not touch them; they must be kept where ancestors protect them" (132). Certain types of food are regularly placed in the apse: in (247)'s hut, for instance, a pot with beer. In the apse of Mqiniseni's Great Hut

(Fig. 12) there was a box of valuables besides four sickles, a beer cup and a spoon bag at the back wall for the two resident women, and two SM calabashes (for Ms and Da-in-l or Chn respectively), also an *amaHewu* pot. A pumpkin was 'just there'. Usually pumpkins as well as water are stored in the kitchen. A collection of grass 'pigtails' (*umVithi*) to be used for sewing on thatch lay there too. In the apse of the heir's Residence in Mbatha's kraal was a small cupboard with plates, cups and saucers and sugar. There were also about 20 sleeping and sitting mats displayed in a colourful holder. In Mthunzini's Residence the sleeping mats hung down into the apse, two loin covers being draped over them to cover a collection of medicine bottles. In the Great Hut of the Gwala kraal meat trays, SM calabashes, mixing bowls and whey pot were kept in the apse. In short, eating utensils, certain foods, clothes, and bedding about which magical fears exist are placed in the apse and they must be avoided by strangers and kraal inmates who have no business there (Hl). (The normal place for sleeping-mats is along the side-wall above the sleeping site). (107) puts it neatly: "The reason why a stranger may not sit near the apse is that the milk calabashes and the F's spoon are kept there. Even a bride can't approach there: she respectfully avoids her H's family, i.e., ancestors."

The ancestral spear, the stabbing spear, the ancient robe and cloak worn by the U during a SAC are kept in the apse. So is the knife used in ear piercing; like the spears it is stuck into the thatch. After a SAC the meat is deposited in the apse of the Great Hut or its kitchen for a night. Beer and sometimes snuff are presented with it. Certain organs of the slaughter ed beast are pegged against the back wall and the intestines used to be beaten against the roof above the apse so that the contents adhered to it. When the meat is removed the following morning the apse is sprinkled with the bile. Such ritual reservation happens also with personal belongings. In Mpiyakhe's hut a large bundle wrapped in a mat contained the belongings of a Da about to be married. It was raised on two sticks with cross pieces in the apse. A similar bundle was observed in a hut in the royal Nobamba kraal. In Mbatha's kraal the possessions of a son of the princWi, who was absent on service with the Durban Municipal Police, were stored in the same manner in his M's hut. A small bundle above it contained tobacco and was put there for 'safety'.

The apse is also a ritual site. A diviner in training is required to sit in the back of his isolation hut. His washing medicines are placed among the vessels in the apse (Kohler: 1941: 26f.) At the puberty rite of a girl she is immobilized behind a screen beside the apse. A widow must sit right in the apse for some time. Isaacs found the father of a child that had died "sitting in sadness at the back of the hut". Prayers addressed to the ancestors in the hut are directed towards the back, and sleepers must turn their heads towards it. Moreover the meconium is removed from a newborn there. Umbilicus and afterbirth are buried by some women in the apse. Abnormal Chn, e.g., the younger twin, a cripple or idiot, were 'exposed to the ancestors' in the apse (Ludlow: 65). It is likely that when chiefs or kraalheads were buried inside their hut, as reported by Gerbrantzer (Bird: I, 60. Isaacs: II, 260), the grave was in the apse. "The ancestors are in the apse of all huts, Great Hut, Residences, even kitchen." For (250) says, "When the bile gets sprinkled in the apse of the Great Hut, it is just like sprinkling it in all other huts of the homestead. And the residents of every hut respectfully avoid (Hl) in their own apse that of the Great Hut." Since the U is today buried at the top of the cattle pen this is also sometimes known as *umSamo* (apse). (427): "They are buried and *thethwa'd* (addressed) in the pen: Meat, beer and snuff are placed there in the apse of the Great Hut for them. When the meat is prepared it is taken into the house and all go inside to eat with the ancestors!" I had heard of the women only eating in the Great Hut."Yes, in olden days the women ate in the hut with women ancestors, the men in the pen with ancestors who are men!" But in other respects the ancestors are treated as if they were in the apse. Certain songs are sung only there, the announcement of the intention to move the kraal is made there.

The roof is a repository for sundries, some of which are avoided. The U's snuff container is pushed behind one of the arched sticks. Beer-strainers, foam whisks, beer pot covers (to Hl the beer or its drinker) hang from all over the roof. The large stirring stick is thrust into the thatch to keep it safe from Chn (Fig. 12), and men must not touch it (Hl) except for stirring the blood soup at a SAC. Boys may not touch it nor lick it (Hl). In a family hut ears of sorghum or cobs of maize are placed in the roof. Some of these must not be eaten but kept

for next year's seed (Hl/Za). In Residences dancing shields and sticks are thrust into the wall, sometimes on both sides of the door (247). (427) does not think that the whistling from the roof top issues from genuine ancestors, - such speak not by words of mouth but through action and events only, e.g., when a cow breaks a leg!

We are now in a position to review the avoidances centring round the house. The Zulu apse is sometimes described as sacred. But if it were avoided because of an indwelling sacredness it would be difficult to account for two facts: that the locality is not taboo to all persons to the same degree, and that there are occasions when the locality is not avoided by anyone. Furthermore there are with reference to the apse no sacred periods, when it is avoided by everyone, nor profane periods, when it is used by everyone. Rather each individual responds to the apse as his social rank and ritual fitness demand in a particular situation. The response of persons of different status and fitness at the same time is varied and contrasting. If we ascribed an immanent quality of sacredness to the apse it would be necessary to assume that there are fluctuations in the amount of sacredness, or that it is selectively sacred for one person but not so for another, or sacred for him at one time but not so at another. This leads the theory of the immanent sacredness of tabooed objects as far as the Zulu are concerned ad absurdum, for the same observation can be made with all other avoided objects so far examined.

We must rather explain the function of the following avoidances: For Chn the apse is generally inaccessible except when they receive an order to fetch something or when they sleep there with the SAC meat. With regard to women, they work daily with the milk calabashes in the apse, they avoid this work when in a 'female condition' but also at a SAC when all objects handled by women are removed. The U normally has little to do with many of the things kept in reserve in the apse: yet he may not approach it after a SAC when the meat has been placed there. The lasting exclusion of strangers from the apse, and the initial exclusion of the bride who comes from outside suggest that the apse symbolizes the principle of agnatic ascendancy. The ritual situation of the SAC brings about an inversion of the normal avoidance regimen (excepting stranger and bride): each status then observes towards it the behaviour opposite from that which is normal for him.

The employment of the apse as receptacle or store for ritual objects makes it suitable to render objects and persons ritually fit, e.g., SAC meat is dedicated there; pubescent girls, widows, sit near or in it. The underlying belief that the apse is visited by or belongs to the ancestors supplies a strong motive for obeying or enforcing a reverential attitude towards it on ritual occasions. Thus the apse does not possess an immanent quality of sacredness; it is mainly a reserve for valuable possessions, and functions as a mirror or register of kinship ranking eliciting from every kin appropriate and differentiated responses. In short, society articulates itself in the avoidances towards the various parts of the house.

D. GRAVES

1. Historical Data

In 1690 Johannes Gerbrantzer had a commission from the Dutch Government (DEIC) to purchase the bay of Natal and adjoining land from Nyangisa, chief of the Ntuli, for beads, copper and ironmongery. The "contract was drawn and sealed". When he returned 15 (sic) years later to take possession, Nyangisa was in his grave. "That grave is now fenced in and nobody may pass over it, " said his successor. This is the earliest reference to a grave taboo in Natal (Bird: I, 60).

Near the Mtonjaneni Heights lie the graves of the royal forbears, Senzangakhona, Jama, Ndaba, Phunga, Mageba at their respective homesteads, that of Zulu, the 'first' ancestor, lies near Dingane's Mgungundhlovu kraal. His grave is revered as kwanKosinkulu. Various trees grow on the graves: *umKhamba, iSundu, umSenge, umNyele, umPhafa, or umLahlankosi, umuNde,* euphorbias and aloes. Some graves are covered with stones (Bryant: 1929: 20f).

Mhlontlo, an old Zulu informant, was certain of the localities, since the Zulu armies, and he among them, used to dance at the graves *(ukuKhetha)* on occasion. Royal graves are described as *terra sacra*, e.g., by Theophilus Shepstone: The grave "is still considered sacred and is preserved from all desecration. No twig or branch is ever broken from any tree growing on that ridge; no Zulu allows his walking stick (sic) to rest on the soil: the annual grass fires have for many years been prevented from sweeping across it; snakes and lizards of unknown kinds and marvellous size are said to reign there, no one disturbs them; the spirits of the dead live in them!" (Colenso, F.E.: 1884: II, 352f).

The grass cover on graves must not be burnt. Mesham, the magistrate at Inanda, reported in Sept. 1852 (PAR: C.S.O. 29, no. 165) a law case between a white farmer (plaintiff) and his Zulu servant (defendant) who was building a hut for his master. One day the farmer set fire to some grass on his land. "But the women of defendant's kraal came four times to put out the fire, saying that one of their relatives was buried there and they would not allow the grass to be burnt on the grave. Plaintiff finding this a superstitious motive... set fire to the grass again; whereupon the defendant and his sons came out and told him that they would shoot his horse and pull down the hut... and behaved in a most insolent and insulting manner." The defendant was ordered to remove to the location. The grave was presumably that of defendant's F and of the women's HF.

About 100 years ago the missionary Glöckner founded Hoffental station near the homestead of Mcingwane, Br of Zikali, the Ngwane chief. One day Glöckner fired the grass round his house and the wind drove the flames over Zikali's grave. Next day a tribesman threatened Glöckner in his room with his assagai, shouting: "The fire has finished all the huts and all food! (sic). Had a Native been responsible he would have been banished or killed and his property confiscated." A few days later Zikali's widow, his Br and his heir called on the missionary to discuss the incident. They sat before him with faces drawn like mourners. Glöckner explained the accidental nature of the fire, which could have been extinguished if the tribe had helped him, and he warned them to be afraid of the Fire in Hell! The matter was settled amicably and the old queen sent Glöckner a piece of meat accepting him as their 'brother and friend'! (Wangemann: 1875: 292). Several points should be noted. The misfortune caused by burning the chief's grave grass affects the whole tribe by a kind of contagion destroying their homes and food. The chief's relatives try to impress the stranger with the enormity of his deed but his action is condoned and the settlement 'sealed' with a present of meat. Burning the chief's grave grass is not only the cause of a general misfortune, it is a calamity which of necessity must have been caused by a particularly heinous action. A fire that went over Mpande's grave in the seventies was explained as having been brought about by the fighting between two regiments at the First Fruits.

A violation of a grave by a Zulu was condoned on Cetshwayo's return from exile. The Wolsey Award divided Zululand among thirteen kinglets and the Zulu heartlands were assigned to Mfanawendlela Zungu (who according to Chief Mqiniseni had married one of Senzangakhona's Das, and was thus Br-in-l to Shaka, Dingane and Mpande and FSiH to Cetshwayo). "Mfanawendlela built a kraal for himself in the midst of the ancient royal kraals and planted maize over the ground where Mpande was buried, a spot 'sacred' in the eyes of the Zulu. When Cetshwayo returned Mfanawendlela knew very well that he could not retain these lands, which he claimed to have belonged to his ancestors before the days of Shaka" (Colenso, F.E.: 1884: II, 354, 437). But Cetshwayo allowed his Wis and Chn to 'watch the crops they had planted' before he insisted on the removal of the homestead. Since Mfanawendlela was an affine and not a direct descendant with a claim to succession this "desecration of Mpande's grave" was considered less serious than "if he had sprung from the original tribe".

2. At the Xhulu kraal, (Fig. 27), there are two groups of graves: those inside the homestead and those outside. The UF is buried to the left of the upper pen entrance, the U to the right of it; a third grave to the left of the UF's is that of UyoBr. The new U has not yet been appointed. The graves of about a dozen women and Chn of the homestead are on the old kraal site, where they have been buried since the kraal moved. Thus only agnates of ascending generations are buried inside, men of the rank of an U. It is mainly their graves which are respectfully avoided (Hl). The widows of U and UyoBr do not as yet go near the UF's grave. If the UFM were still alive (392 states) the U's and UyoBr's widows, as her Das-in-l, would

avoid the area between the grave and the living huts. "Since she to whom the area was not Hl is now dead, they may go down and sweep there!" But the brides of the USos and UyoBrSos avoid the graves of their Fs-in-l and may go past them moving behind the living huts on the Path of Avoidance only. If the widows of U and UyoBr want to eat outside their huts they must do so far away from the graves of their HsF and this applies to their Das-in-l in respect of their HF's graves. The Das-in-l's Chn, however, do not Hl the graves very much.

The grave avoidance appears so far as an exemplification of the HF avoidance. It has also a general aspect. If you plough on an old kraal site (392 continues) you don't plough over the graves (Hl); if sowing broadcast, the plants that grow on the graves are not reaped but left to dry up. They are not 'good' *(awu muHle)*; they are part of 'him'. If pumpkin plants spread themselves over a grave the fruit is not harvested! Asked to say whether these grave avoidances resemble the avoidances concerning the special plot cultivated for the Princess of Heaven Nomkhubulwana at the *ukuBhina*, (392) says the crops for her are 'good', those on graves are 'bad'!

We have repeatedly observed that what must be avoided by an inferior status may be abused for evil purposes by a wizard. This is exactly what happens with graves. Wizards gather grave soil to harm the deceased's descendants with it, and are even believed to dig out corpses and convert them into dwarf-sized tongue-tied familiars (*imiKhovu*). A recent development is that diviners take their clients to graves to show them pennies allegedly thrown there by wizards 'to buy the lives of Chn of the kraal from the deceased UF!' *34*. One of the oaths used by males contains a reference to 'the scratching up of the F' from his grave as an action quite impossible to the ordinary person, a verbal taboo breach.

The graves of Wis outside the homestead have little behaviour and avoidance significance. Those of abnormal Chn, e.g., cripples, or of old people who died with a "spotted skin", are placed far away from a homestead. A person killed by lightning, even if he was a U, was not buried by his family in his kraal but in the veld by the lightning doctor. Still-born Chn have no graves dug for them but are thrust into ant-bear holes. Their memory is eliminated from the genealogy of the lineage, and no lasting avoidances are observed towards them. (427) mentions a case of inversion: "The twin that dies is buried just outside one of the door-jambs of its M's hut, so that the surviving twin by stamping on its grave is 'strengthened' while it plays."

3. Full information about the a n c i e n t r o y a l g r a v e s was obtained from (409), one of Dinizulu's widows, and (410) of the royal lineage at Nobamba. The kraal lies on the slopes of a basin surrounded by low grass-covered ridges on three sides; on the fourth from

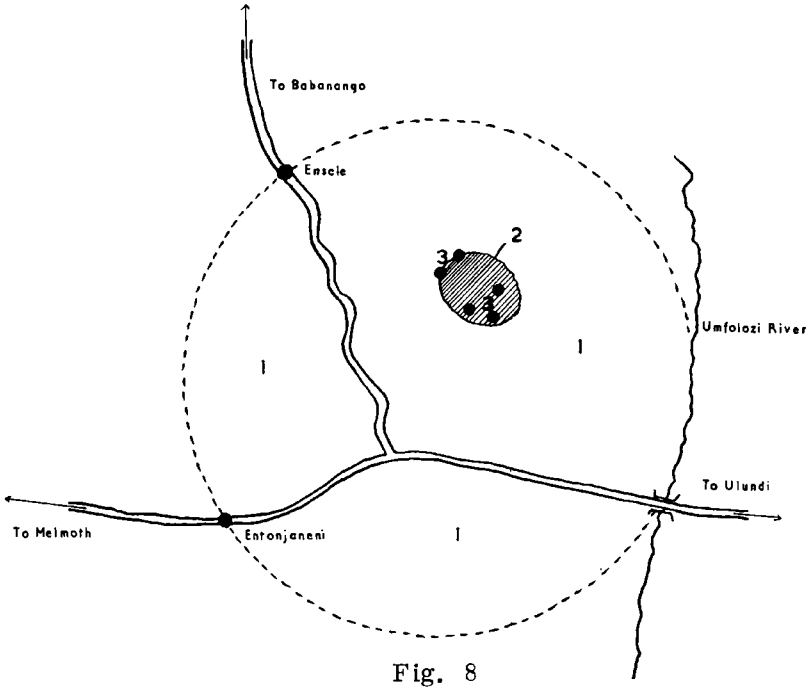


Fig. 8

West to North lie the *iKume* Hill and the Mpembeni River and the Ntunzuma Hill beyond it (both mentioned in Senzagakhona's praises). Nobamba is ringed with the old royal kraal sites which are remembered by the graves of the ancient kings, viz., Senzangakhona, Jama, Mageba, Ndaba in the East and South. Even Phunga's grave is said by (410) to be near Mageba's and Ndaba's. Dinizulu's grave, or rather the bush round it, is seen at a bend of the Mpembeni R. Buried with Dinizulu on the same site are his real M, his son David (who on his F's instructions was to be buried with his GFs) and Mpembeni, another son *35*.

a. Reserved Area. The graves are surrounded by concentric rings of increasing taboo intensity (cf. Fig. 8). The taboo (Za) against prodding a walking stick on the ground (1) commences at Ensele on the Babanango road, at Entonjaneni on the Melmoth road, i.e., in each case where the road dips from the Sour Veld to the Thorns. In the North the boundary is the umFolozi River. Till Mpande's death men could go about with their sticks North of the river, later the Southern boundary of Mpande's Ulundi grave area was made to begin at the umFolozi. "We call it Hl/Za to abstain from carrying sticks near the king's grave."
In a narrower circle all frivolous love visits are interdicted, i.e., they are not permitted in the shaded area (2). Intense avoidances protect each individual royal grave area (3): The cattle may not 'trample' the king. Herdboys who allow them to stray there get a beating. The yoWis of the kraal may not search for firewood there, no branch may be broken off: 'they would be making fire with the king!' Game in hiding there must not be killed. There is a duiker there, which (410) claims to have seen when he was a youngster - he is approximately 60 now. It is snow-white with age, nobody touches it. If game struck outside this inner area runs on to it, the hunter may recover it but cannot trample on the grave (Hl). So that no fire may run over Dinizulu's grave a firebreak was made in 1913 and ritually secured: a beast was sacrificed at Nobamba with all the usual offerings to ancestors, the people went to the graves and cleansed themselves after their return. In Cetshwayo's days it was totally forbidden (Za) to enter the graves' area in European dress.
But Cetshwayo was defeated and everything was changed: shoes became the s i g n of our defeat!

b. Sexual Restraints
(410): "Although I am a So of the king buried there, I cannot go to his grave without permission. It is obtained from (409), 'my M', and I have to give her a good reason (Hl). I feel a desire to visit the grave when I have not seen it for some time, say two months. I Za my Wi before I visit the grave (This statement was extorted!) but do not abstain from food. I could take my Wis to the graves but only when a crowd of people goes there. They would have to sit at a distance." In general (410) goes alone; he says the praises of the kings which he knows, standing as he does so. He kneels when he prays for things he wants or thanks for things he got.

c. Speech / Gestures
When pointing out the grave sites of Jama and Dinizulu in the distance (410) showed them with his fist closed. To point at them with the index finger is 'to show disrespect to the whole country' for which in the past a person was killed. A person walking past the grave takes off his hat, takes his weapons in his left hand, raises the right to give the royal salute and says Bayede. There should be no loud talking, no quarrelling near the king's grave. You cannot take refuge there during a storm. Nobody is allowed 'to overshadow' a royal grave, because 'he is regarded as a live person' (*ngoba ayiFile*). Women coming near must bow their heads (*ukuKhothama*). Those married in the royal kraal must in addition cover their heads with a cloth or rug; they must look at the path only, never at the grave, 'because their HF is buried there' (Hl).

4. Sacred Places of Zulu Nation
Msentelele Buthelezi (454), Princess Magogo and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi: People appointed to look after the r o y a l g r a v e s, were called *abeLela amaKhosi*, e.g., one Mpungose was appointed to look after Mpande's grave and instructed as to his duties by Prime Minister

Mnyamane; Shingane Zulu was actually chief there. It is not known now if grave-tenders *Zila* 'd anything; they might get into trouble if fire swept over graves, as this provoked the wrath of the gods. People greeted a royal grave with *Bayede* , they walked past it in bent posture; anybody approaching with a stick was asked: Why do you prick him?

B a t t l e f i e l d s were not permanently avoided. After a battle the field was cordoned off (Za) against cattle until the bones were interred. Magogo, contradicting two old Buthelezi uncles, said that spears and personal belongings of warriors were collected from the dead, to show to relatives and confirm news of death, and their bodies were buried in a complete grave with niche and stone wall dug in their homes. The spears were kept for the warriors' Sos. The corpses on the field were covered with their shields.

Of the ancient Royal kraals, two are still respected (Hl). At Gqikazi the *imiZimu* cattle of ancestral stock were kept. Any serious matter concerning the royal family is *Thethwa'd* there; "it is easier to talk to royal ancestors there". When the king was fortified it was important to use a beast from there. Only one of Cetshwayo's wives is buried there, okaSiShaluza MaNtshangase, none of the old kings. The kraal is important because near it are buried the remnants of the old king's loin covers and front tails, and because of the ancestral herd which had blue and white flecks. Commoners did not show any special respect towards the kraal, except that after an appeal (*ukuThetha*) every inmate and passer-by spoke in whispers. N o b a m b a is the oldest royal kraal, round it almost all the kings lie buried. As at Gqikazi anybody may eat SM there! Magogo said at first that except for Solomon and Cetshwayo every king was buried near Nobamba, but we found the following exceptions: Mpande, Dingane and Shaka. Solomon too said he did not want his corpse to suffer on the long wagon journey from Emahashini to Nobamba.

R e f u g e: Any person condemned to be executed saved his life if he reached the royal graves. (Similarly when a 'chief' got up to thrash his wife or child and they escaped to the Great Hut, they were safe). People remarked about one who had reached grave or Great Hut: 'he entered the fort!' adding: We shall see when you get out! But this was normally a vain threat.*35A*My informants cannot give a historical instance, except one involving a violation of asylum. Mpande's youngest So Mboyiyane and his mother NoMamjali were pursued by Cetshwayo's troops into Mpande's Residence and speared to death behind his bed; Mpande cursed the Zulu nation after this outrage, and as late as the fifties (1956) King Cyprian and his royal house placated Mpande's spirit for this deed of violence! On the same occasion one Mshayo, a warrior of Cetshwayo's regiment, ate Mpande's sugar reed. It used to be kept till it had wilted, because it was then sweeter; Mpande cursed him too, saying his body would never be shiny. Mshayo lived to a great age, was one of Dinizulu's composers of praises and songs, but his body remained always whitish like that of boys in winter. (The first interpretation of the curse that Mshayo would always be poor, was later rejected in favour of an explanation more consistent with his skin condition). Mpande at that time was so very old, that they took him out in a wagon to review the troops, and he was so weak that he could just wave his hands with their long nails.

5. To Sum up

The classical taboo theory states that graves are avoided because they are sacred in their double quality of holiness and untouchability (Robertson Smith). We have seen that only the graves of pivotal members in the kinship structure are revered; i.e., not all graves are avoided but only those of kraalhead, headman, chief, founders of clans. There are no special avoidances with regard to the graves of women, children and dependent or childless men; certain persons are not even buried in graves; they are given over to the elements, river or swamp, or thrown to animals, hyena or crocodile. Their existence in the world of the dead is not recognized. The avoidances concerning the Zulu royal graves resemble those observed towards the living king.

The second quality of sacra is that of untouchability. "In certain contexts ... the sanctities vindicate themselves, so spontaneously do they resent violation. Thus it is always had luck to desecrate a grave." Assuming this, Marett (1933: 141) would find it impossible to explain why the stress of Zulu custom is not on the alleged automatic reaction of the grave, but on the fact that all individuals respond to it according to their social ranking. The deceased's GChn

may frolic around the grave and tumble over it, his Sos are expected to behave sedately; it is mainly his Das-in-l who give the grave a wide berth and hide their faces as they did towards the living HF.

The third component of sacredness is ability to inspire awe. We have quoted enough evidence to show that Chn do not experience such awe, that men assume a rather neutral attitude towards their forbear's grave, that the fear of young Wis of the grave of the HF differs in nothing from the fear felt towards his hut, his hut-side, his sleeping mat, especially since their avoidance pattern remains the same in these varied situations. Moreover, the wizard who employs grave soil for his evil purposes, certainly does not experience any awe before it. Rather he exploits the symbolic value of the grave to frighten the deceased's descendants with the contagious effect of evil magic which has grave soil as an ingredient.

If therefore we say that a Zulu grave is sacred we must keep the above three modifications in mind. Yet we do not wish to question its religious character. The localization of ancestors in grave sites, tenuous though it is, gives it that character. Zulu religion is deeply dyed in ancestor worship. Behaviour at the graves implements the patrilineal bias of their kinship organization. A married woman dying at her F's must be returned to where she was married i.e., purchased with cattle and where her Chn live. The fact that kraalheads are buried with the face turned towards the cattle pen, while others are buried looking in the direction of their huts, indicates that the kraalhead is the mediator between the living and the dead by his close association with cattle. The separating of a M who died in childbirth from the foetus illustrates the fact that their kinship significance differs, the M has been purchased to help in propagating the group, while the Ch is a full member of the descent unit passing through time.

E. CASE STUDIES

C a s e S t u d y: e z i N y e m b e z i n i kraal (Fig. 27, hut 12) to show positions of objects and of various persons:

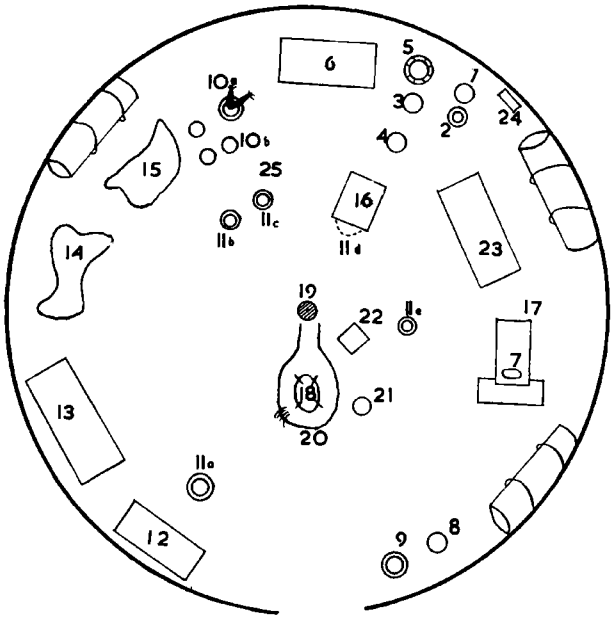


Fig. 9.

In apse: 1 and 4: large Calabashes (stoppered), 4 brought in by g i r l from milking. 2. Beer Pot, no lid. 3. Mixing Pot turned upside down. 5. Milk Pail on a stick. Brought in by h e r d b o y: he also brought in a second pail and carried it out again (Reason?) 6. Box opening backwards with mats, blankets piled on top. 7. Grinding stone. Muller on mat to catch

flour. 8. Water kept apart from SM. 9. Pot with maize porridge. 10 a: Bowl with spoon container for Sos who eat here.
10b: Covered bowls with food for Sos (who give food to dogs first)
11. Depressions to steady beer pots for; (a) Kraalhead, his Brs, neighbours; (b) Sons; (c) Daughters; (d) Brides and (e) Mothers.
12. Seats: OFR and 13: Interpreter on mats; 14/15 Sons on skins. No suitable visitor's mat was available in this hut; a child was sent to fetch mats from another hut. Mats are to Hl visitors; skins, we are told, are for lower ranks.
16. Here Da-in-l of princWidow fed her Ch with curds and maize. When Ch passed water and stool, its M produced a ball of cowdung with which she smeared the dirtied area. In the mean time the Ch got hold of the tin containing its SM with which it proceeded to fill the beer hole. Its M lifted up the mess carefully and threw it into the yard for dogs and hens. She took SM remainder away with her.
17. Here the princWidow ground millet (in preparation for beer making?). She later ordered a girl (about 14 years old) to relieve her. The girl finished the work, put ground corn into a bowl, placed the grindstone with hollow against the wall. The grindstone should be in the kitchen!
18. Fireplace: princWi and her girl helper occasionally blew embers and fed fire with loose sticks of wood.
19. Hut post, only one, although hut is large; (20) small broom
21. Lid of large cooking pot; small Chn took what they liked of the cooked samp in the lid.
22. When lady of house stopped grinding she sat here near hutpost to talk to us.
23. Second Widow sat here with outstretched legs. Further towards door a herdboy crouched for a short time.
24. Headrest in apse; other headrests are placed on top of the sod walls and under the roof of the hut. (24) is princWi's headrest.
25. Third widow sat here when princWi had moved to post.
Above 24 on the wall two gall-bladders were hung up; also on the wall between box at (6) and the mats were four meat trays, and a spoon container with spoons.

In this well-ordered hut the various kinds of food had their prescribed places; water and milk appear as incompatible, not so beer and milk. Although no male occupies the hut, the left side remains reserved for men visitors, the right side for women. In addition all the domestic work is done on the latter side; grinding of maize, cooking, feeding Chn.

Movements and authority positions in hut of principal widow (392), eziNyembezini Kraal (Fig. 27 hut 12).

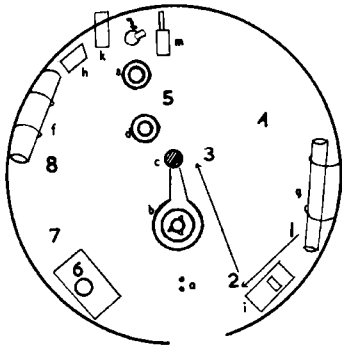


Fig. 10.

a. two pieces of iron in floor
b. fireplace: pot on boil
c. pillar: unornamented
d. large pot of beer
e. small pot of beer
f. mats above a full sack
g. mats
h. flat stones
i. grindstones
k. pail, finely ornamented
l. mealie bag
m. paraffin bottle (?)

The princWidow was a comparatively young woman with attractive features and intelligence. In Fig. 10 numbers 1-3 show positions of widow during one interview. She sat first with outstretched legs on mat at (1); then moved to (2) to eat there. When two women, not in black mourning entered, she yielded (2) to them and moved to (3), where she leaned against post. All three positions are authority positions. We never saw her in a low rank position.

The second widow first lay flat on mat at (4); later she sat up to eat and converse. She

made few but original, sometimes sarcastic remarks.When moving about crowded women's side, she would step over on to men's side (5).

There were two other widows in black and two non-mourning women (FFSiSoWis?). They did not eat, stayed only for some time. The second widow ate far less than the princWi, who had boiled mealie grains, then porridge, finally ground mealies. There were several b r i d es with babies about; first two of them near the post before the widow moved to (3). The brides ate not at the same time as UWidow but some time afterwards and porridge only. While eating they sat in front of (g). Small C h n a n d g i r l s crowded the women's side, and the babies ate before their GM. The bigger Chn ate afterwards, the girls on the women's, the boys on the men's side (between d and 8). The boys ate only boiled maize grains.

G r o w n - u p Sos ate more ceremoniously. They sat on skins at (8), and ate w i t h s p o o n s which they themselves removed from the container. Of the three Sos concerned, one behaved "masterly": he brought boiled grains of maize with him into the hut and threw some of them into his mouth between spoonfuls of porridge. He placed a handful of grains before him on floor and called in a dog. When it sniffed at the grains and made for the 'skin' of the millet porridge, it was chased out, and two toddlers were called in to pick up the mealies. They ate them in silent obedience. The author sat on mat at (6), his interpreter at (7).

O t h e r H l a c t i o n s: The Da-in-l who served her HM brought a basin into which she poured some water just to the right of door; she withdrew as her HM began to eat. Das-in-l who did not serve food remained. The widows Hl the HF's pers/n which contains the p sound even today and say**Shela* for *Phela* and * *inXakazo* for *iMpi* (war). The Das-in-l Hl the ka-sound in their HF's pers/n, viz., *inKomo* (cow) becomes * *inTinda* and *ukuKaka* * *ukuPhahla*.

S o - i n - l H l h i s M - i n - l: When he enters a hut where she is, he bows, moves to other side, does not look into her eyes, nor does she look into his. The avoidance begins as soon as he becomes a lover of her Da. For some time after Engagement he would run away from her; later on he steps out of her pâth (as for other old people) and in addition looks down as he walks round her. DaH and WiM do not eat in each other's presence. If she eats when he comes near the hut, she stops chewing; when he enters, she spits the food out; when he has come right in, she takes the food out of her mouth with her fingers. If he sees her eating he goes out. What matters is that she should not swallow what is in her mouth. Nothing would happen if she did swallow the food, but her So-in-l would not feel fine, he might feel justified in mal-treating his Wi (scil. for having an avoidance-breaking M!) Chn who are about, and also adults help her to keep this Hl.

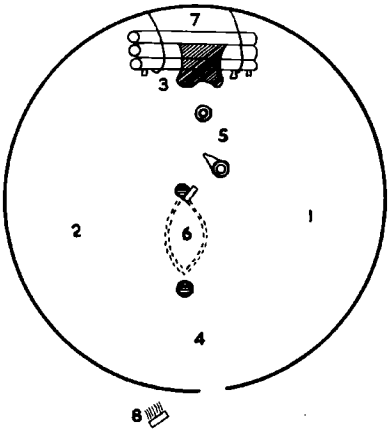


Fig. 11.

Residence in Mthunzini Buthelezi's (119) Homestead (Fig. 29, hut 2)

1. *oHlangothini* converted into *isiBaya esiKhulu* (great side)
2. *isiBaya esiKhulu* temporarily converted into *oHlangothini*
3. Mats, back-flap over mats and medicines
4. Place where visitors are expected to walk in bent position (Hl)
5. Beer pot and cup
6. Fire-place (not in use)
7. Back of hut *(uFundo)*
8. Protective plant outside doorway

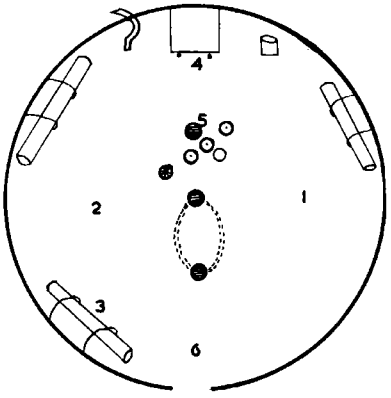


Fig. 12

Hut 2 in Chief Mqiniseni Zungu's (241) homestead (Fig. 26)

1. Great Side, occupied by MaNdlela, her mats, headrest
2. Small Side, occupied by MaBiyela, her mats, headrest
3. Mats for Filemon's Children
4. Box for valuables; in roof: sickle, beer cup and spoon bag for the two ladies
5. Calabashes round back post: biggest for the two wives, second for Filemon's children; third for (241)'s young children. The pots belong to the two wives: one is for mixing, the other for whey. Filemon's wife keeps her mixing pot in her family hut

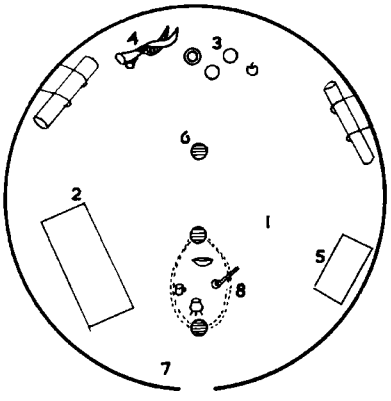


Fig. 13

Hut 7 in Chief Mqiniseni Zungu's homestead (Fig. 26)

1. Great Side occupied by chief's daughter-in-law (MaNkabane)
2. Small Side occupied by her mother-in-law, one of chief's wives (MaCebekhulu). This side is avoided by daughter-in-law but not by her children.
3. Apse: Two sour milk calabashes, one for mother-in-law, the other for daughter-in-law. Pumpkin and water are 'just there'; their proper place is in kitchen (Hl).
4. Grass tails for mat making *(umVithi)*
5. Grinding stone, to be kept on daughter-in-law's side (Hl). We were seated on it with mat over it.
6. Back post, doctored against lightning. Above it maize seed cobs from last year's crop
7. Strings for tying up loads of fire-wood
8. Fire place with tripod, bowl, calabash, etc.

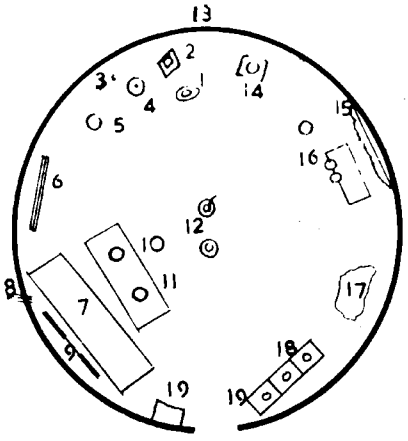


Fig. 14.

Residence in Ntshangase Homestead (398)

1. Small grinding stone and muller for medicines
2. Box and blankets on top
3. On wall eating mats, lids, strainers on display
4. Water calabash
5. Empty oil drum
6. Loin-cover and wild animal skin (bought in Pretoria)
7. Bed
8. Spears against wall
9. Bicycle (!)
10. Owner of homestead, seated with
11. His elder brother on mat
12. Beer pot and cup before them
13. Back window
14. Table with wash basin, medicine bottles under it
15. Owner's European clothes
16. Visiting neighbours
17. Skins
18. European visitors and interpreter
19. Mats on display above doorway (inside)

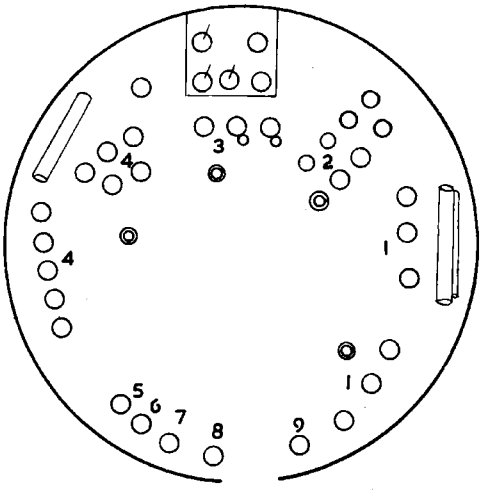


Fig. 15

Gwala Kraal (Fig. 44, hut 1)
Seating Arrangements at *umBondo* Beer Party

1. Visiting Mothers from neighbouring Kraals; in middle: diviner
2. The brides: one in front for whom *umBondo* was brought behaved with great restraint.
   A Da of Great Hut performed a solo dance with great abandon
3. Ms and Wis of home guard the milk calabashes which had not been removed (as for a SAC).
   Two Wis had babies, an old M not.
4. Young men of Gwala Kraals and bride's Sis from her home Kraal who brought the beer.

Note that each group has its own pot of beer which none of the other groups may touch (1-4). As pots get emptied new supplies were brought. When the hut gets crowded, the U takes the visiting Us to his Residence; and the young men and girls may go to a young man's Residence. The seating arrangement is shot through with Hl. The Ms sit in front of the calabashes to keep brides and strangers away. Drinking follows strict Hl etiquette. It is always a member of the kraal who drinks first in each group: the U in U's group (8); in girls'/young men's group a girl/young man of kraal; in Ms group the princWi of kraal; in bride's group 'the owner of the beer' for whom the *umBondo* was brought; among women visitors sat the M of the old Gwala kraal (9) to right of door, but anyone may start drinking in this group. The author sat at (5), his interpreter at (6), the young man 'in charge' at (7), the U at (8).

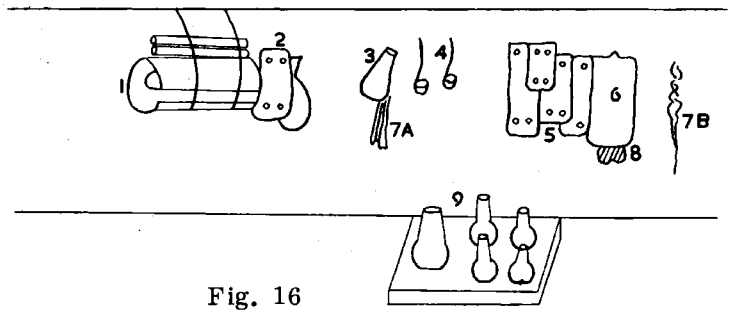


Fig. 16

Gwala Kraal (cf. Fig. 44, hut 6)

Objects kept in and above Apse of Great Hut

(1) Mats of Da of Great Hut about to get married (so that they do not get sooty). (2) Tray for fowl/chicken kept apart from those for beef. For people who don't eat fowl it would be unpleasant to have trays mixed (*akuThokozi*). All meat trays are kept in Great Hut, except those for pork & mutton which are kept in kitchen because U hates pork, avoids it (Hl). (3) U's spoon & spoon bags. (4) U's drinking cups; may not be used by anyone in his absence, not even by his Brs (Hl/Za). (5) Beef trays. (6) Covering mat for U's beef share (to Hl him). 7a/b Strips of skins used in repair of yoke thongs; must not be touched by women (Hl/Za). (8) Bag with 'little things' = medicines. (9) Apse, SM calabashes on platform.

In r o o f t o p: branches for spiders to make cobwebs in so that flies are reduced. Two lightning horns (*iziKhonkwane*). They are not touched (Hl/Za) unless it thunders. If the storm is bad any grown-up may take them down and push them through the thatch above the door to bar the way to lightning. Each hut has its own set; they are normally handled by the owner of the hut only (Hl). Long bamboo handle for ox whip across roof (all women Hl it). To touch any of these objects in apse or roof, except by an authorized person, is to violate Hl/Za! Handling objects of this nature implements the person's social position, legitimizes his rank.

F. THE DIFFERENTIAL RESPECT TOWARDS DIFFERENT HUTS

The avoidances observed towards different huts are determined by the status relationship between 'the owner' and the person observing the avoidances.

1. The Great Hut

(343): "When a Zulu enters the Great Hut he has a feeling of entering a unique dwelling dedicated to the ancestors. If the Great Hut breaks down and has to be rebuilt, the old sticks must be used, not thrown away (Hl), as is done in the case of minor huts. New sticks may only be added to strengthen the old framework". (422) gave a full account of the avoidances centring round the Great Hut of her kraal: No stranger is allowed to enter the Great Hut with his weapons; he must put them down outside and salute. He may not sit near the door but must move to the left side. Now that the U is dead, his widows may move about on the men's side of the Great Hut and even sit there: he is no longer 'present' for them. But his Das-in-l still avoid the side as if he were alive. When GChn and Sos of (422) had eaten their midday meal she swept the women's side of the hut only and sent a small girl to sweep the men's side. Sweeping is thus still avoided by her although she may move and sit on the men's side.

(422) accounts for the special feeling on entering the Great Hut as follows: In the Great Hut are kept (a) the SM vessels; SM is eaten there by the Sos; when the U was alive he took his meals in the Great Hut; when he was finished his Sos were called since they could not eat while he was eating. The princWi may not eat SM in the Great Hut (Hl); she takes her calabash and mixing bowl to a co-Wi's family hut where she keeps her vessels even (!). (b) All meat trays of the homestead are kept in the Great Hut even several years after the U's death. The SAC meat is

placed in its apse or in the Great Hut's kitchen. The old women of the kraal eat their meat here, even the roasted bits of the First Day of the SAC. On that day infants must not eat in the Great Hut but must be fed in the family huts of their Ms. The third stomach (*iNanzi*) is consumed in the Great Hut by the kraal's GMs on the Fourth Day. Nobody may talk from the time the meat arrives till it is entirely consumed (Hl). Only whispering is allowed, for the eaters respect the ancestors to whom kraal and family belong. (c) All beer has to be drunk in the Great Hut. Exceptionally small quantities may be taken in the U's residence or in the yard and his Wis may drink beer in the beer kitchen. The Das-in-l bring food to the Great Hut to be eaten by their Hs there, the Sos of the deceased U. The co-Widows of (422) bring food for the unmarried Sos of the kraal. Thus all Sos eat their food in the Great Hut. Smokers among them may light their pipes with a glowing ember from the fire place, but they must smoke outside (Hl).

2. Residence

(422): Das-in-l do not enter the U's Residence, only the UWis may enter. If they are absent, the Das-in-l put food down at the door, a Ch takes it inside. The U may take any food in his Residence except SM, which he and the Sos must eat in the Great Hut. The U and his Brs eat SAC meat in the Residence. They may drink beer there but only on special occasions, e.g., a wedding, or when too many people crowd out the Great Hut. The U's Residence is cleaned and swept by the princWi; no other Wi may do it (Hl). One other Wi is appointed to supply it regularly with drinking water. Assuming there are four Wis, two bring food at noon, two in the evening; the following day they change about. This is the U's arrangement. A Wi is called to the Residence for about a week, this is Zulu law (umTh). A woman may refuse to go there; if she does so for two days another Wi is called. It would be a question of dislike (or menstruation). The heir cannot move into the Residence which his F occupied when he was alive. He should not sleep with his Wis where his F used to sleep with his (Za). In fact an heir should not sleep in any hut built by his F (Hl). (He should build his own.) If he did he would have no Chn with his Wis! During his life-time, however, a man's Residence should never be relinquished but built over again and again. It is after his death only that it should be allowed to decay.

Only the Si that is in charge of his food and creature comforts should go to a boy's Residence. However, when the young man's sweetheart comes on a love visit, it may be in his Residence that the young people of the kraal meet. (Note Callaway 1868: 68: *iLaqu* is the hut of a young man, also that of a chief and that of a young married woman. If the latter is not built with great care the bride is offended).

Behaviour at a royal Residence is exemplified at Chief Phumanyova's Residence in his Bhanganomo kraal (441). It is a rectangular hut which lies in the third row of his Ms' and Brs' huts, even behind the kitchens (Fig. 17). At (1) visitors must shout Ndabezitha, even if the chief is not inside. (2) is the doorway, where girls (Das, Das-in-l, Sis-in-l, Wis) must go on their knees and men bend down. (3) is the centre room shown enlarged in Fig. 18. (4) is the chief's bedroom; in it is kept Zibhebhu's gun. (5) is the bedroom of a wife; in it are kept the tea things. (6) are hedges.
The seating arrangement (Fig. 18) produced a triangular pattern whose apex was formed by the chief on a chair (1), and the other two angles by (2), the chief councillor, and (3) the white visitor. There are also a table and a sideboard in the room.

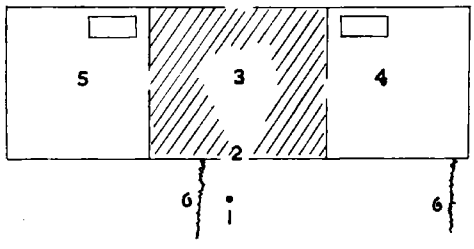


Fig. 17

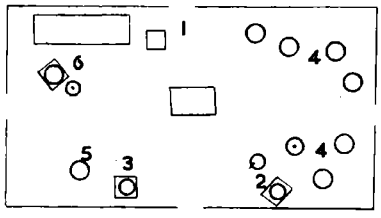


Fig. 18.

The councillors (4) followed in order of rank round the wall; the interpreter (5) sat to the left of (3). At (6) sat first a young man, later, on a mat brought by a USi, a girl betrothed to one of the chief's Brs. A pot of beer was placed before the chief councillor and was duly skimmed and tasted bhtthe USi. She later brought a small pot for the betrothed. This girl had gone on her knees to her seat from the doorway. She sat there silently and did not reply when the chief whispered a few words to her and the councillor nearest to her greeted her *SakuBona* ! Her hair was plaited with raffia strands so that it stood away from the head. She covered her face with a black cloth up to her eyes when the chief was present and up to her chin when he was absent. She perspired and fanned herself with her left hand. The USi of about the same age moved about with self-assurance. She knelt at the doorway only, then got up and walked across the room to a young man among the councillors to whom she gave a message kneeling down before him. A small girl brought a message to the chief entering by the back door and kneeling down just inside it; she showed no sign of excitement.

3. Family Hut

Unless I asked special permission to be shown a family hut, no U took me there. Men do not act without some restraint (Hl) towards this realm of Wi and Chn. Strangers have no business there. But the kraalhead's Sos are also barred. (139): "Old as I am - about 40 with several Wis and Chn - I may not enter a FWi's hut as long as my F is alive! except for eating food there. This avoidance includes even my own M's hut. There, however, in addition to having a meal, I may stay for a short conversation. My food is normally brought to my residence, except SM which I eat in my M's hut. "She is the most important Wi in Mnyayiza's kraal. Young Chn freely move in and out of the family huts of their M's co-Wis, where it is expected they will be given food. When they grow older, and dissensions occur between a man's Wis, girls will only go to a hut whose owner is friendly to their real M.

The granary is, as it were, an outlying part of the family hut. The U's overall control does not abrogate special rights of the Wi who owns it. A H has the right to inspect a granary, so as to reassure himself about the amount of grain stored. But he may not interfere with the crop or any other object placed there (Hl). If a Wi hides a pot of beer in the granary her H cannot drink it (Hl). All he can do is to request a share (414). No Wi can go to another Wi's granary (Hl). It is like stealing. Only maize cobs are kept in a granary, no millet (Hl, a case of incompatibility). Millet must be kept in the apse (Hl) of a special kitchen, but never together with beer. This is not Hl/Za but a practical rule, since beer drinkers are apt to leave the door open and the fowls would make havoc of the grain.

The kitchen (*iXhiba*) is another outpost of a woman's sphere. Chief Phumanyova at first stated: "It has no Hl!" When this was doubted, he commented: "When meat is in the kitchen, Das-in-l cannot enter, the UWis could, even when the U is still alive, but not when his M is living, since they have the status of Das-in-l to her! There is no male or female side, but there is an apse and a fire-place over which nobody steps. No sleeping mat is kept in a kitchen. When a Da of the kraal sleeps there with her lover, she brings her mats along. She must return to her family hut before the sun rises and may not leave her mat behind (Hl), lest she give birth to an illegitimate Ch! Water is kept in the kitchen and must be placed apart from meat and SM, since it has not the same standing as these two foods. If water is kept in the Great Hut it must be placed on the women's side, never on the men's side or in the apse. The same applies to pumpkins, whereas beans can go into the apse. SM must be kept in the apse of the Great Hut; it is moved out of it (and into the kitchen) only at a wedding, when many visitors are expected in the Great Hut, or at a SAC, when the meat is placed in the apse. Beer is kept in the kitchen. Neither the U nor his Sos may go there on the sly to drink beer (Hl): It does not happen! The owner of the kitchen, her co-Wis and Das, enter freely and drink beer there without restraint. Chn are free to enter a kitchen. The grinding stone should be kept in the kitchen. If the Great Hut has no kitchen, it may be kept in the Great Hut itself."

4. The Treatment Hut

Chief Phumanyova's treatment hut is situate behind the Great Hut, in which his mother

resides, and on the Great Side of the kraal. Nobody sleeps in this hut. "Everything that is done (s c i l. to me), is done in here!" In it he receives the black and the white treatment; his emetics are kept there and his weapons. While he is being treated, silence reigns outside, people moving near it talk in whispers. The hut is Hl'd by all. In this hut the meat of a beast is deposited on the first night, and certain pieces pegged against the back wall, viz., *iNanzi* and *iNsonyama* . Here the bile is kept and 'poured'. (I did not note whether SM is kept there; just outside its door was a smooth square stone and over it stood on its open end a pail). Only young children, immature girls, are allowed to enter; several girls, about 6 - 9 years moved in and out while we stood before the hut. No vegetable food is kept in this hut and no beer, except what is required in the magical treatment. The chief cast anxious glances towards his mother to see whether she objected to my standing near the hut. She apparently controls the hut avoidance regimen.

The Treatment Hut (*iNdlu ya-maDlozi* or Weapons Hut) of Chief Gatsha contains the Buthelezi ancestral spear and guns; the Hoop of Power (*inKatha*) is hung up where the stabbed sirloin is pegged at a SAC *36*. The chief's medicines, including a goat's bile in a frothy medicine, are kept in special pots. The fatty membrane of a goat's tongue covers the medicines. The hut has no left or right, since no sex intercourse is possible in it (!) The following persons may enter: the chief, his M and his doctor. They are trusted concerning the chief's treatment. The chief's FBrs may not enter (Hl), for they might do the chief harm. During the three-step treatment before his installation the chief slept there in isolation (Hl). The smearing of the hut is done by young girls who have not yet reached puberty, or by such boys or old women. Big girls are threatened: If you enter, your reproductive powers will be affected (Za)! The chief was prepared to show me inside, but his M objected: "the hut was not in order and unswept."

G. CASE STUDIES OF ZULU KRAALS

1. *Spatial Avoidances in individual kraals*

Interesting spatial arrangements in Zulu homesteads are indicated in Wanger's sketches. At the top is the homestead of a Zulu prince, on the right that of a Natal chief and at the bottom left the homestead of an ordinary polygynist. Al three homesteads are numbered on one plan.

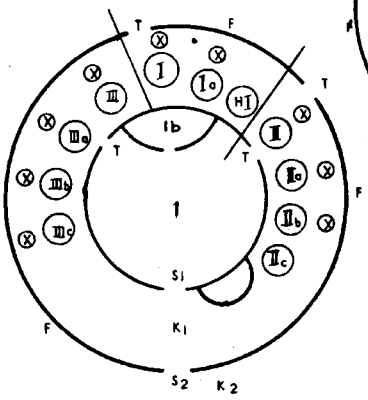


Fig. 19. Homestead of a Polygynist

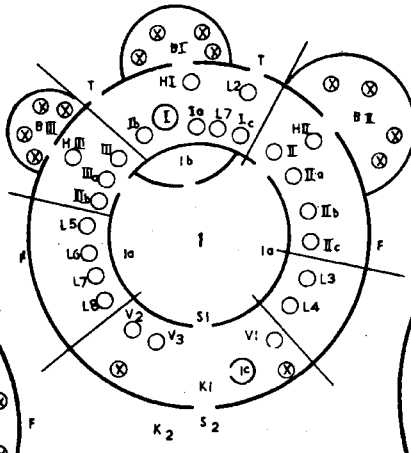


Fig. 20. Homestead of a Zulu prince

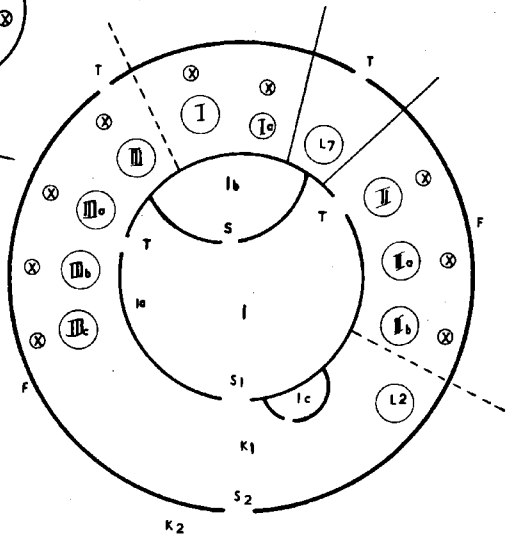


Fig. 21. Homestead of Natal chief Shingana

Fig. 19
The Roman figures indicate the three main Houses, and their radial arrangement. I is hut of principal wife, I a-c huts of 'support' (or rafter) wives of this House. II is the hut of the principal wife of Right House with subsidiary wives II a-c. III is hut of principal wife of Left House with subsidiary wives III a-c. L represents Residences, L 1 for the kraalhead, L 2 for his heir (Kraal 3), or bigger daughters (Kraal 2) and L 3-8 for junior sons. D are huts for bigger children: D 1 for the owner's grandchildren. D 2 for children without Residences. V are the huts for attendants, gate-keepers, night guards (V 1-3). Each family hut has its granary. In the kraal of the prince the granaries are placed in special bays (B I-III). Each family hut should also have a kitchen (H I-III). 1 stands for cattle-pen, 1a for the fence round it; 1 b is the pen for calves, 1c for goats. S 1 and S 2 are gates to cattle-pen; K 1 and K 2 places where cattle lie down. F is the outside fence of homestead; T are side entrances. Wanger asserts ((1917:323)) that each individual hut can have a name, e.g., in Kraal KwaZondela shown to the right hut I a is KwaNdluyohlanya.

The questions which arise in viewing the details of these special homesteads, taken down fifty or more years ago, are: In how far are the principles of spatially differentiating the Houses still applied today when families have become smaller? And in particular, what Hl behaviour patterns are associated with the spatial set-up? Such an investigation is also important in view of the symmetrical segmentation ideal which underlies Zulu legal theory concerning the divisions of the homestead (Holleman: 1940). The following case studies attempt to answer these questions.

NtungamanzaShwala Kraal: Grown-up Sos live with F: (226)

The kraalhead has three Wis in three huts. The *inKosana*, the heir of the U's first Wi, is already married and lives with his two Wis and several Chn in his F's kraal. The heir's pers/n is Gina after a doctor who cured him. The U's second Wi's heir, (*iKhohlwa*), is as yet unmarried. The third Wi has no Sos, only a Da. The Left heir is Twalitshe, for he was born with a huge head.

The kraalhead lives in a residential hut at the top of the homestead, the chief heir on the right side like his M and the Left heir like his M on the left. Only one person in the home can be called *umNumzane* (Hl). If the Wis of the chief heir were to address their H by this r/t, their F-in-l would ask them: "How many kraalheads are there?" The action of his SoWis would imply that they desire their HF dead! He would at first try to settle the matter at home. He would then call a neighbour: "The Wis of the First-born called their H 'kraal-owner', while I am still alive. An event of ill-fortune will happen!" When it comes the neighbour will act as a witness as to its cause. (226) does not reply when asked whether such a case should be taken to the chief.

The chief heir has to respect (Hl) the upper, his F's section. He may pass in front of his F's Residence but must enter it in a humble manner. His Wis, however, have to go past behind their F-in-l's hut. Since he, the kraalhead, has begotten a First-born his Residence is no longer called an *iLawu* by his family. It is referred to by his Wis as *Kwami* (at my hut), while the First-born calls it *Kwethu* (at our hut). His young Wis adopted this expression at their wedding. The UGChn use neither of these terms but *kwaKhulu* for their GF's Residence and *kwaKoko* for the GM's, the Great Hut (i.e., locative + k/t). The First-born's Residence is now the *iLawu* . (As there can be no duplication of kraalheads so there cannot be a doubling of Residences. The First-born cannot identify himself with his F in name, symbols, or domicile!) The First-born is free to enter his M's hut and those of his classificatory Ms. But he Hl's them in speech and action: he enters humbly, must salute them, bend before them and talk gently.

The Left heir observes the same respectful restraints. In addition he respects the chief heir in anticipation of the time when he will be kraalhead. The Left heir cannot do certain things without the chief heir's consent and that of his F, e.g., slaughter even for pleasure only. At present any beast he might slaughter is still his M's (sic) and she would have to give her consent too. If the Left heir were married his Wis would have to Hl the First-born, and if he slaughtered for pleasure, he would invite the First-born and his Wis to show his respect.

The principle of respectful restraints is applied in the division and use of livestock. The cattle have not yet been apportioned. Cows are however allotted to particular Houses for milk. Two milch cows are reserved for the kraalhead. The cows attached to one Wi may not be milked for another (Hl). If the cows of one household run dry there is no jural possibility for it to have milk. But women pass on milk by favour. The princWi ought to have milk always. If she goes short, the other Wis arrange to lend her a cow for the time being. The U

does not interfere unless trouble develops between the women and the matter is brought before him to adjudicate (*inDaba ya-uZalo*). Even the First-born's cattle are still running with the kraalhead's and his M's beasts (sic). He cannot milk the cows of the U's second and third Wi except by stealth or by force. In the first case the First-born would be fined a goat or £1, in the latter a beast. The Sos avoid (Hl) the SM of their F and of their Ms. For the Sos to take such milk would be a sign of disrespect, of silliness and they could be fined. "The U being old is to his Sos as good as an ancestor and it is for this reason that they Hl him".

Kwazipethe, Mnyayiza Zulu's Nongoma kraal. Absentee U (141) (Cf. Fig. 22)
The kraal is in charge of a s e n i o r W i and the chief heir. It shows segmentary establishments of UWis with their Sos at the wings. Some Sos have already more than one Wi. The U's senior Wi is referred to as *umNtwana* (princess, but cannot be so by birth). She was most unco-operative at first. To a question as to the Hl behaviour between *esiKhulu* (Great Side) and *esiNcane* (Small Side) no reply was given for some time. Asked again, she said: It is the U's appointment and cannot be challenged! To a question as to who tells the SosWis to weed in the fields she replied: Nobody!

The informant was voluble on the Da-in-l avoidances. Although the HF is absent the usual Da-in-l avoidances are if anything intensified and accompanied by expressions of fear! The immense reputation which Mnyayiza has among the Zulu, an individual factor, is decisive in this regard. (a) The yoWis of the USos do not work, nor cook nor smear their F-in-l's hut. When they brew beer they send him a pot. When he emerges from his hut his Das-in-l go into hiding in their huts or walk behind the huts to avoid him. So that his Das-in-l could enter his hut the old Prince presented two beasts, one for his SosWis of the Great Side, one for those of the Small Side. (*izinKomo zokuNgenisa abaLobokazi*). Then he called them to gather in his Residence with their Hs, his Sos, to drink beer with them for the first time. (b) The brides could not enter the pen until they were given another beast, *inKomo yakuNgenisa esiBayeni*. They wore their best clothes that day, entered the pen single file and walked round it anti-clockwise in silence. When they dispersed to their huts, they walked in front of the huts (for that occasion only). They were called together on the second day after the slaughter to eat their share of the meat and drink beer in the Great Hut, the men feasting in the U's Residence. Henceforth the brides could enter the pen for dung and grain. Till then they had feared to enter, but having been given permission by the Ms they were no longer afraid. (Note the three release actions: Gift, ritual violation of former taboo, order from HM). (c) The chiefWi may walk in front of all huts except past the U's hut when he is in residence! The SosWis have always to proceed behind the living huts to Hl their HF. The UWis began to walk in front when they were told to do so by their Ms-in-l long ago and at the same time given a beast (*inKomo ya-baLobokazi*) to celebrate the removal of the prohibition. "They tell their Das-in-l that they can walk in front because they, the Ms, are married to the 'chief!'"

At milking time the chief's cow is milked first to Hl him. This milk goes to the hut of the Wi who 'nurses' the U and cooks his food. (The interpreter comments: This arrangement is fairly common among rich polygynists. They give the task of cooking and preparing all food, including SM, to a yoWi who is not jealous for her H's favours, nor over-ambitions for her own Chn. It is the old Wis competing for favours for their Chn, and especially Sos, who are suspected of being capable of 'poisoning' the chief). There are ten pails in the kraal, apparently one for each household. They are kept each in the apse of the living hut to which it belongs. The U's calabash a n d pail (which in this case seems to be an individual possession of the U) will be broken at his death, since the owner of the homestead (*umNimuzi*) will have gone.

There are two ash heaps, one for each section. If a woman of one section were to take ash to the other section's heap, people would be 'much surprized'. People Hl the 'strange' ash heap. When the writer, having been scorched sitting in the yard, asked if he might move into the shade of the USo's Residence and sat down on the steps of it, the Wi in charge told him to move away from the threshold (Threshold avoidance)!

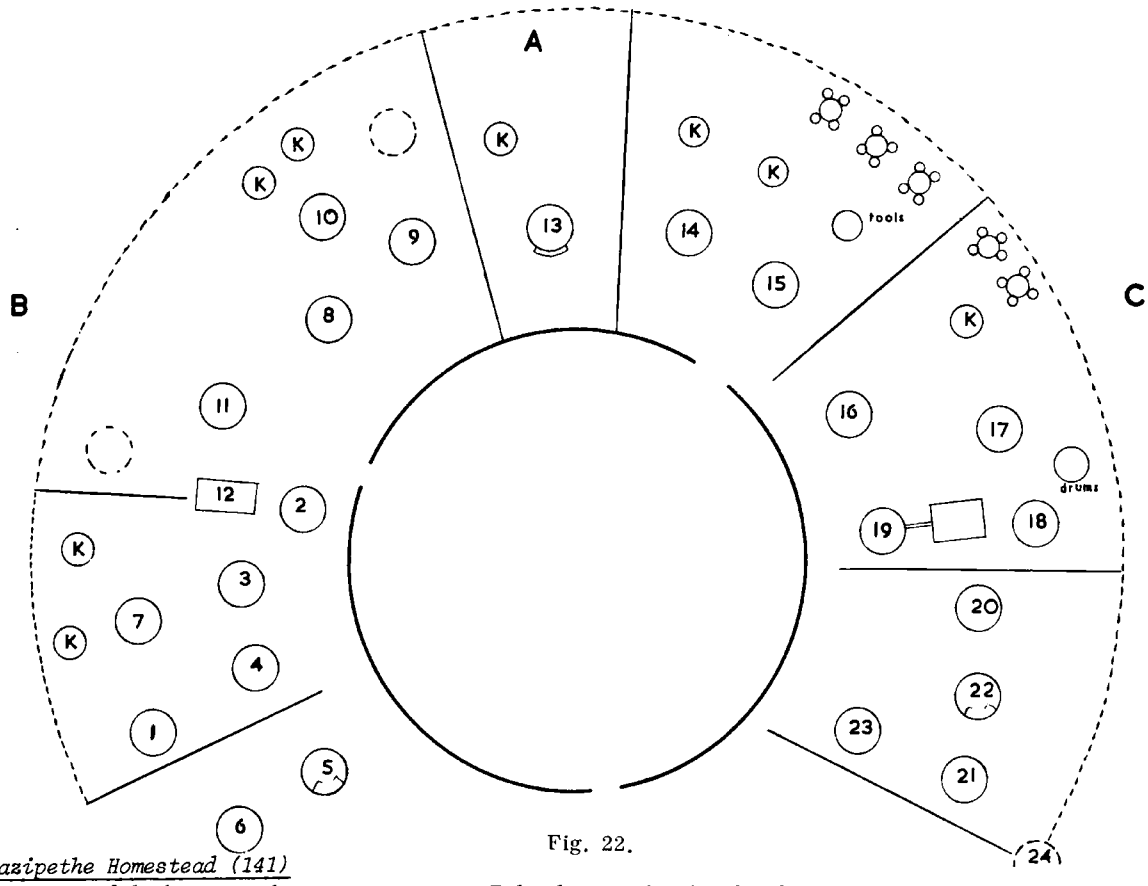


Fig. 22.

Kwazipethe Homestead (141)

The owner of the homestead, Prince Mnyayiza Zulu, lives in hut 13 when he visits Kwazipethe. It is situated in A: *okaKhayini;* it has its own kitchen.
The living huts of his wives occupy the shoulders of the kraal either to the left B): *isiBaya esiKhulu,* or to the right (C): *isiBaya esiNcane*
B: 8 First Wife; 9 sixth wife; 10 seventh wife; 11 eighth wife.
C: 14 second wife; 15 third wife; 16 fourth wife; 20 fifth wife.
The kraalhead's sons live at both wings, some of them in semi-independent segments which may be presided over by their mothers. Segment of Heir (139), eldest son of (8), comprises 2 his Residence; 1 family hut of his first wife; 3 his second wife; 4 his third wife with kitchens; 7 is Heir's son's Residence: he is as yet unmarried.
At extreme of the left wing is the small establishment of a younger son of the first wife: 5 this son's wife's family hut, 6 his Residence.12 is Residence of son of (11), near his mother's family hut.
On the right side are two wing segments. At the extreme is the establishment of the owner's fifth wife (20) and her two sons: 21 Residence of her elder son; 22 family hut of his wife; and 23 Residence of her younger unmarried son. Further up towards the top is an establishment with the fourth wife in control (16) and three Residences 17 (son of 2nd wife), 18 (son of third wife) and 19 (son of fourth wife).
24 is hut of an *inDuna* in ruins.

EsiDulini, Ngcugci Mbatha's kraal, where UWis have all died and chief heir is absent,(242).

The U had four Wis, all are now dead. Three of his six Sos live with him; the heir works in Johannesburg. The right side is the great side in which the heir was born. The Last-born lives in the Great Hut as is customary when the heir is away. But the real occupant of the Great Hut is the kraalhead, since neither Wi nor M of his is alive. The Last-born does not sleep in the Great Hut but receives food, SM, meat and all 'soft foods' there. The Last-born is respected (Hl) in various ways. His F calls and refers to him by the r/t *uThunjana* . The homestead may be called KwaTefu after this So's pers/n. His Brs address and refer to him as *mFowethu* as is usual among Brs; they listen carefully to him if he has anything to say. (It is expected he will be appointed *uYise*).

On the right side of the kraal live the heir's two Wis, each in her own hut. There is as yet no Residence for their H. A full Br of the Last-born also lives on this side. Because he has

a Wi, he eats normally 'by himself'. The third So, who is also married, stays on the Small Side. The eWi of the Last-born looks after the U in the Great Hut and the yoWi assists. A beast was killed for them so that they could disregard the in-law restraints (Hl). Consequently they converse with their F-in-l, handle his food and even smear part of his hut. But since they are still barred from entering the men's side this is smeared by a young girl.

There is no pronounced respect relation between the middle Sos and the Last-born. It is the First-born, the heir, who has to be respected. The young Wis of the junior Sos hide their faces behind a cloth not only before their F-in-l, but also before the heir. 'To remove the cloth' a beast has to be slaughtered. Nor will the Wis of the middle Brs eat food in the presence of the U or the heir or even the heir's Wis! When the latter are about the junior status Wis stop eating. When the heir desires 'friendship' between the women of the homestead he kills a beast for the junior Wis and they may then eat in the presence of the heir's Wis. The question: Why has a superior, F-in-l or heir, to slaughter a beast to release the women from in-law avoidances, is first answered: We fulfill the custom! and then: The agnates do so to show their respect (Hl) to the women. They acknowledge by this act the correctness of the women's submissive behaviour as brides.

Mataka, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's kraal with royal widows under a caretaker (Cf.Fig.23).

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi inherited eleven kraals from his father, the late Chief Mathole Buthelezi. Each is now under a caretaker, in most cases one of Gatsha's half-brothers who lives there with his family. The special section where the attendants are quartered is called *eziKabeni* and lies at the wings of the homestead. Its inhabitants observe respectful avoidances (Hl) towards the royal section. They address the widows of the dead chief as *Ndlunkulu* or *Baba*. Unless invited they have no access to the private huts of the ladies although they may enter the Great Hut of the homestead 'on business'. They cannot eat with the widows from the same meat tray nor drink from the same pot of beer. They must ladle their share of beer into their own pots and drink from them only! Certain portions of meat are theirs, e.g., the gate-keeper gets the *iNgobo* and parts normally eaten by herdboys (lungs and heart). The cook - there must be a cook for a chief does not cook meat as does a commoner kraalhead - gets the tip of the sirloin (*iNsonyama*). This part is so near the kidneys that to the Zulu it has the taste of urine!

The dependent kraals have to pay their respects (Hl) to the reigning chief. Thus they regularly send gifts of green maize, beer and meat. Everyone of these gifts must be properly set out. Beer must be covered with a 'lid', a grass mat. If it is fermenting one of the carriers has to hold the 'lid' in her hands (Hl). Maize, whatever its container, must also be covered and so must eggs. The team of beer carriers is always accompanied by a small boy who carries a water pot. If a carrier has to urinate, she must wash her hands afterwards to Hl the chief. The presentation of these gifts goes by the name of *ukuHloniphisa* (causative of Hl). In return the royal ladies call on the chief on festive days, such as Christmas, in expectation of a counter-gift.

When the chief visits a dependent kraal each rank represented there has its own meat tray and beer pot, e.g., the FBrs, the widows, the young men, the girls, the attendants. Each pot or tray as it is being served is announced accordingly as The Tray of the Mothers, *uKhamba lo-Baba*, etc. In eating SM the chief may follow the *ukuKhangeza* method. Being of superior rank he may dish out fingerfuls of SM into the cupped palms of an inferior or attendant crouching before him. This part of the Hl custom implements the royal rank. For being under the necessity to engage non-agnatic personnel (e.g., cook, gate-keeper) to maintain his establishment, the chief ritually assimilates it to his family through SM communion! At the same time he indicates the lower ranking of his attendants by his gesture of condescension.

To understand the Hl arrangements at Mataka it should be noted that Mnyamana Buthelezi had several Sos. His heir Tshanibezwe had no issue, and his Br Mkhandumba succeeded him. Mkhandumba's heir was Mathole. It was his duty to *ukuVuza* (revive) Tshanibezwe's kraal Mataka. Accordingly the *isiBaya esiKhulu* with the Great Hut is counted Tshanibezwe's and Mathole had to live on the Left, and his Residence was there. Under this arrangement Chief Mathole's M occupied a junior position to Tshanibezwe's widows and Mathole's Wis Hl'd the latter, like Ms-in-l. The widows in turn Hl'd Mathole as if he were Tshanibezwe's heir. They

greeted him with his Gr: 2 or Gr: 1 and he addressed them with their clan/ns. (Time approximately 1926, when Magogo saw it for the first time).

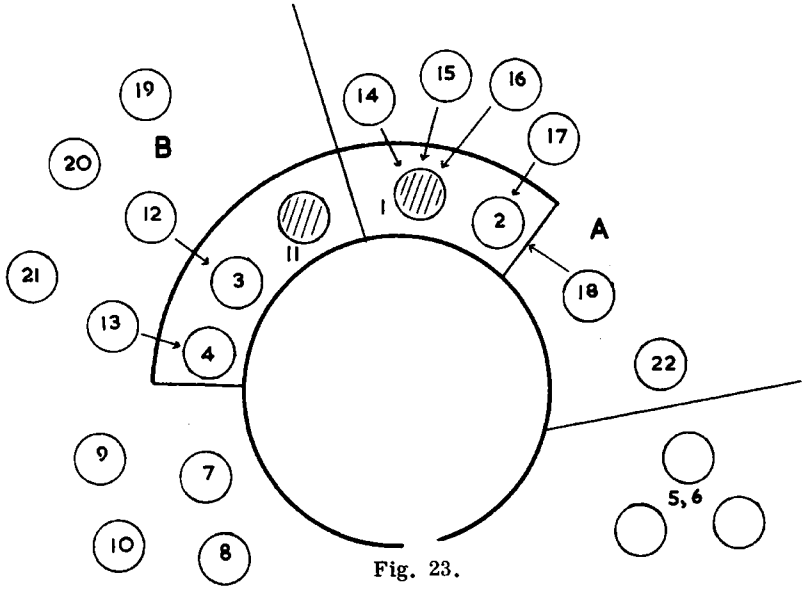


Fig. 23.

Mataka Homestead (Chief MatholeButhelezi), about 1926
A *isiBaya esiKhulu* (Great side)
B *oHlangothini* (Left side)
11. Residence of Chief
1. His father's brother's chief wife (Great Hut)
2. Father's brother's wives
14, 15, 16. Chief's wives serving in Great Hut
17, 18. Chief's wives serving in 2
3. Chief's own mother
12. Chief's wife serving in 3
4. Chief's father's wife
13. Chief's wife serving in 4
5-6, 7-10. Attendants
19, 20, 21. Chief's junior wives
22. Chief's "cousin's" wife
Sanitary habits are secured by a taboo *(Zila/Hlonipha)* on any one defecating near the huts. Ash and red ochre were mixed together and sprinkled on the faeces. This would cause the offender's rectum to prolapse! Ash alone is used in treating the prolapse itself!

KwaPhindangene (Cf. Fig. 24).

was Mathole's own kraal at Nkonjeni and is shown as it was about 1934. Mathole counting this as his own homestead had his Residence on the Great Side (*isiBaya esiKhulu*), from which the heir has to come (A): 1. Chief's Residence. 2. princWi (Magogo). 2k: kitchen. 3 Chief's Wi with 3k her kitchen. 4. Chief's Wi with 4k her kitchen. 5. Hut for three junWis. Wis 3 and 4 belonged to *oHlangothini* (B). (This assertion anticipates the differentiation between Great House and Left House which can be effected only after the chief's death). 6. Attendants. Mathole died at a third kraal which he had just started building - he had many others. He was buried at Mataka, which according to Chief Gatsha was irregular, since he then lived 'in separation' from Magogo.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is building up his homestead on the old KwaPhindangene site. Gatsha's rectangular house was built on the site of Hut 3 which at one time had been used by his F as Residence. When people objected Magogo told them that it was used by Mathole as such only t e m p o r a r i l y. His real Residence was Hut (1) and it is now occupied by Gatsha's mother. The reason for the objection was that an Heir/Son may not live in his F's hut and sleep there with his Wi (Hl/Za), the underlying notion being that he must not have intercourse in

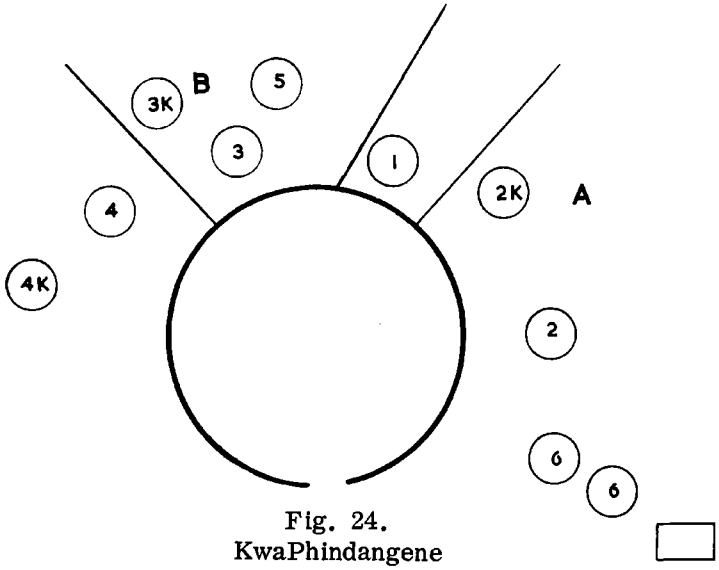


Fig. 24.
KwaPhindangene

front of his begetter. The avoidance is reciprocal: The F may not sleep with his Wi in his So's hut (Hl/Za). At present Gatsha's kraal contains also a Spear Hut, *Ndlu kayiNgenwa*, the Hut which is not entered. It contains the spears, the regalia, the ornamental dress, the medicines of the chief. Only the chief's M and immature girls carrying out an order may enter. Any stranger entering it breaks a Za/Hl rule, and would be called *umThakathi* (and would have been killed in the past). Some of the weapons, in particular a gun, are kept in Gatsha's M's hut because the taboo hut is too moist and the floor not yet smoothed properly.

Mapung'u: Fraternal Extended Family. Kraalhead: Mhlolthini Mbatha (132). (Cf. Fig. 25)

The map shows a well-proportioned set-up: The senior brother occupies the section on the left, which here is the Great Side, with six Wis and a dependent woman. The middle Br has only two Wis. In his section is placed a cousin (FBrSo). The junior Br, lower down the right section, which is the Small Side, has five Wis. Each Wi has her household with family hut, food kitchen, beer kitchen and one or two granaries clustered together. Each household has also its grain pits. Some Wis have not yet all items because of the recency of their marriage or their limited economy. One or two Wis have two beer kitchens!

The rule that a kraal can have only one *umNumzane* , a matter of strict avoidance in a kraal uniting F and So, is here modified. Although the senBr is the overall kraalhead and performs a kraalhead's functions e.g., in receiving and entertaining visitors, it is admitted by him under his breath, that there are indeed three *abaNumzane* and that among themselves each Br'sWis could refer to their Hs by this r/t. (Other informants thought this arrangement contrary to custom). Older Wis could refer to the Brs by their regim/ns which is feasible since they belong to different regiments, but yoWis must use the clan/n. The eBr could also be described as *BabomKhulu* or *BabomDala* , the middle Br as *BaboPhakathi* and the younger Br as *BabomNcane* by the Das-in-l who must still observe the general avoidance regimen. They cover their faces before their Fs-in-l, walk behind the huts and do not call Chn aloud across the homestead.

Asked if there is respectful avoidance among the women of the three Houses, the junBr was at first silent. Then he said: "There is Hl in that they do not fight!" Pressed further he added that a first Wi is respected more. Nothing is undertaken by the other Wis, unless it is done by the first Wi too. If a woman does work in garden or household which her senior co-Wi is not doing, people are puzzled and ask themselves: What is wrong? The princWi of the eBr and the girl attached to her were voluble on this point: A woman cannot make use of the kitchen of her co-Wi unless she gets her permission first (Hl), she cannot take a stirring spoon without the owner's consent. Meat pots and water buckets may be borrowed on the same condition (Hl), except in the case of a bucket permission may be obtained after use. If a

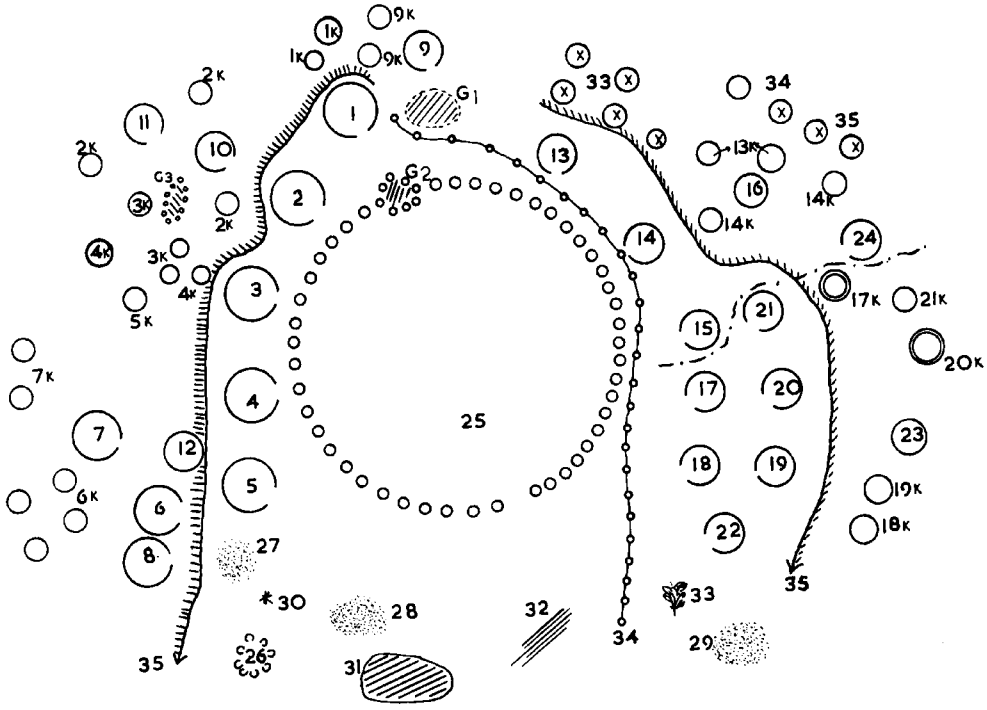


Fig. 25.

Mapung'u: Extended Homestead (132)

This is the homestead of three brothers. Their establishments are kept spatially separate and the conduct of their respective members subject to Hl. 7 is Residence of eldest Mbatha, 15 that of second brother, 22 that of third brother. The Residences tend to lie at the lower end of an owner's establishment, near the family huts of the younger wives. There are also Residences of sons of the three brothers, viz. 9 (son of 7's first wife), 10 and 11 (sons of his second wife) and 12 (son of his fourth wife); 16 (son of 15's first wife), and 23 (son of 22's second wife). Girls have no Residences, but live in huts of their mothers.

The eldest Mbatha has six wives living on the left side in family huts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Each woman, in theory, has her own food kitchen, beer kitchen and granary. Some wives have two beer kitchens. Others, the more recently married, have a smaller household. There is a tendency to group family hut, kitchens and granary of one wife together. The kraalhead normally takes visitors to a Residence, either his own or one of his sons, and not to a family hut (Hl). When beer is being brewed no stranger is allowed near the beer kitchen (Hl). He may be expelled from the homestead if found transgressing. In the eldest Mbatha's establishment hut 8 is that of a brother's widow.

The second brother's establishment is small. He has only two wives in family huts 13 and 14. Their granaries are at 33; their kitchens surround Residence 16. The granaries behind these kitchens belong to the wives of the first and third brother. To the establishment of the second Mbatha belongs hut 24, that of a "cousin" and his wife.

The establishment of the third Mbatha brother, the youngest, is like that of the second, found on the right side of the fraternal homestead. This brother has five wives in family huts 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21.

Each brother's establishment has its own ash heap (27, 28, 29). Men in general do not approach an ash heap; women, girls and boys do so, but only the ash heap of their establishment (Hl). Brides do not touch ashes of their husband's home for about two weeks after the wedding (Hl). 32 shows spot where brides deposit water and firewood during the first months of married life, and women generally before a sacrifice (Hl). Water and firewood are fetched across the homestead by children, before a sacrifice by the men. 34 is the beginning of the Ceremonial Path along which bride and bridal party move into the homestead at the commencement of a wedding. 35 indicates the Path of Avoidance behind the living quarters along which women move to their huts when returning to the homestead or to the ash heaps and when leaving the homestead for work.

Children may go almost anywhere, also wives who are no longer brides. But they still avoid the cattle pen (25), although in this homestead it is not the men's meeting place. They meet in a Residence. However women go to the pen to fetch dung and grain from the pits or to fill them. 31 is earth from recently dug pits. The graves are avoided: G 1 is the *isiZa*, the tumbled down Residence of the father of the Mbatha brothers; G 2 is his grave covered by a pile of stones and surrounded by a stockade of *umSinsi* and *umNyele* posts. G 3 are children's graves covered with stone slabs over which grow cassia thorns.

26 is pen for calves and goats; 30 is place where the three brothers pass urine; their sons must use another site (Hl); 33 is a plant used as medicine against the common cold.

woman, through sickness or urgent business, cannot perform her household duties, these are taken over by her co-Wis as a matter of Hl (positive aspect).

In this kraal Chn do not eat of their M's SM, nor even of their GM's (Hl)! They may walk over a GM's grave, because they have not been 'sent' (scil. with a definite evil intention; they do it playfully only). But if they ate their GM's SM they would take something which doesn't belong to them. In the princWi's hut were two calabashes, one for herself and her girl helper, the other for her Chn. The big girl eats from the nKosikazi's calabash 'because she works for her!.'

The hut of the F of the three Mbatha Brs (called *isiZa*) was allowed to tumble down after his death. (Perhaps the hutpost had been sawn off). The Wis of the Brs, being Das-in-l of the deceased, do not pass in front of it, only behind. In doing so they cover their shoulders like brides with a blanket or a *iBayi* (Hl). The dead man's Sos do not observe any avoidance towards the site and their Chn may play on it, i.e., all persons who said *BabamKhulu* (GF) to him.

The grave of the old kraalhead is opposite the Great Hut at the top of the cattle-pen. It is covered with a heap of stones and shaded by *umSinsi* and *umNyele* trees. Nobody may touch the leaves or the stems! Outsiders must indeed salute the grave: *Sikhulekile mNhumzane:* I salute you, kraalhead! The BrsWis avoid the grave just as they avoid his hut, pulling a cloth over their shoulders, turning aside and whispering when they come near. They rarely pass there. The deceased's GChn may clamber over the grave, but his Sos and Das dare not (Hl). The old man was buried so that he faced the Great Hut. (According to other informants the kraalhead must face the pen). The UBrs are buried, according to (131), in the fence of the pen opposite their Residences. The graves of the UWis are behind their huts but still inside the homestead. In other kraals their graves are outside (Bryant: 1949: 715). The women of Mapung'u are buried facing the West and so are the Chn.

The Chn of this kraal walk over the graves of their FMs and FBrsWis, and the men go quite near them. The women do not walk over them. The graves of Chn are inside the homestead between family hut and kitchen of the household concerned. They are covered with slabs of stone over which grow cassia thorns.

The most striking feature of Mapung'u is the three ash heaps, one for each of the fraternal houses. The Wis of each section avoid the ash heap of the other two sections (Hl), and the men avoid all three (Hl). On a second visit to the Mbatha kraal the senBr's second So had slaughtered a calf. It was a few days after his wedding. Some meat was being roasted at the ash heap of his F's section. Two boys and an adolescent girl were busy attending to this. The other two ash heaps were not involved.

Ntandakwela, Chief Mqiniseni Zungu (239): Kraal with two sections, one the chief's, the other his F's ghost kraal. (Cf. Fig. 26);

The Zungu genealogy is found in Bryant: 1929: 178. The chief gave me the following tree: "I am So of Mdabula, So of Ndlela, So of Manzini (praise/n: Mswagelu, pers/n: Mfana-weNdlela) So of Gatshana (praise/n Mkonto), So of Ncwana." Mfana-weNdlela married Balega, Senzangakhona's Da, went across the Tugela with Mpande in 1839 and called his Natal kraal Ntandakwela, which name has thus survived for more than 100 years. Mqiniseni should have built his own kraal as chief heir. To avoid evil consequences for not having done so, he calls the Great Side of the kraal his father's. The chief admitting this much, has also an excuse: 'Since my F passed away before building a homestead for me, his heir, I must set apart a side in Ntandakwela, so that my father can be respected in it (Hl)!" This side is thus a ghost kraal. The chief asserts that he still intends to build his own kraal and gives particulars of his plans.

The right side of Ntandakwela is called the GreatEnclosure (*isiBaya esiKhulu*), the left *oHlangothini oluNcane* (The Small Side). "The Great Enclosure is my dead F's side. Up this side stones and stakes for the kraalhead's grave are carried; the cooking of the sacrificial meat is done on this side; up this side moves a bridal party." The ritual employment of the right yard is, according to (239), *umThetho* (custom, law) rather than Hl. The Wis of the Great Enclosure are entailed, i.e., they may not leave the kraal after the death of the

present U. The Small Side is the chief's own establishment. The Wis domiciled there may eventually leave the kraal.

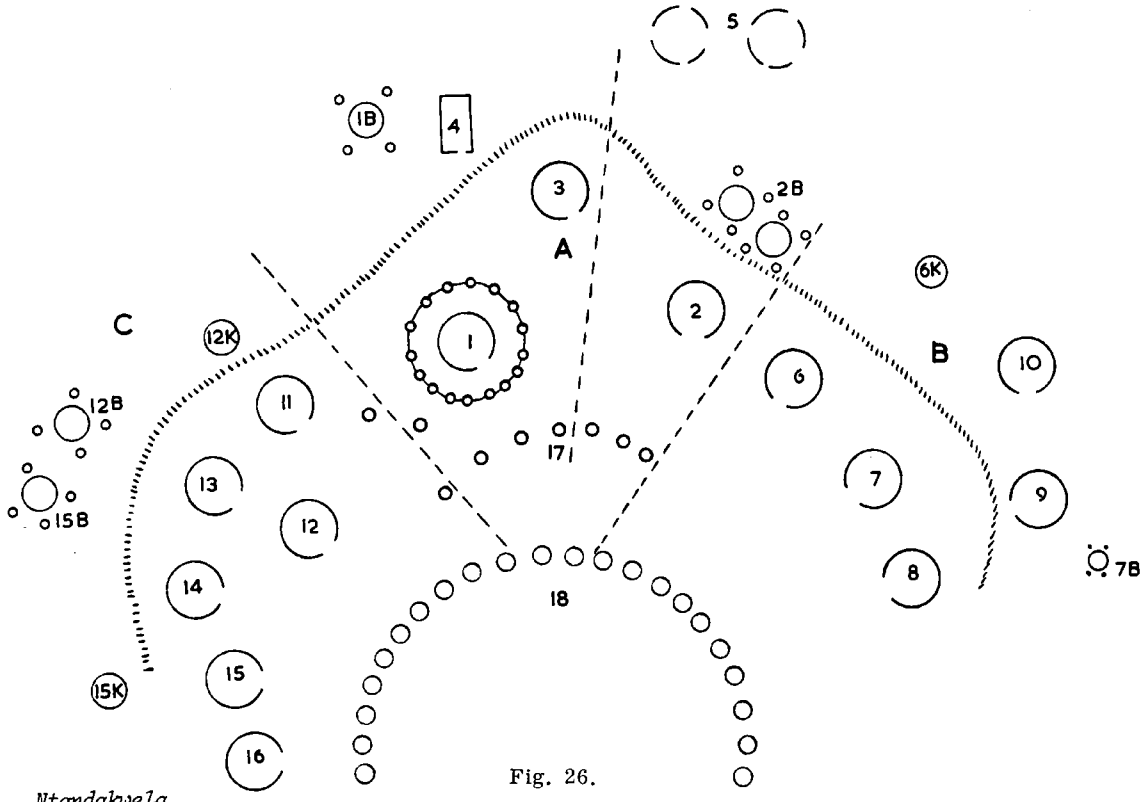


Fig. 26.

Ntandakwela,

A Top of homestead, with chief's Residence

B *isiBaya esiKhulu,* Great Side of Kraal. No principal wife has been appointed; the chief's mother is dead. This side, including hut 2, is connected with the chief's father; the wives from this side are 'entailed', and may never leave the homestead to reside elsewhere.

C *oHlangothini oluNcane,* the Small Side, is connected with the chief. The wives in this section may depart from homestead after the owner's death.

1. Chief's Residence with veranda; 1 b barn belonging to kraalhead.
2. Great Hut; in it live two senior wives; 2 b their granaries.
3. Bride's hut, the youngest of his eight wives. She had given birth to a child a few days ago. Hut inaccessible to chief, his sons, outsiders, but accessible to the homestead's children.
4. The kraalhead's kitchen; will go to Great Hut after his death.
5. Unfinished rondavels for ministers of chief's church 'Nazareni'.
6. Hut in which chief's youngest son, Filemon, lives with his wife. Their children sleep in hut 2. He is called 'heir', but only in sense of heir of third kraal offshoot *(isiZinda)*. Another son is thought of by chief as heir of the Great House.

6k. Kitchen hut of 6.

7. Family hut for chief's wife MaCebekhulu. She lives in it with a son's wife MaNkabane and her children. The son is absent. 7b Granary for 7
8. Residence of younger sons of MaCebekhulu.
9. Residence of Son, a younger brother of Filemon (6)
10. Chief's widowed sister. She elected to return to her brother's home, after the death of her husband, (Chief Mathole Buthelezi); but she is still "fed" by his successor, Chief Gatsha (231)
11. Living hut for unmarried daughter; the wife-owner is dead.
12. Family hut of chief's wife MaMpanza, real mother of 11; 12k its kitchen, 12b its barn.
13. Residence of chief's son living in Durban, occupied by his wives and children
14. Residence of chief's son living in Obonjeni, occupied by his wife and children.
15. Chief's wife MaNkosi and daughters; 15 k its kitchen; 15 b its barn
16. Residence for MaNkosi's sons
17. Hedge of ricinus and yucca plants
18. Stockade for cattle pen

As to respect behaviour the two kraal halves stand to each other in the relationship of parent and child. The chief's Wis of the Small Side call his Wis of the Great Enclosure 'mothers' since they belong to the establishment of the chief's father! They also Hl the chief's son, the so-called heir of that side by calling him *Baba* (father), although in fact he belongs to the filial - first descending - generation. The brides of the chief's Sos of the Small Side say *Koko* (GM) to his Wis in the Great Enclosure who are really their Ms-in-l. Correspondingly his Sos, including the heir of the Small Side, say 'Father' to the 'heir' in the Great Enclosure and 'Mother' to the heir's wife, although she belongs to the same generation as the brides. "Otherwise they would bring troubles on themselves!" I omitted to ask whether these fictitious 'parents' addressed their half-siblings and in-laws of the opposite House as Children. It is most likely. With such a general shifting up of the k/ts by one generation for the inhabitants of the Great Enclosure the chief said he was bound to address the heir of the Great Enclosure as *mFowethu*, i.e., Brother. But he would not do so openly, because it might lead to quarrels between rival families in the two Houses.

The respectful restraints of action in Ntandakwela are fitted into the parent-child relationship of the two Houses. E.g., the children avoid the SM of their fictitious parents. But they do not actually kneel before them. The chief groups the Wis and Chn of the Great Side together as *abaseNdlunkulu kaBaba* (People of the Great House of my Father), but refers to them as such only among his friends and in his own mind against the final appointment of Wis and Houses and his own death. The Wis of the Small Side he calls *abaseNdlunkulu yami* (People of my Great House).

To check the chief's statement one of his Sos (456) serving as policeman in Mahlabatini was interviewed. He confirmed that the eSo of the Great Enclosure is known as *uBaba* among his younger Brs. He may call them together for discussions of mutual concern; he is held responsible for their well-being. The Sos of the Small Side however, call the heir of the Great Side *uBaba* in reference only; in address they would use *mNawethu*. (456) also confirms that the Wis of the chief's Sos of the Small Side address their F-in-l's Wis in the Great Enclosure as *Koko* (GM) and not as *Mame* (M). They in turn call their Das-in-l *mNtanami*, i.e., Child rather than Grandchild as expected. The Small Side's brides (SosWis) call the SosWis of the Great Side *Mame* (M), although genealogically they belong to the same generation. They are in return addressed as Children.

The fictitious advance in generation ranking of the immates of the ghost kraal is significant not only for avoidance practices but even more so concerning succession. The chief's F's side enjoys a sham seniority. The ultimate chief heir may in fact be chosen from the chief's own section. This is possible because the kraal contains in reality two divisions of the Great House, the Left House having already hived off some time ago. The arrangement thus camouflages the generally amorphous nature of a chief's family structure.

The comments of Chief Gatsha and Princess Magogo (of the neighbouring Buthelezi chieftainship) were acid: They had never heard of such an arrangement: "Mqiniseni must have started this on his own". (410) also knew of no parallel. Lugg (1948) notes, however, that Dingane built a ghost kraal for Shaka, viz., Dukuza. And Chief Phumanyova's councillors (412-421) asserted: A man can marry a dead Br's sweetheart. This marriage like levirate proper is called *ukuNgena*, although no beast is slaughtered for the deceased when the marriage is consummated, since the woman is married as a virgin and not as a widow of the deceased. They cite as example Maboko Ntshangase, chief of the Magutu area, who paid bride-price for Wis for his deceased eBr Zikode, placed them in a ghost kraal uKumbidedi and produced an heir for the dead man in this way. Bride-price received for a Da procreated thus goes into the deceased's estate. In a way Chief Mathole's attempt to revive Mataka for Tshanibezwe does not differ too much from Chief Mqiniseni's arrangement.

After Chief Mqiniseni's death the following tentative changes were initiated in the occupation of the huts as shown in Fig. 26. According to (456) the Small Side was hardly affected. H u t s 11-13 form MaMpanza's establishment: (11) her hut; (12) hut of an unmarried Da; (12k) their kitchen; (13) Residence of her So, policeman in Pretoria. Hut (14) is Residence of

Zabuzila, MaButhelezi's So, a policeman at Ixopo, used by his Wis and Chn as joint family hut, with (15B) as kitchen. H u t s 15-16: MaNkosi's establishment; (15) MaNkosi with a GCh, a child of her Da who is Ndesheni Zulu's Wi at Nongoma; (16) Residence of unmarried So; (15k) kitchen.

On the Right Side changes are more extensive. H u t s 6 and 9 are Filemon's establishment. He is now acknowledged as *uYise* and addressed as *Baba* even by his Brs of the Left Side. (6) is his Residence; (9) really Residence of Filemon's yoBr, but since he does not return from his work, it is occupied by Filemon's Wi and Chn; (6k) is their kitchen. Hut (10) is still occupied by deceased's Si, FSi of (456) and widow of Chief Mathole Buthelezi, whose heir continues to support her (Hl). H u t s 7 and 8: Cebekhulu's establishment: (7) MaCebekhulu with unmarried Da; (8) Residence of her So, at present unoccupied, as his Wis and Chn have moved to Msinga where he is a policeman; (7B) their kitchen.

Naturally the c h i e f ' s o w n e s t a b l i s h m e n t at the top of the homestead underwent most changes. After a discussion between Mqiniseni's Sos the two ladies who had lived in (2) were moved into the deceased's Residence three weeks after his death. (Widows may live in their dead spouse's hut if they are old enough to exclude the possibility of their remarriage. A So can on no account live in his dead F's Residence). MaBiyela sleeps there on the left, where Mqiniseni slept, MaNdlela on the right. These two ladies together with MaCebekhulu are now referred to as "The Mothers of our Father's Hut', since they now decide many things! Accordingly the hut is no longer called *iLawu* but *kwaGogo* (at the GM's) - which "is just a word to know it by!" It has a fire in it for warming but not for cooking. (2) is unoccupied and used to sit in and for cooking in the daytime. (3) is a store for pumpkins, etc. (4) is the kitchen for the old women. The woman we had seen in (3) at our first visit had indeed given birth to a Ch for the old chief. But since no bride-price had been transferred, she was not married to him and returned to her F's kraal some time before the chief's death. (456), somewhat embarrassed, denied that this woman would be called *Mame* by the chief's Sos.

(456) also felt uncomfortable when asked what the two kraal halves were called now. At first he said no announcement had been made by the surviving senior agnate, Ntopi, the deceased's Br, nor had the heir-elect taken up residence as yet. At last (456) referred to the right side as *ubuNene*, to the left as *iKhohlo*, discarding therewith the ghost kraal fiction. Mqiniseni's grave was placed at the top of the pen and surrounded by stones. *umNyele* and *umLahlankosi* saplings were planted on top. The widows do not yet go past the grave, nor do their Das-in-l. They may not go in front of deceased's Residence but must walk behind the huts. The deceased's Sos walk between Residence and grave only when necessity demands; they should not do it too often! They may not run past or shout there (Hl). The chief's Brs may go past there with appropriate dignity. The GChn were told not to go there but like all Chn they are apt to forget. Four beasts were slaughtered to accompany the deceased; they belonged to the chief's establishment rather than to milch cows allotted to other huts. Of the meat all went into the kitchen, but certain portions were set aside in a skin for the deceased. The following day they were mixed in with other meat, cooked and eaten by the bereaved.

eziNyembezini, Heir-elect Gazanyane Xhulu. Kraal without iKhohlo (Cf. Fig. 27).

The principle illustrated in Ntandakwela, viz., that no Left House need be present in a kraal, is implemented in (282)'s homestead. The right side is *kwesiKhulu*, the left *kwesiNcane*. The U died two years ago. He had his Residence on the Great Side and ordered all Sos, including the heir-apparent, to dwell on the Small Side. After his death the Sos continued to live there, but the homestead will be re-arranged and the *Ndlunkulu* Sos will go to the right and the *Khohlo* Sos remain on the left. On the Day of the Washing the old men told (282) that he was now U. But he still calls himself heir and is not yet fully acknowledged family head. The kraal is ruled with a firm hand by his M (392). (282) admits that the fact that all Sos were placed on the left was contrary to custom, but "it occurs that people go against custom." Sections of the kraal have already moved out, a FyoBr, whom they called *uYisewabo* and a *iKhohlo* even earlier. A FFSiSo lives in the kraal as dependant; he must acknowledge the authority of the new U, although he is of the first ascending generation. This man has a clan/n other than the U's, yet he may not marry a Xhulu girl, nor may a Xhulu So marry into his

family (perhaps because this family has lived at eziNyembezini for many years). During the interview the FFSiSo was so twitted by the younger men, i.e., (292) and a friend, that he withdrew.

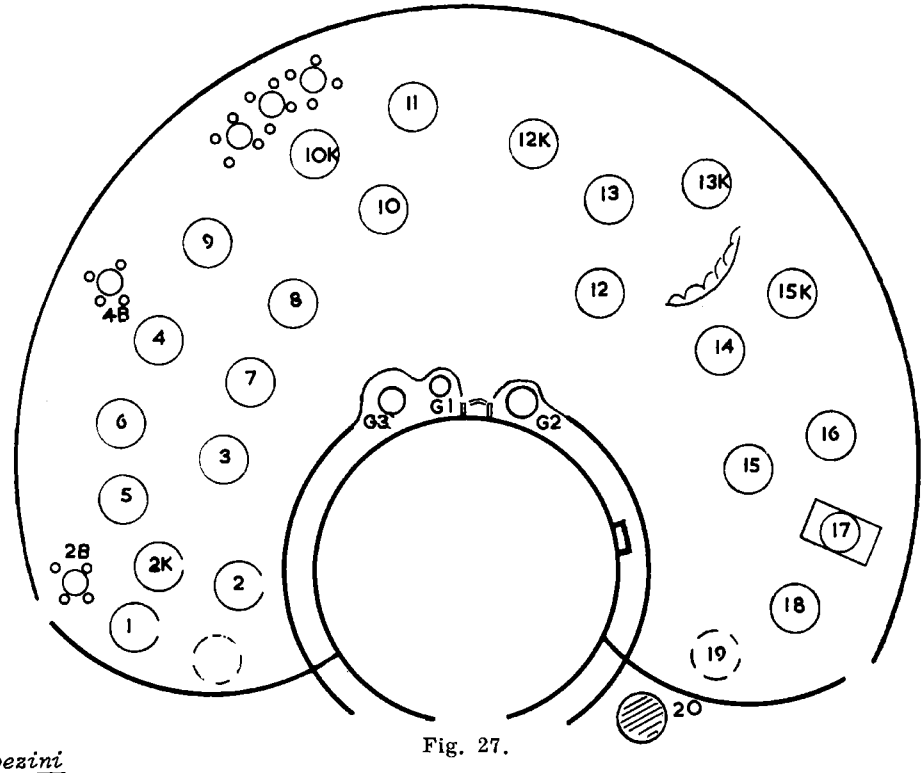


Fig. 27.

Ezinyembezini

The homestead is remarkable for the illustration of the radial separation of the generations. On the Left Side are the Residences of the sons of the deceased kraalhead, as well as the family huts of their wives. On the right, or Great Side, dwell the widows in their family huts. Distance from the top indicates also kinship distance. Thus on the extreme right wing lives a FFSiSo of the deceased, on the extreme left wing a younger BrSo of the deceased.

1. Residence of son of younger brother of deceased kraalhead
2. Family hut of his wife; 2 k her kitchen; 2 b her barn
3. Residence of deceased kraalhead's Heir
4. Heir's wife's family hut; her barn at 4 b.
5. Residence of one of kraalhead's sons
6. Residence of another son (no roof yet)
7. Residence of another son
8. Residence of another son
9. Its kitchen; 10 k its beer kitchen
10. Great Hut: of mother of late kraalhead
11. Residence of kraalhead's son
12. Family hut of late kraalhead's principal widow (Cf. Fig. 9 and 10)

12k. Its kitchen

13. Another widow of late kraalhead; 13 k her kitchen
14. Residence of late kraalhead
15. Family hut of one of his widows; 15 k her kitchen
16. Family hut of another widow
17. House of kraalhead's FFSiSo, of clan name Sithole, with two wives and several rooms
18. Residence of one of kraalhead's sons
19. Site without hut
20. Ash heap

G 1 Grave of kraalhead's father
G 2 Grave of kraalhead under stone wall
G 3 Grave of kraalhead's younger brother

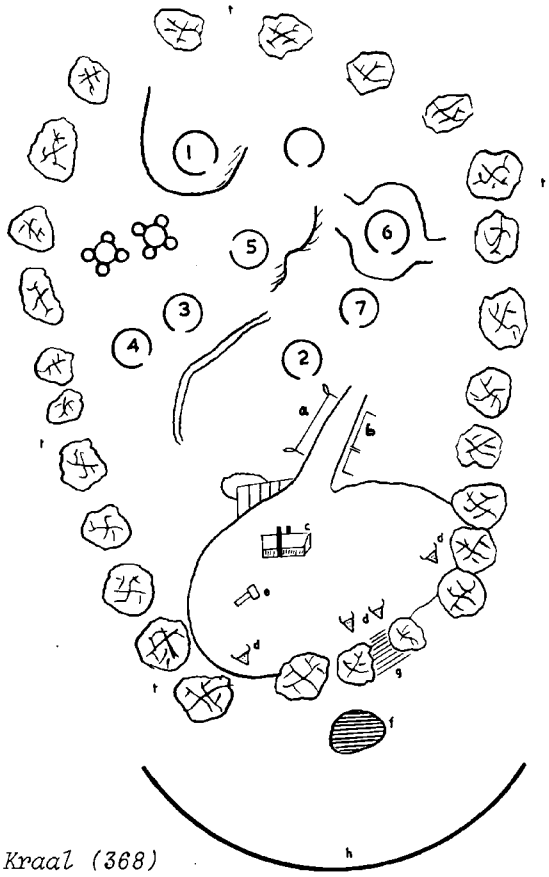


Fig. 28
Laduma Madela's Kraal (368)

(1) Visitor's hut with wall drawings. Formerly it was a Wi's family hut, at one stage it was occupied by a person who wanted to settle in the district. (2) Laduma's Residence with large collection of medicines, manufactured articles (shields, spears); (3) beer kitchen; (4) food kitchen used when it rains; (5) UM's hut; UWi lives in it too. Granaries belong to it and kitchen (unnumbered), (6) UBr and his Wi: (7) Girls' Residence.

The s m i t h y is shown in perspective: it is secured by four pairs of horns on trees and two single horns on balustrade. The fire place is on a lower level in the shade of large trees and screened by a hedge below. Beyond the trees grow banana plants. (a) Balustrade; (b) ritual gate; (c) anvil fixed to ground with pegs; (d) four pairs of horns on trees; (e) hammer (lying loose); (f) fire place; (g) steps leading to (h) hedge. The kraal is on a slope; steps lead down from (1) to (5) and from (5) to (2), also from (2) to smithy site and thence to fire place. Laduma Madela's kraal shows a number of unusual features which would strike the ordinary Zulu visitor with awe. In the normal Zulu kraal a crescent of huts surrounds the pen. The huts of the kraalhead and his two most important Wis lie at the crown and the visitor's hut, if any, lies at one of the wings. Laduma's kraal was in 1956 without a pen. A dense ring of wattle-trees (t) completely screened the huts from view - in the normal kraal there is not even a fence to hide them. The path leading to Laduma's kraal approaches it from above, unlike all other kraals which must be approached from below. The distribution of huts is the very reverse of the normal. Laduma's Residence is at the bottom of the kraal, the visitor's hut at the top, while the family huts lie between them. Opposite and below the owner's Residence lies the smithy in a site which roughly corresponds to that of the pen in a normal homestead. The lay-out of the kraal shows at first glance the unusual nature and position of its owner (Cf. Bodenstein and Raum: 1960).

In 1959 the trees to the right had been cut down from level of Hut (7). A cattle pen had been started outside the homestead on the level of the granaries. At the construction of a Hoop of Power (*inKatha*) all iron objects were removed from the smithy; a cowhide was placed in its centre and covered with a layer of dung: the smithy had been ritually converted into a pen thereby. No woman was allowed on to the site except a white lady "to do her work" (i.e., photography). The men, workers and onlookers, had to wear penis-boxes, and the site had been liberally sprinkled with *inTelezi*.

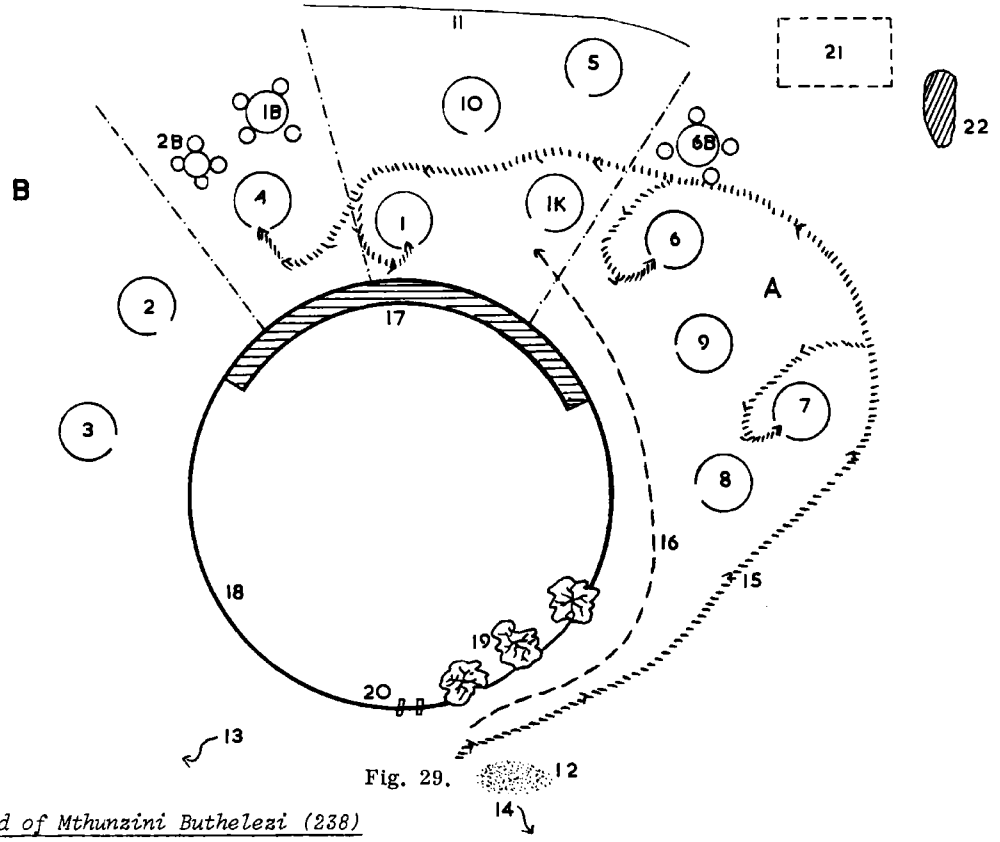


Fig. 29.

Homestead of Mthunzini Buthelezi (238)

1. Great Hut: the owner's mother died one month ago; his wife has moved in; hut is still considered his mother's
1k. Its kitchen, 1b its granary
2. Present Residence of kraalhead, formerly a kitchen (Cf. Fig. 11)
3. The new Residence of kraalhead. 2 being too small
4. Hut in which second son lives with his wife; she uses kitchen 1 k.
5. New hut, to be Residence of fourth son
10. Hut for tools, utensils

Huts 1-5 and 10 form the Small Side (B)
On the Right Side *(isiBaya esiKhulu)* (A) are found Residences of two sons and family hut of wives of eldest son.

6. Family hut of first wife of first son
7. Family hut of second wife of first son
8. Residence of first son
9. Residence of third son

Young wives (brides) move behind the row of living huts, approaching the huts they are allowed to enter in an anti-clockwise direction, and leaving them in a clockwise direction (15). An exception is made with the bride of the second son, who in approaching her hut 4 approaches it clockwise to avoid (H1) her father-in-law's Residence at 2. As to her avoidance of (238) see Fig. 1. The Ceremonial Path leads up between the living huts and the cattle pen (16). Ordinary visitors may use either side of the Ceremonial Path but must come from below (H1). Chief Gatsha, (238)'s senior agnate, utilizing his seniority, approached from above. (238) who had reversed hut halves in his Residence admitted that his second son (4), being a full brother of the first son really dwelt on the 'wrong' side of the homestead, and likewise the third son (9), whose mother was not the principal wife. Hence he contemplates exchanging the position of their quarters.

11. Stones mark boundary of homestead
12. Ash heap
13. To women's 'latrine'
14. To men's 'latrine', but the kraalhead has a special spot
15. Path of Avoidance
16. Ceremonial Path
17. Stone wall, on lower half stockade (18) for pen
19. Trees; 20. Gate to cattle pen
21. Enclosure for donkeys
22. Graves of kraalhead's mother and children of first son; (238)'s father's grave is in another district

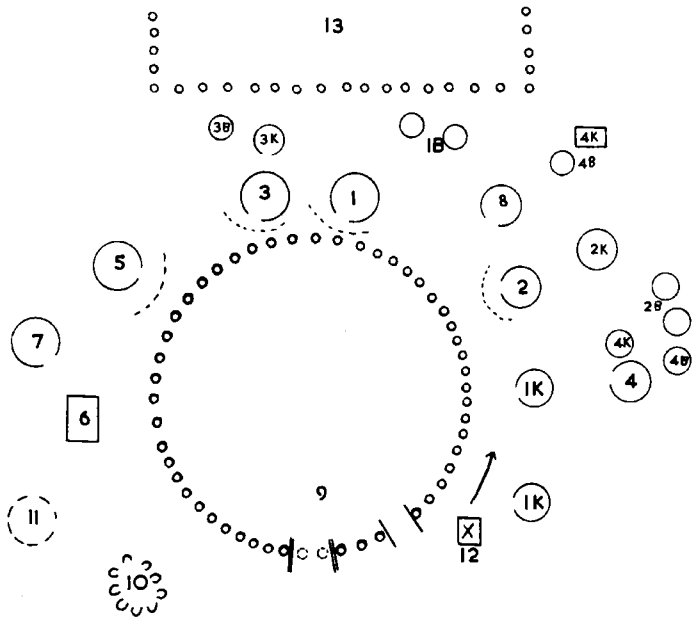


Fig. 30.

Hayilengwenya Homestead of Maklaya Sikhakhane (173)

1. Great Hut for principal wife with kitchen at 1 k (in it the sacrificial meat was placed) and 1 k at the bottom, a beer kitchen; 1 b the granaries for hut 1
2. Residence of Kraalhead; he lives there with his youngest, his fourth, wife; She has a kitchen at 2 k, and of the granaries at 2 b, one 'belongs' to the wife, the other to the kraalhead!
3. Hut of (173)'s third wife; she ran away; unused with kitchen and granary (3 k, 3 b)
4. Residence of (173)'s brother, lives there with wife, who has kitchen and granary (4 k, 4 b)
5. Hut of (173)'s second wife, now dead. It is occupied by (173)'s mother's brother's son. "It is alright, since he is of the mother's people"
6. Residence of a second brother of (173)
7. Residence of this brother's son.
8. Visitors' hut. At present occupied by an unrelated young man, 22 years old. (173) treated and adopted him, having cured him.
9. Cattle pen with the gate having been shifted from first position in centre to the right because of mud gathering at the middle
10. Pen for goats and sheep
11. Roofless hut used for calves
12. Place where sacrificial meat is cooked
13. Camp for horses

The homestead has two peculiar features. First, it shows the disadvantages of a childless *umNumzana*. He has difficulty in holding wives. In order to achieve the ideal of a 'full' homestead, (173) tries to attract dependants: younger brothers, their sons, an adopted 'son', a mother's brother's son. Thus the homestead does not grow in a natural manner but shows artifical accretions. Secondly, in this kraal the kitchen huts (1 k for meat and 1 k for beer) are in the front row of the Great Side, which differs from the normal position for them, when they are radially ranged with the respective family hut. The reason is, that as a doctor, (173) wishes to display his wealth. It should be noted that the huts of the dependants tend to have no kitchens and granaries, showing their economic poverty. (173) does not allow his wives to be away from the homestead when he kills a sacrifice. They must be well dressed and stay in the Great Hut or behind the huts. They may not laugh or shout. A bride may not enter the cattle pen, nor may she milk or touch the cattle, to Hl their owner. As he, the husband *Zila's* his wives during confinement or menstruation, so the wives *Zila* his cattle. All sour milk is placed in the kitchen of the Great Hut.

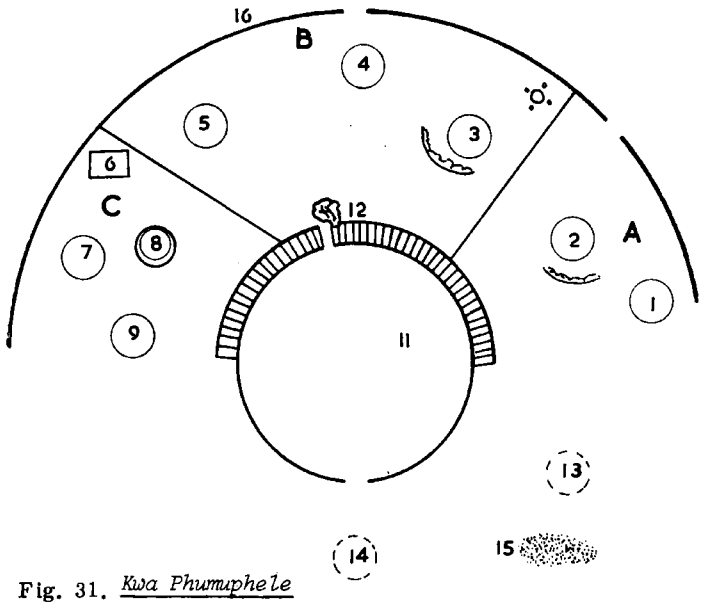


Fig. 31. *Kwa Phumuphele*

The name means: Get out altogether! Twasa Xaba (399) is the owner.

A. *isAndla-nga-kwesiKhulu:* The Great Side
   1. Kitchen to (2)
   2. U's second Wi who caters for her So here

B. *Phakathi-no-muZi:* Centre of Homestead. "It belongs to neither half". The UM has power to make peace between the sides!
   3. U's Residence
   4. Great Hut: UM
   5. UM's kitchen

C. *uHlangothi oluNcane, isAndla esiNcane* . The Left Side.
   6. USo's Residence
   7. Kitchen for (6)'s Wi: she still lives here
   8. U's first Wi. Note distance from (3)
   9. Heir's Residence (So of first Wi of U). The heir's Wi cooks in (5) and resides in (4) when not called to (9).
   11. Cattle pen with stonewall in upper half and palisade in lower
   12. Narrow gate under tree
   13. Enclosure for calves
   14. Enclosure for goats
   15. Ash heap
   16. Wire fence

NB: The terms *iNdlunkulu* and *iKhohlwa* are not used in this home.
The eSo of first Wi lives on side opposite to his F, the U. It is Zulu Hl custom that F and heir should not dwell on the same side. The two Sos of the first Wi reside with her on left side; the second Wi's So stays on the right side. The Sos follow their Ms as a matter of Hl. Thus half-Brs are spatially separated. When the UM acts as peace-maker between her GSos, she calls them to her hut, discusses the matter, finds out who is at fault and makes him apologize. At such a "case" the UM sits in the middle of the left wall, her eGSo at the right near the door and his yoBr beyond him on the same side.

A stranger entering the kraal should not walk behind the huts but in front of the doors on

both sides (so that he can be seen). The UBr and neighbours need not, like strangers, approach from below. They may enter at the sides. This freedom of access is reciprocal. A new neighbour behaves like a stranger at first. After about two months he begins to take an easy approach, thus giving the sign that he has become a 'true' neighbour. When told that a wizard could easily approach the exposed pen, (399) said that he kept dogs which would keep him away and bark. The wire-fence is to keep cattle away in winter because they are destructive to the huts.

All the members of the filial generation have to Hl the eSo and his Wis, although he lives on the left. When the first So calls the third So (So of second Wi), the latter responds *mNewethu* , and when he approaches to where the heir is he is not allowed to stand but must sit down in his senior Br's presence. The junSo has to be polite in conversing with his senior and should in fact fear him because of his position. When the yoSos quarrel with their Wis, these report the matter to the senBr who informs the U. - The Brs eat together from the same pot in case of SM and all types of food. Their respective brides cook separately, but take the dishes to the eSo's Residence, even from the right side. The U gets his meals served to him in the Great Hut, since his M is dead (sic). There also are kept the SM calabashes for U, his Sos and the SosWis. The calabashes for the GChn only are kept in the kitchens of their Ms. They must be kept close at hand since the Chn eat irregularly. The yoSosWis must Hl the heir's princWi. A yoSo may talk to her in an upright posture when he meets her outside a hut; inside he must first sit down before he can talk. When the SosWis sit together the senSo'sWi sits nearest to the door. If a junSo quarrels with his Wi he may report it to his senBr'sWi; she may'cool him down' to avoid reporting to the U.

2. *Hl and Za at Splitting and Moving Homesteads.*

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and friends state:There are four occasions for dividing a homestead: (a) Division for economic reasons; (b) splitting is a way of solving difficulties which have arisen between Brs; (c) Sos move out of their F's kraal to gain independence; (d) an heir is ritually obliged to depart from his deceased F's kraal leaving the *uYise* in charge there. The term used for the fission process is *ukuDabula* (124). (132) restricts the connotation to the splitting up of a fraternal kraal and suggests *ukwAhlukanisa* as the term for fission in general.

Where a homestead is separated along households, the U announces: 'Let us increase the food!', for such division results in the extension of the area under cultivation and of the pasture lands. Consequently stock will increase - and beer parties too! The most frequent reason for splitting is the third. It is the U's duty to set up homesteads for his main heir and the Left heir (Hl). (A case is described in detail below: p. 191). This heightens the F's status in the community. From an *umNinimuzi* (owner of a kraal) he advances to be an *inZalamuzi* (begetter of a kraal), an occasion of great pride. Pressure comes from the heir himself. Having lived for a number of years in his F's home and acquired a number of Wis, he one day announces: *SengiKhulile* (I've grown up). His F, accepting this request for separation, replies: *NgiyaDabula umuZi wami* (I split my kraal). A woman is often behind the heir's move. His M may urge him, so that she becomes UM in an independent kraal, or the heir's first Wi who hopes to move into the Great Hut there. She gains in this way an important social position. If the heir is a commoner the new kraal will at once indicate Great House and Left House by the position of the huts of the presiding Wis (Bryant; 1949: 414). If the heir is a chief's So a greater number of Wis will move out with him but all belonging to the Great House (*iNdlunkulu*). The move is then described as *inKosana ePhuma eKhandeni* which means both: 'The heir leaves the head kraal' and 'The heir comes out of, i.e., originates in the head kraal'. It is important to note that M and Wis urge the move so that they can be Hl'd properly!

The fourth case, the moving out of an heir after his F's death, is sanctioned by the magical consequences following the omission of the move. A conservative like Chief Mqiniseni Zungu had, as we saw, evaded the obligation allegedly because he did not wish to reveal whom he had

selected as heir. King Cyprian however left Dlamahlahla to set up his own kraal at KhethomThandayo near Hlopenkulu. (Cyprian's firstWi died, according to some, because he lived with her in his F's home. Gatsha, on the other hand, thinks the move was premature and urged on Cyprian by his second Wi). Gatsha himself still occupies his F's kraal kwaPhindangene, but he does not live in his F's Residence (Hl). Being Mathole's heir he is known as *iKhanda laMathole*. In a move of type (d), as well as (c) the heir's establishment should bear the name of the paternal kraal and thus continue its existence. The old kraal should adopt a new name and possibly move too, to prevent a duplication of names (Hl).

Old kraal sites, still under the nominal control of the heir, are converted into gardens on the basis of the original household areas. The women go by their rubbish heaps as boundaries and avoid 'trespassing'. Any crop can be grown on the site except groundnuts, *umHlanza* and *amaTata* . Chief Gatsha considers the reason purely practical: these crops do not like overfertilized soil. In other families the restraint is described as Hl and has a mystical sanction attached to it. The royal families (Zulu, Buthelezi) do not utilize old kraal sites for gardens, which seems a case of Inversion. Nor is such a use possible in the Low Veld where the heat and saturation of the soil with uric acid combine to make crops fail (Gatsha).

The proposed move must be made known to the lineage and ancestors, and in the case of a chief's heir to the tribe. Callaway describes how the ancestors are consulted, and when a SAC is indicated (Krige: 289). If they object, i.e., if some untoward event shows their displeasure, the plan may be abandoned or the ancestors are warned that 'they will be left in the veld like grasshoppers'. (223): "When a kraal is about to separate out chief heir and left heir, the apportioning of cattle to them precedes the moving. The chief heir is given a large pen, the left heir a small one. The kraalhead may, if he thinks it necessary, kill a beast to inform his forbears and this SAC must be attended by the heirs. Or these kill a beast at their respective kraals. For this occasion the women brew beer. No abstentions are observed". This is stated as a general rule. (223) admits that during brewing and at the SAC a number of restraints are observed. Chief Gatsha and Princess Magogo: "All the abstentions normally observed at a SAC are observed. Nobody speaks aloud, the punishment of Chn is suspended." But neither sex interdicts nor food abstentions are observed at the royal kraal. (223) gives a list of persons who must be present at this SAC: "The U, his Wis and Chn, the chief heir with his Wis and Chn, the left heir with his Wis and Chn, the UBrs with their Wis and Chn even if living in other homesteads. The USis and their Chn are invited, their Hs not, but they could attend. The MBrs of the two heirs are not invited but could come if they liked. All the Wis have to repair to the Great Hut during the slaughtering. If this SAC were omitted, some member of the family would fall ill, some misfortune strike the homestead. If the SAC took place at the chief heir's new place, the ancestors would have to be addressed by his F. The heir is forbidden (umTh/Hl) to approach the ancestors as long as his F is alive. The same applies to the left heir. If the F is dead, it is the chief heir's duty to address the ancestors: the second So respectfully avoids their names, for to him the ancestors are the same as his senior brother!"

"If the beast slaughtered is a bride-price beast for one of the heir's Sis, she is entitled to the *umHlubulo* of the side without stab wound" (umTh, not Hl). The stabbed sirloin would go to the kraalhead, i.e., the F, and he would eat this piece at his son's homestead. This is *ukuDabuka kwaKithi* (hoary custom). The Sos must not eat this piece before their F's death; this is forbidden; this rule is observed to Hl their F. The move does not initiate a change of address between F and Sos; the latter continue to address him as *Baba* or *umNumzane*. The GChn likewise address the GF as *Babamkhulu* as hitherto and their F as *Baba*. The only change occurs with the heir's Wis. They may henceforth refer to their H as *umNumzane* and address him thus. But it is not advisable for them to do so, and it is definitely prohibited when their HF is on a visit to the new kraal.

Nkiza kraal of Mkhwelana Mpungose (323): Moving out of Filial kraals (Cf. Fig. 33, 34). (323), who served as policeman from 1922-5, and acted for his agnate, Chief Siphoso Mpungose, during World War II, said "My F's kraal is situated not far from here, i.e., about

500 yds down the ridge with a tree marking the grave. During his lifetime my F established a new kraal, *EsiFubeni*. This was my F's *eKhanda* to which the Great House heir *(inKosana* of *iNdlunkulu)* moved. He stayed there even after our F's death in honour of the kraal as *umNikazi-muZi*. For the *iKhohlo* heir our F built the kraal *Sunduzwayo* more than ten years later. My F continued to live at *Kumbuzene* with his Wis and two Sos, the *isiZinda* Sos. I, being born of a bride attached to the Left House, moved out with the *iKhohlo* heir to Sunduzwayo and built my *iLawu* (Residence) there. Later I married and when I had two Wis I decided to set up my own kraal. As Hl demands I reported my intention to the *iKhohlo* heir and he reported to the Great House heir. These senior Brs agreed to the site I proposed, just next to the paternal kraal" (cf. Fig. 32).

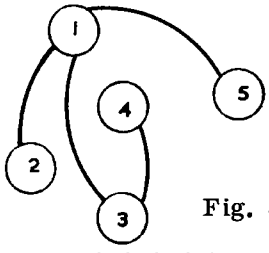


Fig. 32

1. *Kumbuzene* (F's kraal and *isiZinda)*
2. *EsiFubeni*. (Kraal of Great heir) 3. *Sunduswayo (iKhohlo* heir)
4. *Nkiza* (Kraal of informant). 5. *Buyelanganhlanye* of *isiZinda* Br.

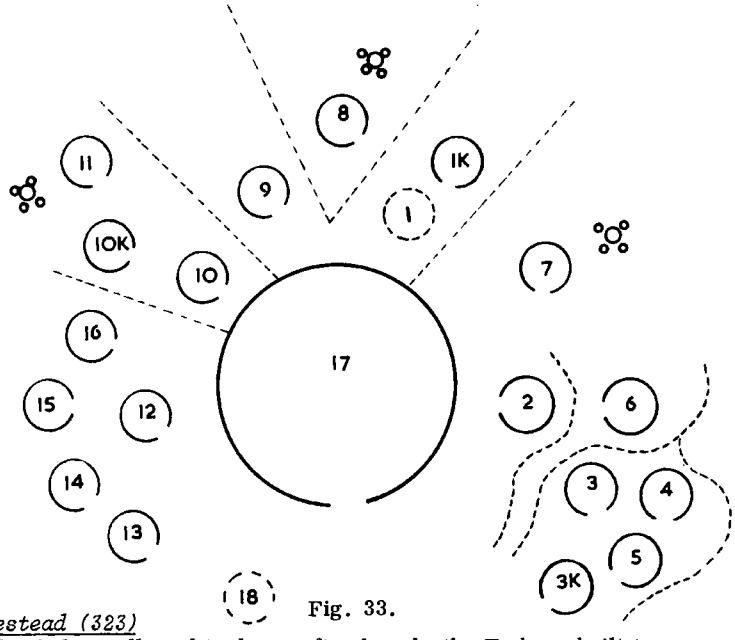


Fig. 33.

Fig. 33. Nkiza Homestead (323)

1. Kraalhead's mother's hut, allowed to decay after her death. To be rebuilt to accommodate his wife MaThembu. She is at her father's home at present to give birth to a child there. She has been given permission, since 'her children die' *(oFelwayo)*; 1k. Its Kitchen
2. *umNumzana's* Residence
3. Family hut of his first wife MaCele; 3 k her kitchen hut
4. Residence of MaCele's son
5. Residence of another of her sons
6. Family hut for last wife of (323), MaSikhakhane
7. Residence for MaBiyela's son
8. Hut of (323)'s mother's daughter; she returned as a widow
9. Residence for a third MaCele son
10. Kraalhead's wife MaShandu with kitchen (10 k) and granary

11. Kitchen hut for MaShandu's son's wife; he is an absentee
12. Kraalhead's wife MaBiyela
13. Residence of one of MaCele's sons with kitchen hut (14) for his wife
15 and 16 Residences of two sons of (323)'s mother's brother.
They are away at work on a farm
17. Cattle pen
18. Enclosure for calves

Hl behaviour between the various homesteads centres round the following symbols: The junior kraals have to pay tribute to the *eKhanda* (i.e., head kraal) at *EsiFubeni*. Whenever a beast is killed at their kraals, both *iKhohlo* heir and the Nkiza kraalhead send the *iNsonyama* (wounded side) to the *inKosana*. (They cut it so that a piece of ear goes with it). The Left heir and the subsidiary heir (at Nkiza) have to go to the Great heir to eat meat there with his neighbours. The Great heir is obliged to give a hind leg to the paternal kraal. The *isiZinda* heir later established his own homestead *(Buye-langanhlanye)*. He is the peace-maker between the Great House heir and the Left House heir in personal quarrels and cattle claims. The older Brs Hl the *isiZinda* heir. When he marries his first Wi the Great heir pays the bride-price, and for his second Wi the *iKhohlo* heir pays it. The *isiZinda* (or Ritual House) heir has two Sis: the bride-price for the first goes to the Great heir and for the second to the Left heir. Thus the balance is restored. The older Brs address the *isiZinda* heir with the clan/n (which they share) or the praise/n: *Wena-we-Pahle*. The same appellations are used among all the brothers. When the princWi of *inKosana* meets the princWi of *iKhohlo* the latter greets: *nKosikazi yakwaMpungose* or *nKosikazi yaPahle* and the former replies: *nKosikazi yakwaKuba* or *yakwaMnukwa*, alternative praise/ns.

Embilweni with derived kraal in process of splitting. Mkokiseni Ntanzi (247) Great Heir, Left Heir and FyoBr Kraals.(Cf. Figs. 34, 35).

The kraalhead who received us -an elderly man- explained that he lived in the *kwanKosana* (chief heir's) section on the right. The left hand section was the *kwaBaba-omNcane*, called so after (247)'s FyoBr, dead many years ago. The kraal is thus compound and has, strictly speaking, two *abaNumzane*. It has no *okwaKhayini*, i.e., middle or parting with a Great Hut and the U's Residence as an overall control. In each section there is a place called *Ngenhla* (top, upper part). Near this double kraal lies the original kraal *(iNxiwa)* out of which the heir came. But it is no longer residential. Beyond it, and within hailing distance from the old kraal site, is the *iKhohlwa* kraal. It lies to the right of the old kraal and the *inKosana's* to the left. Thus possibly a crossing over took place when the segments separated. When our discussion began with (247), a representative from the FyoBr's side attached himself to us. In age he could have been (247)'s So. But genealogically he was his FyoBrSo and thus (247)'s parallel cousin. There seemed to be some tension between the two.

My question as to the Hl relations between chief heir's, Left heir's and younger FBr's sections was answered evasively: They are just the same! The relations between Right House and Left House are clear: The Left Wis address the Right family head with *mYeni (wami)* (my H) as BrWis do. This implies, as admitted, that the Right heir may marry the widows of the Left heir (!) The Left kraalhead addresses the Right kraalhead as *mFowethu*. This term is reciprocal, even *umNawethu* may be thus used, although it is the Right head who addresses the Left head thus. Hl demands that the Left Wis may not eat in front of the Right family head until he has released them by slaughtering a beast for them 'to introduce them to the pen!'

The Hl relations between Right House and FyoBr's House are obscure. The Right family head addressed the head of this Third House (who is now dead) as *mFowethu*, although he was in fact (247)'s FBr but could not be addressed as *Baba* by him as well, because he was not his 'real' F(sic). Mkokiseni calls the young head of the Third House *mFowethu* too and describes him as *mFowethu kaBaba-omNcane*. His FyoBr could not have called his BrSo *nDodane* (my So), because they were of the same age. The fictitious advance in generation is here due to the equality of age.

The head of the Third family occupies a junior rank in relation to the head of the Great House because of the junior status of his F. This is also indicated by the family's position on the left side. Nevertheless the Wis of each section refer to their respective heads as *umNumzane*. The Right Wis address the head of the Third House as *Baba*. He addresses them as *oMaloka-zana* (SosWi). They in turn address their HFBrWi as *Mame* while she addresses them *mNtanami* (My Ch). The term she uses for their H, the head of the Right House, is the same, although her H addresses him as Br. As at Mqiniseni's homestead the fictitious generation shift is one-sided.

The impending segmentation is already foreshadowed in certain ways. The Right yard is clear of weeds while that of the Third House is overrun with them. A small ridge between the sections indicates where the boundary between the two authorities lies. Two separate pens indicate even more forcibly that the essential basis of power, property in cattle, is exercised independently by the two heads. Each section has its own milk pail, but (247)'s heir obtains his milk from his F's pail. Undoubtedly a great number of avoidances anticipate the approaching fission, especially since a general interdict, not to follow the instructions of the other U, must have been issued on both sides. (For milk distribution cf. infra p. 338).

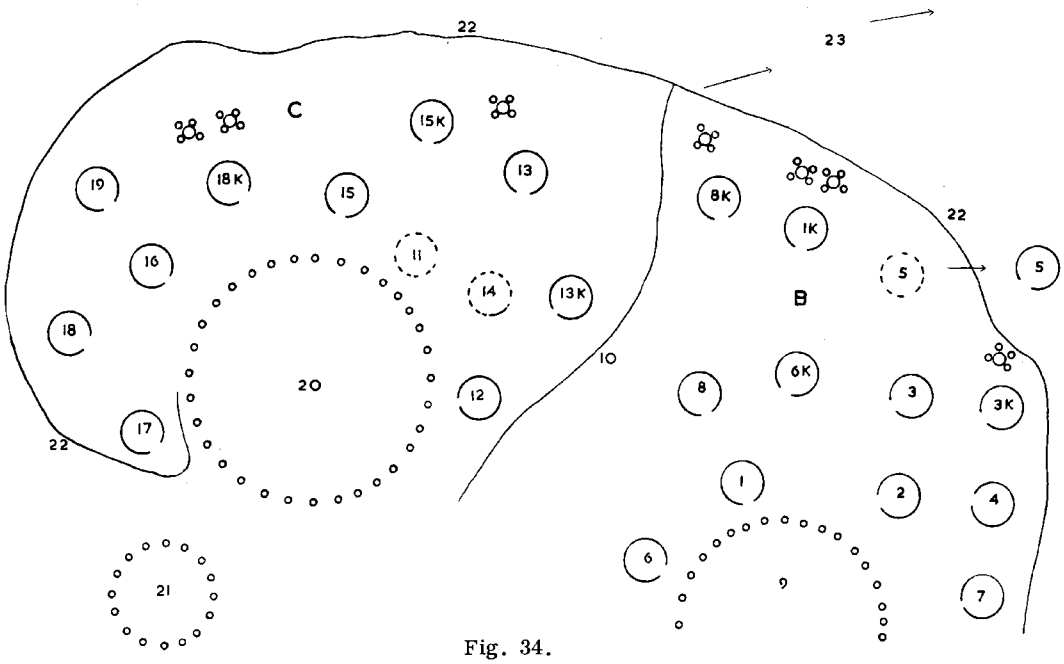


Fig. 34.

Embilweni Homestead (247)

This double homestead has a section called *KwanKosana* (At the chief heir's) (B). Its proper name is *Cishukuluma*. It comprises the following huts:

1. Kraalhead's mother and his children with kitchen 1k
2. Kraalhead's Residence
3. Family hut for kraalhead's elder wife, with kitchen (3 k)
4. Kraalhead's younger wife
5. Kraalhead's third wife who left homestead, dwells some distance away
6. Kraalhead's eldest son with wife with kitchen hut (6 k)
7. Residence of two sons of this wife (cf. Fig. 36)
8. Kraalhead's younger brother with wife, with kitchen 8 k
9. Cattle pen of *KwanKosana*
10. Dividing line between the two sections; the area of B is free of weeds, that of C overgrown with them.

The second section (C), called *kwaBaba-omNcane* (At the father's junior brother), has the following huts:

11. Residence of the deceased father's brother (only site left)
12. Residence of head of this section which is named *KwaZondehleka*

13. Family hut of Heir's wife; 13 k her kitchen
14. a new hut site
15. Great hut, occupied by Heir's mother with a kitchen hut (15 k)
16. Heir's first brother (left home)
17. Residence of Heir's second brother
18. Family hut of Heir's second brother's wife; 18 k her kitchen hut
19. Residence of Heir's third brother (?)
20. Cattle pen of *kwaBaba-omNcane* kraal
21. Enclosure for calves
22. Boundary of double homestead marked with stones, aloes, bushes and refuse heaps.
23. To old homestead (A) and Left Hand kraal (D) which is named *KwanenKosi*

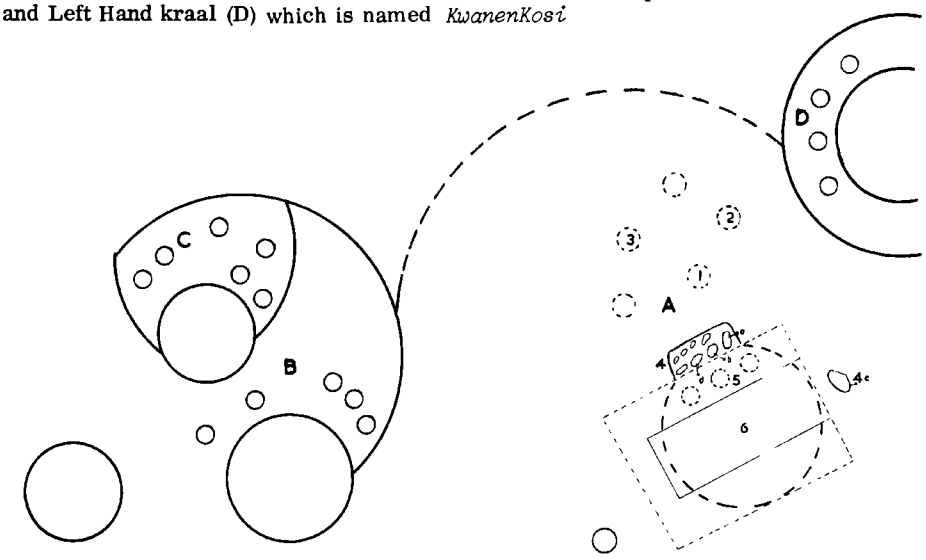


Fig. 35.

Separation of Homesteads

A Old homestead: *Embilweni*, belonging to father of Mkokiseni Ntanzi (247)
  1. Site of Great Hut
  2. Site of owner's Residence
  3. Other old hut rings
  4. Graveyard: a Grave of Owner; b Grave of owner's brother; c Grave of another of owner's brothers; d Graves of wives and children
  5. Collapsed grain pits
  6. Pumpkin field across cattle pen (fenced in)

B Homestead of the Heir of *Embilweni* 's owner, viz. *Cishukuluma*

C Homestead of the Heir of junior brother of *Embilweni* 's owner, viz. *KwaZondehleka*

D Homestead belonging to (247)'s *iKhohlo* brother (Lefthand), *KwanenKosi*.

Fig. 36 (Hut 7 in Fig. 34).

A. *uHlangothi oluNcane* : Small side of hut
B. *uHlangothi oluKhulu* : Great side: we were allowed to walk here
1. Place where kraalhead stood during visit to hut
2. Place where mother of two occupants of Residence stood
3. Place where her child sat
4. OFR and interpreter
5. Dancing shield and stick with *iNsimba* tip
6. Clothes of occupants hung up against wall
7. Calf skin
8. Mats for sons' visitors
9. Display of beads
10. Beer pot
11. Boxes
12. Basin and soap
13. Pair of shoes
14. *umuTsha* and *isiNene:* traditional loin-coverings
15. Feathers in roof
16. Dancing shield and stick
17. Over doorway stick and kerries
18. Mat

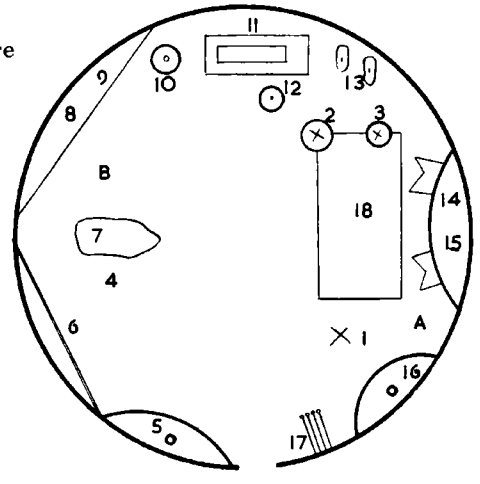


Fig. 36 (Hut 7 in Fig. 34)

The graves are on the old site. There are five graves: the old kraalhead's and his Br's in front facing the old pen. Beside them are those of two Wis and their three or four Chn. Some distance away, but still in the line of the former pen fence, is a grave of the Left House. The spatial proximity of the graves of the old U and his yoBr seems to suggest that the latter belonged and was subordinate to the U's House. All the graves are covered with boulders; there are no stakes around them. In this kraal Chn and GChn may not walk over the graves (Hl), a rule which may be connected with the fact that they are placed together and outside the kraal. "The U's Wis respect their HF's grave: they do not go near it, they turn their faces away from it or hide them behind a cloth on going past. They fear the grave as if it were the HF in person. They were indeed fearful of him as young Das-in-l. Now their fear is one of habit; it will vanish when they are old themselves and near death. " The Right family head walked quite close to the grave in explaining this, but did not step over it. The old pen had been converted into a pumpkin field and had a large crop in it. It had been fenced in for a practical reason. Horses roaming about at night would damage the pumpkins with their hooves.

Zulu-Menyanyeni (Zulu-Hate-Him!) (391); Kraal with Heir's Segment at top (Cf. Fig. 37). Siphile Zulu, the founder of this kraal, was a So of Dinizulu, and thus Br of Solomon and Mshiyeni. The royal family did not, according to the founder's So, an intelligent man of about 27 years of age, consent to Siphile's departure from Emahashini. Their harsh comments evoked the naming of the kraal. Its inmates are proud of the name which they interpret: Hate won't harm the U! The U had 8 Wis of whom 6 survive and have huts in the present homestead. He died nine years ago i.e. in 1948 but is still talked of as U and his eSo as heir! The princWidow still presides in the Great Hut; his grave on the old kraal - about half a mile distant - is still visited. It lies in the maize fields, is fenced in and euphorbias grow on it. The old homestead is otherwise ploughed over.

The intended removal of the homestead was reported to the deceased in a SAC with beer. Before the beast was stabbed, the heir, married by then, the Ms, and a So representing the Left side of the kraal and another the Right, entered the pen and standing below the cattle faced the grave. The princWidow prayed: "Ndabezitha, I am informing you that we are moving from here. We are leaving you enough room in this place, Zulu. We are not going far to build a new kraal for you. Please, go along with us, Zulu, and look after your Chn!" (The pers/n might have been used, but as a matter of habit Gr: 1 and Gr: 2 were used). Then the Ms left the pen (Hl), for the slaughtering is a matter for the men: they are the people of the pen, *abaNtu baseBayeni*, while the women are the *abaNtu besiXhibeni*, people of the kitchen.

The first hut to be moved was the kitchen of the Great Hut. Ms and Sis accompanied the Sos when they carried the kitchen roof to the new site but then returned to the old homestead. A builder of sod walls had been engaged and had built all walls before the roofs belonging to them were shifted. Until the whole kraal had been built up the Sos slept in the kitchen, as did also the married heir, so that he did not sleep with his Wis nor did his Brs pay love visits. No food abstentions were observed, but meals had still to be taken at the old home. The following day two Residences were moved, viz. Hut (2). MaNumalo's So's, and Hut (23) MaXhulu's So's. They were placed one at either wing of the new kraal. From that night the two Sos concerned no longer slept in the kitchen but in their own huts. Next day the Great Hut was moved and the chief widow with the heir's two brides came across and slept there henceforth together with immature Sos of the widow and the brides' small Chn. The SM calabashes were left at the old kraal and placed in the family huts of the two brides there, "since the vessels move with the cattle only" (Hl). About a week later all the five remaining Ms' huts were moved together with the Residences still at the old site. This included the heir's. The granaries were pulled down, the sticks to be used as fuel, and the thatch for new granaries. (Since a hut has up to 30 rafters and a living hut more, and every rafter requires a carrier, neighbours as well as relatives were called in to help). While the sod walls for these huts had been going up, the Sos had built the fence for the pen. No rite was performed to secure the gate.

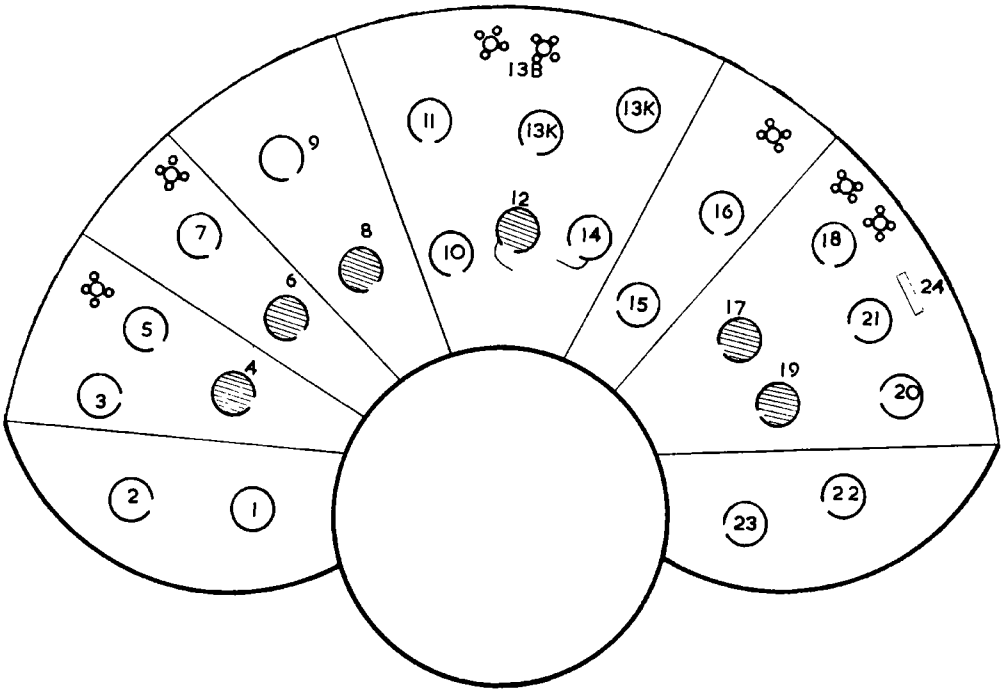


Fig. 37.

Zulu-Menyanyeni Homestead (391)

Left Wing: 1. Residence of 'younger brother' of occupant of 3: called Esandlwana, painted in red on green door.
2. Residence of another 'brother' of 3, called Ondini, another patriotic name.

MaThembu segment
3. Residence of 'elder brother', in charge of homestead in absence of Heir at work in Johannesburg
4. *MaThembu* 's hut, mother of 3; 5 her kitchen

MaNxumalo segment
6. *MaNxumalo* 's hut, the mother of 1 and 2; 7 her kitchen

okaMasuko segment
8. her living hut (lives there with small boy);
9. her kitchen hut

Top of Homestead
10. Hut of bride of Heir; 11 her kitchen
12: Great Hut, occupied by *MaGwala*, mother of Heir, and two wives of Heir, also called *Ndlunkulu* (centre); 13 k and 13 b kitchens and granary for 12
14. Heir's Residence
15. Third wife (bride) of Heir; 16 her kitchen

MaKhumalo segment
17. Her living hut;
18. her kitchen

MaXhulu segment
19. Her living hut; 20 her kitchen; 21 beer kitchen, 24 onion patch

Right Wing: 22. Residence of son of MaKhumalo (17), away at work
23. Residence of son of MaXhulu

The homestead shows the huts of the late kraalhead's principal wife and that of his Heir and establishment of wives at top. The living huts of all widows are in the front row facing the cattle pen. Their households (living hut, food kitchen, beer kitchen, granary) are radially arranged. The huts of the other sons are at the wings.

Seating arrangements in Hut 1, where we were received by 'son in charge': My interpreter and I were seated along the left wall, with some space between the door and me. The 'eldest sister', older than Heir, sat to the right of door, beyond her against middle wall sat 3, and towards the apse, but still on the right, a younger sister with top-knot up, ready for marriage. (It was covered with black cloth so as to protect it during weeding). The owner of hut 1 sat on mats with outstretched legs, and such were offered also to us; the girls had their legs drawn up under them. They too were seated on mats (H1).

On the last day of the moving the cattle were brought across, all roofs having been shifted. The eleven Sos presented themselves in the old pen and stood facing the grave, the cattle below and behind them. They stood in a row, the heir on the right, the youngest on the left. The heir addressed their F: "We've left you today. Here are your Chn standing in front of you and others (viz., the Das) outside the pen. Your cattle are now going away too, Zulu. We've today left this home, Zulu!" All Sos then saluted: "Ndabezitha". The Ms and Sis could not come near the pen at this moment; they were picking up property in the abandoned hut shells. An announcement to the ancestor was also made in the new pen. The Sos stood across the pen's diameter facing the top, as if the grave were there, the youngest to the left, the heir to the right. The latter prayed: "Ndabezitha, here is your new site, where we are establishing you. We're asking you to look after us, Zulu, so that we stay in peace and grace!" All then saluted the dead U who was supposed to have come with the cattle. After this a beast was slaughtered, the meat being placed in the Great Hut which the brides had to leave. Only the princWidow and the Chn slept there that night. In this way the old U was brought to the new homestead *(umNumzane uNgeniswa eKhaya)*. No meat is ever taken to the grave. "He sleeps but does not eat there!"

In the moving of the cattle and their dead owner the Sos alone entered the pen (Hl), but the widows still go with the Sos to the old grave to pray. The occasions for such visits are when a So takes his first Wi; - no permission from his dead F need be obtained for subsequent Wis, - or when a Da puts up her topknot in preparation for marriage. A party of the older three to four widows and older Sos then visits the grave. They approach it very quietly just before sunset. The Ms go down on their knees, the young men sit down. The princWidow prays: "Ndabezitha, I am informing you, Zulu, that the boy is getting married (lit. has taken a Wi). We are asking for good luck, Zulu, so that you may receive the bride, because she is coming to look after your Chn. That's all, Calf of the Lion!" The Sos salute, they all rise and go home.

The structure of the homestead left by Prince Siphile can almost a decade after his death still be read off from the arrangement of the huts which has been retained. Our main informant does not reveal to us which Ms belong to the Great House and which to the Left House. "The heir and his M know, but it is impossible for the heir to divide the homestead (Hl); only a FBr of the status of Mshiyeni could do it. It is not an avoidance by the heir; he just has not the authority *(amAndla)*. He has authority to divide his Wis only." (This statement came although during the interview repeated references had been made to the Great House to which the heir and the princWidow belong, and although Sos were selected to represent both right and left Houses at the prayers. However I had suggested the sides in my question.) Siphile's Sos had thus far avoided segmentation, and so long as this was so, it was conducive to the unity in the homestead to maintain the fiction that the eSo of the princWidow was heir and not yet U. In such a situation appeals to the F's grave must have much greater emotional effect - supported as they are by appropriate Hl behaviour between the groups participating - than in a situation in which the succession is decided.

Respectful restraints in naming usage are the following: The informant, a yoSo, addresses the heir (his eBr) with Gr:1 and Gr: 2 and bends down. The heir addresses him with Gr: 1 or pers/n but does not bend. The speaker (yoSo) addresses the princWidow with *Baba*, *Ndlunkulu* and *Mkamuhle*, a special r/t in place of *MkanKosi* which is inappropriate since the speaker's F has not been king. The princWidow addresses the heir and other Sos and Das with Gr: 1 and Gr: 2. The senSi, who was born before the heir is specially respected. She sits down to the right of the door in the place of honour. On entering the hut her Brs greet her with Gr: 2, bow and then gently answer her questions about us to which information she has a right like the U himself.

KwaMlungisi-uZilela-isiSila (Cf. Fig. 38).

(258) is moving from his old site to a new one about 500 paces up the mountain side, "because he has been at the old site for many years", also perhaps because he has been hit by losses. He "is alone" at present. Of his nine Sos, two have died, three went to Johannesburg

and he has not heard of them for a long time. He moves with a minor Wi, who is in charge of his food, three Das-in-l with their Chn and a SiDa. His SiSo who lived with his family in the old kraal did not follow the move, but separated to set up his own, 700 paces lower down the slope. He had been looked after for some time by his MBr, because "if a SiSo is not cared for in the Si's (= SiH's) place, the MBr is responsible for him (Hl)". The separation took place without ritual.

The old site shows three empty but still thatched huts- (4) has only the framework -, of the other huts only the fire place and floor are visible. "The huts are no longer Hl'd since they are no longer lived in". Thus the huts at the wings are moved first, those of the top and centre are moved last (1-4) to Hl the ancestors who look after the inhabitants. (258) rejects the suggestion that ancestors might be living in the huts. When these huts are moved the clan hymn *(iHubo)* is sung! Behind the huts are two graves; the one under the tree is that of the U's princWi (The kraalhead lowers his voice to Hl her). It lies behind the Great Hut. Two years later (1958) a fresh grave - a mound edged with stone - had been made to the left; it was for MaShezi, the Wi who was to look after (258)'s food, his last Wi! The grave (7) to right of (6) is of a So (second to heir). It is covered with stones. The Wi mentioned for hut (11) died in hospital in Durban.

Concerning the circle of persons participating in taboos of mourning *(ukuZila)* (258) says: People (= neighbours) come to dig the grave. (He lowers his voice). Mutual help among neighbours is customary in this respect. The grave-diggers and those who carry stones for the niche-wall are provided with a goat - if I have one I kill it; they wash their hands in the stomach contents to cleanse themselves. They then eat, even though they have not washed (in water). The women who carried the corpse of a co-Wi wash themselves in the stomach contents, and so does the H or F who places the corpse in the niche.

Taboos are observed by all - is the generalization with which Mpiyakhe Ntombela begins. (RA): From the death to the burial no inmate leaves the kraal *(ukuZila okuKhulu)*. All take off ornaments, both men and women. (Speech): There is no speaking, no conversation; all bow their heads; there is nothing to be pleased about. If a child laughs it is told to stop, but is not punished. (Food): Nothing can be eaten in the first period, water may only be drunk if a live ember has been thrown into it; beer dregs may be taken. The mourners may not touch SM at all in the first stage. (Sex): No sex intercourse takes place till after the Washing *(iHlambo)*. And (258) repeats: All, U, Wis, inmates of kraal Za for one month! Later he modifies this: Conversation is Za'd as long as the corpse is in the hut; people begin to talk, even laugh at the grave already! After the burial everybody goes to bathe - the whole body is washed - in the river, the men higher up, the women below them -; then everyone returns home. Neighbours start to work that very day, inmates of the deceased's kraal wait till next day, but they start to cook and eat after the washing. The marriage partner of the deceased does not have sexual intercourse; he feels sore and wants to Hl the dead. Other people do as they please. The betrothed of a girl does not Za for her, if she has died, for he belongs to another clan. Even the deceased girl's Br may go wherever he likes, the Za rests with her F and M! Her FBrs and FBrsWis Za too; they feel like F and M. The going about without ornaments lasts for about a month.

The widening circle of mourners as the status of the deceased increases is well brought out by (258). At a Ch's death only F and M Za apart from the grave-diggers whose taboos end when they have cleansed themselves. When a Wi dies, her H, Chn, HBrs and HBrsWis Za and the WiF and WiMs come to condole. If some of the latter Za they do this privately. The grave-diggers must cleanse themselves. At the death of a U, his Wis and Chn Za, also the UBrs and UBrsWis and the UF and UM, also his married Sos' families. The grave-diggers cleanse themselves. In the case of a chief's death his whole people are involved, not only his family. E.g., when the Shezi chief died all the people had to Za, i.e., show their mourning by bringing gifts to the chiefly kraal. When king Solomon died, people near the royal kraal Za'd by way of abstentions (scil., in speech and work). But all tribesmen took money to the widows to condole with them. He refused to comment on the account of the Za regimen imposed on Nandi's death: "I have not seen this with my eyes!"

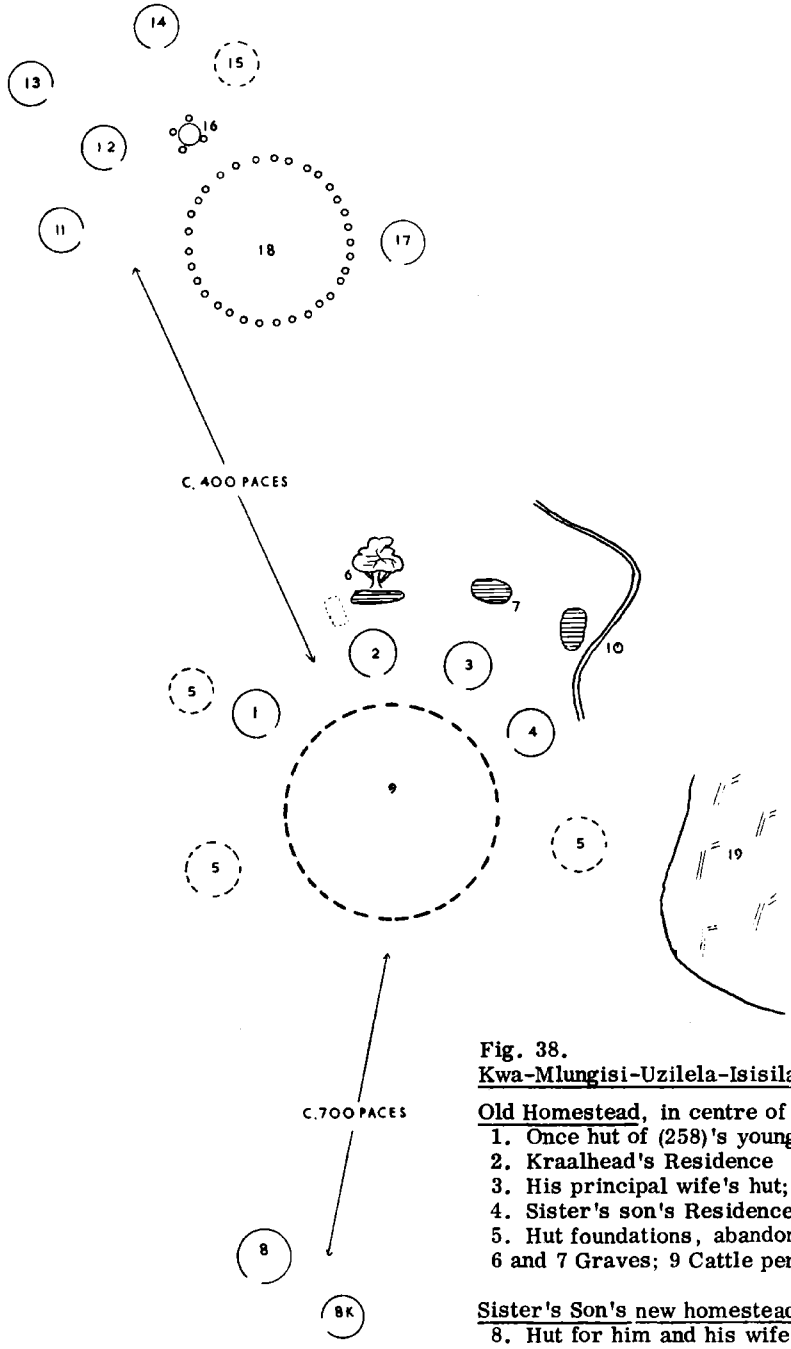


Fig. 38.
Kwa-Mlungisi-Uzilela-Isisila, the homestead of (258)

Old Homestead, in centre of slope
1. Once hut of (258)'s younger wife who looks after his food
2. Kraalhead's Residence
3. His principal wife's hut; she is dead; hut given to elder son's wives
4. Sister's son's Residence
5. Hut foundations, abandoned.
6 and 7 Graves; 9 Cattle pen; 10 Path uphill; 19 maize field

Sister's Son's new homestead, down the slope
8. Hut for him and his wife with 8 k:kitchen

New Homestead, further up the slope (Cf. also Fig. 40)
11. Kraalhead's temporary Residence. Hut 'belongs' to dead wife and her children
12. Family hut of two young wives of one of his sons, and a sister's daughter. (We were received here)
13. Food and beer kitchen for 12
14. Kitchen for wife of hut 1
15. Site for a new hut
16. Granary: the position is unique. It is placed in front of living huts so that a thief is detected; "it can be placed where the kraalhead thinks fit."
17. Hut for a son's widow and her children
18. New cattle pen

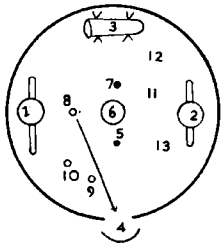


Fig. 39. Interior of hut 12 in Fig. 38
1. Mats of one of (258)'s daughters-in-law, and his sister's daughter
2. Mats of other daughter-in-law who occupies hut 12
3. Mats and belongings of a daughter about to be married kept for safety in apse
4. Doorway through which sister's daughter poured water during a thunderstorm
5. First hut post; 6 Fire place: fire kindled in it during storm; 7 Back hut post. Large scapula on top
8. Kraalhead, seated on grindstone here, moved towards door in utter silence to show his respect to the lightning.
9. OFR; 10 Interpreter;
11. Sister's daughter tending the fire during the storm
12. Young men visiting
13. Daughter-in-law and her children

NB. Sour milk calabashes were moved from in front of the back post to under the bundle of mats and belongings in the apse during the storm.

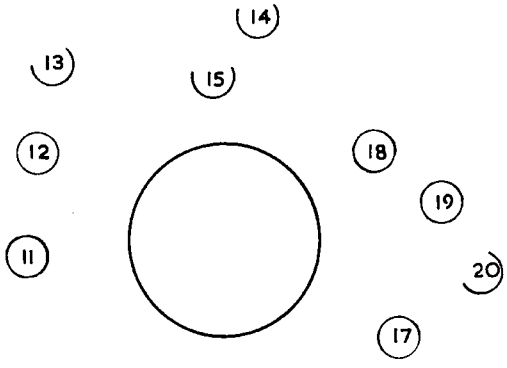


Fig. 40.

When we visited (258)'s homestead again in 1958, he reported to us his last Wi's death (MaShezi). He had been married to seven Wis, 6 had died and one had been expelled for adultery long ago. KwaMlungisi had nevertheless been built up (cf. Fig. 40). (11) was still the temporary Residence of the U. (12) is said to be his Si's hut, who is deceased; his SiDa now occupies it. Huts (13) and (14) were un-thatched last time, they have now been dismantled. Nobody was there to thatch them -i.e., no Wi or Da or Da-in-l -, hence the wooden framework was used for fuel! The SiSo mentioned in 1956 was to have lived in (12) and to have used (13) as kitchen. (15) is the site excavated for U's 'real' Residence *(iLawu)*. (16) has disappeared. (17) is the Residence of an unmarried GSo, he sleeps there "alone". In fact another GSo shares it with him and a SiSo, clan/n Zulu, sleeps there when about. He is unmarried. (18) is the best-kept hut; it is that of okaMajola, his widowed Da-in-l who lives there with four Chn. (19) is MaMajola's kitchen. (20) is the site for the Residence of the second GSo at present living in (17). (258) complains that all his Sos have left him. Those who do not maintain contact with the paternal kraal have no *iLawu* there, e.g., an unmarried So working in Durban. The kraal seems to show that Sos drift away when their Ms have died. GSos may even in such a situation return to the GF's home. The kraal is further remarkable for the fact that it seems to have as effective residents a U and his Da-in-l with her family, separated by the avoidances between in-laws reinforced by those between kraal-halves.

The Hl of Speech in this kraal brings out further structural facts. The GSos address their GF, the kraalhead, with *Babamkhulu*, shortened to *mKhulu* in response. They might use Gr: 1 (Ntombela) and Gr: 2 (Mahlobo) but not Gr: 3 (Felaphakathi). They might even use his

nickname or *isiFeqo*, viz., Majingeyana, which (258) gave himself. They would do so, if they saw him in a happy mood. If he was angry, however, they would call him Malandela. Malandela is a name "that goes along" with the clan/n Ntombela, since Malandela was the F of Ntombela, the founder of the clan, and -so (258) confides under his breath- of Ndaba! When I asked: Is there thus a link with the royal clan? Mpiyakhe avoided (Hl) a verbal answer but placed his thumbs alongside each other, a gesture signifying the affirmative. The U mentions as Hl of Action on the part of his GSos that they present their old clothes to him when they return home from a spell of work in town, or a gift of 2/- or 5/-, if they have money. "It is Hl of Sos and GSos to sit before me with legs stretched out flat and on the part of girls (and women) to have their knees folded up under them".

The old man calls his GSos by their In: 1, and if he is very pleased with them even by Gr: 1 or Gr: 2. He may also use the k/t *mNtanomntanami*. He addresses his Sos with *mNtanami*, the k/t, and with Gr: 1 or Gr: 2, and they respond with *Baba*, and if they wish to honour him with Gr: 1 or Gr: 2. He addresses his Da-in-l by her clan/n (okaMajola) - a right he claims to possess alone; she replies Malandela! She is addressed as *Mame* by (258)'s GSos, being their FBr's widow. Of course the woman's H, if he were alive, and his Brs and Sis could also call her by her clan/n. She addresses the GSos by their In: 1.

The U addresses his SiDa *mNtanami* (k/t) whereas she addresses him as *Malume*. His GSos address their GFSi as *mKhulu (BabamKhulu* being implied), since she is their FFSi. She in turn addresses them as *mNtanomntanami*. His GSos address (258)'s SiDa, who is their FFSiDa as *Baba*, since she is the cousin of their F. And she addresses them as *mNtanami*. The USi, while alive, addressed his Da-in-l as *Malokazana* (Da-in-l). His Da-in-l addressed her HFSi as *Baba* identifying her thus with the HF.

Concerning m i l k d i s t r i b u t i o n at KwaMlungisi (258) admitted that there was no cow in milk at the time of the interview. The set-up is therefore theoretical. He made a general statement first: Cattle are allotted. If one cow is in milk, its SM is eaten by the U and all Chn. There will be two calabashes, one for the U, the other for the Chn. If the cow has plenty of milk a third calabash would go to "the others". If a So were at home he would have precedence before any woman. If not, the Da-in-l has the first claim to the third calabash. She could invite other eaters, e.g., adolescent GSos, in fact she prepares SM for GSos and GChn. The U's calabash is kept in his hut, that for the GChn in Da-in-l's hut, there being no GM alive. The SiDa eats from U's calabash. She might also eat from Da-in-l's calabash, if befriended with her. The SiDa might also eat of So's calabash and vice versa, for although they have different clan/ns intermarriage between them is impossible according to the incest taboo. "The only person in the kraal who Za's SM is the Da-in-l. She might not eat from her H's calabash (when he was alive), nor from that of HF, an even stricter Hl." She might eat from the calabash of an unmarried HBr, but this is not reversible; he may not eat of hers. In short, he would avoid his widowed Si-in-l's SM (although it comes from his F's cattle). If the Da-in-l is visited by her M, the latter cannot eat SM from her Da's calabash. This is quite prohibited: Za! She'd never dare to do it. It has never happened! When told Callaway's story of the M-in-l who accepted SM from her S-in-l (258) said: "I can't reply to a hearsay story!"

The Gwala Kraals: Hl in three kraals separated out from parental kraal (283). (Figs. 41-4).

The original kraal was huge, with a diameter of about 900 ft (Fig. 41:A). Two large circles indicating cattle pens are still visible. Its name was *Nzwa-buHlungu* (lit. Feel-the-pain!) and formed the domicile of five Brs. When the eBr, the U, died, his heir had to move out, according to the Hl custom, and found a new kraal. This he did at *Ba-maitambo* (lit. To-hold-a-bone, which interpreted means: To-bear-a-grudge). The head of this kraal (C) is called *umNumzane* by kraals (A) and (B). The young men living in (A) may not be called U as long as their FBr in (C) is alive. The head of kraal (B) is of inferior rank to the head of (C). There are indications of this low rank. At a beer party he did not sit on the U's side but with the young men, nor did he attend the assembly at the king's place to which the U had gone, when we arrived. (We were welcomed in C by one of the USos, who gave us permission to sketch the

homestead. Later a Br of his of higher rank took us round and explained the lay-out to us). The name of kraal (B) is *Nhlanyą* (Madman). Its head is a So of one of the five Brs and, according to the UM of kraal (B), one of the surviving Brs himself! He states that the three kraals *Hloniphana* very much. If there is a quarrel between (A) and (B) the head of (C) settles it. They eat SM in all three kraals, since they are descended from one GF *(mZali wethu ozala oBaba bethu);* they can milk in any of them. The old lady of (A) agrees that there is much *ukuHlonishwana*. When a beast is slaughtered at (C) all inmates of the other two kraals are invited to attend to eat meat; she and other Ms from one tray, the brides of the Sos of the kraals from another. As for SM at her own kraal remnant, she has her own calabash and her Sos' brides have theirs, since they must Hl their M-in-l concerning calabashes. After the brides of her kraal had been introduced to SM ritually, this was valid also for the other homesteads. When a bride is given the meat release rite, the information is passed on to the main kraal at (3) so that in future she is invited also to (B) and (C). While we were at (A) an *umBondo* beer party arrived at (C), the widow's So counting 13 girl carriers. Soon afterwards a child from (C) arrived inviting the So to come over. It had been sent by the young men of (C). Another child was expected to invite the old woman and the brides and was sent by the widow's equals (i.e., Ms). When meat is available at any of the kraals similar invitations are sent to the other kraals as a matter of Hl.

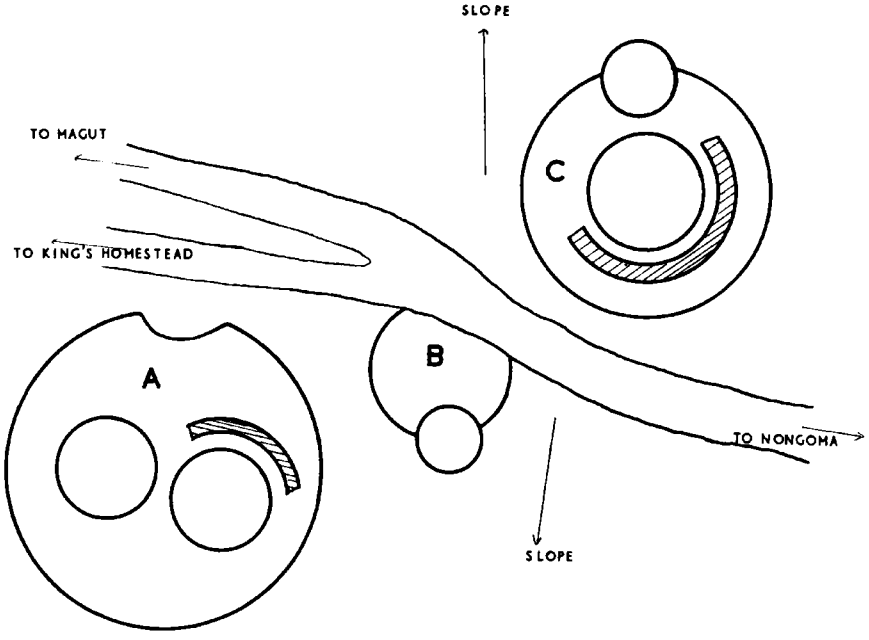
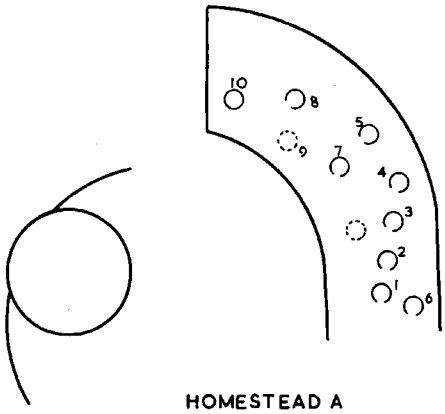


Fig. 41: RELATIVE POSITION OF GWALA HOMESTEADS:

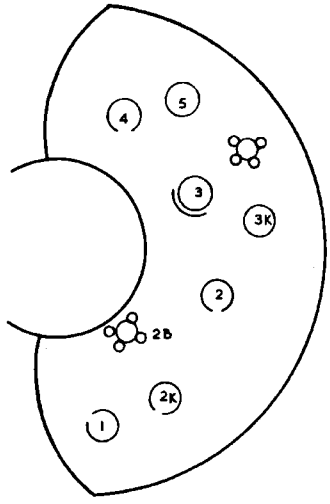
A. NZWA-BUHLUNGU
B. NHLANYA
C. BA-MAITAMBO



HOMESTEAD A

NZWA-BUHLUNGU

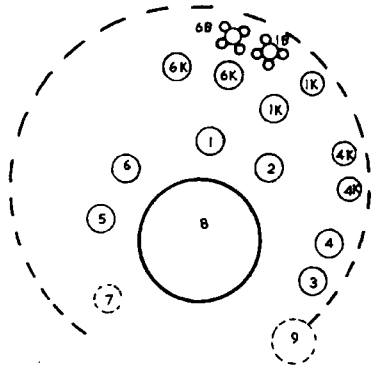
Fig. 42



HOMESTEAD B

NHLANYA

Fig. 43



HOMESTEAD C

BA-MAITAMBO

Fig. 44

The three Gwala homesteads separating (283)

A. *Nzwa-Buhlungu*, remnant of large homestead of five brothers with two cattle pens, now occupied only in right top corner (Fig. 42).
   1. Residence of widow's second son
   2. Kitchen of his bride
   3. Residence of widow's eldest son
   4. Living hut of widow, mother of 1, 3, 6
   5. Her kitchen hut; she may exchange 4 and 5, since 5 is new.
   6. Residence of widow's third son
   7. Residence of a son of another widow; kitchen hut for it 8.
   9. Ruins of hut of another widow; she moved away with her son; his hut was at 10; its roof has tumbled in.

B. *Nhlanya Homestead* (Fig. 43).
   1. Residence of kraalhead, a junior son of one of five brothers
   2. Hut of his mother; his wife lives in it as well; 2 k kitchen
   3. One of his father's wives, a classificatory mother; 3 k kitchen
   4. Residence of kraalhead's younger unmarried brother
   5. beer kitchen

C. *Ba-Maitambo:* Its head is senior to A and B (Fig. 44).
   1. Great Hut: Kraalhead's mother and principal wife with beer and food kitchen and granary
   2. Kraalhead's Residence
   3. Residence of one of his sons;
   4. Residence of another son; with 4 k food and beer kitchens
   5. Residence of another of kraalhead's sons
   6. Family hut of his wife with 6 k its food kitchen and 6 k beer kitchen, and 6 b granary
   7. Site for Residence of unmarried kraalhead's son
   8. Cattle pen; 9 Enclosure for calves.

eNselwa-baThanduli, a Nyandeni Kraal at Zwartfolozi (Pongoza) with an adopted section (367) (Cf. Fig. 45).

The kraal had recently been moved from the hills, two to three miles away, on to farmland, eHlanzeni. The kraal of origin still exists and contains the graves of the three Brs whose sections make up the new kraal. They are mentioned as its owners but all three have been dead for a number of years and the new kraal has no graves. The right hand section is *kwanKosana*, the left *kwaKhohlo*. The middle section has no name: it belongs to a Br - in fact a Br of one of the former U'sWis - who came to it as an orphan following his Si. His clan/n is Zulu. Kraals with descendants of Sis of the lineage are not uncommon as we have seen, e.g., Xhulu with FFSiSo, Ntombela with SiDa and Biyela with SiSo. Kraals with a UWiBr as permanent resident seem rare.

The kraal shows a radial arrangement: The House of the heir, the Great House, is on the right, the Left House on the left, the adopted House is wedged in between them on the top. The kraal is thus not like royal kraals with their dependants placed at the wings (cf. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Mataka) or outside the main ring of huts (Chief Manyala Biyela's emaHlayizeni). The kraal's concentric differentiation is likewise pronounced. The three presiding Ms have their huts in the front row of the living huts at the top. To the right near his M's hut we find the Residence of the heir of the Great House, to the left of the Left House's M is the Residence of her eSo. It may be significant that the Residence of the heir of the adopted House is not in the front row. The family huts of the SosWis are in the second ring, their kitchens in the third and their granaries in the fourth.

Concerning the position of the three Ms: M(1) presides over the House of the chief heir and is generally referred to as *Mama omDala* (the old M). Apparently because she was a junior Wi of the original Great House, a 'rafter' in it, but possibly also because, being a subdued mono-syllabic person of diminutive size, she plays a small role in discussions and in the management of the homestead. M(2) is M of the heir of the Left House, M(3) of the heir of the adopted House. M(1) greets M(2) as *mFowethu* which is the term used reciprocally between co-Wis or Wis of Brs. M(1) greets M(3) as *Makoti*, as the bride of the Br who followed his Si into the affinal homestead. M(2) greets M(3) as *mNawewami* which means yoSibling. M(3) addresses M(1) as *Dadewethu* and M(2) as *inKehli* (r/t for Girl-ready-for-marriage).

When a beast is slaughtered for all three sections, it is M(2) who shares out the meat. After the meal the sweeping is done by the SosWis by her orders. The Ms do not drink before the brides, the brides take first turn, and there is no order in which the Ms drink. M(2) sits nearest the door. M(1) sits in the second place of honour, and M(3) follows. (She is the most voluble of the three, a rather 'sharp' character). Then follow the brides in order of marriage. The brides address all three Ms as *Mame* and respond *weMame*. If they have to identify, they use *weMameKhulu* for M(2), *weMame* for M(1) and *weMame-omNcane* for (M3) and do so in reference. The brides may use the clan/ns of their mothers-in-law only among themselves (Hl). They list the following as their rules of Hl of Action: The brides cannot eat in the presence of their Ms-in-l until they are released. They cannot wash or undress before their Ms-in-l as long as they live. There is no release from this avoidance. They cannot eat with a spoon, particularly in the presence of their Ms-in-l. They must walk along the Path of Avoidance behind the huts and must always enter the kraal in an anti-clockwise direction. It is only after a r/r that they can move along the path in either direction. When the women meet in a hut by themselves, the old Ms sit near the door, the Wis of the heirs' senior agnates and of neighbours sit along the hut walls, the brides across the apse. Women, like men, sit right round the hut when alone; when the company is mixed the men sit on the left, the women on the right with the Ms against the wall and the younger women in front of them.

The release rites for brides observed in this kraal are as follows: The first goat killed releases the bride from the interdict on meat *(inDlakudla)*. The second goat is killed to remove the SM avoidance *(inDlamasi)*. To release her from having to walk the Path of Avoidance she goes to her F's home, brews beer there and returns with it to her H's. When she

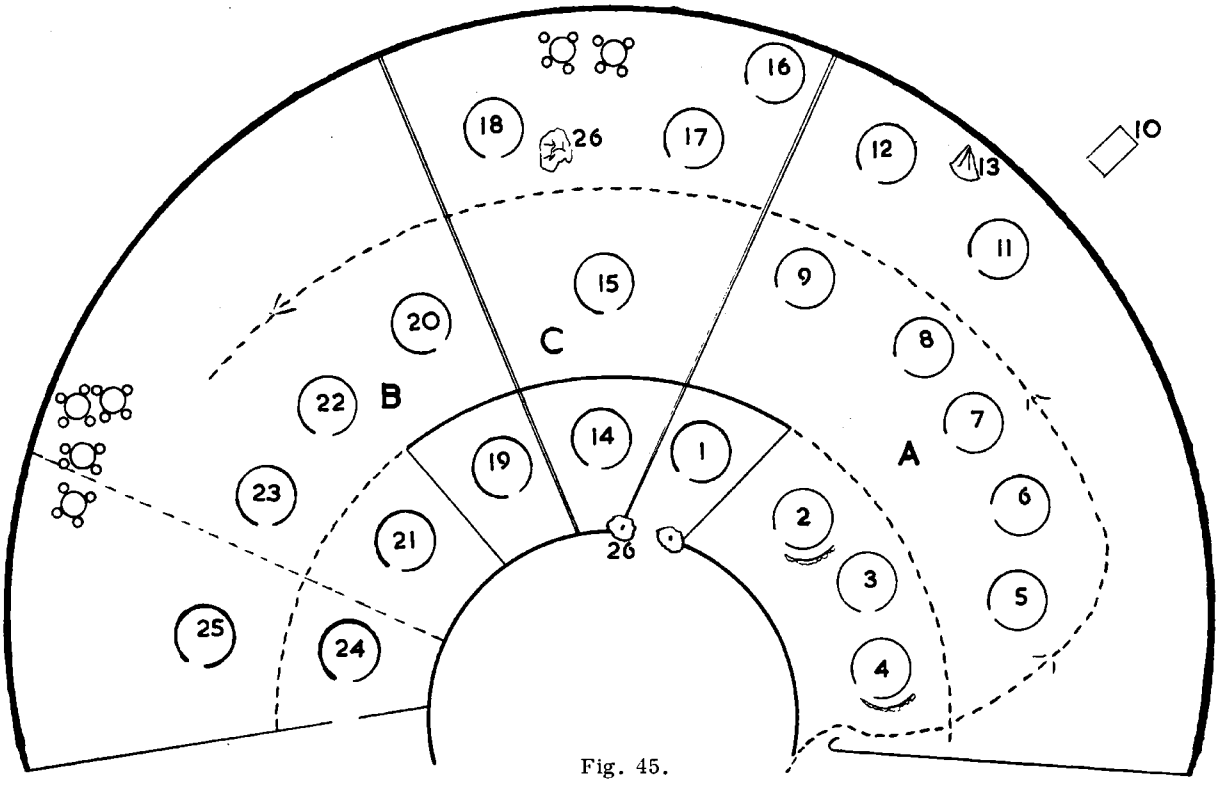


Fig. 45.

Enselwa-Bathanduli; Nyandeni Homestead with adopted section (367)

A. *Great House: KwanKosana*
1. 'Mother' of Heir of Great House; really a rafter wife of his father (M1).
2. Residence of Heir's brother
3. Heir's Residence
4. Residence of another brother of Heir
5, 6 and 9 Family huts of Heir's three wives
7. Bride to brother in 4
8. Girls Residence: they are all married, now spare hut
10. Shed
11. Kitchen for wife in 9 and 12 beer kitchen.
13. Tumbled down hut

C. *Unnamed adopted House*
14. Mother of this House (M3)
15-18 were given as sons' huts by Heir of Left House; but he was obviously unwilling to impart information about the structure of this House, perhaps because its head was absent.

B. *Left House: KwaKhohlo*
19. Great Hut of mother of this House; 20 her kitchen: (M2)
21. Residence of Left Heir
22. Family hut of his Bride
23. Small second Residence for Left Heir
24. Residence younger brother of Heir
25. Family hut for this brother's bride.
26. Shade trees. No graves in this homestead; they are in homestead several miles away, where possibly more senior segments of this lineage reside. Interview with three mothers, ten brides and c. 15 children took place under trees.

The Concentric principle is expressed in placing huts of mothers and heirs of Houses in front row, those of wives in second row, and kitchens in third row. If Heir of adopted house really lives in 18 this would clearly indicate a subordinate status. On the other hand the top central position raises his status.

The Radial principle is applied in stressing the unity of households. Through it are combined family hut, kitchen and granary as a unit. The principle makes possible the ranking of households according to position in homestead.
The Path of Avoidance(dotted line)has to be used by the brides although the homestead does not contain any hut of grave of a father-in-law. The reference point in this homestead is the mother's hut in each House.

arrives with her party of carriers her M-in-l receives her and tells her to place the beer in front of her hut. The release from the avoidance of eating before the M-in-l consists in an order by the latter. The bride then prepares a special porridge meal to serve to her HM.

The heirs address one another in the following manner: The Left heir calls the Great heir *mNewethu* and all the Brs who come after him do likewise. The Great heir calls his Brs *abaNawe bami*, making no distinction between Left and adopted Brs. The Three Ms call the three heirs by the pers/n given them by their Fs. The brides call the Hs of other brides by the Gr: 3, only the Great heir is referred to as *umNumzane*, the junior heirs never. The heirs call the brides either by their clan/ns, e.g., we-kaSithole, or by the respective F's pers/n, e.g., okaMjanja, if he is Janja. The Chn of all brides address the kraal's Ms as *Gogo*, their Fs as *Baba* without distinction and their FFs (if alive) as *mKhulu*. The Chn are addressed as *mNtanami* by their Fs and Ms. The Fs even know the pers/ns of all the Chn of the homestead - and there are many: I counted over 20. The old Ms address their GChn by their pers/ns and also *mNtanomntanami* (Ch-of-my-Ch).

The milk distribution and milk consumption is according to (367) subject to the following avoidances. Each of the three sections has its own cattle. They are milked by boys of the appropriate section only. Since they milk at the same time, they cannot mix the milk. It cannot happen! Each section has its own pail, each milker knows the calabashes of his section and the milch cow allotment. In each section the calabashes are returned to the hut of the presiding M, so that in a sense the kraal has three Great Huts. The men go to their own M's hut to eat SM. (365): The adopted Zulu section may under no circumstances eat SM with the two Nyandeni sections, that is why cows and milk vessels are kept strictly apart. A transgression would offend the ancestors of both sides and bring down dire consequences. The only concession that can be made is for milk boys to help out in another section. The brides are more lenient in their views, although they too reject the possibility of inadvertent mixing. If the cows of one section run dry, the boys need not steal milk, since the Ms arrange that the other two sections contribute milk to it. As Chn, Ms and Hs are supplied first, it is the yoWis who must go without SM in a shortage. This is done out of sympathy and is a 'kind of Hl!'

(365):Love affairs or marriages between Nyandeni and adopted Zulu are not desirable. The taboo intends to preserve harmony within the spatial compass of the kraal rather than to penalize individual lovers. If a Zulu and Nyandeni do fall in love, it must not find expression within the homestead, not even in the most secretive manner. If the two meet in the hills at some distance no objections would be raised and intimate relations could take place there. If the two wish to marry, they must leave the homestead and must avoid it in future (Za). The two families must conduct themselves as if after all they were one family. Love between people who are born and reared in one homestead is a disgrace *(iHlazo)* and a heinous offence against the ancestors. This account reveals that the incest rule among the Zulu has a spatial component which prevents intra-marriage within a narrowly circumscribed residential unit. In certain circumstances, as in this kraal, this element is given greater weight than consanguinity.

emaHlayizeni, Chief Manyala Biyela's kraal (411) (Cf. Fig. 46).
"It was originally built by my GF Didi, who also named it. My F Mtiyaka lived here too. I did not *Phuma* (i.e., establish a new kraal with the old name), for who would look after the kraal if there are few Chn?" The rule, this implies, is waived if there are few Sos. In contrast to a commoner's kraal the chief has no Great House or Left House. In his opinion the advantages of this arrangement are: (a) For the U: "If I appointed Houses now my *isiThunzi* (dignity)

would be lowered. 'They' would no longer respect me. If I appoint they would want me to die. If I appoint my Wis would have complaints against me even if I treated them fairly. I do appoint, but only in secret: I deposit the heir's name with the Native Commissioner".
(b) For the Wis: "As long as I do not appoint there is no distinction between the Wis, hence they behave well, for nobody knows who will be princWi eventually. In consequence they respect (Hl) one another. If I appoint now they'll say: 'Everything will go to the Great House. If the U wants to eat, let him go there!' If then the princWi were not at home I would starve. In making the appointment I must be sure about making the correct choice. You must observe the Wis' behaviour carefully and over a long time. You white men spoil the world. You insist that the first Wi be appointed princWi, i.e., M of the Great House. But a princWi should be clever and the first Wi may be a fool. If you marry a clever Wi later, you've got a princWi who won't be the clever Wi's match. That is bound to lead to quarrels".
(c) For the Chn: "My Sos respect me because they don't know who will be heir. They work, send me money, even those who are married do. Those still to be married respect me, for they hope that I'll pay their bride-price. If I made the appointment they would say: 'Let the bride-price come from the Houses concerned!' I would have no longer any say over my stock. They'd say: 'F has given the cattle to me!' At present, however, they have no control over the cattle. I have it alone. If there is something to be done for my Sos I shall do it personally (rather than 'through a So representing me' is implied.) The payment of bride-price by one So for another So during their F's life time creates difficulties. The heir is just as good as my other Sos. He looks to me for assistance. I begat him. The best heir does not look after my Chn, including my Das, as well as I do. Nor is the respectful restraint between Sos affected by the postponement of the appointment. As soon as the heir is appointed after the kraalhead's death all respect goes to him. I saw the ill effects of a premature appointment of Houses in the case of Chief Sinyongo. His So would no longer listen to him. He was taken out of the chieftainship. After the old man's death he was treated like a dog!" (In short, the appointment of Houses undermines the chief's power system within his family).

The chief has decided views about his Wis' Hl conduct: "My Wis Hl me in the following manner: (S p e e c h): They avoid my In: 1 and call me by the r/t *(umNumzane)*, the Gr: 1, Gr: 2 and Gr: 3 (sic). I address and refer to any of my Wis as *nKosikazi* although there will be only one princWi appointed. I also use in address: Ma + clan/n, Ma + F's pers/n, and the woman's pers/n. When calling her I use pers/n and Gr: 1. When I want her to do me a favour I address her as *mNta-ka-* F's pers/n: that pleases her! (F o o d): My Wis cook and serve me my food. They don't go to the European store to complain that I stint them in anything for I keep them properly! In serving a meal a Wi brings water, food and spoons and sits down at a distance from me. I wash, eat, she clears the things away and gives the remainder of my food to her Chn. Then another Wi comes to my Residence with her food. When I have eaten enough of her dishes, I give what is left over to my (unmarried) Sos. All my Wis bring food to me. They may not be angry, if I refuse to eat (Hl). Their Chn's eating my left-overs is equivalent to my eating their food. The Wis themselves Hl/Za them. No Wi eats in secret what I left. They don't touch my *inSila!* I may offer my Wi of the food, but only b e f o r e I have eaten of it myself!" (Hl o f b e e r a n d SM):"When a Wi has made beer she must report to me that it is ready. A girl must bring a pot before me, strain and stir the beer and taste it. She then offers me a calabash full and covers the pot with a lid *(imBenge)* (Hl). No person can remove the lid and drink from the pot unless I call him (Hl). The Wi who brewed the beer must look on from the distance when the men drink it. She doesn't serve it when girls are available. The U's SM calabash may be kept in any Wi's hut. It is kept in the Great Hut only if a princWi has been appointed. If there is milk for more than one calabash it may be distributed over several huts, for without an appointment all my Wis are equal! The U's calabash is broken at his death. The SM in it cannot be eaten by anyone (Za). Some member of the family crushes it in the pen and the contents are scattered in the dung."

Da-in-l a v o i d a n c e s:"When my Da-in-l sees me she runs away. She doesn't come to the place where I am, into my hut. If I enter her M-in-l's hut she leaves it immediately. Every

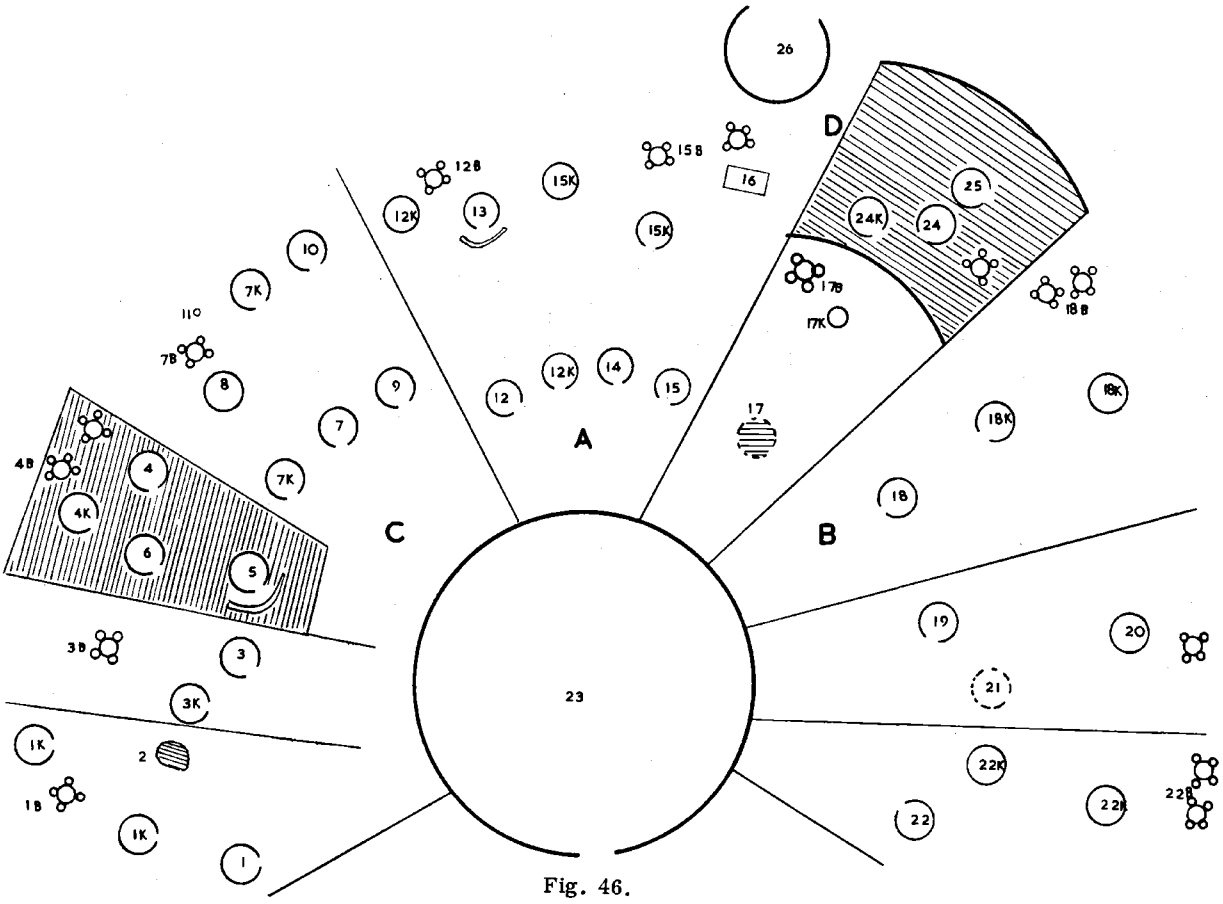


Fig. 46.

Emahlayizeni Homestead of Chief Manyala Biyela (411)

A. *Ngenhla: Top of kraal*
   12. Hut of *Mazulu II*, kraalhead's wife. This was hut of his mother, now dead. It may be called the Great Hut. 12 k its kitchens (food and beer); 12 b its granary
   13. Residence of *MaShandu's* son with screen; his mother died
   14. Residence of kraalhead. Plant against lightning in front of doorway, a forked branch on roof
   15. Kraalhead's wife *MaGwaza;* 15 k food and beer kitchens, 15 b granary
   16. Shed for grain tank; 23 Cattle pen; below it a long pole with animal skin and medicine against lightning.

C. *oHlangothini: Left Hand*
   1. Hut of kraalhead's wife *MaKhanyile;* 1 k food and beer kitchens, 1 b granary; outside kitchen serves as tryst for MaKhanyile's daughter and her lover. 2 tumbled down kitchen
   3. *MaNtombela* 's family hut, (411)'s wife, with kitchen and granary
   4. Kraalhead's sister, returned after her husband's death; her kitchen and granaries; 4k, 4b.
   5. Family hut of kraalhead's sister's son's wife
   6. Residence of kraalhead's sister's son
   7. Kraalhead's wife *MaNzuza,* with kitchens (food and beer) and granary
   8. Residence of MaNzuza's son. His wives, live in huts 7, 9 and 10
   11. a hen house

B. *isiBaya esiKhulu, Great Side*
   17. Kraalhead's wife *MaZulu I,* daughter of Sitheku, returned to her father's kraal sick and blind; hut burnt down. The kitchen and barn now attached to 14
   18. Kraalhead's wife *MaCebekhulu* with kitchen and beer huts and granary
   19. Residence of MaZulu's son
   20. Residence of three unmarried sons of (411)
   21. Site of former Residence of a son
   22. Kraalhead's wife *MaNgubane* with kitchens and granary

D. *Dependent Section* Retainer Zinkomo Zungu
24. Retainer's wife, with her kitchen and granary
25. Zinkomo's Residence
26. Small cattle pen. However the retainer has no cattle and gets no sour milk from the chief's herd. He might for this reason marry a chief's daughter. But, says the chief, he considers him 'a son' now and does not expect him 'to fall in love' with one of his daughters. He hasn't the cattle to pay the bride-price anyhow.

Da-in-l is trying to build up evidence in case she gets impregnated by a stranger, that I am to blame! If then I have always avoided her and she me, I can deny the accusation. When I offer beer to her, it is done outside my hut, never inside. She doesn't touch my clothes (411 points at his loin-cover). She may not touch my spoons, pots, calabashes, although she may grind the *umCaba* for me. She doesn't come into my hut at all. She may not go in front of my hut till I die and - he adds after a pause - not even after my death!" After at first denying that she can be released from this Hl, he admits: "Something must be slaughtered before she may enter my hut: *inKomo yokuNgenisa mLobokazi*. No report is made to the ancestors. The Das-in-l are now told they may enter my hut. The rite would be a combined one for my Das-in-l and those of my Brs."

S e g m e n t a t i o n: Chief Manyala has an eBr, Mnyamana, of the Mbokodebomvu Regiment, and of the *iKhohlo* side of the family. "Before my F's death both families (Great House and Left House) used to eat together. Later separate eating was established quite peacefully and without any rite. All my menfolk still go to Mnyamana's kraal when he slaughters a beast. They eat meat there and even stay overnight. Of the women only those go who are called. Since my kraal is big it is impossible for me to take all my Wis to my eBr. 'They' would complain that my Wis eat up all the meat. An uninvited woman would be considered greedy; she breaks an avoidance rule. Since I am of higher rank than my eBr I receive tribute from every beast that is slaughtered at my eBr's as a matter of Hl."

Usuthu, old royal kraal, (Cf. Fig. 47), *originally called emKondangeni* "when Dinizulu enlisted regiments". Within sight of today's kraal are three previous sites of it: beyond a ridge of hills, this side of the ridge and at the foot of the ridge about a mile away. The moves became necessary in each case to get away from an 'unhealthy atmosphere'. Cetshwayo's Usuthu kraal was near Mahlabatini; the Usuthu here described lies in Nongoma District. Informants were several Sos of King Solomon and Rev. Sinclair Xhaba.

The absentee U is Peter Zulu, *umNawe* of King Solomon, whose own homestead lies about three miles away. He has delegated his authority to an unmarried member of the Zulu family although a number of married members are residents. Their Wis form a special Hl group and so do their Chn. Five widows of Solomon and five of Dinizulu live at Usuthu. The cattle supervisor is a member of the Mbokazi clan. He lives in a kraal of his own.

The lay-out of the kraal shows certain features which are unthinkable in a commoner's kraal. The rows of huts are almost straight except for the wings, the pen is rectangular. The huts are 'concentrically' arranged: In the front row live Dinizulu's widows; among them Peter Zulu's M, the *nKosikazi enKulu*, who has her hut in the centre, where we find the King's Residence as well. The widows of Solomon live in the second row and in it are also the Residences of Solomon's married Sos. The SosWis live in the third row or at the wings. This arrangement, placing the oldest generation in front and opposite the pen, forms a fitting background to respectful restraint behaviour. Two or three huts are tumbled down and without roof; their occupants have presumably died; they are being used as kitchens. The homestead has two ash heaps. The U allotéd each hut to one of the heaps. For a woman to throw ash on the heap which is not hers is a violation of Hl. Women and men have different localities where they relieve nature. Each avoids the locality of the other sex (Hl).

Hl of address: The widows of Solomon address the widows of Dinizulu (their HMs) as *Baba* or *Ndlunkulu*. The widows of Dinizulu address those of Solomon (their Das-in-l): *abaLobokazi* or *Ndlunkulu*. The widows of Dinizulu address the U as *mNtwana mkhulu*, also with Gr: 1 (Zulu) or Gr: 2 (Mageba). The widows of Solomon address him as *mNtwana mkhulu* and Gr: 2 (Ndabezitha, Ndaba). The U addresses Dinizulu's widows (his Ms) as *boMama* or *Ndlunkulu* and Solomon's widows (his Sis-in-l) as *Ndlunkulu*. Solomon's Sos, both married and unmarried, address Dinizulu's widows, their FFWis, *Baba* or *Ndlunkulu*, and Solomon's widows, their Ms, *Ndlunkulu* or *abaLobokazi*. Solomon's Sos address the U, their F's select Br, as *mNtwana mkhulu*, also with Gr: 1 and Gr: 2. The kraalhead addresses Solomon's Sos with Gr: 1 and Gr: 2 (Ndabezitha, Mageba, Ndaba). The widows of Dinizulu and Solomon address Solomon's Sos with Gr: 1 and Gr: 2, but this usage is not reciprocal. The widows cannot be addressed by their group names by Solomon's Sos, SosWis, or the U. The Wis of Solomon's Sos address the widows as *Baba* or *Ndlunkulu* and are in turn addressed by the old ladies with *mNtanami* or *mLobokazi-mNcane*. The Chn address the widows, their GMs and GGMs, as Gogo and are addressed by them with their pers/ns or *mNtanomntanami*. This latter expression is used when the royal ladies are pleased, when giving them a present or on solemn occasions. They may also use the Zulu Gr: 1 or Gr: 2. The Chn of Solomons' Sos address the U as *mNtwana* (Prince) or with the Gr: 1 (Zulu). When called by him, they respond with *mNtwana*. If they used *we* like commoners they would be beaten for unrefined behaviour *(emaPhandleni)*. The cattle supervisor addresses the U as *mNtwana-mkhulu* and the U addresses him by his Gr: 1 *(Mbokazi* or his pers/n, but he grumbles about that. Mbokazi addresses Solomon's Sos as *mNtwana*, Gr: 1 or Gr: 2; they address him with his Gr: 1. He like the SosWis and the U, addresses the widows as *Baba*, *Ndlunkulu* or *MkanKosi* (Wi-of-

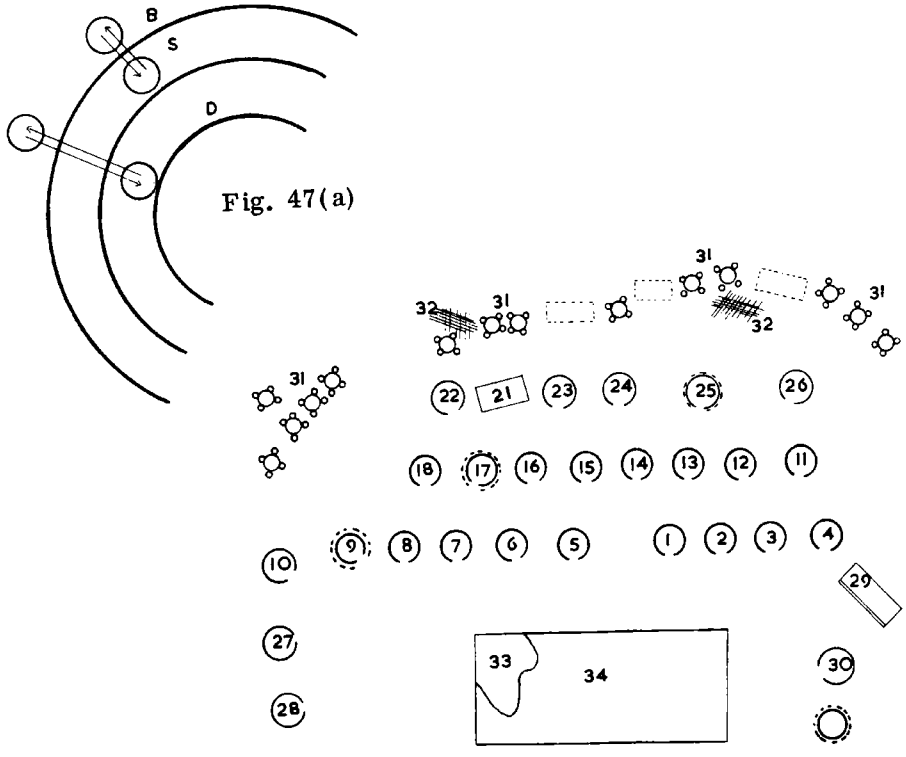


Fig. 47.
Usuthu Royal Homestead, at one time Dinizulu's kraal

Front row: Dinizulu's widows. 1 is hut of Peter Zulu's mother, the *nKosikazi enKulu;* Peter Zulu being the prince in charge; 8 is the hut of the king when on a visit. We were received for the interview there.
Middle Row: Solomon's widows. (Solomon was Dinizulu's successor)
Back Row and the wings: Married sons of Solomon and their brides. 21 is hut of unmarried son of Solomon, who is in charge in the absence of Peter

Zulu who is an 'absentee' kraalhead with his own homestead three miles away. (31 granaries; 32 new thatch; 33 calf enclosure, 34 cattle pen).
Note that the *Concentric principle*, which in the kraals of commoners is used to distinguish living huts from kitchens and granaries is used at Usuthu to differentiate residents according to generation and status.
The *Radial principle* which in commoner's kraals is applied to separate households, is here used to establish linked economic relations between selected mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law.

Fig. 47(a) accordingly shows the arrangement prevailing between royal widows (D: Dinizulu's: S: Solomon's) and brides (B). Arrows indicate the exchange of work (from the side of brides) and food, especially sour milk (from the side of widows). The relationship seems to be 'closed' inasmuch as a bride cannot get sour milk anywhere except from the mother-in-law for whom she works. Not all brides live in the back row, some live at the wings.

Fig. 47(b) Seating arrangements in Usuthu huts in general
1. Kraalhead (king or prince)
2. Princes
3. Dinizulu's widows
4. Solomon's widows
5. Brides of Solomon's sons

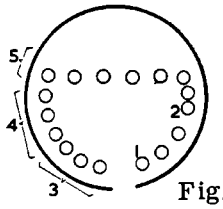


Fig. 47(b)

Fig. 47(c) Seating arrangement in hut 8 (King's Residence)
1. Prince representing king (mostly silent)
2. Prince who spoke (as mouth)
3. OFR
4. Reverend S. Xhaba
5. Interpreter
6. Visitors, not members of Zulu royal clan
7. Bed
8. Table
9. Boxes

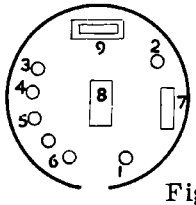


Fig. 47(c)

King). They in turn address Mbokazi by his Gr: 1 or pers/n. It is noteworthy that Dinizulu's widows are addressed as *Baba* by their Das-in-l, GSos and GSosWis.

Hl of Action: Commoners who talk to members of the royal family may not remain standing. All women, even those of the royal lineage, bend when talking to a male. All the Chn of Usuthu sit or kneel when talking to the older generation. The brides do not walk in the Path of Avoidance (behind the living huts). This avoidance is considered to be a worship of the deceased HF and pagan. The informants laughed at an old man present in whose homestead this avoidance is still observed. To each widow is attached at least one bride who cooks for her, presents the food kneeling and brings water for the ritual washing and the spoons. If there is male company the royal widows sit on the left side of the hut. Those who have been married according to levirate to the deceased's yoBrs also sleep on the left. Those who have not been re-married may sleep on either side: they no longer Hl a H! But their Das-in-l sleep on the left side, since they still have to Hl their HF! In olden times a royal widow could order any man to carry her purchases from a store to Usuthu, but today only some old men volunteer as carriers!

SM Distribution: Each of the widows has one or two cows allotted to her for milk, the brides have not. A bride eats SM in the hut of the *Ndlunkulu* to whom she is attached and so do her Chn. The king belongs to one of these households and receives all his food including SM from it only (Hl). The concentric arrangement of the kraal according to generation is supplemented by the radial arrangement linking a royal widow with a Da-in-l who works and cooks for her M-in-l and in return receives SM for herself, her Chn (and her H?). A prince who has his own cattle may get dispensation from the U for his Wi to cook separately. There are five pails at Usuthu which implies that a pail serves a special group, perhaps Dinizulu's widows, Solomon's widows and three of the independent Sos. But I failed to find out. (A Roman Catholic priest thought the *Ndlunkulu* of a royal kraal still lived a rather 'lazy' life tending all day their long aristocratic finger nails; a few servants still worked for them without pay).

F a m i l y S t r u c t u r e: The royal Wis/widows are all called *Ndlunkulu* since the royal kraal has no Left House *(iKhohlo)* and there is no *uYise* establishment either. The only accepted differentiation among the Brs of the king is *umNawe wenKosi*, the So placed after the King, who is his confidant and may be required to raise seed for him. Since no side-line is recognized this results in greater unity in the ruling family and this heightens the authority of the king. Succession, inheritance, legal and religious charisma *(isiThunzi, umMnyama, uYise* -power) go down in one line only. This also strengthens the king's power whilst he reigns, for there is no heir-apparent to disturb his position. My four informants claim that this arrangement has no drawbacks after the king's death, since the king lets his choice be known to several persons: his *umNawe*, the M-of-the-heir-to-be and the chief councillor. In such an egalitarian treatment of the Wis some of the Hl observances current in the structurally more differentiated family of polygynous commoners are of course unnecessary.

R i t u a l a s s o c i a t i o n s: If there were a killing for the ancestors the U would have to be present in the kraal to Hl the ancestors unless he delegated his authority. Since the members of the royal family are Christians they do not admit having a SAC, but during a 'formal dinner' they may think that the beast is dedicated to the ancestors! - The information concerning the graves of the royal widows was conflicting. Solomon's Sos said first they were buried outside the kraal. Rev. S.Xhaba maintained that each king is given his special burial ground and any of the family who die after him, including the widows of his predecessors, are buried in his ground. The royal establishment as it existed in life should be kept together in death. This may be an ideal. (419) at Nobamba did not mention it, and there is the practical difficulty of transporting the corpses from scattered royal kraals to the burial site. When the Usuthu kraal was moved last, some association was maintained with the old home. No commoner might build a kraal there, and a royal kinsman only with the king's permission (Hl). Dinizulu's widows grew pumpkins there; their Das-in-l could not do so!

3. Summary

The spatial expression of avoidances shows that each individual kraal has its own configuration. Some are strict, others lax, some stress one kind of avoidance, others another. E.g., (422)'s kraal allows strangers to carry their weapons into the kraal and into its residences, with the Great Hut only excepted, whereas at Mnyayiza's Ivume kraal sticks, hats and weapons had to be left outside the kraal altogether. Laxity in one respect may be coupled with elaborate etiquette in another. To quote (422) again, the U alone used to sit on a mat, whereas his grown-up Sos sat on goat and calf skins. Simple kraals contrast with compound kraals, and the avoidance configuration of a commoner's kraal may be strikingly different from that of a chief or the king's.

Some kraals have strongly differentiating avoidances between the radially separated traditional Houses, e.g., in the Nyandeni kraal where the heirs of the three Houses had directed their sections in such a manner that they differed completely in appearance. Radial differentiation may also, perhaps exceptionally, be applied to separate generations, e.g. where Ms (widows) live on the right and their married Sos on the left side, or where F and heir live on opposite sides of the homestead or in the division of Chief Mqiniseni's ghost kraal. Concentric distinctions are alike significant. They normally separate living huts from kitchen huts and granaries; in large royal kraals they may separate generations, as at Usuthu where three generations were represented. Spatially determined avoidances consequently follow a radial or concentric pattern, e.g., brides must walk behind the living huts; they may also be barred from that kraal segment in which the HF lives.

Generally observed avoidances and interdicts are modified in a variety of regular ways. (a) Simple prohibitions may be transformed into avoidances or taboos. E.g., prohibitions which appear as 'natural' in the case of Chn acquire ritual significance with reference to adults: ear piercing awl and fire-sticks are placed high in the thatch out of reach of the Chn; they are stuck

into the roof on the men's side to remain inaccessible to women; strangers may not touch them (Hl). (b) Rules relating to the sexual division of labour are converted into Hl or Za rules by means of verbal classification or by strong public reaction or else by the attachment of magical sanction. E.g., only certain Wis are selected to attend to their H's SM or to the fire in his Residence, for Wis not 'in charge' these actions are Hl. Such a raising in the significance of an action frequently occurs concerning objects which have become symbols of agnatic authority or power, e.g., mat, hut, post, grave.

A number of considerations may lead to the cancellation of Hl or Za rules. For instance, normally SAC meat can be cooked in the yard only, but when it rains it may be cooked in a kitchen or hut. Here practical considerations are involved. Some avoidances are imposed only concerning the first person, or first event of a series. Thus a restrained approach to the grave of a forbear is required mainly for announcing a first marriage in the filial generation. the First Fruits, the first meat consumed by a bride. Some other avoidances are more readily maintained with successors than with first-comers, e.g., the later Wis of a chief or king had frequently to wait much longer than the first for release from bridal avoidances of certain sites. An advance in age sometimes releases from a restraint or imposes one. Women are released from many of the bridal avoidances as they grow older; on the other hand boys who may use the grindstone when they are young avoid it when approaching adolescence. The death of a person to whom an avoidance refers may release from its observance, e.g., the HF's grave avoidance is eased for the Das-in-l when the HM dies. A person may also be promoted to, or demoted from, a status and lose or gain the appertaining avoidance system. E.g. a woman who was married as 'chief wife' and placed at the top of the homestead may be demoted to the lower end if she is barren or so disliked by her co-wives that she cannot perform her functions (Callaway: 1868: 112).

Many so-called sacred objects do not possess the qualities of holiness or awfulness. They function rather as registers of kinship ranking evoking restrained actions appropriate to the status of the individual concerned. Avoidances concerning them define social status concerning all comers continuously. When through a structural event, e.g., marriage or death, statuses are reshuffled, spatial avoidance patterns change with the statuses of the persons concerned.

CHAPTER FOUR: OCCUPATIONAL TABOO REGIMENS

I. THE WORK OF SMITHS AND THEIR TABOO REGIMEN

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Reserved areas

In the first section the information about the taboos of smiths is collated. Concerning reserved areas (190) describes a working isolation period of two to three months, when 50 - 60 men retired to the forest camp; others a daily affair only. The locality where iron ore is found was known to the smiths only. They 'dedicated' themselves for their task by sacrificing an old man, an expert in iron, unbeknown to the king. Certain parts of his body were 'roasted' and the smoke made to drift over the site; the rest of the body was buried. The smiths were really *abaThakathi* (307). Smiths are said to 'strengthen' themselves by smearing human fat on their bodies (cf. DV. *inSwelaboya)*. Consequently they did not wash (Za) while they were at work to retain *inSila wemMnyama*, which gave them power to deal with the iron. Like women they could not walk through a herd of cattle while they were making spears. (190) did not remember the sanction. No person was allowed near their working site (Za) since they did not want others to know about their craft. Unauthorized persons were killed; only the king's messengers had access (405). Smiths wore a special sign: the tail of a cow, and an *umShoba* tuft tied to the hindhead so that it stuck out like "a crown". (360) insists that a special time was set apart for smiths' work. Iron could not be worked at noon, only in the morning and afternoon, e.g., in making hoes the thorn of a blade could not be burned through the handle at noon; the attempt would fail. (307) adds: Smelting was carried out from morning till sunset only. It was a 'law' that it could not be done at night (whereas a doctor may be restricted to night work). Boys carried the ore in baskets, set apart for this work, from the ore site to the furnace. The orders were given by the *umNikazi Shabhu*, 'the owner of the workshop'.

Under reserved areas may also be considered the fact that smiths formed a special kinship group. The men belonged to one and the same clan, in fact to three generations of one family (307). Only their assistants might be of another clan. (220), a chief, states that in his area the Gamba of Gamede were the smiths. (360) mentions Mthethwa and Myeza who worked in lineage teams. (405) (who seemed best informed on this point) called the abaseMacubeni, courtesy name Shezi, the blacksmiths of Nkandla district. They did not go to the royal court to be enrolled in a regiment. Hence except for a few individuals they never fought in battle. They kept away from war, because they were regarded as women! - and teased on that account. Once one of them got angry at this, and went to the king, but he never returned! So their isolation was reflected in a peculiar character. According to (190), a Shezi chief himself, the Shezi were not spear makers, but other people living among them, and they were of many clan names. The Shezi intermarried with the smiths and did not eat SM with them for that reason!

2. Sexual Restraints

Before they went out to dig ore or to smelt it, smiths abstained from sexual intercourse to 'respect their work'! If they touched their Wis, they would get no or little iron. It was not the iron that reacted, but the ancestors, who helped only those smiths who abstained; they refused help to 'law-breakers'. If you want assistance in your work from the ancestors, 'this clashes with the sweetness you get from your wife'. It is natural that you keep the two concerns apart. The ancestors set smithery apart from begetting (307). (190) maintains that men did not meet their Wis for two months as they stayed in temporary dwellings *(amaDlangala)* in the forests. Even a person going to purchase a hoe or spear from a smith abstained from sexual intercourse the previous night, since the objects were of 'iron'! (360): People who had had an emission could not work iron; it would crack and would not take the required shape.

They could stop this by spitting on the iron; it would take away *uSuku* or *iZibuko* and the following day they could work without difficulty.

No fine had to be paid by the man whose iron cracked often. But he might be suspected of evil intentions, and if he denied his guilt, he might even be suspected of aiming at the king's life. A smith would observe the taboo, according to (405), because he has a conscience to warn him *(ukwEnqena)* and because his business would decline if he did not. Only middle-aged men were smiths since young unmarried men were liable to spend a night with their 'sweethearts' and would 'spoil' the spears on coming back to the camp. Persons who complained about the breaking of a hoe would not charge a smith with violation of the taboo, but with bad workmanship (190).

3. Speech

(307) remembers the following terms: *iTshe-tswa* (anvil); *imBokodwe* (hammer); *isiThando* (workshop); *iNsimbi* (iron); *umKhonto* (assegai) for which at his home **umPikade* was used by men; *isiNqindi* (skinning knife); *isiZenze* (battle axe) and *iNhlendla* (barbed spear). (190, 191) said smiths had to speak softly on their work site; they were not allowed to quarrel; nor use vulgar language (Za), an interdict showing that ancestors were thought near. But they could take an oath (Asseveration). Smiths used a special language: **umBaso* was used for *umLilo* (furnace) by the men, when smelting, otherwise not. They did not remember H1 words for iron *(iNsimbi)*, bellows *(isiFutho)*; but for *imBokodwe* (stone hammer) which was **iGqakathe* used by women always, by men too, when they made spears; the same applied to *iTshe* (anvil) for which H1 was **inKandela*. The sharpening stone was *umLalazi*, the work site **enKandelweni*. There were no H1 words for 'to smelt' or 'to hammer'. Women called all spears **umPikade;* they made no distinction between *isiJula*, *iKlwa*, etc. (193): Smiths respected the objects they were making by using H1 words. They would never definitely say what they were manufacturing, calling the articles just 'things'. The H1 words he cited, viz., *umKhonto* = **umPikade; iGeja* = **iKhuba; iZembe* = **imBazo; imBokodwe* = **inSicilo* (spear/ hoe / axe / anvil / hammer) are also general Hl words of women to avoid HF's names. (360) bears this out: the names for smiths' utensils were avoided because they were frequently given to men of rank as personal names. A new example he gives is **umPhatho* for *umKhonto*. (405) recalls that smiths addressed the iron they worked in this manner: *"Vuma, vuma, vuma iNsimbi yakithi kwaDlaba"*, (Agree, agree, agree, iron of ours of Dlaba, i.e., belonging to the Shezi-Macube).

4. Food/Work

Girls brought food to the 'shop'; women were not allowed, nor menstruating girls (Hl) (307). Any food could be brought, including meat, SM, ground nuts, cowpeas, beer. (Pork is generally abstained from by Zulu). (190) corroborated this except for SM. The smiths had no cook when they worked for weeks in the forest. Boys would bring the food, lest a woman in her changes approach. A 'healthy' woman might exceptionally be the carrier; she would place the pots down at a distance from the workshop and shout: "I have come!" A man would then go out to collect them. (193) said the smiths ate only in the mornings and evenings, not during the day: Meat, SM and cowpeas were abstained from; 'they spoil the work!'

The departure from the workshop resembled a release rite. (307): "Before the smiths returned to their homes they washed in the river, and could then sleep with their Wis." (190): "The smiths washed with *inTelezi* (medicated water)." The r/r of the 60 smiths was elaborate: The Shezi in charge of the manufacture of spears slaughtered a beast at his home to be eaten by the workers and their relatives. The spears were then carried to the king by his carriers, the spearmakers going along too. The king slaughtered some heifers for them. In this manner the *umMnyama* of the smiths was removed and they could return to their Wis. It was not necessary for them to suck medicines since they had not been to battle, nor killed anyone (!), nor did they have any ritual intercourse with a scapegoat woman for that very reason. (The 60 men, working for about two months in the forest, produced c. 1000 spears.) (405) adds that a blacksmith doesn't produce spears without reporting to the king, giving him the numbers manufactured. This is a matter of H1'ing the tribal head without whose permission smiths could not work.

B. CASE STUDY

Laduma Madela told us: My smithy is d e d i c a t e d every year in August at the time of the first storms heralding spring. Then a black sheep is slaughtered - normally this is only done at a sacrifice at the height of the Southern summer - a case of inversion. The blood is made to flow on the anvil. Pegs are dipped into it and then hammered into the ground along the boundary of the smithy to protect it. The sheep's bile is poured over the anvil as well. The meat is eaten by the smith and the members of the smiths' guild in attendance. When the smith feels that his skill is leaving him, that the praises for his spears are being forgotten, he kills a beast as an appeal to the ancestors. In the trees growing around Laduma's smithy could be seen four pairs of horns as boundary signs; the balustrade separating the kraalyard from the path down to the smithy had two single horns as markers. The smithy must be strictly avoided by women, including Laduma's Wis and Das, and by strangers. The pegs hold any nocturnal loiterer by the power of the *inTelezi yamaKhambi* until the morning so that he is inevitably discovered. The charm obtains its strength because the smith's ancestors assisted in its manufacture (Cf. supra p. 185).

Skill in a craft must be accompanied by the proper conduct. Laduma's grandfathers instructed him not to violate any of the rules of smiths, otherwise his work would come to naught, he would become mad, he would be wounded 'by iron' or killed for disregarding the taboos of iron-work. On the night previous to and during the working period, which lasts from three to four days, Laduma abstains from sexual intercourse and cannot eat SM. Laduma stated this taboo in general terms first but reformulated it in a casuistic way: He must not eat the milk of a cow which has a young calf; when a calf is more than a year old he may eat its mother's milk. Certain kinds of meat, e.g., that from a beast which died of disease are interdicted, except special cuts and organs from the inside of the animal. Of vegetables maize buried in grain pits and cowpeas are taboo. He may eat groundnuts and beans. Sorghum porridge must be eaten in liquid form. Beer, water and maize gruel he may eat. These rules apply when he makes 'killing spears'.

When he is about to make such spears, Laduma boils certain medicines on the smithy site, both for sucking and swallowing. There are no emetics for Zulu smiths, although they abound in general medicinal and magical practice. While manufacturing spears, he does not wash himself (a strict taboo); he denied that he rubbed himself with human fats. When his work is completed he takes a pot of medicated water to wash the grime off himself. The medicine pot must be put down some distance from a river into which the water in which he has washed himself is later thrown.

When fully prepared for work, he takes off his ordinary clothes and puts on a special cloak with a collar. It consists of strips of *imPhunzi* skin to the right and left and black goat in the middle. A peaked hat of *iNsimba* (civet) skin with peacock feathers and small horn spoons give him a striking appearance. His magical preparations have given him *umMnyama* (magical fierceness). If a stranger then touched him he would become ill. His own child, however, would be strengthened by physical contact. During their work smiths may not talk of death, disease or pregnancy but are advised to speak of war and to sing battle hymns. The smithy fire is kindled by means of a fire-drill, a boy at p u b e r t y (!) being the most suitable person to work it (a case of provocation). The smith himself must collect the fuel; it is taboo for a woman to do it. No woman is allowed near the fire-place, called the Fire-Place of the Lords, nor may a woman handle the fire-drill. For some tools, but not all, smiths use covering terms, e.g., the hammer *isAndo* is spoken of as *imBokodwe* (= stone).

While the smith is at work his Wis and Chn have to observe companionship taboos: there is to be no shouting, crying, scolding or beating of the Chn by the women. This Laduma called an 'essential' prohibition: the ancestors are annoyed at the noise! At the end of his work the smith quenches the fire with water and carries the ashes away himself. (Household ashes are handled by women only.)

As manufacturers of arms smiths enjoyed a special relationship with the king. A smith could produce for one king only (not Za nor Hl but umTh). The sheep slaughtered annually was provided by the king. Smiths were paid in cattle, two or three at a time for an order. Private individuals could only be supplied with spears to kill cattle. A smith is a distinguished person even today. He is generally respected, and like a headman *(inDuna)* he can demand a bride-price of 16 cattle for his daughter against 11 for a commoner. He is praised as "the foundation of the people", the manufacturer of "the strength of the nation" *(amAndla)*. He was greeted as *iNyanga yemKhonto* or *iNyanga yeziKhali* (i.e., spearmaker or weaponmaker) even by the king himself. Smiths have been described as the king's *inSila* (lit. body-dirt, in a transferred sense: his necessity). People addressed them as *inKosi* (Lord).

When Laduma Madela manufactured an *inKatha*, he used his smithy as the site for it. A cow hide was placed in the centre and dung spread on it, so that the site was ritually converted into a cattle pen and was referred to as *isiBaya sezinKomo* because, as the men attending said: "Ancestors are remembered in the cattle pen", in other words: they had been drawn to the smithy in this manner. The whole site had been sprinkled with *inTelezi*.

II. THE TABOO REGIMEN OF DOCTORS

A. INTRODUCTION

Among Zulu doctors are specialists for children's ailments, midwifery, snake-bite and every common illness. Others treat love troubles or mental diseases (of which only the diviners know the cause). *IziNyanga* (experts) of a higher order are the magicians who control the weather; they bring rain, drive away storms, fight off hail and lightning. The highest rank includes experts who prepare the king for the great tribal ceremonies, such as the First Fruits, and those who strengthen the army for war. There are those who treat people against any sort of danger, including the protection of a criminal against the police. There are four ways of classifying the Zulu leech *37*: (a) by the diseases, or conditions they treat, e.g., *iNyanga yeziZingane* (leprosy doctors); (b) by the medicines they use: e.g., *iNyanga yamaKhubalo*, *iNyanga yeziNyamazane*, *iNyanga yamaKhambi*; (c) by the actions performed, e.g., *iNyanga yesiQoma*, *iNyanga yokuBhula*; (d) by objects of reference, e.g., *iNyanga yesiZulu* (heaven doctor), *iNyanga yesiShozi* (lightning doctor).

The doctor's occupation is often hereditary, a son following in his father's footsteps, just as divining runs from mother to daughter. A person who wants to become a doctor must undergo an apprenticeship, either part-time, when he continues to do work in his fields, or whole-time when he accompanies his master on visits to patients, and on trips in search of medicine. One becomes a doctor by dreaming about medicines, the place they can be found and the method of preparing them. Most medicinal objects, plants mainly, but also animals and minerals, are found in the 'wilderness', on mountains, sometimes in rivers. Those from far-away countries are fancied as being powerful. The difficulties in the quest for medicines are personified as mythic beings, like 'the river people' who guard medicinal treasures. A doctor aspirant may have to seclude himself at the site concerned for some time before the secret objects yield themselves up. The apprenticeship of a doctor is not severe. It is sufficient for the master to heat some charms on a potsherd and make the apprentice inhale the fumes. He is made to suck a special mixture from his finger tips, and is given an emetic. He may also have to observe certain food taboos.

B. CASE STUDIES

1. (362): During his a p p r e n t i c e s h i p there was no seclusion, nor did he wear any special dress: A doctor is recognised by his bag alone! He was not subjected to speech restrictions, but some masters advise: Medicines are effective only when you are quiet! The apprentice avoids his master's pers/n in address, but he may use it in reference for this helps to spread the master's fame. (362) was instructed by his master to abstain from mutton, pork and cowpeas. Only mutton of the black breed was tabooed, the meat of the white wool sheep was not. Pork is said to spoil, lard to overpower any other medicine. Cowpeas make the eater foolish. Eating the tabooed foods will delay the learner's grasp of medical knowledge. He does not fear nor feel an aversion against them, but considers the taboos conditions laid down by his master for a successful apprenticeship. The prohibitions are lifted when the apprentice qualifies: most doctors, however, abstain from pork permanently.

(362): A p r a c t i s i n g d o c t o r observes hardly any taboos. There are no restrictions for a doctor who searches for medicines or mixes them, nor for his family. If the medicine has a strong smell he may use a special hut to prepare it in. Some hold that a doctor should wear no European clothes, lest his medicines become ineffective. (362) thinks this is not a genuine taboo, nor is there any sanction feared. There are no H1 names for herbs, barks and animal parts, but covering terms are used to prevent patients from treating themselves, e.g., *umThunga* is called *umBola* by many doctors. Gerstner gives many other instances. There are also special terms for concoctions and mixtures prepared by each doctor. These may be mentioned to patients, like trade-marks, but their composition is kept secret even from colleagues. No restrictions as to gestures are noted. A doctor may point at his patient, although it is generally not done. It would be an insult to step over a patient's legs, to 'stand over him' for a long time; the doctor concerned will lose the confidence of his patients. He must not throw water through a doorway (Za/H1, not umTh), but the rule applies to all people.

A useful 'mechanism' ensures the payment of the fee. Unless the patient has paid a 'deposit' he may not drink from the medicine. The final payment need not be made until the patient is better, or is in fact cured. If it is not paid, the illness will return (s c i l. at the doctor's instigation). (362) doubted whether these rules really work, but they are generally acted upon; they are not classified as avoidances or taboos but make use of a similar technique, beneficial results following from the fulfilment of a condition. The condition is formulated in terms of magic. Unless the patient pays, the medicine won't take effect! If a doctor's medicines do not suit a disease there is no objection to the patient calling in another practitioner.

(362): If a patient dies in the doctor's kraal, he 'mourns' for him with the full death taboos. He cannot use his medicines until he has 'cleansed' them with a beast from the deceased's family. Otherwise they will spread *umMnyama* (defilement of death). To remove it the medicines are sprinkled with the bile. The meat is eaten by the doctor and the persons who handled the corpse. If a patient dies at his home, the beast to cleanse the gravediggers and the handlers of the corpse is also used to cleanse the doctor's medicines.

2. Maklaya Sikhakhane (173) is the grandson of Nondo who was the tribal doctor when Zulu power was at its height. Nondo doctored the king for war and gave him *umMnyama wokuZila* for the First Fruits. He medicated the meat strips which soldiers sucked at the commencement of a campaign. He possessed a 'miracle' *(umLingo)*: He could enter water with a burning torch and emerge with it still burning! He planted a tree at some distance from his kraal. People passing it take off their hats (!) and greet it 'Mboma'. Maklaya's Wis respectfully avoid (H1) the tree as if it were their F-in-1. The informant himself occasionally visits the tree, kneels down before it (as he would H1 his F) and calls its praise-name: *Mboma kaMqhele!* Unlike his F he does not make use of the tree for medicinal purposes. The tree gives him strength, and when he contemplated his famous ancestor under it in his youth, all the girls would fall in love with him (Cf. supra p. 187).

Maklaya became a doctor by dreaming about medicines. He gathered them, mixed them in varying proportions and cured people with them. Then he trained with a master, who made him inhale medicinal vapours, suck the heated medicines off his fingers *(ukuNcinda)* and use an emetic. Since his apprenticeship he has had to do all this daily. When he prepares medicines, he abstains from sexual intercourse and also before he eats the new crops. He avoids cowpeas permanently, but his Wis do not. Any person he treats with his special emetic is told to abstain for a time from sex intercourse and to avoid melon and cowpeas. When he is released from these prohibitions, a goat is slaughtered at the patient's home. The bile is added to the emetic which the patient will continue to take daily; he is also scarified *(Gatshwa)* and he *Ncinda's*. As Sikhakhane talks he leans against the middle post of his Great Hut. In this way he draws strength (s c i l., from the ancestors). He sent a child to fetch his headrest from the residence. Nobody may touch it without his knowledge, for his shoulders and head rest on it and thus it comes into contact with the ancestor's spirit *(iDlozi)* which dwells there. It is the spirit of his father Mboma. (The generally observed avoidance of the headrest is here 'explained' by reference to the father's 'spirit'.) Mat, blanket and spoon are likewise 'sacrosanct'.

3. M s h u l u g u M b e j e (350), now 90 years old, when apprenticed stopped outside the master's hut till called. He went in on his knees, raised his right arm and called the master's clan/n. When ordered to take his seat, he went on his knees to the hut-side facing the master's, avoiding him respectfully (H1) like a girl. This symbolical assumption of female status was supplemented by the performance of domestic duties, the fetching of water, the collecting of fire-wood. He resided in one of the residential huts. His diet was maize, colocasia, pumpkins and liquid porridge; he abstained from SM, but ate meat and beer when available. Some masters (he passed through several apprenticeships) ordered him to eat with them, others after them. Some of them tested him by ordering him to eat with a spoon before them, but he would refuse to do so (the action would have implied utter disrespect!)

The master would take him to the veld, the hills, the woods to look for herbs. He had to walk some distance behind the doctor like a woman following her husband, and could not speak to him (H1). The apprentice carried his master's food in a pot on his head. At their destination he would prepare the meal, keeping at a distance from him, and serve it to him. The apprentice ate the left-overs: "I received my food through the master."

Afternoon was the time for gathering herbs. Before a collecting trip the master abstained from sex intercourse, and did not eat certain foods, e.g., *iBhade*, colocasia. "I was told in my practice to stay away from women and to abstain from meat of animals which have died" (Za). Doctors are known by their fur hats, made of *umZansi*, baboon, black jackal, otter skins. No stranger may touch such a hat (Za/H1). If it happens accidentally, nothing results; if done with evil intention, the offender will sicken. He personally never used a hat: he was never told by his master to put one on; nor did he like to wear one: "it was not in my heart to do so." But he received his first bag from his master, his MBr (Ngcamu clan), with the interdict, "Never put any killing plant in this bag (Za/H1). It would spoil the bag: your patients will not be cured but will get worse!"

(350) prepared his medicines in his M's hut, not in his Residence. This was a matter of respect (H1), so that they would be 'lucky'. His M could be present, but not his Wi (H1); she was informed of his work, so that she avoided the Great Hut. When mixing, the door was sometimes left open, sometimes closed as the medicines demanded it. Certain medicines grow weak when they are mixed in the open. Before mixing he did not sleep with his Wi (Za). Intercourse would not weaken him physically or mentally, but it would affect the strength *(amAndla)* of the medicines; however, there are medicines which do not demand sexual abstention. No other person in his homestead observed abstentions. He followed the instructions received from his master. "I mixed the medicines in the place where my father used to sleep on a special mat or goatskin *(iziHlandla zemiThi)* which my Wi could not touch (H1); nor might she touch the pots and sherds used for boiling or charring the plants either. A child had to wash and clean them."

While medicines were on the fire-place no food could be cooked there. Nobody could step over the fire-place, not even he himself, an old rule *(umDabu wabaNtu)*. No special wood and water were used in preparing medicines. A pot hot with medicines was placed in the apse for cooling. From left to right things placed there have their proper order: vegetable food, medicines, curdled milk (in centre), water. All medicines are kept there, either on a shelf or hung up in baskets. No stranger may approach the apse (Za/H1). In mixing he used his hands, not a stick, and addressed the medicines occasionally. When he had completed his work, a child brought a special dish with plain water in which he washed his hands. 'I could not touch food until I had thus washed' (H1).

Diviners direct the patients to him when they diagnose a trouble he can cure. They know the names and speciality of doctors through their 'spirits' and have no interested alliance with them. Approaching patients show their respect in various avoidances. They sit down at the gate, until asked their business and their identity. They have to come up the right side of the homestead, and on entering the doctor's hut sit on the left side, whether they are men or women. The doctor sits on the right, the superior side. After the exchange of greetings, they are given food, men and women on the same side of the hut but from different dishes (H1). He even offers SM to people from far away; "there is no abstention in my homestead!" The visitors are given huts, men and women being separated. They may not sleep together, his ancestors would be angry, and the cure would fail, since they would defile *(Bulala)* the homestead. They are expected to speak gently and not use vulgar language (H1). The visitors address him with *Baba* (father) and he them as *baNtabami*. In talking about herbs the doctor uses covering terms to put non-doctors off the scent: for *Vunsane* his master used **amaHlokolozi;* for *umHlabelo, *umZilaweNgwa*.

If a patient does not pay his fee, the doctor may (nowadays) bring a law case against him. He will be fined £5 or £10 (surely an exaggeration!), "after satisfactory evidence has been led, that the doctor has helped the patient." Or the doctor causes the disease to return to the patient. He takes some 'medicines' in his mouth, spits them in the direction of the patient, mentions his name and shouts: *"AkaFe!"* (May he die!); he also hurls a spear to ritually convey the 'poison'. Doctors who resort to this rite may abstain from sexual intercourse and the eating of SM. In his case patients always brought their fees voluntarily to show their respect (H1) and gratitude. "I never waited for fees, all I waited for was 'calls'!"

When a patient dies while the doctor is at his kraal, he pulps *isiQungwa* or *iCishamlilo* roots, mixes them with water and sprinkles the solution over his medicines to 'cleanse' them. Otherwise he must throw his medicines away. He may return home that day, but cannot sleep with his Wi for a few days. He would be casting *umMnyama* (the Gloom of Death) over her. It is an unusual thing for a patient to die in the doctor's presence. People would suspect the doctor of having bewitched him.

(350), in his cures, imposes certain taboos on his patients. "In a case of paralysis, in which I did not observe abstentions, since I was inspired by sympathy with the patient, I imposed no interdicts on him, except that when I went to see him, he had to abstain from sexual intercourse." (The cure consisted in scarifications, purge, draughts of medicines, emetics, stretching of the lame legs, sitting in the apse, walking practice). His cure for barrenness involves application of medicines to the woman's vagina, and the drinking of medicines for both husband and wife. The doctor himself abstains from sexual intercourse for about a week, and imposes the same taboo on the couple under treatment. A release rite is performed after a fortnight, and a special drug administered to free them. "Soon the woman's menses will stop, and I give her medicine *(isiHlambezo)* which she must keep in a small pot covered with a lid. Nobody may look into it, especially not her co-wives (H1), it would weaken the 'shadow' *(isiThunzi)* of the medicine!" H and small Chn peep in with impunity. His cure of hysteria consists in the administration of medicines which must be inhaled or snuffed up, of emetics and enemas. There are no food abstentions, but the woman may not leave her home (Za); if she had an attack away from home, she would die. The woman, her H or lover, and

also her own mother should abstain from sexual intercourse, as well as the doctor who treats her. A man who cannot obtain the favours of a girl must take a long course of emetics and ablutions carefully prepared from many medicines. "The restrictions I place on him are that he must not speak to women, and cannot 'propose' to any girl, until I release him." In chest trouble emetics and enemas are administered and abstentions from foods such as *amaHewu*, *iNcwancwa*, lemon, ordered. Headaches are cured by snuffs and scarifications, kidney trouble by the drinking of a medicine. In both cases no taboos are imposed by him.

4. C a s e 4 (3 7 9) i s a w o m a n whose father was a doctor. There was a special hut for mixing herbs in her home, which even Wis could enter; they were allowed to handle the pots. She helped to crush herbs; when her F went to see patients, she carried his bag. No fire was allowed inside the medicine hut, so that the herbs would not get sooty, and they were boiled outside. The herbs were generally stored in the apse. Of the taboos imposed by her father in treating a disease, she cites: Not to bathe (the patient could only wash his face); young people not to visit their sweethearts, married people not 'to meet'; the food interdicts depended on the kind of illness, and were more insisted on by diviners than by doctors. Her F trained apprentices whom he had to put up: Zulu learners abstained from SM, but Thonga did not Since all apprentices were married men, they had n o l e n s v o l e n s to abstain from sexual intercourse. The apprentice addressed the master by his regim/n, in agreement with the general custom shown to elderly men. Patients, who resided in her F's kraal addressed the doctor with his clan or court/n, not by his regim/n. He, in turn, addressed them with the term *mFo-kaBaba* (son of my father) or *mSa-wami* (lit. 'my kindness').

5. C a s e 5 concerns the avoidance pattern in a kraal which is used by its owner as a sort of hospital. (427), a Mdletshe, makes arrangements which allow patients to be admitted. They are told to sleep, the men with the men, the women with the women, in separate huts. One of his Wis may have to clear her hut if there are many patients. Except for a Mdletshe no one can eat SM; they eat anything else except what they dislike or what, if it disagrees with them, the doctor forbids them to eat. Patients have access to all parts of the kraal, except that men don't go where women are and vice versa. No other prohibition is issued. A woman who suffers from 'the lower abdomen' is told not to accept her husband, till the treatment is finished. It is a sort of Za lasting a few days. Some doctors do not allow their patients to go away until they *Phothula* *38*, and they are forbidden to cross a river till they have a beast killed for the doctor (Za). He does not use this method (s c i l. of magically enforcing payment) since many patients are poor. His method is more genteel. When the patient has become well, he suggests to him that 'he should have his health polished up': payment for this may be asked.

(427) does not ask a royal patient to pay (H1), not even the 'spade' fee *(uGxa)* demanded from commoners before treatment begins. He is expected to pay without being asked! If the patient belongs to the royal family a special hut is placed at his disposal, and a servant of the same sex is detailed to attend to his/her needs. This servant sleeps with the patient but on the opposite side of the hut, and not like the body-servant, across the threshold. Special mats and blankets are provided for royalty, commoner patients must use the general visitors' mats and blankets. When the kraalhead visits his royal patient, he *khuleka's* (declares his loyalty) and recites the praises of the king. He addresses royalty as Ndabezitha, but is addressed in turn by his clan/n only, never as 'head of the home' *umNumzane* (since the king is the only *umNumzane!)* Members of Mdletshe's home may go past the royal residence, but must walk respectfully and without making a noise (H1). For his meals the royal patient is presented with new spoons, offered on a plate with a small mat placed over them (H1). Royalty eats by himself. He eats the food cooked by the women of the household, but only food fit for him, viz., beans, groundnuts, even pumpkin, but never *izinKobe* (cooked dry mealies), the food of commoners. The stabbed sirloin, hump and ribs must be offered to royalty. The royal patient also gets plenty of beer, the doctor's family would rather starve than stint him. The doctor cannot offer royalty his SM: "The SM of royalty is a goat!"

C. GENERAL SURVEY

The doctor's regimen is not so severely controlled by taboos as the diviner's:

1. Reserved Areas

The leech should keep to himself. He must not touch a child (Za). To become a good doctor he should for a time retire to the company of the ancestors, where 'life vanishes like smoke'. He must sit and listen in silence to the great men in council discussing 'the great paths', the principles of life. The identification and collection of medicines can only be done 'in the wilderness'. No one should see his herbs and medicines. They should be kept in a special hut. A leech cannot scratch himself on the back, since 'it is the seat of his spirit.' He cannot handle his medicines without wearing his fur hat (Za). Nor can he work with them and the horns containing them in the daytime (Za), but only after sunset, at night. They may not be left scattered about in a careless manner.

2. Sexual Restraints

The leech, in contrast to the diviner, is a male. When preparing his mixtures he is sexually continent. Not all doctors, however, consider this to be a strict taboo. However, most herbalists sweep their own huts, for fear of admitting a woman.

3. Speech

When in quest of a special medicine, a herbalist does not speak at all (Za), except possibly a master with his novice. When mixing medicines, he must not whistle or speak, 'the ancestors dislike it.' He should not speak with a loud voice to his patients (Za); he will not tell people what medicines he uses, and in general does not apply the common names of plant and animal parts used. The use of covering terms is classed by some informants with respectful restraints (H1), although to us it appears to be a craft secret. Leeches are expected to behave in a striking manner: they should jump about, spit profusely, point about with their horns. In this manner 'they show respect (H1) for their medicines!' A leech will not accept thanks for help rendered, or medicines supplied (Za); it would be a sure way of weakening them. On the other hand, medicines must not be given away without charge; they will lose their healing power! (Here common sense precautions, which might be expected in a 'monetary culture' like ours, are enforced by mystical sanctions). Like other people, the leech must not throw any water through the doorway of a hut, lest lightning strike him. Since he treats patients with medicated waters he may have more opportunities to break the taboo, and is therefore required to practise greater circumspection.

4. Food/Work

When preparing medicines a doctor fasts altogether. He eats only when his work is completed, otherwise the food will cause him to vomit. He abstains from pork, many doctors permanently, some at least for some days after mixing medicines. He eats unmedicated food, and only the inner parts of a beast are safe for him (Za). He destroys the vessels from which he has been administering medicines to a patient, lest a wizard make nefarious use of them.

The consequences following a breach of these varied regulations, or conditions of action, fall under three headings:- (a) professional failure: the medicines become weak, are spoiled or decay; the leech's healing power is lost. (b) Misfortune comes down on the leech and his family: his Chn die, his Wis remain childless; he himself will pass away soon. (c) The anger of the ancestors will make him destitute or mad.

Fortunately the ancestors who ultimately are responsible for these effects may be propitiated by sacrifices. The sacrifice of a white beast is especially useful, since "it goes straight to those below" *(abaPhansi)*. Taboo breaches of an *iNyanga* (including a herbalist) bring on *iNyama-emBi*. (106), 70 years old, who states this categorically cannot give a single instance of a breach ever having occured. Nor has he ever heard of anyone doubting the consequences. On the other hand, he considers the fact that cases of bad luck occur almost

daily as proof sufficient that there are many persons who break taboos. Few people, if any, care to boast about having broken a taboo, hence they are not known except when they have had bad luck. An instance of bad luck is thus a sign that taboos are being broken; while at the same time it indicates that wizards are at work. A taboo-breaker is called *iDlungundlebe* (a person who does not listen to advice!).

A doctor's taboo regimen shows, as (350) revealed, strong individualistic features. He refused to wear a hat, a course of action which is severely and magically sanctioned with other *iziNyanga*. Each leech has distinct treatment taboos, one set for each disease diagnosed. It is probably true to say that treatment taboos, because they act as a constant reminder to the patient, continuously reassure him that his condition is being tackled and this must serve as a boost to his recovery. (350) also indicated that an evil-doer differs from a doctor only in his evil intentions. He puts medicines, in this case called poisons, in a woman's food and when her H sleeps with her he dies: the poison is *uMinya*, 'the last bite', 'the draining of the dregs'. Another murderous method is for the wizard to place *umKhwabelo* medicines at a person's door, so that he dies when crossing the threshold. Or the wizard takes a medicine into his mouth, spits it out uttering his victim's pers/n and an evil spell. A wizard takes certain medicines to strengthen, or to work up anger in himself *(ukwEnkulisa uChuku)* and abstains from sexual intercourse. He thus observes a defined taboo regimen.

Companionship taboos are few: A doctor's wife must not touch the medicines or deal with the special mixtures which her H uses to strengthen himself. Some say no harm would befall her, others advise her always to send a Ch. Nobody should touch a leech when he is mixing medicines: nobody should be near him then. To touch his back while he is busy is a terrible thing to do. No woman should enter the hut in which he keeps his medicines, nor should a woman's shadow ever fall on them (Za).

III. THE TABOOS OF DIVINERS

A. CASE STUDIES

1. Nopendulo

(154), a friendly woman, wearing her hair in a pigtail (!) tells of her illness: A person who becomes a diviner falls ill. He suffers pain in the shoulder, acute headache, fits of crying; all this is caused by the spirit *(iDlozi)*. It usually belongs to the F's family; necessarily in her case, since the first attack occurred before her marriage; it might otherwise have been a spirit from her H's family. One spirit originates the condition, others may follow. The disease results in a marked change of behaviour. Nopendulo began to dislike certain foods: e.g., pork; she also tended to imitate the spirit's predilections, e.g., its love for snuff, she slept much and stopped working altogether. Her indolence was not an abstention from work but the result of her sickness. Once the sickness has been diagnosed by a diviner, it must no longer be called by its general name, *iKhambi*, but by the H1 expression **unamaDlozi* (l i t. she has the spirits). The patient's personal name can no longer be employed; she is henceforth addressed as *iThwasa*, i.e., 'novice'. Visitors from her own family were expected to call and enquire about her health at this stage.

The patient began to wander about and stray from her home and finally arrived at the kraal of a master diviner (in this case her father). When she collapsed at the gate, her F, realizing her condition, prepared a foaming medicine which brought her round. She performed a dance then, in which she saw the vision of her ideal diviner. She was secluded in a special hut, and entered upon the *ukuGonqa* stage. She abandoned her 'Christian' dress, undid her topknot, tied white beads in her hair and laid on the goatskin braces. A tanned kilt completed her

apprentice's outfit. Nobody was allowed to enter her seclusion hut, unless he first gave her a present.

Her husband soon called, bringing a white goat to slaughter. It released her from her abstention of doing outside work. The goat's bile was added to the emetic which she took every morning. Her husband subsequently visited her for short periods in the daytime; sexual intercourse was interdicted to them. Nopendulo's food abstentions included mutton, cowpeas, melon and SM. If she had eaten these, her power of divination would have been stunted. (The master abstains from certain foods permanently.) The release rite may not always work out. Thus Nopendulo was released from the taboo on melon by the slaughter of a goat, but until recently the sight of the vegetable has made her sick.

The first part of her training consisted in finding hidden or stolen objects. Later she received instruction in diagnosing the troubles which bring clients to a diviner. She did not as yet finish a case, but left it to be completed by the master. At the Small Passing Out her husband brought a goat to be slaughtered at the master's place. The bile was sprinkled over the graduand's hair. (No praises were recited, since the ancestors' praises cannot be recited away from home. Instead the attending diviners sang 'the song of the spirits'). This rite released Nopendulo from several abstentions: she could now wear beads of all colours, (in her apprenticeship only white beads were allowed), and twist her hair into a pigtail. She was no longer addressed as *iThwasa*, but as *isAngoma*.

The Great Passing Out was celebrated at the husband's place. All the members of his lineage were present. Nopendulo's father and several of his family attended and all the diviners of the neighbourhood were invited. All celebrants gathered in the cattle-pen. Usually the ancestral praises are sung there, but since Nopendulo's Passing Out was at her H's, this had to be omitted. The Wis of the H and of his Brs had prepared beer. A goat and a beast were killed, and the meat eaten in the traditional eating groups. She was released from the sex taboo. The master left a calabash with medicine behind. Her H was instructed to place a white bead in it to protect him when sleeping with a qualified diviner. Nopendulo sips of this medicine from time to time to prevent a relapse into the 'diviner's disease'.

Nopendulo receives the spirit's help in her practice. It sends her dreams, maintains her power of divination, although she does not pray for visions or special revelations. In individual consultations, mainly about property losses or love troubles, the client must not take snuff before calling on her (Za); the spirit(s) would refuse to assist the diviner in finding a solution. In group consultations *(inGomboco*, or *umHlahlo)*, where an accusation of witchcraft has to be dealt with (by an appeal to an "outside spirit" - the lineage being hopelessly divided over the issue), a whole lineage with witnesses and an observer from the chief come. They must have abstained from sexual intercourse and snuff (Za), nor must they greet the diviner on their arrival nor tell her of the nature of their case (Za), otherwise the diviner will fail. Before a case she does not observe any special restraints but takes snuff and chews a bitter herb, the name of which she did not divulge, this being a professional secret. She does not call on her spirit, but is aware that it has entered her because of a pain in shoulder and abdomen. The solution always comes to her with startling suddenness. No verdict can be given until the fee has been paid: in the past a live chicken, today half-a-crown. In an individual consultation she kneels; in a group consultation the diviner stands.

The spatial arrangements in Nopendulo's homestead show that there are no apical huts (for kraalhead's M, kraalhead's Residence, princWi). The diviner's H lives in a (temporary) residence on the left wing, the diviner in a hut on the right wing! The diviner's H has three wives, Nopendulo being the second. They originally lived in one homestead, then a 'misunderstanding' arose. The eWi moved to her So's homestead, and there seems little contact maintained with her. The third Wi has a homestead about two miles from Nopendulo's, but according to the diviner it lacks a Residence; the H goes there for brief visits only. Neither has it a pen. Although the women have quarrelled, when they meet now they observe toward

each other the normal respect behaviour (H1) in speech and gesture and exchange milk (!) and meat when available. In the seating arrangements in the Residence of the kraalhead, a striking inversion was noticed: The woman diviner sat on a mat on the right, the honoured side, near the door; her husband on the left side towards the apse. Although he is a headman, he showed his deference for his Wi (who seems much younger than himself) by bringing out her special mat, when we had a conversation in the yard.

On my second visit I met Nopendulo's Da, who after her marriage, had also been apprenticed and become a qualified diviner. In her case too there had been some 'misunderstanding' at her H's kraal, Chn had died, and she had had to leave. The question, which spirit caused her illness caused her to laugh (in her M's presence); she remained vague: "He does not immediately reveal his identity." If anyone touched her shoulder she would object strongly (H1), if she were still in training she would faint; nothing would happen to the person - to appease her he might offer her 1/- to 2/6d. If anyone stood near her and cast his shadow over her she would sicken. She observes the same food taboos as her mother, pork already before she trained, cowpeas and mutton because they are taboo and she dislikes them.

2. *The Whistling Diviner:*

While Nopendulo was a buxom woman with some charm of manner, the ventriloquist diviner (186) was emaciated; his bearing was effeminate, he wore his hair in a mop in the fashion of teen-agers with beads and curtain rings in his curls and many gall-bladders dangling from his head (inversion). His thought seemed to move in opposites, so that he continuously contradicted himself.

The 'diviner's disease' attacked him for the first time when he was 'a child'. At its height - when he was 25 - the symptoms were pain in shoulder and chest, headaches and stomach-aches. He abstained from certain foods, such as cowpeas, mutton, melon and sour milk. He never made love to any girl, not even when he felt well. He gave up the drinking of beer (Za) and took to snuff instead. The sickness was caused by several spirits at once, chief of which was that of Xhaphi Magwaza, his FeBr, heir to the Great House of the lineage, who however, had not been a diviner himself. The informant began to dream about snakes writhing around him, also about a master diviner, whom he looked up.

The master diagnosed: "The spirit is too big for this fellow. It is troubling him," (s c i l. it can be laid only by having the sufferer apprenticed.). So the informant's F sent a goat, it was slaughtered and the apprentice had to suck some blood from the wound. All vessels having been removed from the hut, certain charms were rubbed on a portion of the goat's flesh. Then seated in the apse he alone had to eat it. It was taboo to all others, even the master, the other appentices and the apprentice's F.

Our apprentice was trained with five other aspirants: they lived in a hut set apart for their use; no one else was allowed to enter it. All apprentices abstained from sexual intercourse and from foods forbidden to diviners, including SM. (The master, however, ate pork, an exception). When the spirit moved an apprentice or diviner, he had to dance in his hut. At the Passing Out the master led the graduand out of the seclusion hut and danced the *ukuGiya kwesAngoma* with him outside. Having been strengthened by medicated meat and by the drinking of beer, the apprentice returned home for further celebrations before he could start his practice.

The informant lives in a homestead all by himself; all his cattle have been disposed of. He owns goats, however, "for goats are a diviner's business." He does not cut his hair, not even at his F's death did he do so. Like other diviners he takes his emetic every day, except on the day on which no weddings are held, i.e., the moonless day, when everyone pays his respects (H1) to the 'Darkness'. Another exception is Sunday (s i c), for the diviner respects God! A diviner with sexual stain *(uSuku)* cannot drink his emetic unless he chews the *isiQunga* root: without this he could not receive any clients. The root makes him 'heavier' than his clients,

i.e., to have more 'dignity', a stronger *isiThunzi* (shadow) than they. Women who come to consult him must abstain from SM the previous day. Clients who have had sex relations the previous night may not enter his hut, although by chewing the root, the diviner may release them from this prohibition.

Unlike the thumb-diviners, who place certain suggestions before their clients which they accept or reject, the whistling diviner interprets the voice of the ancestors which offers a straightforward solution. (186) denied that the ancestors throw objects about in the hut, but they do remove evil charms stuck in the thatch by wizards and place them before the diviner. Callaway (1868, 350) shows this to be a traditional feature: the spirits speak in almost inaudible whispers; the clients must be silent and listen. The spirits appear only at noon and at the back part of the hut, the apse. All objects have to be removed from the hut, which must be newly smeared. Young men and women are not allowed into the presence of the voices, only old men and women. When in a particular case small bundles were thrown down, which contained beads and rags, once the property of the clients, they washed their hands and bodies saying: "We cannot go home with this filth upon us!" These articles of *ubuLima obuBi* had been collected by a wizard, and evil rites performed over them as containing the body-dirt of the inmates of the kraal, which in consequence came to be afflicted with illness.

(186) has fainting fits when his spirit is angry with him for omitting to slaughter for it. The people with him recite the names of the ancestors and their praises till he comes to again. He could not give me the names of his ancestors (Za), and said he did not know their praises. He may become critically ill on such an occasion until a goat is slaughtered on his behalf. The meat and some snuff are offered in the apse of his hut to the spirit, the *iNanzi* being pegged into the roof. Because (186) lives in a hut by himself and has no wife, the offering can take place in his hut, even though he sleeps in it that night. (It is in the Great Hut that immature boys are made to sleep with the sacrificial meat.) The bile is poured over the sick diviner and round his pot containing his emetic. (186) called on his divinatory spirit only during his apprenticeship, and does not use its name in asseverations or oaths where he uses *inKosi*, the Lord, and thinks of Cetshwayo.

3. Case

(328) is an attractive middle-aged woman wearing an abdominal grassbelt after the recent birth of her third child.

"When somebody touches my shoulder, I feel nasty. Nothing happens, but I will make him pay a 'fine' (a goat) because he disturbs the *amaKhosi* (spirits). I do not bring a case against him before the headman. I experience sickness in my shoulders in anticipation of a visit by clients. I realize that the *amaKhosi* are in a serious mood and I shriek and scream. That is sufficient warning to my husband and he abstains from sexual intercourse." She refuses to sleep with her husband (when expecting clients), because the spirits are males *(amaDoda)* too. "I do like sleeping with my husband, but the spirits object; they want me to be a good diviner, and I cannot divine distinctly if I have slept with my husband; my *amAndla* (special gift) would deteriorate. The spirits come especially at midnight and towards dawn; it is the time when I have most dreams." (In the normal Zulu set-up a woman cannot dream, only the kraalhead!) The spirits who possess her are her H's and her F's ancestors combined in her - otherwise this is an impossibility. She abstains from certain foods, because they bring on illness, viz., mutton, melon, cowpeas, porridge, bread, *amaHewu* (sour porridge). She takes beer only when approved by the *amaKhosi*. "Such food interdicts apply to all diviners; we are told of them by the spirit(s), by the master diviner; and if I disregarded them I would die!"

"A person coming to consult me does not come alone, he brings someone with him. He has to abstain from his wife beforehand. If I feel in my shoulder that he slept with his wife, I bluntly accuse him: The spirits tell me! I hit him with my whisk!" When her clients leave for home, she may issue interdicts, e.g., "they are not to speak to their ancestors before applying the medicine which I tell them to obtain from a certain doctor; they are not to

slaughter a beast (s c i l., and eat it 'for pleasure') unless it is for the ancestors, otherwise the sickness will become more serious." (Za/H1).

It is the spirits which entitle the master to insist on these taboos. While training she had to observe respectful restraints (H1) towards the master; to obey his instructions; not to handle anything without orders; she had also to abstain from SM and all internal organs (lungs, heart, intestines) of any animal slaughtered. She was afraid of her H and snakes while in training; and did not sleep with her H, because the spirit(s) in her would 'shy and leave her'. On her Passing Out a goat was killed at the master's (she brought it from her H's kraal) and a beast at her H's home, the *inKomo yamaDlozi;* this gave her permission to live again as her H's Wi.

4. Case

(292) is a wizened, childless woman, looking after an aged ailing husband.

"I used to 'divine' cases of stocktheft and illness. In such work the words go automatically out of my mouth, I can't say how." She trained at her father's kraal (being already a married woman) and abstained from relations with her H and from the inner organs of animals during that time. "I drink beer from a special pot, so that I don't drink from the same pot with women who have slept with their Hs. I do not eat cowpeas, nor mutton. I nearly died when I ate cowpeas before I trained, the smell nearly kills me; mutton makes me ill. I abstained from sour milk, but eat it now at my H's since a goat was slaughtered for me, but I am not offered SM at my F's (now Br's), since they know that they have not yet killed the release goat for me! I do not abstain from sexual intercourse before a divination, even though I know beforehand that clients will call."

"My clients show respectful restraints towards me (H1). They come and enter the homestead (a small one) on the right side; they then stand still and call out, addressing me: *maKhosi ngeziNdaba zakho mNgoma*. I tell them from inside the hut: Enter! They must sit on the women's, the ritually inferior side of the hut, and I sit 'above' them towards the apse on the same side. At present I can't do proper work, for my H has not for some time killed cattle on my behalf for the ancestors. With some diviners the clients must abstain from certain things (snuff, coitus) beforehand, but these rules depend on the diviner. I don't insist on them, and I was trained by a diviner who was paid £5 per day for his work!"

Nobody may touch her diviner's outfit, viz., the bead frills round her head *(isiThwalo seShoba)*, her studded belt *(iXhama)*, her wildebeest whisk *(iNkonkoni)* and the goatskin braces *(imiQwambo)*. Nobody should touch her gall-bladder(s); she would be startled if anyone did, though nothing would happen. "I become ill if anyone approaches me from behind, I feel his presence especially if he carries evil medicines. If he touched me, I would get a fright and become ill, but nothing would happen to the person. Once a Roman priest touched my gall-bladder, but he did not come unawares, though I had given him no permission to do so, and nothing happened."

B. GENERAL SURVEY

1. Diviners are Classified according to the Methods they Employ.

The thumb-diviner relies on the response of the clients, either by word of mouth, the beating of sticks or clapping of hands. The stick-diviner interprets the fall of his sticks. The bone-diviner arrives at his verdict through the position of the bones, claws and shells which he throws. The whistling diviner translates mysterious sounds which proceed from the roof of his hut. Competition between the different kinds is keen. Magical practices, e.g., the burning of certain medicines are used to attract clients, and mutual recognition is sometimes withheld. Nopendulo did not consider bone-throwers proper diviners, since they do not undergo an apprenticeship, and thought the whistling fraternity more effective than thumb-diviners.

amaNdiki, i.e., women possessed by unidentifiable spirits, and *amaNdawo*, hysterics, are the quacks of the profession. Although they 'prophesy and cure' they are not connected with ancestors and thus do not make use of bile and gall-bladder..

The work of the diviner is to find lost or stolen objects, to interpret omens, to determine the cause of a death ('natural' or ancestral or magical), to reveal the origin of worries or family trouble and to suggest remedies. His advice in love matters is sought after. In short, she is counsel in most matters of doubt and uncertainty. (The pronoun SHE will be used since the majority of diviners are married women.)

In theory a woman does not wish to become a diviner. She contracts an acute illness characterized by pain and sleeplessness as well as profound character and behaviour changes. Constant shivering, rapid emaciation, attacks of weeping, hysterical fits impair the health of the patient. She acts strangely, sings at night, leaves the homestead through the fence rather than the gate, will not permit any person to approach her. She withdraws from contacts and imposes a number of interdicts upon herself: she flees from the company of friends and relatives, avoids persons of the opposite sex, abstains from sexual contact with her marriage partner; she is squeamish about food. All this is done to make the spirits draw near. If she did anything they forbid, dislike or disapprove of, she would fail in her unconsiously nursed ambition to become a great diviner.

Many a woman at first struggles against these symptoms and so does her family especially before her marriage. (In the royal clan the tendency to divination is frowned upon, so that no practitioners hail from it.) It is possible to 'bar the spirit'. The afflicted person washes herself in the foam of a black medicine which is kept in the apse of the hut. In severe cases the patient is made to vomit a 'black' emetic into holes cut in the *inKomfe* tuber, or into pits made into an ant-hill; these are covered up while the patient averts her eyes. She must not look behind (Za) when going back; in addition she is taken across a river in which she is immersed up to her neck. The 'black' medicine, the cover over the vomit, the averted sight, the crossed water are so many bars which keep off the spirit.

The only permanent counter to 'diviner's illness' is the training of the patient as a diviner. It results in the fixing of a spirit on her. (During the training a m a l e diviner acquires a 'miracle', *(umLingo)*, which distinguishes him from others. For instance, he throws himself into a pool and emerges with a huge snake, or he kindles a huge fire under a pot without bringing the water in it to the boil.) At her initiation a diviner *thwasa's*, i.e., undergoes a profound but inevitable change in her nature; she is cleansed from the condition of her illness.

A diviner works by means of special 'concentration of power' (Krige: 297) which enables her to remain in contact with her spirit. She strains all her efforts to maintain her relationship with the individual spirit or the group of spirits which entered her. The relationship is 'strengthened' by the diviner taking an emetic every day, and by frequently addressing herself to the spirits, even when digging roots. Regular sacrifice to them is necessary (Bryant:1909, quoted by Krige: 309). The possessing spirit should be identified although it is greeted by clients in an anonymous plurality viz: *amaKhosi* (Lords) or *abaKithi* (Ancients). This is important, since in the case of a married woman both the spirits of her own and of her husband's family may normally not be called together. Two goats of different colour are slaughtered to bring the two sets of ancestors together.

2. The Taboo Regimen of an Apprentice Diviner is Elaborate:

a. Reserved Areas

The learner's isolation has two phases: (1) A person with the disposition to divine takes the initiative in imposing abstentions on herself. She cuts herself adrift from human contacts. She does not remain in the parental homestead (Za) but roams in the veld, tarries on mountains,

even sleeping outside, as if trying to catch the spirit there. A male diviner-aspirant shows a striking deviation in cultural interests: he gives up his interest in cattle. If he owns cattle himself, he must get rid of them, by slaughtering or paying family debts with them. If he owns none, he urges his father to slaughter some in his behalf. "The spirits demand them!" Opposition in the family arises mainly on this score *39*.

His wish may lead to the wiping out of the family herd. A budding diviner may, of course, use the subterfuge of handing his cattle over to a friend or his F for him to keep. This is viewed as running counter to the deeper meaning of the ideal that cattle be disposed of. A diviner is encouraged to rely on the emergent power of divination as an act of faith: "To ensure success you must get rid of your old stock. You will then get new stock in!" It is the renunciation of security, based on the possession of cattle which is demanded. The wholesale sacrifice of cattle intensely stimulates the latent powers of divination. If the cattle were lost in other ways, through war, confiscation or disease, the effect would not be the same. A vital factor would be missing: a self-inflicted deprivation. Callaway reports that when one of the king's body attendants got the 'diviner's disease', the king 'ate up' all his cattle. That cured the body-servant!

The meat of animals slaughtered for a person 'spoiling' to become a diviner can only be eaten by young boys and old women. Others can partake of it only after they have presented 'the owner' with some small gift (Callaway:1868:190, 195; Shooter:194; L.H. Samuelson:58).

When the attempts to 'bar the spirit' have failed and the identity of the spirit has been established, the patient betakes herself to a master diviner, where she must live in seclusion. She is told to walk as little as possible. She must not divulge anything about her experiences during her wanderings (Za). She must take a daily dose of emetics, and may not wash herself in any but medicated water. Since the spirit dwells between her shoulders, the master anoints that area; she may no longer touch it herself. (Bird:I 108; Shooter:191; Kohler:1941:24-6) *40*. A diviner in training is required to sit in the back portion of the hut and his or her washing medicine is placed among the vessels in the apse.

b. Sexual Restraints

An apprentice must have nothing to do with her spouse (Za), or the spirit(s) will show disfavour to her. She must not come near a fire, when she is being scarified with special medicines; she would fall sick or become blind. Some informants class this restraint as both Za and H1; it is a critical one.

c. Food/Work

No person in training eats the normal Zulu foods. She abstains from melon, beans, *imBumba*, pork and mutton. Pork makes the person 'slippery'; the spirit would glide off her! The sheep is an awkward and dumb creature; the eating of its flesh makes the indwelling spirit share its characteristics which are the opposite of what a diviner should be like. Away from home the learner must subsist on roots. Only three kinds of food do not render the novice ritually unfit: beef, boiled mealies mixed with beerdregs and wild herbs. She also abstains from SM at the master's and that for several reasons: she may not be related to the kraalhead; it is prohibited for her in this state; and she dislikes it and it does not agree with her. She cannot take part in beer parties, but may drink a small pot in private (Callaway:1868:193; Asmus:78).

At the Small Passing Out a white goat is killed in the master's homestead. White medicines replacing the black medicines, with which she has been treated during the apprenticeship, are stirred into foam and applied to her head. The master roasts the lungs of a goat for her (they are sometimes eaten raw (412)) and invests her with braces cut out of the skin. The apprentice asks the spirit (or ancestors) to 'strengthen' her and to enable her to wear the braces honourably. Visitors from the apprentice's agnatic group are admitted to the celebrations on payment of a present to the master. A person who does not continue training after this is a 'man of the spirits' but does not divine (Asmus:86).

After a further course of training the Great Passing Out follows. Another white goat is killed. The master requests the apprentice's ancestors to return with her to her kraal. The diviner's guild which has been invited accompanies the graduand home. There, too, a goat is killed in the apse of the Great Hut, incense is burned and the bile sprinkled about. A beast is killed to thank the ancestors. Its bile is poured over the new diviner. The guild performs a dance in the pen, then eating and drinking follow. Dances continue through the night. The next morning the visitors rub themselves with ash so that no fat is carried away on their bodies. It would kill the spirit so recently implanted in the newly-fledged diviner. She is given presents by her affines 'to make fast her ties of relationship' (Asmus:91f).

3. The Diviner in Action

observes more abstentions and avoidances than the novice, but only intermittently, i.e., only at the time of a consultation.

a. Reserved Areas

When engaged in a divination the practitioner must have no contact with his family or friends, neighbours or strangers (Za). He shares his hut with the spirits during a consultation or Smelling Out. He shuts himself up in his hut, even if it is only to take snuff to induce yawning, sneezing, shuddering in himself or to strew incense and snuff on his head. Preferably he should retire to the hills, but unlike the time when he was in the grip of the 'diviner's disease', he must not sleep there; he would lose the spirit(s) again. When preparing medicines - he chews roots and blows his medicated breath over his sticks or bones - and while waiting for a revelation, he must not leave his hut nor see any callers, not even his own kin (Za). Only his assistant may attend him. He must not leave his medicine pots standing or his medicines lying about (Za). They must be kept in a safe place. If he trains apprentices, the water required for the foaming medicines must be brought by immature children who have not yet acquired *isiThunzi* (shadow, dignity: Asmus:84/5). He must maintain contact with his spirit: he cannot omit to speak to it every day, to offer it a special beast once a year. He cannot dance to any other song than that which was revealed to him in dream or trance. This is both interdict (Za) and respectful restraint (Hl) toward the spirit.

The diviner's dress indicates his special character. He wears goatskin braces, carries an oxtail whisk and a gnu or eland tail. He returns from his wanderings with his body painted with clay or ochre. He cannot paint his back (Za); it must be done by his assistant. And since he may not touch either water or fat he does not wash or anoint himself when officiating. A diviner does not wear a head-ring, a woman diviner no top-knot (Callaway: 1868:262; Krige).

b. Sexual Restraints

When expecting clients a diviner may not have sexual intercourse. Nor may he sleep with his wife the night before a Smelling Out (Asmus:98); he would become a fool *(isiThutha, isiPhukuphuku)*. It is not that his efficiency is impaired, but the medicines are weakened. Yet some informants argue that sexual contact in such circumstances would make him unclean *(Ngcolile)* and cause him to lose self-respect *(ukuziPhatha kahle)*. (121) thinks there is a wide-spread disregard of this interdict, for many diviners complain of a sickness in which the whole body is painful! It is sent by the spirit of the shoulder blade but can be cured by the administration of suitable counter-medicines.

c. Speech

The speech restrictions resemble respectful restraints in bi-polar social relations. Yet in this context most informants call them taboos (Za). The diviner does not greet his client first, as is normal practice for the family head (a case of ritual inversion). Especially reprehensible is the shaking of hands (Za). A diviner must not talk in advance about the solution of a problem in hand. He should not chatter about irrelevancies but remain concentrated. The use of a harsh, accusing, scolding voice is deprecated. (This is a definite prohibition, not a piece of advice in the Dale Carnegie manner.) Jokes, attempts to raise a laugh are out of place, they break the solemnity of the occasion. The diviner must not get angry with his bones or sticks

or reprimand his spirit before his clients. In giving his findings he should avoid ordinary language; the diviner sings out his findings or employs a go-between. Signs of nervousness, like fidgetting with the fingers, are suppressed (Za). The diviner should remain immovable and inscrutable. It is feared that too many gestures will reveal his intentions too soon. The smelling out of a wizard is valid only if done with gnu or eland tail.

d. Food/Work

A diviner must not stand in his hut when drinking water (Za). The ancestors would be cross! (135) says: Nothing would happen, it is a general custom (umTh) which no one violates; it is not done. The diviner must not eat or drink before his daily dose of emetic; smoking however is allowed. When waiting for a revelation the diviner abstains from food, but he may take water. He does not eat cooked dishes, unmedicated food or any leftovers or food from unknown sources. Groundnuts, pork, mutton, chicken (?), cowpeas and sometimes SM are listed as prohibited foods. While officiating a diviner does not touch food prepared by his wife (Za). It must be prepared by his assistant or a child.

The s a n c t i o n s safeguarding observation of these interdicts can be classed under three headings: (a) Sickness, death or misfortune in general are threatened to the transgressor in person, such as crop failure or madness, which includes vagrancy; (b) Evil consequences are expected in family and tribe: death of children and barrenness of wives, epidemics and national catastrophes. (c) Professional failure is also threatened, loss of reputation, decline in the power of divination, inability to identify wizards and spirits. In agreement with the Roman slant of Zulu culture, the legal consequences of taboo breaches seem formidable. The chief can fine a diviner who commits errors in divination (Cf. Shaka's test for diviners of whom all but one failed; their fate was execution!) In such a risky occupation religion comes to the rescue; all consequence of a taboo breach can be averted, if a beast is killed for the ancestors and the spirits are propitiated.

4. Companionship Taboos

The idea that the diviner's transgressions are visited upon his family is supplemented with the reciprocal conduct mechanism by which the diviner's success is made to depend on similar observances by the very persons who are endangered by his mistakes.

a. Reserved Areas

The diviner's hut is sometimes watched by a child or an old woman to prevent trespassing. The diviner's wife, also other mature kraal inmates are shut out (Za) on pain of a legal sanction; the trespassing woman (i.e. either her family or her House) is fined two head of cattle. This interdict holds only while the diviner is officiating or preparing his medicines. The woman is allowed to re-enter if she presents her husband with a small gift. The master himself cannot enter an apprentice's isolation hut; he must avoid it (H1). There is also a legal sanction: he is fined a beast which goes to the learner. No one touches a diviner's belongings, his dress, his food, his tools and specially his bag. The transgressor falls sick, his ancestors will get angry and no longer look after him. A diviner's child is warned not to play with children from distant homes (Za), only those from the neighbourhood being acceptable. A person who has engaged a diviner cannot at the same time admit a stranger to his homestead, nor attend to him unless the diviner releases him from this prohibition (Leslie:49, 50). This rule is actionable as revealed in a law case in Nkandla.

b. Sexual Restraints

In (106)'s opinion a taboo may be either strong or weak. One of the strongest is against committing adultery with the wife who is in charge of the diviner's food! Adultery with any woman of his homestead is bad enough. A married couple visiting at a diviner's home abstain from sexual intercourse during the visit. (It should be noted, that the wife of a diviner has to observe companionship taboos for him; none are recorded for the husband of a diviner.)

c. Speech

During a consultation members of the diviner's family must not talk loudly or much, nor should they tramp about noisily (Za). The clients are expected not to interrupt the diviner's meditation or silence (Za), although they may loudly approve his correct guesses. Nobody who is sick or worried about private troubles may approach the diviner in person, but should employ a go-between. This holds even for a person who is afflicted with diviner's disease (Kohler:1941:9).

d. Food/Work

Nobody dares to touch or eat a diviner's food. Food left over by him is given to young Chn or to immature girls. It cannot harm them! Fees owed to a diviner must be paid if his work was satisfactory. Otherwise 'the spirit' may at the diviner's request withdraw his support from the defaulter.

C. SUMMARY

The taboo regimen of the budding diviner undergoes elaboration as time goes on. The first stage involves idiosyncracies which anticipate the diviner's disease. During this condition certain taboos, especially as regards food, are self-imposed. During apprenticeship the master imposes additional taboos. In the master stage a person observes some taboos which are traditional, others which he was taught and others which he found significant in his own experience. The individual factor is decidedly strong.

The diviner's power is gained by a really impressive process of self-abnegation (the disposal of cattle in the case of men, the interruption of marriage in the case of women) and the resultant insecurity, economic and familial, according to traditional standards. Reliance on the 'spirit(s)', a power outside the human order, seems to create contempt for the latter which is quite unexpected in primitive society. The taboo regimen of the diviner brings him nearer to 'the spirit(s)', the closeness of contact results in definite physiological manifestations important for the understanding of the phenomenon of divination.

The establishment of a personal link between an individual diviner and one or more 'private' spirits (and in the case of a woman diviner with a combination of affinal ancestors!) contrasts strongly with the group contact between a kindred and their agnatic ancestors which is controlled by the lineage head. This deviation from the cultural norm finds its strongest expression in the behaviour of the guild of diviners which violates kinship behaviour, e.g., in the singing of 'spirit songs' in the pen, in eating together by men and women guild members. This tendency brings about conflicts between the female diviner and her family of orientation and her family of procreation. On the other hand it makes possible the assistance to non-related persons which diviners can render.

The multiplicity of taboos for the officiating diviner indicates (a) the importance of the diviner's occupation in Zulu culture and the concern of his family, his clients, his guild in his success. (b) A multiple and complex regimen of taboos applies mainly to the diviner who smells out witches; the range and intricacy of the regimen is greatly reduced with diviners who settle love affairs or cases of petty theft. (c) The excess of speech and gesture rules indicates that the diviner is assumed to work in the presence of sentient beings, his spirits, who are sensitive to noise. This is a situation which recurs in most bi-polar relations with avoidance regimens.

The diviner's speech and gesture interdicts (Za) reveal indeed a strong similarity to avoidance regimens (H1). The classification of restraints relies thus more on the social and ritual situation than on inherent differences in the restraints. Certain 'mechanisms', e.g., the go-between, which we considered to characterize avoidance relationships mainly, emerge also in taboo regimens.

IV. THE WEATHER-MAKER'S TABOO REGIMEN

A. CASE STUDY: LADUMA MADELA (368)

1. (368) told us that he used to accompany his F through the remotest corners of Zululand as well as places farther afield: "Basutoland, Transkei, Pretoria, Swaziland", always carrying his F's bag. Normally an apprentice accompanies his master two to three years. He does not eat any curds and sleeps the night before and after an excursion in his master's homestead. He may not eat meat of an animal which has died a natural death; he eats no boiled, only roasted meat, no green mealies, only dry hard maize, no food which was stored underground, and no pumpkins. He may eat beef, mutton, pork (which is avoided by most Zulu!), cowpeas and groundbeans. The apprentice is addressed by a special name which the master bestows on him and which other people are at liberty to use. He addresses his master by his 'doctoral' name. The lightning doctor cannot leave his home without a hat; he must at least cover his head with a skin or cloth. He cannot have his hair cut, nor does he throughout the season of thunderstorms wash either body or hair since they have been rubbed with medicines. He does, however, wash hands, feet and face since they are not treated. A lightning doctor does not cross a river that is full. The Heaven would carry him away, the river take his medicines! Since a diviner who has no bag may cross such a river, the interdict refers to the lightning doctor's most important possession, his bag or *isiKhwama*.

The Passing Out which concludes the apprentice's training has two purposes, first, to make the new doctor invulnerable against his own medicines, for if he used them, e.g., by placing them across somebody's threshold, and was not 'firm' himself, he would be killed by them! Secondly, to instil in him, by way of a gruelling ordeal, an unshakeable confidence in the efficacy of his medicines and the completeness of his training. Many doctors, weather-makers and lightning doctors, attend the graduation. Only members of the Guild of Lightning Doctors, however, take part in the proceedings. They form a high, more respected and more feared rank than doctors *(iziNyanga)* in general. Ordinary doctors may attend but merely 'to look' *(ukuBukela)*. Much beer has been brewed in advance, a black beast is slaughtered at the master's homestead. Medicines are mixed with its bile, brain, gall-bladder and urinary bladder. The new doctor must subject himself to the *Ncinda, Gcaba* and *Shunqisela* treatment with this concoction. The celebration is fixed in spring, the time of the most violent thunderstorms.

Under the scrutiny of his master and guild, the novice has to prepare various lightning medicines to prove his skill and his knowledge of the requisite observances. Thereupon his master prepares the celebrated lightning 'antidote'. The novice and all present are treated with it. Likewise a number of pegs are prepared to demarcate the arena for the great ritual contest which forms the climax of the proceedings. The arena consists of two sites, the first one being the master's homestead, secured by the pegs. At this site all members of the party except the novice assemble. The other site is prepared on the nearest mountain within view of the master's homestead. There a circular area is pegged off. Within its magic protection the novice will endure the supreme test. Finally four lightning switches are treated with the concoction. Master and novice will each hold a switch in either hand. The switch in the right hand directs lightning on to any person or place selected *(uSwazi lokuKhomba)*; the switch in the left hand wards lightning off *(uSwazi lokuVika)*.

The stage being now set for the ritual contest, the assembled brotherhood awaits the next thunderstorm. When one of the vicious spring storms approaches, the novice, all alone and trembling, scales the hill and takes his stance within the magic circle. Now he has to prove that with the art he has learned he has gained absolute control over the all-dreaded lightning. As the fury of the storm unleashes itself he goes wild in an ecstatic dance, all the time pointing the death-dealing lightning switch towards the homestead of his master. Raising his voice above the storm, he yells coercive incantations and directs the lightning to consume the

homestead and all those assembled there. His master, at the same time, performs a similar ritual wafting the lightning with his switch on to the novice on the exposed hilltop.

Usually both parties survive the unnerving duel. The graduand has proved beyond all doubt that he has earned membership in the lightning guild. Never again after that will a thunderstorm fill him with fear *(uValo)*. The praises of his master are richly deserved and the feasting associated with the final stages of this initiation. If lightning strikes the novice his exposed position is not accepted as an explanation: he just lacked the necessary skill! If you meddle with lightning but don't know how to go about it, it must inevitably 'eat you up'. If the master should be struck, a mistake has been made somewhere, or the breach of a taboo by one of the assembled brotherhood or by members of their families is conveniently discovered.

When Laduma had reached this point in this graphic account a frog startlingly croaked in the back of the hut and - it was thundering outside. But the lightning doctor laughed and with him two boys who had listened open-mouthed. Laduma explained: "This frog is an inhabitant of my residence. It sometimes leaves the hut but always returns." The presence of such a lodger in Madela's hut showed his disregard for a generally observed taboo: To touch the high-jumping frog *(iXoxo)* brings death, or in Laduma's version, spastic crippled arms; the common toad *(iSele)* is much less feared.

2. The Capture of iMpundulu, the Lightning Bird

Laduma said: *iMpundulu*, also known as *iNyoni yeZulu*, is 'a mythical bird'. It has a human body but feathers, beak and legs are birdlike. The beautiful feathers bear the colours of the rainbow. One bird accompanies every thunderstorm, directs each flash and accompanies it down to earth and back into the clouds.

Lightning doctors have evolved a method to trap this bird. For by capturing *iMpundulu* they acquire the power to control lightning. The method is based on the knowledge that the Lightning Bird is irresistibly partial to SM. It is deceived into partaking of curds heavily dosed with a strong hypnotic, the *uNdiyaza* herb, which makes the bird 'drunk' and knocks it out so that it cannot return to the clouds. The venue for this plot is a so-called *isiShozi*, a spot on a mountain where lightning is wont to strike. Such spots are generally known but people shun (H1) them for fear of drawing lightning upon themselves.

To capture *iMpundulu*, the doctors meet at the homestead of the chief lightning doctor of the district. It is taboo for them to sleep in a woman's hut that night, nor can they eat food cooked by a woman of child-bearing age. Lightning doctors are invariably men, but in this particular rite one woman plays a vital role. She is the *inKosikazi yesiShozi* (Mistress of the Site of 'Strokes') or *inKosikazi yeZulu* (Mistress of Lightning). Only she may cook food for the party and only she and the lightning doctors may partake of it. She must be beyond her menopause or at least be unable to bear children. This woman may be the senior lightning doctor's princWi, or one of his Wis who has proved to be a bringer of luck. Some women try to act in this capacity but being unsuccessful, give it up. More frequently than not, Laduma said, such a woman is also a diviner. She receives a beast for her services!

When a thunderstorm is in the offing the lightning doctors repair to the mountain top with the Lightning Woman. She wears a freshly blackened kilt and a freshly ochred top-knot. She carries a large calabash pot *(iGula)* with SM, a ladle, a grass-woven container with ground maize, a mixing pot and an eating mat. A girl may help her to carry, but she must immediately withdraw on putting down her burden at a distance from *esiShozini*. There a circle of specially treated lightning pegs and lightning sticks have been stuck into the ground. It is taboo for any uninitiated to enter the circle. The Lightning Woman now pours the medicated curds into the mixing pot and stirs the ground maize in. Then she unrolls the mat and places the pot beyond it, leaving the spoons ready for use. She has arranged the meal as if it were for the kraalhead. In fact, since the milk is taken from the senior lightning doctor's

cow and his private calabash is used, the lightning bird and the doctor are ritually treated as if of the same family *(isiHlobo)*. This deduction was emphatically confirmed by our host.

Everything having been set to tempt *iMpundulu*, the lightning doctors and the Lightning Woman return to the head doctor's homestead. When the storm is past, the party hurries back to the mountain. Otherwise the Lightning Bird may recover from its stupor and ascend with a subsequent flash. If the bird has been caught it cannot be seen, but the colour of the soil round the site of the fateful feast is all variegated indicating the beautiful wings of *iMpundulu*. The soil is scraped up and taken down with the broken sherds to be ground up into the most potent lightning medicine. It is shared by all participants who mix it into their lightning charms. *iMpundulu* is used not only to ward off lightning but also to put lightning on a person. In the latter case one must obtain a bird of the same sex as the intended victim. Thus the male *iMpundulu (yenDoda)* is used to kill a man, and the female *iMpundulu (yensiKazi)* to kill a woman. In order to catch the male Lightning Bird the eating utensils of the chief doctor himself are used at the *isiShozi*, whereas in catching the female bird his wife's utensils are used. *40A*

If the calabash has remained unscathed it may be used again by its human owner. If there has been no 'stroke' everything must be left untouched (Za), even the pot and calabash. Should a lightning doctor dare to steal a march on his colleagues, the bird opens its mouth and emits fire, which will consume the egoist. The same would happen to any outsider approaching the spot, because he has not been treated with the medicines with which the captors have fortified the *isiShozi* and themselves, and by virtue of which they have gained magic ascendancy over the bird. Occasionally an apparently triumphant party is devoured with fire: a mistake was made in mixing the medicines or someone has failed to observe the necessary taboos.

Laduma expressed the view that the offering of SM could not be compared to the sacrifice of beer, meat and snuff which are presented to the ancestors. It is rather a 'cheating', better, a baiting of the bird! Nor is the ceremony intended to provoke the heaven into a reaction by the brazen breach of a SM taboo. True, no ordinary Zulu would take SM outside his hut and eat it in the veld, lest hail destroy his fields or lightning strike his homestead (a very strict taboo). Yet the ancestors help in deceiving the bird, and that is why they are appealed to on the eve of the ascent of the mountain.

To sum up: Lightning doctors have the privilege or take the ritual liberty of addressing their 'spirits' outside their own homesteads and of carrying curds on to mountain tops. Both are actions strictly taboo to the ordinary Zulu. It appears that these gross violations are required to make the rite effective, and that lightning doctors are immune against the sanctions.

B. THE WEATHER-MAKERS IN GENERAL

Among weather doctors we find hail doctors, rain doctors, and lightning doctors. The weather-maker's ability consists in the power to identify himself with the sky (and the ancestors controlling it or represented by it) and thus to handle the celestial phenomena in a manner which may be either beneficial or harmful to the community or selected individuals. Callaway (1868:379) says storm doctors are not opponents of heaven, but its priests with the power of mediation. They are safe so long as they observe the laws of their office.

1. The Training of a Heavenherd

The initiation of an apprentice must take place on a lucky day, e.g., the day after a moonless day, and not on the moonless day itself (Krige:311). The master meets the apprentice in the latter's cattle pen and renders him proof against lightning and capable of controlling it. By smearing him with fat and charred remains of the Lightning Bird, he makes him brave during a storm. The medicine contains besides the following ingredients: python or black mamba, leguan, rock-rabbit, black sheep and the carapace of a tortoise. They have been

mixed with a suitable medicated water. Several of these animals give power in general, others transfer their special qualities: the black sheep will cause the heavens to be 'dark' (s c i l. with rain clouds) rather than burst out in dazzling lightning; the tortoise comes out in a storm and squirts its water at the sky, thus showing that it is unafraid. Certain conditions must be fulfilled when catching or killing these animals. Snake and leguan must be killed with sticks rather than by piercing them with spears. Generally there is a wrong time, a wrong method and a wrong person for the preparation of each ingredient. If due care is not taken the treatment will not take, the substances will be harmful, the sky will be wroth, the apprentice, or the master himself, will be struck by lightning. No confession is required, the bad luck is sufficient to reveal the wrong done.

The apprentice's treatment may also involve scarification all over his body with a mixture made of lightning water, lightning tube (fulgurite), fat of the lightning bird and bark of trees struck by lightning. The needle used in the process is considered a symbol of lightning. The treatment makes the apprentice safe against lightning by making him lightning itself. For this reason it is enacted in the open veld. It will 'take' only if the apprentice observes a number of conditions, which may be increased or reduced at the master's discretion: The apprentice must be naked and smeared with ochre. He must not sleep in his hut, nor come near a fire that night. He should spend the night in the hills, in a cave or shelter made of branches. On his way there he must not be seen by anyone, nor should he 'see' women or talk to them; he must avert his eyes. He should not talk loudly on this day. He must abstain from SM and all food prepared at a fire. He should eat wild herbs and the meat of an animal struck by lightning (a violation of the usual taboo!). If any beer is offered to him, he must drink it by himself, never at a party. The observance of these taboos makes his treatment effective; they also protect others from the *umMnyama* (magical fierceness) induced in him by it. This fierceness is so acute, that he must cleanse himself from it soon. Next morning he takes an emetic at the river and washes himself in medicated water. Having returned to the kraal he sucks and spurts out medicines prepared for him by the master and swallows the *iZembe* medicines.

The graduand is now ready to put on the outfit of a lightning doctor: the horn with charred medicines *(umSizi)*, the fortifying roots *(amaKhubalo)* set in a necklace, the blunt assegai with which he points at the sky. He is also given a whistle made of a vulture bone. The fee - it is one beast - for his treatment must be paid lest the outraged lightning revenges itself! The spear used in smearing the graduand must be carried home by the master - he may not leave it in the graduand's home - lest he himself die or the graduand is struck by misfortune (Za). A test of the newly acquired power over lightning may be arranged. Master and pupil climb a hill and make a fire on its top. The apprentice calls the storm with his whistle. Both actions are ritual taboo-breaches. Only qualified heaven doctors are immune from the dreadful consequences.

2. The Taboo Regimen of a Heaven Doctor

After his graduation the lightning doctor takes care to retain his special qualities, to maintain 'the common feeling with heaven' (Callaway:1868:384) which the master created in him. This 'common feeling' has three aspects: it identifies him with lightning; it gives him courage to fight the sky *(ukuMelana neZulu noNyazi)*; and it ensures his control of lightning including the ability to destroy his enemies by means of it. (It is the fine edge of the legitimate and illegitimate use of this power which distinguishes weather doctor from wizard.)

a. Reserved Areas

The lightning doctor's regimen cuts down on his social contacts. A lightning doctor should live in an isolated kraal, in a spot difficult of access. When he is preparing medicines, he must not receive visitors. He should not admit anyone to his hut: "he can be talked to only when he is coming out of it." A lightning doctor does not wash his body in summer, the period of summer storms (106/138); the rule allows the washing of face, feet and hands. (138) denied that the taboo aims at the accumulation of body-dirt. *"NgiyaZila ukuGeza* (I abstain from washing) so as to acquire *umMnyama* or *isiThunzi*, i.e., magical power, 'shadow' or

personality." He should have the quality of magical fierceness and takes 'black' medicines to increase it in himself *41*. One informant, acknowledging the ambivalence of the dirt-acquired magical power, stated that a lightning doctor who did not wash was a wizard: *umThakathi*. Other doctors are careful not to bathe in the sun; they select a shady place in the river. Lightning doctors do not have their hair cut (and thus retain their 'soul carrier').

Nobody may touch the lightning doctor's belongings in his residence; only one of his Wis will have permission to clean his hut and place things outside to air them. None of the Wis may sleep there. Nobody may touch the hut post for fear of the *umNyezane*, or *iziQu* (heroes' chains, doctor's necklace) on it.

b. Sexual Restraints

The lightning doctor should not have sexual intercourse when he prepares lightning pegs or medicines, lest his medicines are weakened or spoilt.

c. Speech

The lightning doctor should not whistle either in the hut where he keeps his medicines, or in his homestead generally. The cracking of a whip inside his homestead is also prohibited. Both actions call up a storm.

d. Food

Among foods generally taboo to a lightning doctor are cowpeas, melons, *iDumbe* and less frequently ground nuts. According to some informants, a lightning doctor abstains from SM permanently, because he uses it in catching lightning and as a remedy to cure people struck by lightning. He should eat only food prepared in the Great Hut of his home. Certain prohibitions seem to be imposed a d h o c by the master, e.g., Callaway(1868:388) cites a master saying: "Let him not drink (beer), if the cup is not full. Let him not take boiled maize from the fire-place (if the maize is still in the pot). Let him not eat flesh of a bullock until it is opened. Let him not eat yams. Let him not eat herbs before the First Fruits." Other prohibitions are casuistically formulated. A lightning doctor should not eat SM from a cow which has recently calved (and not before the navel string has dropped off), or from a cow which has recently been mounted (within a week), or from a calabash whose cork blew out. He may not eat a calf foetus. He may be ordered to abstain from beer altogether. The rule that he should not eat incompletely cooked or warmed-up food is perhaps self-imposed; it certainly ensures the doctor a well-prepared meal.

The catching of the lightning bird and the procuring of lightning tubes *(imiSuka yeZulu)* and lightning jelly *(umKhondo weZulu)* is impossible without the observance of taboos. The doctor rushes to the spot where lightning has struck and pours whey over it. Whey being a 'strong' liquid, since it carries the curds, prevents the sinking of the tubes. In this quest the doctor must be accompanied by an immature boy who has to pass urine round the spot. SM from an infant's calabash is used to make lightning jelly solidify. The lightning bird is caught with SM and then killed. Callaway(1868:383) notes the conscious-stricken reaction of the killer of a lightning bird: "Shall I live as hitherto, seeing that I have killed this bird?" The killing of the bird as well as the use of SM outside the homestead are obvious taboo-breaches. Heaven herds indeed kill tabooed birds for medicine, viz., hamerkop *(uThekwane)* and ground hornbill *(iNsingizi* or *iNsikoko)*. If any other person kills them a violent storm or hail results. There is no reaction when they are killed by a lightning doctor, since he is identified with lightning.

C. THE LIGHTNING DOCTOR'S PRACTICE

1. ukuBethela, the Making Fast of a Homestead against Lightning,

involves a number of avoidances (H1) and taboos (Za) for doctor as well as residents of the kraal. The lightning doctor prepares a number of pegs from trees whose names suggest control over lightning. These he smears with fat of the lightning bird, the powder of lightning tubes, a

blood clot from the heart of a black sheep, the bark of the *umVithi* or *inKatha* tree, which is never cut down in a homestead, the blood of all kraal inmates obtained through scarification, and other 'suggestive' medicines. The charring, grinding of the medicines and smearing of pegs takes place outside the doctor's homestead at a place called *iSolo*, from which the heavens can be influenced. The pegs themselves must be prepared in the veld which is related to lightning, because there it strikes oftenest.

The pegs are placed in position in ritually significant places in the homestead, to wit, inside the hut: at main post and threshold; outside: in the back-wall, roof top and above the doorway; in the kraal: in the passages between the huts, the kitchen and grain stores, in the centre of the pen and at the gate; outside the kraal: below the entrance, behind the Great Hut and on all paths leading to the kraal. The pegs are so set up that they incline sideways to deflect lightning. (Lightning pegs driven into the hill-side are put in vertically so as to attract lightning.) The kraalhead who carries the pegs for the master may not point them skywards (Za). When placing them in position the heavenherd says "I close" (s c i l. the way for lightning) and all present have at that moment to shut their eyes. To fix them on the roof top, the doctor has to climb up himself, a taboo breach unpardonable in any other stranger. The threshold of a Great Hut is often specially protected by a stone dug up from a spot where lightning has struck. Before it is buried at the entrance it is covered with a glistening medicine mixed with milk. (The underlying idea is obviously to counter like by like.)

Next the inmates of the kraal are inoculated with lightning mixtures, the men all on the right side of the body, the women on the left, the men looking towards sunrise, the women towards sunset. Everyone then sucks medicine off his fingers and spits it out. A peg is passed over the bleeding incisions to collect on it blood from every inmate. This peg is taken by the kraalhead to the top of a hill where he strikes it into the ground, closing his eyes as he does so. On his return he must not look back (Za). That night he must abstain from sexual intercourse. The following day is a day of abstentions for the whole homestead. The inmates rise early, rub themselves with a fire-quenching medicine, go down to the river to take an emetic, vomit into the water and then wash themselves. The huts are freshly smeared and no work is done.

Besides the general taboo regimen most lightning doctors impose certain specific interdicts on particular kraals, e.g., the structural sections of the lineage must not have a common ash heap, but each of them a separate one; or water and fuel must not be brought into the kraal except by the main entrance.

In addition to the pegs, lightning staves are got ready. They are smeared with fats and medicines other than those for the pegs and kept in the apse until needed. Each hut has its set. When a storm comes they are placed by the kraalhead on each hut, he himself climbing up or he orders immature children or an old woman to take them up and drive them through the thatch. Such ritually fit persons are also charged with sprinkling huts and pen with lightning medicines. In an extremity the *izinTo zeZulu* are thrown through the doorway of the hut into the yard. This violent taboo breach is 'to dare' the lightning to strike. The treatment of a kraal against lightning does not become effective until the doctor has received his fee. He often considers a kraal protected only after the treatment has been repeated.

2. Behaviour of Lightning Doctor in a Storm

When a storm is overhead the behaviour of the heavenherd shows an intensification of his normal taboo regimen. Three steps are taken in such a situation: (a) the smoking rite, i.e., the burning of medicines to weaken the storm; (b) the skirmish with the storm by means of staves, spear and shield; (c) the scolding and haranguing of the storm (Krige:317; Asmus:143).

a. Reserved Areas

The heavenherd's first action on the approach of a storm is to protect his homestead by 'sprinkling' it. The herdboys have a standing order to drive the herd home before the storm. When the cattle are in the pen, the lightning doctor sprinkles the 'bolt-barring' liquid over the

pen gate, and in all other passages lightning might take. Any *inTelezi* which drops off from a doorway must be swept into the hut!

The lightning doctor's skirmish with the storm sees him "frown to be as dark as heaven. His heart is gathering clouds as the heaven." The contest resembles that between two heaven doctors who fling lightning at each other to fight for supremacy. Their aim is "to expose him who has no commission!" Thus the conflict does not interrupt the basic sympathy established between the doctor and the heavens. Most heavenherds go outside to face the storm, lest they be struck by lightning inside. Rushing into the cattle-pen where he keeps his medicines, he collects them and kindles a fire outside the homestead from where the ascending smoke can influence the gathering storm. It may be said that the lightning doctor's reserved area in a storm is the same as that of the storm, in the open country and outside the homestead. Sometimes he makes use of an *iSolo* (special site). Some heavenherds wear a monkey skin hat and a cloak made of the hide of a young bull. Others are completely naked.

b. Sexual Restraints

During a storm no lightning doctor speaks to women; sexual intercourse is an impossibility. Women are avoided by him even on the day after the storm, because he then thanks his medicines and pegs for their help. Without such abstention the lightning medicines are weakened or spoilt, or another and worse storm blows up. Or he becomes a fool, a lunatic; or *iNyama-emBi* i.e., bad luck will dog his footsteps.

c. Speech

Of speech restrictions there are many. The lightning doctor is expected to concentrate on the business in hand - the contest against the storm. He must plan how to send lightning away and not allow himself to be distracted (Za). Smiles and laughter must be avoided; he must frown like the sky and appear as if roused to anger. He must not stand in his hut while it thunders; he must not use the words 'sky' or 'lightning' in his harangue. This is both Za and H1, for lightning must be respected. If somebody accompanies him across the veld in a storm, the lightning doctor must not talk to him, nor allow him to come too close. For although the treatment he received makes him immune against the thunder-bolt, his immediate surroundings are more exposed to 'strokes'.

Some heavenherds are completely silent when facing the storm. They rely on gesticulations rather than spells and appeals. Biting off a piece from the *amaKhubalo* necklace and spitting it against the sky, they pull out one of the pegs from the doorway of the Great Hut, point it against the storm, strike their shields, make passes against the clouds, and waft them on in the direction they want the storm to take. A variation of this behaviour is fancied by the 'boy' type of lightning doctor. According to (172) they are called *abaFana*, because in 'handling a storm' they whistle, jump about, and make passes with sticks and switches as herdboys are wont to do. They show their posteriors to the storm in almost adolescent wantonness and resort to obscenities. Add to this that the heavenherd does not wash in summer as herdboys do not wash in winter and the analogy seems pretty complete. Many lightning doctors, of course, call on the names of the medicines to make them effective; and they scold, praise, threaten and cajole the storm to bend it to their will. Asmus gives a list of medicines which are used to quieten a storm.

A heavenherd applies suitable fats to his hindhead, so that when he withdraws into his hut after his feat of gesticulation or oratory lightning is barred from following him.

D. COMPANIONSHIP TABOOS

The Zulu say: "A lightning doctor must be supported in his abstentions."

a. Reserved Areas

The heavenherd's Wis and Chn must not enter his residence, when he is preparing to fight a storm (Za). They cannot touch his belongings and utensils. Only a person authorized by the expert may touch his clothes and place them, for instance, outside his hut during a storm. This person has to undergo a 'cleansing' after handling them. A person who meets a lightning doctor during a storm should not go too close to him, lest he bring lightning down upon himself. When caught in a storm, it is advisable for anyone to avoid respectfully (H1) the middle of the road: it is the path reserved for the lightning and its doctor! Trees or cattle struck by lightning should not be touched by anyone except a qualified heavenherd (Za).

b. Sexual Restraints

Abstention from sexual intercourse is general during thundery conditions.

c. Speech

The words for heaven, thunder and lightning should not be used during a storm for fear of bringing down some evil, e.g., the doctor might fail to control lightning and it would strike someone, perhaps the doctor himself. In some families this avoidance is observed even if there is no storm. During the storm the lightning doctor's personal name is avoided by people who have the right to use it, e.g., his father, mother and elder brothers. Everyone avoids referring to lightning doctors especially during a storm; they might otherwise turn the thunderbolts in the direction of the trespasser and revenge themselves immediately. There should be complete silence in the homestead when the heavenherd addresses the storm; if necessary he will give the order: "Be silent altogether!" The person who accompanies a heavenherd in a storm should not speak to him. Nor should he walk behind him. The heaven might 'think' that the companion wishes to kill the expert (Callaway:1868:379) and send an accident to the former. A woman with a young child should cover herself with a blanket and sit in the apse to respect lightning (H1).

No firebrand should be passed behind the heavenherd's back, nor should any member of his family go past the main post of the hut during a storm. They should not look at any white objects but cover them, e.g., water, sour and sweet milk in pail or pot should be covered with a mat or cloak or placed in the apse. Lightning likes to strike white objects. Water should not be thrown through the doorway, especially during a storm. The objection is against doing it from a standing position with the water splashing noisily into the yard (Za).

d. Food/Work

Neither sour nor fresh milk may be eaten when it thunders; it would attract lightning. It is customary not to eat at all during a storm. Green crops must not be gathered during thundery weather (Za): they should remain till they are ripe. A lightning doctor, like the chief, regulates the consumption of the First Fruits. He announces that all people (of his homestead, but also of the neighbourhood) must abstain from the green crops; when he eats them for the first time, he orders his family to abstain from work in the fields that day (Za) and 'strengthens' himself by sucking medicines from his finger tips beforehand. Grindstones may not be sharpened, or rather roughened in a woman's hut. Since this sets sparks flying, she starts a quarrel with lightning, which gets annoyed and will strike her. Hence young women sharpen their stones outside the hut, - there sparks are less noticeable, and if necessary doctors fix the stones against any evil.

E. WHEN LIGHTNING STRIKES

During a storm people may seek shelter under all trees except *umSenge* (cabbage-tree) and *umNgwe* (vaalboom). When a tree has been struck nobody may touch it, and people are afraid *(ukwEsaba)* to do so. However the lightning doctor uses the bark of such a tree and the grass burned round it as a cure for people knocked unconscious by lightning, to which end he also uses SM. At the tree itself sickly children can be 'strengthened'. Being held by its M the Ch is

given a medicated enema by the lightning doctor which is run off into a hole dug near the tree. A rag containing the child's body-dirt and the reed used for the enema are also put in. The Ch is then washed with medicated water which is made to run into the hole, and this is then carefully covered. When the three leave, they may not look back (Za) if the cure is to be effective.

If cattle have been struck, people say: "Let us not go near, then heaven will not come to us!" Because of his sympathy with lightning, perhaps also because of his *umMnyama* (fierceness) the lightning doctor need not observe this precaution. He prepares the flesh with his sprinkling medicine, so that it may be touched and even consumed. To make the beast's owner and his family fit to eat the flesh, they must suck medicine from the finger tips, vomit and wash ritually. (140) reports that a beast struck in the pen was buried there and the people chewed and swallowed small pieces treated with medicines so as to 'strengthen' themselves. Through such burial homage is rendered (s c i l. to lightning?). There should be no complaints about a beast thus lost: "The Lord has taken his own" (Callaway:1868:53, 60). A stranger, and a prince to boot could make so bold as to milk cows belonging to a herd which had been struck by lightning (Fynn:3).

When a homestead is struck by lightning nobody may attempt to extinguish the fire. No outsiders should go to the stricken homestead which must be completely isolated, for both its people and cattle are afflicted with *umMnyama* until they are cleansed of it. Sexual intercourse, the cooking of food, the eating of SM are suspended. Someone must, of course, be sent to call the lightning doctor; this messenger alone may leave the kraal, but sometimes a neighbour is called from afar to convey the message. A formal announcement of the misfortune is also made to the Brs of the kraalhead. In either case the messenger may not enter the kraals concerned, but shouts the news from a distance, lest he convey the contagion of *umMnyama*. From the relatives thus notified condolence visits are expected as well as active assistance in rebuilding the hut destroyed. In the past a hut struck by lightning was re-built on another site; sometimes the whole kraal was shifted (140).

The afflicted kraal must be 'cleansed'. When the doctor arrives he imposes on the inmates certain interdicts, e.g., in (140)'s case: Not to knock stones together, not to bring anything green, e.g., veld spinach into the kraal except by the main gate, not to bring in water by a side entrance, not to use certain kinds of wood as fuel. A goat is slaughtered, the stomach contents mixed with certain medicines and the people rubbed with it *(ukuGeza)*. They are also scarified. Charred and powdered flesh of a black sheep is inoculated into the cuts, so that the heaven may be dark and not strike there again, or be befuddled and unable to see its victim in future (140).

When a victim is struck dead every inmate of the kraal fasts for some time: even the drinking of water is prohibited. No wailing for such a person is heard, for it is feared that lightning will strike the loud mourners. The corpse must be buried outside the homestead and no Bringing Home is celebrated for him, since he does not become an ancestor *(iDlozi)*. Some say: "The Lord has found fault with him; the Lord has struck; the Lord is angry." Others believe that he has been taken to the sky.

Heavenherds, and persons who imitate them, may use their power over the heaven in a manner which is not beneficial but to wreak their vengeance on an enemy. If a person sends lightning to strike his enemy's homestead or to kill him, he is supposed to abstain from all contact with his fellowmen, to avoid his Wi and certain foods until he is treated by the sucking of medicines and the use of emetics, "so that he does not kill another person!" (115).
At least one informant boasted about his ability to strike his rival in love with lightning.

F. HAIL AND ITS TABOO REGIMEN

A day on which it hails is considered a taboo day. Cattle are brought home from the pasture. All work in the fields is suspended, such as tilling, ploughing or weeding. It would hail more; more lightning is invited. Work in the homestead, however, e.g., the repair of fences is not stopped. Hs avoid their Wis after hail; there are abstentions from food, especially SM. Direct references to the sky and hail are taboo.

Specialist hail doctors submit themselves to a regimen of abstentions in order to acquire or maintain their power. This regimen extends over the whole range of human behaviour from the isolation of the practitioner to abstentions from sexual contacts, speech and food prohibitions. "If a doctor has not fasted, hail-stones strike him dangerously; they make it manifest that he has no power. When thus defeated by hail, the sky-herd enters his hut b a c k w a r d s. He will require to be purified *(iHlanziwe)*, that he may have courage," (Callaway:1868:377, 387) and that he be strengthened for subsequent bouts. The backward entry into his hut is, as we know, a breach of a general taboo.

1. The Psychological Concomitants

of the taboos observed during a storm are expressed in a series of statements which can be culled from Callaway (1868:19, 56/7, 60, 117, 403, 405). When a thunderstorm comes, it is said the King *(inKosi)*, the Lord of Heaven, is playing. (The implication is plainly: Don't worry.) If the storm comes nearer, it is admitted that fear enters the heart: "Why are you afraid, when the King is playing for his pleasure?" The older people say: "It is but fear," implying that it is a natural psychic reaction to thunder and lightning. But fear arouses the question of guilt, and in fact fear may be caused by a guilty conscience. "What thing belonging to the King have you eaten or taken?" or "What have you injured which belongs to the King?" And if someone is struck it may be said: "The Lord of lightning has found fault with him." These unsettling doubts are irksome. Hence people encourage one another, saying they have committed no sin against the being in heaven who wields lightning.

It is in this connection that Callaway's informants use the word "to sin". The context shows that the trespass thought of is a breach of the hail or lightning taboos. If people go to a beast struck by lightning and it thunders after that, they know that by going there they have "sinned" against the order imposed by heaven, and it will punish by striking them as it struck the cattle. In other words, the 'sin' against the King, the Heaven, is touching cattle struck by lightning! Similarly the cause of a fall of hail is looked for in the violation of taboos generally observed after a hail storm. The ideology of weather behaviour then forms a self-contained system: Hail and lightning do not strike after a breach of the incest rules but after a violation of hail and lightning taboos.

In addition each of these natural phenomena has its own order which man can help to maintain, if he hopes to escape their destructive influence. When dark clouds arise, it is said: "The Lord is arming, he will cause it to hail. Put things in order, for you will be injured. This was said to our mothers, and they set all things in order, cattle and corn." In practice these observances have little of the dramatic in them, as we observed in a hut in the Nkandla district, while an electrical storm raged outside. All the kraalhead's and his SiDa's actions, performed almost nonchalantly, were observances to Hl lightning!

On the evidence supplied by Callaway, and the background of the special order set up for each phenomenon, it is clear that it is the violation of the hail or lightning regimen and possibly of specific regulations issued by a lightning doctor, which are 'punished' with misfortune. The moral factor certainly is indistinct, especially since it is also maintained that "the lord is playing" and that there are two kinds of lightning as well as hail, viz., good and evil forms! (Callaway:1868:60, 403, 407).

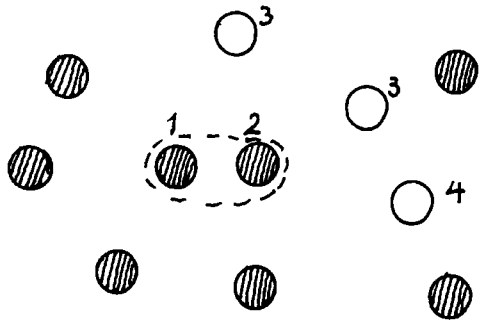


Fig. 48. Reaction to stroke of lightning
1 James Mabanga's father
2 James Mabanga's hut (struck by lightning)
3 Kheswa homesteads
4 Ntshangase homestead

2. *Lightning and Taboo regimen:* (390), Shayomunye Mabanga (now Nzuza), FSi of James Mabanga, interpreter (140), whose house was struck by lightning, reports: The kraal layout (Fig. 48) shows the cluster of Mabanga Kraals (shaded); all eight kraals were told, the afflicted homestead being in the centre.

No outsider, not even neighbours, may enter the homestead when a hut has been struck (Za). The inhabitants of the 'struck' kraal, in turn, may not leave it. They shout to a neighbour to call a doctor; they must remain within the fence of the homestead. The doctor is not paid; he may be given 1-2 shillings to 'thank him'. It takes the doctor a few days to make suitable medicines; they are heated in potsherds and then sucked from the fingers; also emetics are taken and scarifications done. Before the doctor comes to treat them, the people may not eat SM, it would encourage lightning. The doctor imposes further interdicts. The people should not cross rivers; H and Wi should not sleep together: they are like ill people. The treatment in general purports to discourage lightning.

A report must be made to the umHlobo (lineage/family). To F, FBrs, Brs, Sis, even if married far away, messengers must be sent. The kraalowner's M living in Johannesburg, was informed by letter. After the doctor had finished with his doings people came to express their sympathy *(ukuKhalela)*, the six FFBrSos of the *umHlobo*, also the neighbours from the Kheswa and Ntshangase kraals within a radius of about two miles. A neighbour is a person who helps in trouble and who is helped in turn: an official report had been made to them all. The doctoring and consequently the Za'ing took place in (140)'s kraal only. Among others who came to condole were (140)'s married Sis and Mabanga from a distance: half-Brs of (140)'s F – the informant is not sure who came of (140)'s M's people and who of his in-laws. The agnates came to 'comfort' (140) once only. They came on different days. The hut was never rebuilt and (140) removed from the site altogether.

People came to comfort (140) because his heart was sore, but also to remove any suspicion concerning sorcery *(uCabanga KaBi)*: they assure themselves that no suspicion is harboured against them. Suspicion points first of all to neighbours, then distant relatives *(umHlobo)*. A diviner is consulted as soon as the doctor is done with his work. Any neighbour, or any relative who does not come to condole is suspect; he is presumed to rejoice over the misfortune suffered. The suspect may have quarelled with the sufferer and hate him. Admittedly some who do come are hypocrites; some come to hide their responsibility in the misfortune. A person who is prevented by, say, illness, comes to 'comfort' as soon as the impediment is removed.

G. THE TABOOS OF RAIN-MAKING

There is a strong tradition among the Zulu that certain individuals are capable of producing rain, as the saying: "the heaven of Umjokwane is thundering and raining" proves, or the reference to "the steenbok of Mbete" as a powerful rain medicine. The general public dabbles in rain making. During a drought parents send their young sons to the river to beat the water with branches of the cabbage-tree, so as to spatter it about widely. Young girls may be despatched to strew bundles with medicine into the river. Or a large area of grass on a hill-

top is burned. The smoke darkens the sun, and on the principle of sympathetic magic, the sky will cloud over and rain. The rain-provoking *ukuBhina* rite of adolescent girls has been mentioned elsewhere.

The rain doctor churns his medicines so as to produce foam. Mbete did so in the river bed of the Mfolosi: umKqaekana carried it out in a forest cave. The localities chosen represent isolation areas for the expert; they are far away from human habitations. The scantiness of the information about rain-makers is notorious. Yet it is possible to recognize the general taboo pattern being applied in their case too. Some assert that a large snake dwells with a good rain-maker and lies on his medicines to give them strength. This belief certainly keeps callers away from the hut. The profession is inherited in the male line: its secrets are thus retained in an agnatic group closely tied together in interests. umKqaekana's son accompanied him to the forest. The companionship of a sexually immature person points to the tabooed state of the rain-maker. In Zulu theory, he should have an obedient assistant at hand who would not refuse to carry out orders and thus induce the heavens, too, to be yielding in sympathy. The rain-maker presumably abstains from sexual contacts before he works his medicines. Of Madungudungu, Zwide's daughter, who was a busy rain doctor, it is reported that she refused to marry and died a virgin.

The rain-maker's occupation is a risky one. umKqaekana on one occasion when "his rain faded out", was attacked by a group of men at night. They clubbed him at the doorway of his hut and claimed back their cattle, which they had paid him. At the next drought he was poisoned. It is probably significant that in both cases no attempt was made to spear him, i.e., to shed his blood. An excessive rain followed his death, so the legend goes. It swept away the gardens of the murderers, and was so plentiful that it "might cover the dead body of the rain-maker". This suggests that he was buried near the river, a further sign of his tabooed state, as is the fact that the reaction to his murder was violent and resembled the coming true of a taboo sanction.

Rain-makers apparently violate certain taboos with impunity. When they throw the body of a ground hornbill into a pool, "the heaven becomes soft... it ceases to be hard; it wails for it by raining, by wailing a funeral wail" (Callaway:1868:408). The ground hornbill with its booming call is till today a good omen for rain. The *inGqungqulu* eagle also foretells rain when it calls aloud. If killed it produces a weeping heaven. Callaway does not report who kills the birds. It can only be the rain-maker who is entitled to do in a ritual manner what is prohibited (Za/Hl) to ordinary folk.

The need for rain is, of course, felt by whole communities. The failure of a rain-maker provoked his murder, his 'execution' by his disappointed clients. Such reactions justified the chief's claim to assume control himself over the conditions and the process of rain-making. In a general drought Mpande called Mbete Ngcobo from the Tugela to apply his medicines in the heart of Zululand. Some chiefs acted as rain-makers themselves. Mlotsha, chief of the abakwaNkosi, levied black oxen from his subjects to be slaughtered to the ancestors for rain. Langalibalele, the Hlubi chief, was famous beyond his tribe for his rain-making ability. In a drought the Qwabe chief ordered men and women of his tribe to assemble at a river and to beat the water there with *umSenge* (cabbage tree) branches and to frolic about, each sex by itself. Afterwards black oxen were slaughtered to the tribal ancestors and the meat eaten by the assembly.

There is little on record concerning the taboos observed by rain-makers or their companions. Callaway (1868:92/3) gives a striking account: Shaka in a drought summoned the heads of the villages. He offered black *ezomiZimu* cattle to his ancestors, singing a song in which he interceded with his forefathers for rain. The men had girded themselves with the girdles of young girls for the occasion! The flesh was dedicated to the ancestors in the huts of old women, and no one was allowed to enter them for a day. Next day the meat was boiled in many pots and was placed on the feeding mats when the sun was declining. The meat was not

taken up by any of the councillors until all were seated and before they had sung a song very loudly. They stamped the ground with their feet so that it resounded with the noise. They carried the meat to their mouths at the same time. The taboo implications can be inferred from this incomplete account: the men wearing the girdles of girls, a taboo breach of the inversion type; the stamping of feet, a taboo breach of the provocation type to secure the attention of the dead; the eating in unison, a condition-fixed action allowing the easy establishment of a violation which might explain failure of the rite.

The most important royal rain rite was connected with the royal graves at Nobamba, *emaKhosini*. The king assured himself by various steps that nothing but the sacrifice of black ancestral cattle would break the drought. He had sent rain-makers, rubbed all over with their medicines, to the big rivers where, standing up to their shoulders in the water, they called for rain. If this was of no avail the king would send men out to untie all grass knots and pull out all weather pegs on the hill-tops, for they might have been set up by wizards to bar rain. The next step, according to Asmus (p. 147), would be to send out two old men and two old women to spend three days and nights in the open veld. (Very few Zulu spend a night outside the kraal; they are the half-mad sufferers from the 'diviner's disease', or wizards: *abaThakathi)*. Their task is to find out from heaven what sacrificial animals would be acceptable and what interdicts should be imposed on the tribe. Some assert that the cattle selected were driven to the royal graves to be dedicated there while praises and prayers were uttered, and slaughtered afterwards at the Nobamba kraal (Stuart: 1925:224, and Nobamba informants). Others remember occasions when *ezomiZimu* cattle were actually killed at the graves. (118) thought that the king did not Za when he made rain (but he presumed that abstentions on the king's part impaired his 'dignity'); no women were allowed to be present; the genealogy and praises of the royal ancestry were recited; the king addressed his ancestors to act as go-between with the Lord of Heaven, and took care to talk in a gentle voice; the weather doctors stirred their medicines into foam; a beast was entirely immolated and while the bones were burning a small cloud appeared to quench the sacrificial fire. When the company had returned to their homes, torrential rains would commence.

Asmus notes that the senior praiser announced the tribal interdicts at the sacrifice, i.e., the rules brought by the old couples, e.g., men should not sleep with their wives, youths should not court girls, only such sorghum could be eaten which had hung long in the smoke, a nursing mother should sprinkle a few drops of her milk on a red-hot hoe before suckling her child, and such a woman should wear grass strips round her hips. Trespassers were threatened with execution.

A survey of the relations between royal and private rain-makers reveals that they competed with varying fortunes, that the magical power which they acquired through the taboo regimen had profound political significance. Before Shaka (Callaway 1868: 92) people used to pray for rain on their own, presumably in small kinship or neighbourhood groups. Shaka centralized this ritual. The change-over was accompanied by the emergence of a mythical charter for the royal rain control. Bryant(1929:38) reports that Ndaba as a herdboy arranged his make-believe warriors, i.e., stones, in rows and singing and dancing before them, he roused each time a cloud, growing into a storm with torrential rains. It is for this reason that Zulu kings proceed to Ndaba's grave for rain sacrifice. Chiefs and kings certainly engaged rain-makers as part of their prerogative. Langalibalele, was a rain maker at home; he also served Mpande for a year as such. When the Natal Government banished him, Cetshwayo requested his services again (PAR: S.N.A. 1/6/2 no. 53, 54, 58). The royal control implied their power to kill unsuccessful rain-makers. When Mzilikazi experienced a great drought at his ekuPumeleni kraal he called all rain-makers together to make rain. When they failed he had them tied up and thrown into the nearest pool. Today the failure of a rain-maker no longer has politico-legal implications, i.e., he could not be tried in court for failure. A wise rain-maker would consult with his colleagues to have his misfortune ritually removed. This contrasts with umKqaekana's experience. When Shaka had all doctors killed (for not discovering that "the heaven" = Zulu = Shaka had stained the door posts of the royal hut with blood), this famous weather doctor fled

the country. Before this umKqaekana had already been prevented from showing his skill among the Zulu, for the king did not want an "inferior commoner", "a child of nothing", to have power over Heaven *(ukuPhatha iZulu)*. Kings and chiefs were, of course, bent on acquiring a weather maker's 'miracle'. Mzimba, forefather of the Cebekhulu clan, owned a cow gifted with the power of foretelling rain by bellowing. Mpande deprived him both of his cow and his life. Presumably, A. Smith's note (p. 44) that "the king only has the right to whistle; the people never attempt to do it" defines a royal weather-making prerogative in Dingane's time.

The king's power of rain-making was ritually expressed at the First Fruits. When the new laws had been announced for the coming year a special song *(iNgoma)* was sung; it had the power of producing rain. If it did not, people said: "It will not rain for a long time, for it has not filled the footprints of the chief." (Callaway:1868:409). According to Lugg, the First Fruits song among the amaBaso ran: "The calf (= chief) celebrates the First Fruits. Ye ye, and the sky becomes overcast!" Fuze (p. 161) confirms this: if there was no rain at the First Fruits the sacrifice at the royal graves was resorted to. It should be noted that the *iNgoma* was sung by the army when it encountered too much rain on the march. Away from home it achieved the very opposite for which it was sung at home, viz., the cessation of rain.

The royal rain control implied that there was great danger of a drought on the death of a king and before the accession of his successor. According to Wanger (Collector No. 287), the following rite was performed after the death of Chief Mkungo of the isiQoza tribe: The councillors recited the praises of the chiefly ancestors standing, then six black oxen were killed, and the chief councillor addressed a complaint to the ancestors against the deceased: "Why do you bring such a calamity on us, when while you were with us, we gave you all you wanted and obeyed your behests? Now, great chief, what great wrong have we inflicted on you?" Rain invariably followed the recital of the praises.

In exercising their control over rain the kings could also obtain rain from beyond the tribal borders. During an excessive drought the king sent black cattle to the Swazi king with a request for rain (Mpanza:53). Langalibalele sent so much rain as a return gift for a lovely Swazi princess that two great lakes arose on the path of the returning delegation (von Fintel: b). The Zulu kings were in league with Mojaji, Queen of the Lovedu, for rain.

Rain and drought are caused by three powers in uneasy relation with one another: the rain-makers, the king, the evil-doers. Because of the great emotional and economic significance of rain the great kings outdid the rain-makers by claiming a monopoly in rain-making. This they secured through taboos against commoners planting or using royal medicines or calling in rain-makers from outside the realm.

V. THE TABOO REGIMEN DURING HUNTING

A. INDIVIDUAL, NEIGHBOURHOOD AND GROUP HUNTING

In the case of an i n d i v i d u a l h u n t *(umHlwayo)* there are few restraints. When a man goes out alone, blame for any failure cannot be in dispute. Sometimes half a dozen or so men from a neighbourhood hunt together; they move in a semi-circle without forming "wings" (410). In such a party vicarious abstention is practised by the leader. (373): "Before a hunt I can lie on my left side only. The purpose is (by sympathetic magic) to have the game sleep like that, so that it is not alert *(iziHlonipheke)*." *42*

(373) also admits that he cannot lie with his wife the previous night, and explains, in a lowered voice, that he would have to turn to the right in intercourse which is impossible because of the first interdict! A violation would not lower his strength, but would cause the

buck to run away, so that only few would be killed. The other hunters would then realize that he had broken the taboo, for it was he who had to abstain the previous night. He also abstains from meat on the morning of the hunt, lest he acquire *umMnyama* and they would kill nothing.

There are more prohibitions in a communal hunt (*iNqinc*). Such a hunt is announced by an important person of the district *(umBusi weNqina, umThonga)*. The message is taken by a boy carrying a branch of the wild cabbage tree *(umSenge)* to the nearest kraal. He enters the pen (a taboo breach), places the branch on his back and imitates the bleating of a buck. He must not speak, lest the good luck depart from him (Za). Someone from the kraal strikes him with the branch to indicate that the invitation is accepted, and he is then obliged to pass on message and luck to the next kraal (Samuelson, L.H.: 187).

The night before the appointed day the hunters abstain from sex intercourse, to avoid ill-luck. (402): "They have called the ancestors to give them luck and can't have intercourse in their presence!"They apply charms of fat and charred bark to their bodies, and make even their dogs fast. Next morning each hunter addresses his ancestors in his pen and puts his weapons down for a while by way of dedication. ((373), however, says he appeals to ancestors only before a law case! The men also watch out for good and bad omens.

The hunters meet in the morning, often in the pen of the hunt-leader. He appears wearing leaves of the cabbage tree instead of his *umuTsha*, so that luck will be with him. The hunters perform a leap-dance, uttering boasts. They form a circle: a boy in the centre imitates the movements of a buck and its dying convulsions as the hunters carry out a pantomime of stabbing, shouting phrases such as "We shall spear our game!" Or the leader picks up tufts of grass with both hands (in the veld) and mimicking a browsing animal, he suddenly rubs the tufts against his knees 'to strengthen' himself, and throws them over his shoulder. (402) reports that the hunt master entering the pen with the hunters shouts *maBandla*! He then asks 'at the ancestors' *(eDlozini)* for luck, and begins to wallow in the dry cowdung and to cry like a buck, to which his party answers shshshsh! The master responds: "Here is the game, don't abandon it!" The rite is variously described as a starting signal for the hunters, as a spell to secure game, or as a preparatory rite on which the day of the hunt is announced. The hunters then move off in a large semi-circle which gradually closes its wings forward. Animals which try to escape are stabbed.

The non-observance of the interdicts before a communal hunt is believed to result in misfortune: little or no game is seen, or accidents happen: an assegai strikes a hunter; a man is gored by a buck or trampled by big game (216). The hunters conclude that someone has broken a taboo. No action is taken against the suspect - no confession asked for: there is no trial on a hunt. Efforts are, however, made to lay the bad influence. The hunters chew the leaves of the *umPhala* tree, spit on their spears or spurt their spittle in the direction of home or the rising sun, and shout: *"Phuma mThakathi!"* (Get out, wizard!) The ritual driving away of the personified evil provides sufficient emotional release. (393) reports a repetition of the game-calling rite at this stage.

The distribution of the booty is regulated by generally acknowledged rules. An animal belongs to the hunter who struck it first with the spear; the hind leg goes to the second man, the foreleg to the third. (393): "The lungs are the perquisite of the master; if somebody else took them, his companions would remonstrate, but there is no legal remedy. Animals which have been worried to death by dogs go to the master." When the party prepares for home, all game, according to (402), is piled on the veld. The hunters sit before the pile and then perform a dance around it *(ukuSina)* to which spectators may come. The game is taken to the headman of the district, so that he can see the number killed, and be given his share of two to three head.

Each hunter now goes home with his animals. His Wis receive him singing and dancing with joy. The game is skinned in the pen by boys. Women handle and cook game as distinct from beef. It may be cooked inside a hut, and no sections are offered to the ancestors. A few of the

buck are taboo to the women in pregnancy (cf. *uFuzo* taboos), and certain animals are royal game.

The same rules of distribution apply for game as for beef, except that the chest *(isiFuba)* may not be given to women, 'since the game is killed with arms' (H1). Nothing, however, would happen to them if they ate of it! Game is eaten mainly in the hunter's family; neighbours may join only if they are hunters. Non-hunters may not eat game, or only inferior portions. Women, however, eat game, because they observed the companionship taboos (Za). The men eat their share in the kraalhead's residence, the women in the Great Hut, young men and girls in a kitchen. After eating game, hunters pat the hearth stones, thanking the ancestors for the kill or asking for similar luck next time.

Hunters do not abstain from sex intercourse when they have returned, except when they have killed certain animals, e.g., crocodile or otter. Although such a man is not considered 'unclean', precautions are taken by him, e.g., he throws away certain parts of the animals with the ash. This is done, because the otter is difficult to find, it comes out at night only, it is an *iNyamazana emBi*.

B. TABOO REGIMENS

1. *Reserved Areas*

The taboo regimen of hunters clearly shows the tendency to isolate them. An individual hunter should remain unseen or the buck will disappear. The hunters for a communal hunt avoid sitting with old people or young folk (Za). Either it will cause accidents, or, on the sympathetic principle, the men will move as slowly as dotards or be as indolent as youths. Hunters should not walk through a group of people who cross their path. They would pick up bad luck. Since the disregarding of a bad omen results, like the non-observance of a taboo, in bad luck and misfortune, hunting omens have a close connection with taboos. Similarly as a ritual taboo breach is sometimes employed to obtain luck by provocation, so the bold destruction of a bad omen is recommended as a means of reversing its baneful sequela. Among Zulu hunters the vlei lourie *(iGwalagwala)* and the weasel *(uChakide)* are bad omens, the red-winged partridge *(inTendele)* and the swallow *(iNkonjane)* are favourable.

No man should go hunting without being properly dressed for the occasion. Hunting weapons should be used for no other purpose but hunting. From this rule are excluded the hunting stick which may be used in playful bouts, and the war spear - which must however be 'cleansed' before it can be used in a hunt. Hunters must not touch dead game which has been secured by a property mark. Such marks are the open wound, the cut-off tail, the leaf of the *umZane*, even a boy lying on the carcase (Kidd:319; Krige:206; Angas). Some of these marks are taboo signs, for they are magically significant, e.g., Baumann (1950) makes it clear that the cut-off tail ensures the draining off of the power of revenge of the dead animal. Some informants class these signs with hunter regulations rather than with taboos. A number of rules control the movements of the men: they must remain in their formation; the youthful carriers should not abandon their posts. If a dispute arises the hunters gather and a 'case' is heard at once, since in a communal hunt there is always a chief or headman. If the argument continues the animal in dispute is forfeit to the chief. The transition from taboo to actionable rule is comparatively easy.

2. *Sexual Restraints*

No hunter before a communal hunt has sex intercourse with his wife. The rule that the men must sleep on one side of the body only and not turn on to the other (Bryant:1949:683) is, as we have seen, connected with this taboo. The sanctions are weak: (212) speaking from experience claims: "Nothing happens if the taboo is broken." Others state that the hunter's 'zeal will evaporate', his strength 'dissolve', and he will have bad luck and accidents. He is called a 'fool' *(isiPhoxo)*.

In a case reported by (393), the hunters asked their master: Why did you sleep with your wife? The master did not admit anything, but they were convinced he had done so, for they found no animals. They scolded him, and he never called a hunt afterwards; his 'reputation was finished'. Even if the master kills only few buck, while his followers are lucky, they will ask him: "What have you done; did you sleep with your wife?" His manner may show his guilt - he looks down, because *iHlazo* is on him; he gets *amaHloni*. The hunters, cheated of the reward of their effort, may 'fine' the master, and he pays up as a matter of *umThetho*. A master is, of course, anxious to lead a successful hunt and tries to secure the best conditions of success, including the observance of vicarious taboos.

(373, 208, 233, 238) state that only the leader of the communal hunt abstains from sexual intercourse. If anything goes wrong he is blamed. No punishment or penalty would be imposed, but he would be in 'disgrace' *(amaHloni)*. (216) adds that the leader should be an elderly man, not 'virile' or vigorous because the buck might take after him and become unconquerable. The Wi of a hunter may refuse to cohabit with him before a communal hunt. It depends on her character and the strength of her wish to prevent accidents, especially to her husband. No man forces his wife to have intercourse in such circumstances; he would be considered 'to lack wisdom'. The sexual taboo is the essential hunting taboo and refers to any woman, not only a wife. King Solomon's case, however, shows that it is on occasion violated.

3. Speech

The hunting party should not talk much at the meeting place. Singing, however, is allowed before they discuss their plan of campaign. To speak noisily, and, some assert, to speak at all before or during the hunt is prohibited. The prayers to the ancestors in the cattle-pen and the bragging during the leap-dance are exceptions. Hunters in the bush call to one another to keep in touch, but this must be done in a low voice. Profane or vulgar language is, as in all taboo situations, to be avoided. 'Swearing' leads to a quarrel and, since the hunters are armed, to a fight which may end in bloodshed. This rational explanation may have a magical background. Boastful talk and the raising of a false alarm are deprecated. Concerning the former the Zulu zay: A hunter dies hunting, i.e., boasting is foolish since a buck may kill a hunter.

Game, especially big game, must not be referred to by its proper name when it is near. The animal would charge the offender; it would cause injury to members of the party. (212) maintains that the name avoidance refers to leopard, lion and buffalo only; others extend the list to all large buck. All agree with (101) that the avoidance is observed 'to respect (H1) the animals' rather than because some of them are 'royal game'. Some say it is a kind of mock respect *(ukuBhinqa, ukuBhuqa)* which aims at preventing the animal from going into hiding. (178) shouted: 'Kill this d o g' when a leopard was mauling him, not forgetting in his peril that the enemy at his throat had to be 'respected'. (212) contends that if one mentions an animal's name inadvertently, no harm befalls the speaker if he quickly closes his fist. The following H1 terms for animals of the chase are used: *iNgwe* (leopard) is replaced by **iNja* (lit. dog); *iBhubesi* (lion) becomes **Ngonyama* ; the crocodile (*inGwenya*) becomes a log (**uGodo*); *iMamba* (black poisonous snake) is referred to as **uThi* (a stick) as may be *iNsimba* (civet-cat). For *iNgulube* (wild pig) **iThole* (calf) is used; for *imBabala* (a buck) they say **amaKhala maKhulu* (big nostrils). Practice varies considerably: (178) thinks that buffalo, hippo, and elephant are not thus H1'd, only certain birds, viz., hamerkop, ground hornbill and ostrich (*iNtshe*), but he has forgotten the covering terms. When a hyena is seen its proper name is not used, nor an avoidance term. A shout of "Be careful" is raised so that it may be killed. (402) reports the same of a lion. Attention to his presence is drawn by the neutral *"Nangu"* (he is here). Some informants state that most 'buck' may be mentioned by name except *iNsimba* (civet-cat) for which **uThi* is used and *uChakide* (weasel) which is referred to as * *umGomo*. If this precaution is disregarded, they will not 'be seen'. When recounting their exploits at home, hunters use the ordinary names.

4. Food

With regard to food abstentions, some hunters do not eat SM before a communal hunt; others abstain from beer. Those who do not admit that SM is taboo, may yet concede that it is unwise to take it, since it brings on thirst! SM supplies are never taken on a hunt, but beer is occasionally taken. Some hunters do not have a breakfast on the day of the hunt or eat only cold dry porridge. All hunters abstain from meat and cowpeas (Za). "If they ate meat, they would get *inHliziyo emBi,"* (an evil heart). The pancreas is especially dangerous. No hunter eats head and tail of an animal which was killed by another hunter (Za).

No man eats of the first buck he has killed. It would make him incapable of killing another buck; 'it belongs to his grandmother' (FM: *okaNinakhulu)*. The skin goes to the hunter's F, the head to the young boys, the rest is eaten by the old women. The hunter's Ms and GMs must not wash hands for this meal, but rub their hands with ash before and after eating. They must not speak during the meal, but thank the ancestors for the meat and express the hope that their 'son' will kill more. The carcase must have been in the apse for two days in contrast to other game which remains there one night only. In other words, an initial sacrifice (a First Game Offering) goes to the ancestors represented by the hunter's FM. Occasionally game is treated like a SAC. The carcase is then deposited in the apse of the Great Hut (a dedication) for a night; and the entrails stuck against the back roof. Next day the meat is cooked by boys and old women over a fire-place near the Great Hut, set up with stones gathered in the veld. It is taboo (Za) to use other than the following types of firewood for game, viz., *umNqawe, umuNga* and *umTholo,* only the last of which might be used for beef too. The princWi makes the fire. The same pots are used as for beef.

(402) drew attention to a curious taboo, when he said that game should not be eaten in the daytime or with light in the hut (Za) or the eaters must close their eyes. Otherwise the hunters will lose their luck. At the kraalhead's request some person extinguishes the fire in the residence, the princWi in the Great Hut, the best hunter among the young folk in the kitchen. Under such conditions the eaters grope for their share in the dark. Before eating game hands are rubbed in ash and only then washed. The ash is thrown out at the kraal gate or scattered in the pen. It cannot be mixed with the ash obtained from cooking vegetables and beef, lest the luck turn. Nor can this ash be left near the Great Hut for people to step over - it would be a violation of respect (H1). Others say nothing happens if someone steps over the ash.

Hunting being an occupation where risks are taken and chance plays a decisive role, c o m p a n i o n s h i p t a b o o s loom large. While the hunt is on, the hunter's Wis and Chn do not leave their homestead, lest they take 'luck' to another kraal, nor may they strut about in their own kraal. Wis should stay inside the huts dressed up with top-knot and kilt (402). They cannot touch the hunter's belongings, it would scare the game away, and the hunters might lose their way. If the hunter's Wi or Ch steps over any of his weapons, his spear breaks when used. The hunter's family avoid loud laughter, noisiness, quarrels and vulgar or profane language. They should speak softly. Undisciplined conduct spoils the hunter's chances! During the men's absence certain types of work are under interdict: the women must not touch water, they cannot thatch a hut or cut reeds for it. They cannot touch a broom nor sweep huts, lest luck be swept out of them or the buck from the hunting grounds *(ukuShanela)*. In short, they behave as if they were in the presence of their HF and they H1'd him. (402): "There is no avoidance of the names of animals or weapons in the kraal. No meat is cooked during the hunter's absence, except perhaps bones without flesh on them. Some women collect the bones of game killed in previous hunts and cook them while the hunt is on". In these various restraints luck is secured and accidents averted.

Emphasis in the sanctions of companionship taboos is on the prevention of bad luck. Good luck is obtained by the hunter's own abstentions. Thus (110) states: The hunter's abstentions are observed so that luck *(inHlahla)* comes his way. Not applicable are in his opinion, the notions of uncleanness, contamination *(umMnyama)* or magical strengthening *(ukuQinisa)*. (216), who said that the only abstentions before a communal hunt are those from sex intercourse and

beer drinking, however, believes that violations result in misfortunes: - a spear strikes the hunter instead of the buck; a buck gores the hunter.

C. ROYAL HUNT

Of special importance was the royal hunt for royal game, as shown in the number and severity of taboos. (Some royal hunts, at which attendance was compulsory, were arranged so that a particular person could be killed during it.) These hunts aimed at the killing or capture of animals needed for the doctoring of the king. From certain of their organs he acquired qualities which he might transmit to his subjects at the First Fruits or to his warriors at the war rites. The lion was on account of its fierceness so identified with the king that he himself was called *iNgonyama* (Hl word for lion). The buffalo was wanted on account of its great power of resistance, its toughness, and the rhino because 'it boils with anger' in its struggle with man. Baboons were royal animals because they made the hunters self-conscious by looking round at their pursuers, and the hyena, who could do the same, because it consumed the corpses of the executed. Its skin was therefore wound round the Hoop of Power, the emblem of the king's magical control over subjects and enemies alike (414). Of the snakes yellow puffadder, black mamba and the python, also the large water snake, were required because of their ability to wind themselves round objects, and hold them together, or on account of their deadly poison (Schoeman P.J.: 1942.)

The conditions for obtaining royal animals were defined by each hunt master anew. They could not be violated without jeopardizing the success of the carefully prepared hunt. The lion had to be caught alive, to be effective in the treatment of the king (Grout: 40, gives two historical instances and Meinhof: 1914: 98, points out that this is a general African idea). The buffalo herd had to be surrounded before the vultures began to fly, i.e., before sunrise. The snakes (mamba and puffadder) had to be males, and the puffadder had to be caught when coiled up. If caught in flight, it was no use for treating royalty.

Royal animals were required for the First Fruits, during which ceremony the Royal Coil had to be remade, also before a campaign, and according to (414-21) for the rain rite. Before the royal hunters left, a SAC to the royal ancestors was offered. A number of beasts from the royal herd were slaughtered, the court praiser reciting the praises of the royal ancestors. The meat was dedicated to the ancestors for a night in a special hut, and it was eaten the following day by king and councillors (and the hunters, too?).

The hunt master divided the hunters into small groups, each with its special task: to track the game, to attack the cornered animal, to collect firewood, etc. The groups were sent off before sunrise and on a sober stomach so that the hunters were in the right condition. When the animals had been obtained the hunters strove to be back at the royal court before sunrise the next day. The rays of the rising sun should not strike the carcase(s).

The reception of the party returning with an *isiLo* was elaborate. They entered the royal homestead singing the national hymn, greeted the king with *Bayede* and performed leap dances. The king jumped over the outstretched animal of prey. Cattle were slaughtered and they and the *isiLo* skinned together. Pieces of the *isiLo* and the cattle were cooked and eaten for a sign that 'the monster' had been overcome once and would be overcome again. While eating, the hunters are said to have pretended to be trembling with fear. But henceforth they had a mystic ascendancy over the animal.

A lion caught or killed by the royal hunting party was carried bodily to court to be skinned by the royal doctors. They charred the eyebrows, forehead skin, eyes, heart, rectum, atlas bone and fat and put the cinders into medicines with which the king dabbed himself or with which he was inoculated to give him *isiGqabo* (renown). He also sucked these medicines or spurted them out to make himself unconquerable. Some animal parts were worked into a

medicine which the king had to stir in a pot. He spread the foam over his body and took the brew as an emetic which he vomited into the apse of his hut or behind it, whereupon he washed. The treatment turned the king into an *isiLo* himself, for he had transmitted to him all the qualities of fierceness, agility and cunning for which the animal was hunted down (Asmus: 237-40).

The claws, whiskers and teeth of the wild animal were worn by the king as a necklace-amulet. The skin of leopard, the feathers of certain birds, e.g., the red lourie, were worn as royal insignia by the king only and as a means of inspiring awe (H1) in his subjects. If a commoner fancied a leopard skin or even a lourie feather he would be considered an upstart, a rebel, and not only he but also his headman would be fined or even killed.

When a royal animal, e.g., a lion, leopard, buffalo or otter was killed by a person in self-defence, it could not be carried by him to the king: his knees would knock against each other and become 'watery'. Alternatively, it was feared that the hunter would bring bad luck *(umMnyama)* or *isiThunzi esiBi* (bad influence) to the court. The king therefore dispatched special messengers to fetch the skin, certain organs and the skull, bladder, sternum, claws and some bones.

D. HONEY TAKING

Honey is under a special taboo order. (307) states:

Boys and men only take out honey. Girls are prohibited from going to the forest for it (H1). A girl cannot do work set apart for males. A man who is *oSukwini* might go, and a boy who is *eZibukweni* after washing in the river. They don't treat themselves with special medicine. They take fire along (nowadays matches - in the past embers from the Great Hut, the FM's fire). Boys who did this were as a rule staying with GM. It was carried openly and sparks had to be watched.

When they are approaching the 'hive' no special words are used, but they have to stop talking, being afraid of bee stings. There is a H1 word for bees, *iziNyosi*, viz. **iziMpukane* (i.e., flies, because flies don't sting). They want the bees to behave like flies; but honey *(uJu)* has no H1 term. An expert, called *umThaphi weziNyosi*, smokes the bees out; he doesn't mind being stung (is immune?). He calls out *Cosu!* to prevent a sting being bitter; he thus addresses the bees. No special treatment is used against stings. The bees are 'softened' by the smoke. The hive is dug out with spade, hoe, axe, according to its situation. When boys get stung they say: *Cosu!*

Honey is placed in a clay basin: *umCakulo* , used for eating pumpkin or beans, not a beer or milk pot. They can't use an *uKhamba*, since it belongs to a person of authority. If there is little honey, it is eaten there and then, if plentiful it is taken home. What is carried home is given to parents and Sis; they eat honey without precautions.

(301) If a girl is in love with a boy, she avoids honey (Za), lest when bees swarm her lover will leave her as well. Wis eat honey. People in mourning, craftsmen, especially smiths, eat honey too. (307) agrees to classify honey-taking with hunting.

VI. TABOOS IN THE ZULU MILITARY ORGANIZATION

A. INTRODUCTION

To obtain insight into the taboo pattern of the warrior the anthropologist must resort to 'historical reconstruction'. Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown poured scorn on what they call 'conjectural history'. The weakness of their view lay in the narrow interpretation they gave to the term 'document'. Old men have memories of military organization and campaigns. Historical traditions convey a great deal of correct information. Account has, of course, to be taken of distortions in the interest of individuals or groups, but by way of comparison 'the truth' can be sifted out. Books have been published on the Zulu since the early decades of the 19th century. Reports by Government Departments, e.g., the War Office Precis on the Zulu War 1879, and of commissions, e.g., the Native Affairs Commission 1852-3, are rewarding sources, as are the files of the Natal Archives at Pietermaritzburg (quoted as PAR). Present-day custom in corresponding situations, e.g., faction fights and the call-up during the world wars, may offer corroborating evidence. Finally certain gaps in our information may be filled in from analogies with Zulu customs in the non-military sphere, where a transfer of patterns of conduct can be shown to occur.

In presenting the 'pan-optic' account below, it is not suggested that every detail of the regimen was observed in every war-like situation. Times, circumstances, traditions in localities and lineages differed, and individuals and groups selected different taboos from the total range. What was permanent was the awareness of the ritual necessity of restraints. Zulu custom was not handed down in stereotyped and unaltered forms from generation to generation. What did exist were definite ideas and norms as to what should be done in certain situations. The Zulu will accept these ideals and norms as typical of their culture even today and they are felt to represent the Zulu way of life. The incidental enacting of these norms was necessarily affected by the ability and the experience of the persons present on each occasion, and the time and material resources available to them. Contemporary influences from outside as well as changes affecting the custom from within the society (such as fashion) were important modifying factors.

B. JOINING UP

A few years after puberty boys were ready to enlist. They ran away to the nearest barracks. If a boy was too forward with the girls his F might pack him off there. The ritual of joining up consisted in *ukuKleza:* the boy milked a cow belonging to the barracks into his mouth. Two taboo breaches were involved: Herdboys were not allowed to milk their F's cattle like this on pain of being deformed (Callaway: 1866: 350). Shaka had a number of herdboys killed for this very reason (Fynn: 152). Secondly, since the boys did not belong to the king's clan they could not touch his milk. The notion that 'royal milk' in a special way ensured the growth of recruits justified the breach. Before joining up boys had had the chance of serving as carriers *(uDibi)* for elderly relatives (Bryant: 1949: 187 and 496).

When a sufficient number of youths had gathered at the various barracks, they were taken to the royal kraal for the formation of a regiment *(ukuButhwa)*. Like most military events, this took place in winter, when food was plentiful, but often already at the First Fruits, at the end of summer. Each group of boys was in charge of officers. They carried sticks and were dressed in their best beads and decorations. The king had beasts slaughtered, announced the name of the new regiment and appointed a head-ringed commander. The colour of the shields was made known and what ornaments the new regiment could wear. The king could establish an entirely new regiment or incorporate the youngsters in an already existing one which had suffered heavy losses. He might even send the boys home if they appeared too young, as happened to the *umSizi* regiment in the eighties (Colenso J.W.: 1880: 190).

The first order given to a regiment by its commander was to build temporary shelters, for which poles, twigs and thatch had to be gathered. The boys worked in neighbourhood groups and these placed their shelters in separate clusters. Occasionally the king reviewed the recruits. The next order was to fetch firewood for the royal village, to till the king's fields, sow his crops and harvest them. These tasks involved violations of the existing sexual division of labour as observed at home. The recruits were also taken out to hunt *(ukuZingela)*, but their most important task was to build their own barracks (Bryant:1949:497). They could also be told to herd the barracks' cattle, and to act as carriers for officers and older regiments. When they did not work, they let off their exuberant spirits in stick fights, challenging one another and forming friendships for life.

When the young regiment had served three to four months at court, spears and shields were distributed to them, the former having been manufactured by the king's smiths, the latter by the troops themselves. The shields of a regiment were of one colour, since the king's herds attached to the various barracks consisted of like-coloured animals. After the distribution each group went home, calling first at the homestead of the district headman in whose charge the weapons were left.

All regiments were called up in turn for service at their barracks, and all regiments gathered once a year at the royal kraal for the First Fruits. The evidence as to whether this service was compulsory is contradictory. Colenso-Durnford (1880: 228n) state that men who did not join up were despised but not interfered with. They could even marry after the kraalhead concerned had given them permission to put on the head-ring. However, once a person had enlisted, he could not absent himself when his regiment was called up, or he would be killed by his own regiment, a para-legal process, for the king did not order this. Staying away from military service had several causes: individual dislike, occupational abstentions (the smiths did not join up) and the traditional objections of certain kinship groups against the overriding tribal allegiance set up by military force. Gibson (p. 131), however, states that in Cetshwayo's reign attendance at the royal kraal was compulsory, and truants were killed by armed parties. The figures given by him (p. 153) between 1872 and 1879 show however but one deserter among 19 killed for various reasons. Bishop Colenso's informants estimated the number of warriors engaged in peace time at the barracks as from 10-20 at subsidiary and 60 at the central barracks (Colenso, J.W. 1880: 190f).

The service periods saw the warriors do work like women, e.g., planting, hoeing, weeding and gathering the crops; building work, e.g., the construction and repair of huts and fences for cattle enclosures. They acted as tribal police and as such carried out orders 'to eat up' a wizard, or to recapture fugitives. "These executions involve treacherous enterprises in which whole communities were sacrificed and constitute the whole training of young soldiers" (PAR: Shepstone Papers, Case 22: 1878). Some time was spent on the manufacture of military equipment: the sharpening of assegais, the making of shields, the sprucing up of the regimental dress. Younger regiments spent longer at the barracks than older ones. Military service was considered part of the respect (H1) which a subject owed to his king.

At a general call-up there was much rivalry shown between the regiments. Competition expressed itself in the dances before the king, in the hunts for royal animals, and in military exercises. The traditional form of presenting one's claim for attention and possibly royal reward was the warrior's leap dance *(ukuGiya)*. While a warrior performed his individual dance, his friends recited his praise-names. Applause by spectators and court put a seal on the warrior's reputation. If his performance was received without applause, he withdrew despondently. "He who dances longest gets the praise", says a proverb. Leap dancing was subject to strict etiquette (H1). Members of older regiments had precedence before younger regiments. Among warriors of the same regiment the veteran with the best record preceded his comrades. Disregard of the rules produced fierce hatred and fights. To strike a warrior with the shaft of the assegai was a disgrace; the iron blade was for a 'man'. This rule applied even in warfare. When Sondhlovu Sithole's herdsmen beat members of certain cannibal clans

(Mbhele, Ncube, Xaba, Mdunge) with their spear handles, the latter resented this: 'We are no cowards - you shall see us to-morrow!' on which day they turned up to wipe out the insult with blood! (Klingenberg, O., personal communication).

In external appearance the barracks differed little from the royal homesteads. In the upper portion a segment was set apart for huts used when the king came on a visit, those reserved for the prince (or princess) in charge, and for the huts of the royal maidens stationed there. There was a military officer in command of the warriors. No women were allowed to live outside the seraglio or the officers' quarters, - for the officers lived together with their families. In the heyday of Zulu 'militarism' no children could reside in the barracks (Gardiner: 143). Shaka had all children borne to him by his concubines killed immediately. Dingane who had himself grown up in a barracks (Congella) relaxed this rule.

C. TABOO REGIMEN AT THE BARRACKS

1. *Reserved Areas*

Pains were taken to set the warriors apart from non-combatants. A regiment in training for a campaign had to have no contacts with young boys. Regiments and their individual companies were kept severely separate, their solidarity was heightened and their distinction maintained by the differences in outfit (Krige: 262-4). Group pride centred round the war dress. Presumably younger regiments had to avoid the trappings of the older regiments.

While in barracks a good soldier did not visit his home, nor did he receive visits from his kinsmen. Such isolation would naturally throw him more upon his comrades-in-arms. He should not have his weapons lie about but keep them in a safe place, for the men might 'play' with them and injure one another. In Cetshwayo's time the rule was formulated thus: Warriors in training must not smear blood on their assegais! The companies were taught in the cattle enclosure by veterans how to conduct themselves. The main injunction, that a man should respect (H1) his parents and authorities, was here epitomized in the rule that a warrior does not hit back when he is assaulted by an old person (H1).

2. *Sexual Restraints*

The sex interest was severely curtailed. Junior officers could not be married. Older officers were not to have their Wis and Chn at barracks. Shaka held that married soldiers were cowardly in battle and the famous permission for whole regiments to marry at the same time had as obverse the interdict on marriage until the royal word was given. This meant that Zulu men often married eight to ten years after joining up. Special concern existed about contact between warriors and royal maidens, of whom there used to be a bevy in each barracks. Owen reports how young men, who had frequented his station, suddenly withdrew, when a royal woman was engaged as a domestic. Brownlee (1916: 89) relates: Two warriors on their way to join their regiment spent a night in a certain kraal. They found in the travellers' hut a mat which they unrolled. Bead ornaments and articles of female dress dropped out of it. They had been left behind accidentally by a seraglio girl the previous night. One man was executed immediately he reached the barracks for 'touching the mat and ornaments of the king's child'. The other fled to a mission station. He was reported by a Zulu girl working there to her father, who had 'the culprit' arrested and killed! The rule: Don't come near a woman, don't have any sex intercourse! was a prohibition which was repeated again and again (Kidd: 306).

3. *Speech*

Conversation was suppressed during exercises. This rule is sometimes explained as a respectful restraint (H1) towards the officers. Yet since prayers to the ancestors and regimental hymns were allowed, the silence rule may indicate a belief in the presence of ancestors. Laughing, even at funny situations, was forbidden. Quarrelling and loud lamentations fell under the same rule. Certain words were avoided in camp and during a campaign, and a special army vocabulary existed. Little, if any of it, is remembered, e.g.,

ngaDla and *ngaPhakathi* . Shaka insisted that his warriors should avoid the word *iShaka* (scarabaeus) and replace it by * *iShuda* (Fynn: 16). To be dull and dispirited was objected to in a warrior: it contributed to a military disaster.

4. Food

'Soft foods', like *umDokwe* and *iNcwancwa*, were forbidden owing to their 'weakening' effect. 'Hard' foods, in particular, meat, boiled maize, were *de rigueur* . As beef and beer were supplied from the royal household only on exceptional occasions, the warriors had to forage for food or to be supplied from home (Miss Colenso mentions one regiment which got no food at all while hoeing Cetshwayo's fields). Ms and Sis brought vegetable food to the barracks, depositing the pots some distance from it, for fear of approaching too close (H1). Younger Brs and cousins of the warriors brought roasted meat from home when available. The carriers ate alone and occupied separate quarters. The prohibition on the consumption of sour milk is considered by some contemporary informants as part of the warriors' life in the bush, his absence from home. Delegorgue reports the taboo presumably for men under war-like conditions, and Carl Immanuel Müller, a cavalry officer in 1879, saw no traces of cattle at the barracks he passed; the central enclosure had been used for military exercises only. But in 1826 maidens carrying milk pots accompanied for a distance one of Shaka's expeditions to the Umzimkhulu, and according to S: 412 warriors subsisted on SM mainly (Krige: 265, 388, 86, 111;.Shooter: 339, 347; Bird: I, 87; Gardiner: 55; van Warmelo: 1938: 16, 30-38; Fynn: 123). At modern enrolments of regiments the consumption of beer is prohibited by government.

Warriors at barracks and in the field had to abstain from beastings, fish, birds and bone marrow lest they lose their courage (Isaacs:II:250), and yams, lest the man shake like the yam leaf or as if he had palsy (Wanger: 1917: 515). Pork (avoided in all dangerous situations and never eaten by king or diviner), elephant and hippo, and any fat meat must be abstained from. No knife was allowed to touch the meat. The warrior stuffed a piece into his mouth and tore a slice off with his teeth. Cooked, hot foods were abstained from by warriors, for fear of having their heads bashed in. In consequence an army preparing for a campaign spent a considerable time frying liver and cooking their own 'bread': *uKhotha* = maize crushed into coarse meal and roasted (S: 229). Each warrior carried a supply in a bag. The required amount was mixed with water and drunk, making a satisfying meal. Warriors were forbidden to sit at the fire after accomplishing this task. Warriors eating at homesteads in friendly territory were enjoined to break on leaving all utensils they had used (presumably for fear of leaving remains behind which could be used in witchcraft.)

To sum up: "There were so many don'ts for a warrior, that it was difficult to remember them all and they were not observed generally," says a modern commentator. They were supported by a multiplicity of sanctions. Pressure was brought to bear by barracks mates and the general public. A non-conformist would at first be laughed at, teased or abused. Having in this manner acquired the reputation of a weakling or a coward, if he behaved like one in battle it astonished no one. He then faced threats of degradation: a cowardly warrior was reduced in rank or transferred to a junior regiment. He incurred the dislike of the king. A coward had little chance of survival in battle. If he ran away, he was overtaken by his comrades and killed. His lack of bravery adversely affected his chance of founding a family. The king would refuse him permission to marry. If he should marry, it was foretold, he would soon lose his wife. He would turn into a vagrant, an arrant fool, a madman. The ancestors would cap his misfortunes by making him childless. The transition from realistic to magical sanctions is subtle, their combined effect cumulative.

D. CALL TO ARMS

When the king called up his regiments the following rules were observed: A recently married man could not go (Za): 'A man who had made his bride cover her head before her in-

laws' would be speedily killed, since possibly 'her lap was bad', *amaThanga amaBi*, and would bring him and his regiment disaster (Callaway:1868:441/3; Colenso:1874:85). On the other hand a deliberate taboo breach might have beneficial effects. If a man entered the hut, in which his wife had recently given birth to a child, this action would bring luck. He would be 'darkened' by it and made unattractive, and might thus escape the attentions of hostile spirits (Fuze:53). To propitiate his own ancestors a warrior performed the leap dance in his cattle pen, calling upon them to support him (Callaway, 1868: 133). (310) objected to this account on the ground that a campaign being a tribal matter, it would be tantamount to treason for any but the king to address ancestors. There was indeed an army ritual at the royal graves (Bryant: 1949: 515). Warriors put on many charms and amulets: a patch of hedgehog skin on the forehead caused the enemy to cast down his eyes in despair. An iris tuber dulled the enemy's sight.

It was important for the king to divine beforehand the outcome of the campaign. If he was sick or suffering from an injury, the campaign was called off. If the enemy knew this, they might be encouraged to make an attack. Hence the taboo on mentioning the king's illness. If the king was hale and hearty good auguries were sought. The king would stir a secret medicine (*isiThundu senKosi*). If he 'saw' the reflection of his opponent (Asmus:267) this was tantamount to getting hold of his shadow or soul. In the *ubuLawu* test the king churned two vessels, one for his tribe, the other for the enemy, each containing the appropriate body-dirt collection. The pot which frothed up indicated the victor (Callaway:1868:340-4). A hunt by a special detachment, the outcome of which magically predetermined the outcome of the campaign was also known (Speckmann:125).

Oracle techniques easily passed into methods of magical coercion. With the froth medicines the tribal magician could cause a 'darkness' to spread over the enemy, so that he could see with difficulty. The enemy's body-dirt could be worked into the Royal Hoop of Power together with medicines which would weaken him but 'strengthen' the Zulu. The king had to stand over his Hoop of Power or sit on it to establish his ascendancy over the enemy (Holden: 1866: 16; Stuart: 1913:78, ff; 1925:209; Krige:245). Although the details of these methods are secret or lost in oblivion, one thing is certain: war doctor and king could not manipulate the oracles and the coercive tricks without submitting themselves to the appropriate taboo regimen.

Argument between Warriors and King

The special season for campaigning was winter, because the stores were then stocked with food, and the weather was unlikely to interfere with operations. The celebration of the First Fruits, when the whole army was assembled at court, often served for preliminary discussions. The decision to fight was taken by the king after meetings with diviners, and negotiations with councillors and commanders. (Isaacs:I, 284; Colenso, F.E.:1884:I, 33).

At the First Fruits the regiments often started an altercation with the king which apparently overthrew the otherwise carefully maintained respect attitude of his subjects. In 1826 Shaka was irritated into the disastrous uBalule campaign against the Swazi by the praise-song of the warriors: "You have finished the nations, where wilt thou wage war now?" (Bryant:1929:604). In 1848 Sir Theophilus Shepstone reported that Mpande was hurried forward by the constant excitement produced by the war dances of his young regiments, performed daily before him, and apart from being driven by his own vainglory and confidence in his military organization, "appeared reckless of the consequences of raids into Natal." (22/6/1848).

This ritual rudeness has been variously interpreted. According to Delegorgue the troop orators denounced the king before everyone, and stigmatized his actions as base and cowardly, until the charges became so heated that the king's party and the opposition were on the point of hurling themselves upon one another. Delegorgue thinks that at that moment a revolution would have been successful, if it had found a resolute leader. However, he soberly concludes: "But

what surprised me no less was the order which succeeded the end of this kind of popular tribunal." Gluckman, drawing on this account (1950: 122), sees the reason of the behaviour inversion in the ritual nature of the altercation and argues: "Clearly no revolutionary leader can come forward at this point. The attack on the king was demanded by tradition... and exhibited the conflict between the kingship and the human frailty of the king, between subjects and king. But it affirmed the value of kingship." Unfortunately he does not provide a trenchant enough analysis to support this generalization. Kuper offers us just this: The Swazi First Fruits exaggerated the resentment of the subjects against the king, the weakness of the king and the jealousy of his brothers. The ritual quarrel thus provided, in her opinion, a psychological relief (catharsis) in those required to express hidden resentments in public. Furthermore, sociologically speaking, the ritual expression of inherent conflicts in Swazi society strengthened its fundamental cohesion.

The conflict theory is too abstract and vague, since it subsumes two or three types of opposition (kingship and king's frailty/king and subjects/king and brothers) under one concept, and too undynamic: the provocation is not the culminating expression of animosity which is then drained off. It is rather the initial stage in directing tribal action (as will be shown at once). Thirdly neither Gluckman's nor Kuper's explanation takes account of the essential feature in the rite, viz., that it is a ritual violation of the respect attitude of the subjects. Such inversion of behaviour in a ritual situation has, as we have seen repeatedly, the function of provoking the authority to whom normally respect is due into an action considered beneficial to the 'provocateurs'. In the case at issue this generally meant the launching of a campaign by the king. Isaacs (II, 231) noted that Dingane was sometimes goaded by his warriors into an unwarranted raid, so that they could live on captured cattle rather than on the toil of their Wis in the fields. The provocation could also, when the European power was involved, encourage the king to pursue a firmer line, as when the Sangu regiment taunted Mpande to make him resist Shepstone in the question of refugees and their cattle (PAR: S.N.A.:II/6/2, no.4.) The ritual bravado, pushing the king into a bolder course of action, had a subsidiary function, viz., to challenge other regiments to emulate the original challengers in their eagerness to fight. Hence, after the king had been provoked, the soldiers boasted of past and future deeds of valour in leap dances and offered wagers, e.g., a sister or the property of a whole kraal. Such wagers were reviewed on the Report Day at the end of the campaign although Stuart thinks their payment was never enforced (Asmus: 266; Callaway: 1868: 439; von Fintel: a: 18).

The warrior's magical preparation for battle was thus reinforced by his publicly committing himself to a courageous course of action which relied on his sense of honour and his fear of social censure from comrades and other regiments. Magical preparation and fear of social disgrace were further strengthened by ritual insubordination shown to the king *(ukuChaphisa)*. Warriors not only taunted the king; they would also break a rod in his face, a taboo breach as strong as an oath, implying "You may take me to task, if you don't hear from me! (s c i l., if I don't distinguish myself)." Warriors even threw dust at the king to derisive shouts: "This little coward! His ancestors did not let the mouth supersede the assegai!" Contempt for the king might even turn into hate. Krige notes the following hate song: "They hate him; the people hate the king!" (Raum: 1967).

E. THE KILLING OF THE BULL. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ARMY

Before its departure the army received magical treatment which ritually separated the warriors from their kin, 'strengthened' them in their war-like spirit and made them invulnerable. Old women and children might view the proceedings from the distance; these classes of persons were ritually inoffensive.

1. T h e V o m i t i n g *(ukuHlanza)*: The first ritual act was the Vomiting. The tribal magician had prepared certain emetics and placed them on the Hoop of Power. The warriors,

who had fasted the previous day, came up in their regiments, one by one, sipped of the decoction and vomited into a deep hole. When all had done so it was carefully covered up, for if the enemy obtained any of the vomit he might work the destruction of the army. Other accounts say the warriors vomited into a river and washed themselves afterwards in the water into which the war doctors poured certain medicines (Asmus:269). The Vomiting was said 'to bring together the hearts of the people' and the use of the Hoop of Power confirms this. The Vomiting also 'cleansed' the warriors for the subsequent 'strengthening'. (According to Asmus and Bryant:1949 the Vomiting followed the Killing of the Bull. If so, it must have served to rid the warriors of the effect of the 'strengthening' medicines, which made them fierce).

2. The Killing of the Bull: On the previous day the older regiments had collected firewood, each warrior bringing one piece only, and the younger regiments had gathered *umThole* branches needed as incense. Now they drew up in the royal cattle pen for the Killing of the Bull. (In 1879 this was at Nodwengu: Colenso, J.W.: 1880: 35). The animal was first smeared with medicines by the war doctors, a sort of dedication, by which it acquired a tabooed nature. According to Krige the bull was driven round for hours to tire it; it was then brought to its knees and killed by having its neck twisted by the regiment which had been granted precedence at the Vomiting. Asmus says the warriors killed the bull by throwing spears at it. L.H. Samuelson (1912: 151) confirms this, adding that the final thrust was made by the war doctor. von Fintel fills in the details: the war doctor entered the circle of men with a mat in which he had an axe, a gnu-tail and his war medicines. Selected men drove the animal up to him and he killed it by striking it in the neck, an unorthodox way of despatching a beast *43*.

The war doctor and his assistants then skinned the animal, and cut the meat into long strips. The warriors could not be present in the enclosure during this for fear of certain parts being removed and handed over to the enemy (Za). The doctors kindled a fire and roasted the strips, having dipped them into the manure of the royal pen (Dube:1933). They were then smeared with war medicines variously described (Samuelson: 1923: 383; Asmus: 267; Callaway: 1868:438; von Fintel: a: 18; Stuart: 1912: 378). The regiments were called inside. The doctors threw the strips into the air for the warriors to catch. Each warrior bit off a piece, chewed it, swallowed the pungent juice and spat out the remainder. He then sent the piece through the air for others to chew. A piece that fell to the ground lost its potency and was no longer used. The medicated strips imbued the warriors with an untamable ferocity; it made them ready to kill without mercy. Besides, it made the warriors fast and their bodies slippery, the doctors assuring them: "You will not be stabbed; the enemy's spears will glance off you!" (Callaway: 1868:441, Bryant:1949:502).

That night the warriors had to camp in the cattle pen. They were not allowed to drink water (Za). What was left over of the bull could be eaten by immature boys only, who had to sleep where the animal had been killed, and the strips roasted. They were forbidden to pass urine, nor were they allowed to drink water (Za), and had to stay inside the enclosure. The bull's entrails were dug in in the royal calves' pen and the spot guarded for the night. Bones and hide were burned and the ashes thrown into a deep pool (Stuart: 1912: 83).

F. THE SPRINKLING OF THE ARMY

The Sprinkling *(ukuChela)* was carried out at the king's homestead or near the field of battle. In the first instance it was performed as the troops marched out of the cattle pen after the Killing of the Bull. The tribal doctor, dipping his gnu or cow tail into a pot set up at the gate, sprinkled regiment after regiment, shouting: "Tame the enemy!" (One chief is said to have poured the medicine on his warriors himself out of a monkey skull.)

Certain other ritual acts of the war doctors at this stage were: (a) to hold an *isiNdwili* (iris) tuber before each warrior, asking him: "Have you seen him?" (scil. the enemy chief) to

which an affirmative answer was expected; (b) to scorch or singe the warriors on chest and back with a fire brand or grass torch. This was a kind of moral-magical test: if a man got burned, he was 'a man with a bad medicine' (and presumably ejected from his contingent); (c) to smoke the warriors with medicines or fats of fierce animals - a 'strengthening' rite; (d) to smear the weapons with medicines so as to make the bearer's body slippery and invulnerable; (e) to dip fingers into heated medicines, sucking them off and squirting them against the enemy *(ukuChinsa)*, uttering imprecations (Asmus:269, Krige:272, Stuart:1912: 347); (f) a cleansing rite similar to the Vomiting already described might follow. The Sprinkling presumably was the occasion at which the chief councillors reviewed the army (Callaway:1868:442). If the troops appeared 'light reddish' this was reported to the king as a sign that the army had not been properly handled by the war doctors and lacked the required awfulness and 'weight' to defeat the enemy. The campaign was then called off.

Even in the field the Sprinkling was thorough. The army gathered in a half-moon. No one spoke, because it was considered an evil day, for men were going to die (Callaway:1868:437). A small fire, made with green leaves and a much smoking fatty substance, was kindled and the men had to walk through the smoke. As they passed, the war doctors sprinkled them with medicine taken up from a pot with black brooms. Further on a second war doctor ladled some medicine *(iZembe)* into the warrior's mouth. This was not swallowed but squirted in a combined effort against the enemy from a hill, and accompanied by imprecations against him.

Mbosamo Qwabe, of the Tulwane Regiment, who fought against Umbalazi in 1856, reported that the Sprinkling preceded the Strengthening. His evidence is supported by Callaway and Bryant. But the weight of the evidence favours the view that the Sprinkling was the final rite in the magical preparation of the army, and so it appears to be in Mbosamo's report on his Swazi campaign. When Callaway says that "no man sins against (lit. jumps over) the law of the *inTelezi* (Sprinkling medicine), and if he does, he as much as kills himself" this seems to prove that the Sprinkling was the irrevocable rite. It separated the warrior from family and non-combatants and imposed upon him the warrior's taboo regimen for good. Whereas at other Sprinklings, such as against a bad omen *(umHlola)* or at the Washing of the Spears after the death of an important person or in loyalty rites at the First Fruits, women and children were sprinkled too and the men returned home afterwards, non-warriors were excluded at the Sprinkling of the Army, the composition of the medicines used was different, and the army went off to fight when the rite was over. Even if an attack was being awaited, and this attack was delayed for weeks or months, warriors who had undergone the Sprinkling could not go home. On this point centred Colenso's defence of Langalibalele, accused of subversion against the Natal government. For if it could be shown that the Hlubi tribesmen went home after the Sprinkling, which preceded the actions of Langalibalele to which Pietermaritzburg objected, it could not have been intended for war but only for a peaceful purpose. A return home would have nullified the effect of the previous dedication of the army. Because of the associated taboos even the honour of the enemy's females was safe as long as the discipline of the Zulu army was at its height. Without the Sprinkling the Zulu army was in fact not prepared to fight. At Isandlwana the Zulu troops had not been sprinkled when they were attacked and the destruction of the English camp might have been avoided, if this fact had been known to the English commander (Callaway: 1868: 437f; Colenso: 1874: 113f; Bryant: 1949: 502; von Fintel: a: 18).

G. COMPANIONSHIP TABOOS

The warrior's determination to be strong and invulnerable was supported by companionship taboos observed on his behalf by his kinsmen and on behalf of the whole army by the king.

1. Already in peace time the M, Sis, Wi, even M-in-1 of a man at the barracks avoided approaching it. No woman taking food there loitered near it; she was expected to return home without delay. Today's informants interpret this as a respectful restraint (H1) meant for the commander. But the rule has the quality of a taboo (Za).

a. Reserved Areas

During the absence of a warrior on a campaign his Wis dressed like widows, his 'mothers' cut their hair and unmarried sisters are said to have strewn ash on their heads, as if mourning. Female relatives did not wear bead ornaments, nor did they wash themselves or keep themselves neat, "for it was not proper when the husband is with the army that a woman should continue with the many little habits of adorning herself." The women wore their kilts with the tops reversed, so as to expose their knees - 'to ward off evil'. For luck they tied a rabbit-tail and a string of berries round the neck (310, 101), (Callaway: 1868: 444).

The hut from which the warrior had gone forth was marked with a wild asparagus sprig, evidently a taboo sign (Stuart:1912:88; Krige: 277). The huts in the homestead had to be ritually swept to sweep harm (or the enemy) away and so were the paths leading to the homestead (von Fintel). A solanum fruit was rolled through the men's side of the warrior's hut 'to take harm out through the door' - a clear taboo-breach. During the warrior's absence nobody dared to touch his belongings, except for definite ritual purposes (H1).

b. Sexual Restraints

The interdict against sexual intercourse imposed upon the warriors was valid for all at home too. If an attack was expected the homesteads were abandoned, the cattle driven into the bush, and the populace slept in the open, where cohabitation was prohibited even in peace (Za) (PAR: S.N.A.I/3/1; 27/7/1851). If husband and wife found themselves hiding together in forest or cave, intercourse between them was out of the question (Bryant:1949:620). This behaviour contrasts strongly with the provocative conduct of women at the departure of the army. Pulling off their kilts they ran naked beside the troops. By such obscenity they were supposed to bring down misfortunes upon all cowards. It is likely that the women's exposure of their genitals stimulated the men to frenzied courage.

c. Speech

No boisterousness or noisy quarrels were tolerated in a home while the owner was away fighting. No family member would tease or annoy a warrior about to leave; it would bring him bad luck, wounds or death. The violent throwing out of water through the hut door is taboo not only in thundery weather but also during a winter campaign. Violation attached *umMnyama* to home and residents. All women had to be circumspect in their conduct so as to avert danger from their husbands. They deliberately assumed a callous attitude: when the men leave for war, the women must not weep or lament.

A fire had to be lighted daily in the warrior's residential hut. This had to be done before sunset "so that the warrior's actions in the distance are light" (310), "so that he has a bright path and recognizes dangers" (von Fintel). The warrior's sleeping mat was shaken and stood on end outside the hut in the sun, so that it would cast a shadow. As long as it did so, the owner was considered safe. (101), in a burst of rationalism, thought this ritual 'far-fetched'!

2. The king subjected himself to a vicarious taboo regimen which by its severity underlined his responsibility for the fate of his army. In his youth Shaka took an active part in war. He must have shared the taboo regimen of his fellow warriors. His may have been even more rigorous, for he was expected to seize the first victim in the hostile ranks and drive his spear through his heart. When chief or king grew old, he relied on the magical transmission of his courage. (127) states: "The king was (magically) made fierce or angry in preparing the troops for war. Having been strengthened himself by the *ukuQunga* process, the king had *umMnyama* (darkness, fierceness). In this state he resembled a ferocious beast and could inspire and coerce his army to fight. The gloom of fierceness was transferred to the regiments in the Sprinkling." If the king's medicines were strong they could strike fear, despondency and gloom *(umMnyama)* into the enemy hearts, so that they foreboded a disaster. To maintain the gloom in these two senses (positive, as fierceness, overpowering strength conveyed to his own army, and negative, as foreboding, catastrophe conveyed to enemy) the king had to stay away from his Wis until the army returned (127). (125) denied that the king acquired *umMnyama* himself,

but admitted that he observed abstentions before and during a campaign until the action had been fought. "Nobody in the tribe, not even the king, slept with his Wis, nor did the soldiers or the king eat food cooked by women!"

The king's magical support of the army was to maintain his link with the ancestors. A visit to the royal graves and the propitiation of the Zulu forebears was part of the proper treatment of the army itself. The regiments visited *emaKhosini* before their departure. The national leaders offered prayers and praises, the king might remonstrate with the ancestors, the national hymn was intoned and a stately dance performed. Occasionally sacrifices were offered, e.g., in the Zulu War of 1879 a herd of black oxen (Stuart:1925:224). The royal salute solemnly uttered by thousands of warriors terminated the dedication of the army at the royal graves.

The king reported to the graves when doubts assailed his mind as to the success of a campaign. In 1837 the messengers from the army sent to chastise Mzilikazi were intercepted and Dingane was without news of it. The diviners advised the alarmed king to leave Umgungundlovu and proceed to Nobamba to offer prayers and sacrifices at Senzangakhona's (his F's) grave. The king was carried there on a chair and spent ten days in isolation at the sacred site. At last the successful conclusion of the campaign was reported. The victory was made known to the ancestors by the sacrifice of pairs of black bulls, oxen and cows to the loud recital of the exploits of the army (Brownlee).

H. THE ARMY AT THE FRONT

The battlefield was a reserved area in which all interdicts had to be observed. In Cetshwayo's time the Zulu army moved forward without noise. The indiscriminate discharge of fire-arms was not allowed, apparently not even for the purpose of striking terror into the enemy. Soldiers were not supposed to stand before a fight. In sight of the enemy they sat on their haunches, with knees bent. Rational explanations (such as, the enemy was not to see them) do not exhaust the implications of the rule. Humility before the ancestors is required at this stage rather than 'overshadowing' of the enemy. According to etiquette (H1) the 'superior' army was expected to commence the battle (Colenso, J.W. 1880: 35).

Officers and tribal doctors used to issue special interdicts before each campaign. Smearing blood on an assegai was forbidden. In a raid against the Swazi the warriors were warned not to take away any of the cattle or girls captured. "If you keep back as much as a spoon or needle, it means death!" On the face of it, this seems a legal proscription, - in fact in this instance the king did pronounce a death sentence. In practice the prohibition was issued together with certain conditions which, if abided by, made the enemy's weapons, including the bullets of whites, ineffective and secured victory. Moreover, the warriors receiving the order thought of a mystical escape from the rule. Thus the man later condemmed by the king had hoped for ancestral help and prayed for his ancestral snake to stand up on his behalf so that he might violate the interdict with impunity. It stood him in good stead after all, for the king relented and condoned his theft of a loveworthy girl (Leslie: 277-84).

The treatment of wounded warriors was not lacking in avoidances and abstentions, although our information is scanty. Isaacs (I, 169) who was wounded in the campaign against Phakatwayo had to take three sips of a medicine containing certain roots and bile and dung from a heifer killed for the purpose, and was sprinkled with the mixture. Isaacs then had to spit at a stick and point it three times at the enemy uttering the battle cry every time. This 'strengthening' was followed by the administration of an emetic, a release rite, for it enabled him to take milk. Without it the cattle concerned would have died, nor could he have approached the king or he would have fallen ill. All the wounded seem to have undergone the same treatment. A number of cattle captured were therefore slaughtered if possible on the battlefield to 'cleanse' the wounded (Fynn: 127) *44*.

If the army captured a chief, the king - called to the field - was first 'strengthened', then leapt over the captive and killed him. Portions of his body were cut off, e.g., the forehead skin (which would give a steady look at the enemy), nose, right ear and hand, heel, prepuce and glans. They were burned to cinders on a potsherd with other 'royal medicines', and the king sucked the mixture off his fingers. The use of the *iZembe* medicines followed to 'purify' the king from the effects of having killed someone. (According to others *iZembe* is a 'courage' medicine.) From now on the king's praises had a reference to the fact that 'he ate N.N. without harm resulting'. The skull of the defeated chief was sometimes kept in the Great Hut of the victor's kraal together with other courage-inducing medicines (Bryant: 1929, Ritter: 184). The victorious chief drank the bile of the defeated enemy, e.g., Matiwane is said to have consumed the bile of thirty of his foes. The warriors roasted the pancreas *(umHlehlwe)* to eat as a courage medicine.

When a Zulu died in battle, the report about it avoided the blunt *ukuFa*, replacing it by the H1 term **ukuSala*, lit., to remain behind. Mourning for those slain on the battlefield was forbidden, although after such severe losses as suffered at Isandlwana lamentations were said to have been heard throughout Zululand. The bodies of the fallen emanated *umMnyama* (the gloom of misfortune). At Sir G. Wolsey's meeting with the royal councillors after Ulundi, the demand for the surrender of guns, assegais and cattle was objected to by the Zulu, because (a) the chiefs could not exercise authority over their people from the distance, and (b) they could not remain at the rendezvous as the water was polluted by the dead bodies of their fellow countrymen (Colenso, J.W. 1880: 159).

When a Zulu king was defeated his identity was hidden. Matshane, fleeing before John Shepstone's men, exchanged his *umuTsha* with that of a commoner. Often a defeated chief served as 'private soldier' to conceal his identity. Cetshwayo after Ulundi 'vanished' and was talked about by a covering term. A similar notion prevented, in the first stage of contact between white and black, the personal visit of chiefs to the seat of the government (Vijn in Colenso: J.W. 1880: 74, 169; PAR: Shepstone Papers, Case 22).

I. THE TABOO REGIMEN OF THE KILLER

When a Zulu warrior had killed an enemy, he shouted "I've eaten!" He must rip the corpse open and disembowel it, otherwise his own bowels would swell like those of the dead man. Others say, the 'soul' of the slain had to be set free to prevent the slayer from becoming mad *45*. (Here an action is demanded with a 'conditional curse'.. Its omission brings on the curse.) Before the killer had been cleansed he might not carry his spear in the normal position, i.e., horizontally, but with blade downwards (Ludlow: 186; Bryant: 1905: *q u n g o*; Bryant:1949:506; Osborn:Natal Mercury, 22/1/1956).

Warriors who had killed could not remain with their regiment; they ate apart, were daily treated with herbs and washed all over with medicines. As a sign of his condition the warrior placed a liana *(umHluhluwe)* round his neck, and a sprig of wild asparagus in his hair. He exchanged his belt of skins *(iBheshu)* for that of the enemy he slew and removed his penis cover. Bryant (1949:507) reports a preliminary Cleansing from *umMnyama* which enabled such a warrior to appear before the king. Doffing his girdle of skins and his penis cover, he carried them in his raised hand together with the killing assegai and the slain man's spear (now called **iSumela)*. He fortified himself in the camp by sucking certain medicines *(uZankleni)* from his finger tips and squirting them towards the sun.

The warrior was under a strict taboo not to enter his homestead. He was thought to be potentially afflicted with a condition called *iZembe* or *isiKhuba*. If he lived with his Wi in that condition, he would develop symptoms like dysentery or kidney disease, which would ultimately result in lunacy. To wipe away the *iZembe* he had to have ritual intercourse with some strange woman or an old one and if such were unobtainable even with a boy.

On his arrival at his kraal the women welcomed him with trills of joy and faces painted with light-coloured clay. He would not enter his Residence, however, but dwell in the hut of an old woman *(isAlukazi)*, or in that of his F's M (139). He threw away the loin cover worn during the campaign and prepared himself a new one. To be able to eat the home food and especially sour milk, the slayer had to undergo a further cleansing which in severe cases was administered by a doctor. The man had first to suck 'black' *iZembe* medicines and then 'white' ones, to remove the effect of the black. This was a general release rite, yet he remained subject to certain special taboos, e.g., he could not eat sour milk from a cow whose calf was as yet without horns. Nor could he eat of the first fruits or drink the beer of the season until he had been cleansed (or fortified) a third time (Bryant:1905:549; i d e m: 1949:508). A black beast or a white goat was slaughtered; the warrior wore a wristlet of its skin - a sign that he was now free from taboos. He then cleaned his spear and fitted it with a new handle.

Warriors who had killed were classed by some informants together with executioners, persons who had killed or touched a hyena, crocodile or python. They were all described as being *iNxeleha* (as well as the arms used in killing). They had to stay apart from society and could not approach the king until cleansed (Smith A: 92). Little is remembered about the executioners, but (139) thought they must have been unmarried and probably abstained from milk and beef (Za) lest cattle fell ill. They could not possibly have been admitted into the royal kraal, or its inner enclosure, since they carried *umMnyama*. The sticks used in beating 'criminals' to death and their belongings unless very valuable remained untouched at the place of execution, hence heaps of sticks were found round the bodies of Piet Retief's men (Gardiner 45, 95). The persons who killed the body servants who 'accompanied' a dead king into the beyond were banished into the wilds never to return (Bryant: 1929: 68). "A murderer is cleansed personally, not his whole family. There is no necessity for him to *Zila* ; but the cleansing removes the misfortune following the deed." (139). In the past, however, a woman whose husband had been killed was considered an inCweleha until purified (Smith, A: 92).

K. THE RETURN OF THE ARMY

A spy, a messenger or an ambassador could not approach the king directly on his return. He was considered 'unclean' (Colenso, J.W. 1880: 150). If the matter was urgent, he spoke to the king through a go-between, a court official. No man who had been in a fight was allowed to appear before the king until he had been cleansed. The war doctors passed round certain roots, and handed out *iziQu*, necklaces of valour, or heroes' chains, and the warriors nibbled the roots threaded on to them. After washing in a river they were allowed to eat all food and not only cattle killed on the day of battle, and they could appear before the king on Review Day (Fynn: 127). Each regiment, however, took care to put to death its cowards before that, although occasionally officers sent warriors who had not distinguished themselves home from the return march. No warrior could return without his spear, a rule of honour, which in the heyday of Zulu power was enforced by the threat of death. The warriors were warned not to touch anything at the royal homestead, most of all children, to approach or touch whom required sometimes a special release rite.

The king was magically 'strengthened' against contamination by being smeared with pastes and fats which put him into a tabooed condition. He received the troops sitting on a chair or a roll of rushes and surrounded by his councillors. To judge from the expression used in the report of the commander, viz., 'to hoodwink the king', it contained exaggerations of the exploits and omissions of the setbacks of the campaign. Few thanks were expected, and censure was plentiful. However, distinguished services were rewarded by investing the hero with a praise name, and by giving him a share of the booty - up to ten head of cattle - and also by individual or regimentwise permission to marry.

Quite different was the reception of an army which had been defeated. Kokela, the commander of the Njanduna regiment, had been killed in the campaign against Mzilikazi; Dingane ordered the carriers to beat the disgraced warriors, a taboo breach if any. The men dared not defend themselves against the sticks of the boys, but fled protecting their heads with their shields. Brownlee, to whom we owe this account, also witnessed the humiliation of Mongo's division in 1837, when it returned from a raid on the Swazi. Two other divisions, commanded by Ndlela and Dambuza respectively, had captured many cattle; they were received with acclamation. Mongo's had suffered heavy losses, and they returned without booty. No heralds were sent to welcome it, no women danced before the troops, no royal mother went out to kiss the commander. The division filed through the gates of the royal kraal in silence, with downcast looks. Mongo's salutation was received in icy silence. The king degraded Mongo for some months and ordered his wives and children to be removed from him, a temporary quarantine. The commander and the regiment were, however, given a chance to wipe out their disgrace later. These decisions were received with applause by the spectators. A coward suffered indignities at his home too. His share of meat was dipped in water. His betrothed uncovered herself before him, thus terminating their relation.

At the homesteads preparations were made for the return of a beloved son, father or husband by a 'brightening up' rite. A special medicine was made to simmer for a whole night. At sunrise the mixture was allowed to cool. Fresh milk was added to make the paste look white. All women and children of the kraal sucked it off their finger tips till nothing remained. This rite released them from their state of 'mourning' since 'white medicines bring luck'. No one doubted after this that the warrior would return safely. The huts were swept and cleaned and the snuff boxes replenished. The ferocity induced in the warrior by magic was out of place at his home: he had to refrain from beating his children (H1).

L. CASE STUDIES

(286), a subject of Chief Sikananda at the time of the Bambata Rebellion: "When I left my home kraal, I did not enter the cattle pen to report to ancestors since I was only a youth *(iNsizwa)*; only a kraalhead reports there. The Sprinkling took place at a secluded spot in the forest; after it the war doctor made the warriors walk through the smoke of a fire on which some fat was being burned. (He does not express an opinion on the suggestion that the fire contained human fat.) The doctor then gave the instruction: not to meet women! There were no food restrictions."

The women at home had 'to respect themselves' in war time. They must not sweep the huts; they must roll up the warrior's mats and not hang them up as is the normal thing to do. This was done so as to make the owner active on the battle field! (286) suggests that also the women's mats were stood up, for it was expected of them to rise early and bestir themselves. The women wore their kilts pulled up over the stomach. When a woman heard gun fire, she pulled it even over her breasts, so as to expose her thighs. This, he admits, was unheard of otherwise. He agrees that it resembled the girls' *ukuBhina* rite, when they put on their brothers' *iBheshu* and did things 'that are not done'. 'It is a case of respecting custom by breaking it.' The provocative pulling up of her kilt by a wife prevented the killing of her husband. The wife made a fire in her husband's residence for a short while after his departure and again at sunset. It is only if something unusual happens that a fire is lighted there, e.g., when the kraalhead is away from the kraal. It ensures that it is light where the husband is, i.e., that he should have success. It is thus also a custom indicating an abnormal situation.

A warrior who had killed an enemy showed his ritual state by carrying the assegai in a special manner. This indicated that he was not allowed to stab cattle, s c i l. and eat meat (Za) with it and especially not the intestines of a beast *(amaThumbu)*, because when he killed the enemy his intestines came out, i.e., were removed by the killer. If there was no time to open up the dead man, he licked the slain man's blood off the spear. It prevented his dying

when the corpse swelled up. A warrior who had killed could not 'see' his wife (Za): he had to be 'strengthened' by a doctor beforehand. He must sleep with another woman first, any old woman would do. Otherwise he would transfer the *umMnyama* he got from stabbing a man to his wife.

(350), Felapakathi regiment, was a subject of Chief Janji Hlome, who decided to move against Bambata in the rebellion. As a doctor he was instructed not 'to join up' but to look after the sick. Like all men left behind he could not sleep with his wives while the war lasted and had to move into his mother's hut for the duration (Za)! When they left their homes the warriors went into the cattle pen to *ukuKhuleka*, i.e., ask for ancestral help and protection; they were in their battle ornaments and carried their arms. The warriors had to meet at the chief's place. An army doctor, Gwala Buqu, treated the warriors in the royal cattle pen, sprinkling them with a grass broom, shouting: "My people cannot be defeated! My medicines cannot be overcome!" As the warriors filed out of the gate they were sprinkled again. Certain prohibitions were announced to them: They could not return home; they could not sleep with a woman; they were not to sleep in a homestead, but in the veld only (Za); they were told not to fight among themselves with spears. This was a chief's rule; transgressors were punished severely. Once they were sprinkled the warriors could walk into any Zulu homestead and eat whatever food they liked or needed. The owner might protest but without avail. There was no respecting (H1) of property in war.

The women at home turned their skirts inside out; they wore leaves of *iPhunganhlola* and *umHlonishwa*, medicinal trees, the children *umZungama* necklaces for their father's or brothers' luck. The women had to milk the cattle in the early morning before they had started to make a noise; the women at home were not allowed to sleep a lot, nor to beat the children, lest they cry, but they had nevertheless to keep them quiet, otherwise they would be beaten (s i c). The old woman of the homestead made a broom on top of which she tied *iPhunganhlola* and *umHlonishwa* leaves to point in the direction the warriors had gone. She was 'sweeping the troops' for luck so that they would not die. The women could convey luck to the warriors by chewing *imFingo, uMabophe* and *iNsulansula* and spitting mouthfuls out, wishing at the same time that the enemy 'be tied'.

When a warrior had killed an enemy he jumped over him *(ukuThatha isiThunzi)*; his success showed that his medicines had been stronger than the enemy's. All who had fought were treated by the war doctors, so that they did not lose their senses from killing people. They had to take emetics, snuffed up medicines, washed with infusions and were treated with *umLulama* and *iNdolwane* before they could take up relations with their wives. Since (350) did not mention the scapegoat woman he was told of her; he replied: "Some did it, others not; it was considered 'bad' behaviour!" When a chief was killed, the warriors jumped over him and covered up the corpse with grass to 'respect' it (H1). If the successful chief was near, he too would jump over it, 'for Shaka was jumped by Mahlangane'. (When I challenged (350) on this point, since it was Dingane who became chief, he corrected himself: Mahlangane killed Shaka, but it was Dingane who jumped, asking: Who is the chief?) Warriors whose chief had been killed served under the victorious chief.

(407), Falaza regiment, 8-10 years old when Mpande died: "I observed the taboos of a slayer when I killed a man in a faction fight. After the killing the enemy's spear must be carried on the left side and parallel with the ground, not pointing downwards as with an army on the march. I was known as a 'killer' since I carried a sign: an *iPhunganhlola* leaf in my hair and *isiQunga* grass to scratch myself with. I could not scratch my body with my finger nails, since it would get irritated. 'Killers' H1 their own bodies *(siHlonipha ukwEnwaya)*. I entered my kraal at the main gate in the normal way, but sat down beside the fence of the cattle pen to 'sun myself'. I didn't shout about anything. I abstained from SM (Za) in that condition, nor could I eat the intestines of a beast, since I had seen the entrails of the slain whom I had to disembowel. Instead killers are given the hindleg of the beast to eat, which is then avoided by the other residents, because killer and non-killer must be separated and

respectfully avoid (H1) each other's food. Nor may killers sit at the same fire as the others who have not killed: these sit inside a hut, the killer outside at a fire. I also abstained from sexual intercourse, since I had *umMnyama*. I was taken as a widower! No person who had come from a battle could call his wife to his hut. One morning I got up early, went to the river to wash and *ncinda'd* medicines having my spear lying beside me; after that I could sleep with my wives again." (He did not know about the scapegoat woman.) He sums up:"Killing an enemy is a good thing in itself, but the consequences are irksome. The wounded man was treated with *inTelezi* only if the wound was serious. He could not sleep with his wives, nor eat SM or old food (Za) but he could eat meat. Blood oozing from the wound was picked up with a piece of cowdung and thrown away outside the kraal; it was *Ngcolile* (unclean)."

(408), Mbokodebomvu regiment: "In the Zulu War men were not allowed to meet their wives from the time they gathered at the royal kraal, i.e., left home. However, this is like a Bible prohibition, some did not observe it, and I don't know what happened to them! The abstention might make the Sprinkling medicines luck-bearing. The doctors who applied the torch test wanted to find out those men who had violated the sex taboo; the other warriors did nothing to one found out as violator, but the king might have him executed. In the field the warriors were free to eat any food, including SM, because 'all the cattle belonged to the king'. An exception was the kraal where his girl-love lived."

VII. THE CHIEF AND HIS OFFICIALS

A. THE CHIEF'S INSTALLATION

1. Throughout history the installation of a Zulu chief has been an important ceremony. After Mpande's death a message 'from the Zulu Nation' was sent to the Natal Government requesting that Cetshwayo be installed (PAR: S.N.A. I/6/3 no.69:June 1873): "The season is advancing, the grass is becoming dry, the cultivation (of the crops) will be delayed unless the ceremony takes place soon." (An obvious reference to a taboo period.) Before the coronation of Cetshwayo by Sir Theophilus Shepstone at the Mlambongwenya homestead (Ulundi), Cetshwayo was declared king at the Makheni kraal (Jama's and Ndaba's) by the first Councillor Masiphula Ntshangase (Lugg:1948:118). Bryant (1949:469-71) describes what happened on that occasion. At such a proclamation it was customary for the heir to carry the assegais of the deceased as he did at the graveside (PAR: J.W. Shepstone Papers, Case 3). According to another tradition, recorded by the missionaries at Lemgo Mission near Nobamba, there was a 'sacred spot' near the royal graves, a steep kloof covered with euphorbia and aloes, where the weapons of the deceased kings were thrown. The heir had to spend three days there alone to fight the spirits of the Water, of the Snakes, and Apes before he was acknowledged king. This is tantamount to a seclusion in the wilderness.

When Cetshwayo returned from banishment and before his re-instatement as king by Shepstone, the Zulu desired a solemn ceremony at the royal graves. The programme was to include traditional chants in praise of the ancestors and dances by armed warriors in battle-dress. Thanks were to be offered to the ancestors who in the eyes of the Zulu had restored the king to his country. The order to hold the ceremony after the governmental proceedings was viewed "as an intended lessening of Cetshwayo in the eyes of the people, to make him appear of secondary importance to Sir T. Shepstone." (Colenso, F.E.).

2. A recent installation, called Entering the Cattle Enclosure *(ukuNgena esiBayeni)*, was described to me by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his mother, Princess Magogo. Only heirs to an hereditary chief *(iNkosi yoHlanga)* and a few senior 'appointed' chiefs have the privilege of holding such a ceremony. (It is held about the time when a chief has been nominated and approved by Government.)

The magical preparation of the new chief is of the utmost significance *46*.

A magician with a good reputation is engaged. He treats the heir with incisions, sucking medicines, and emetics. During the treatment the heir is secluded in his Residence. He is not restricted to any section of it but has to avoid sex relations with his Wi. His food is handled by young girls who have not yet menstruated or by immature boys who have not yet 'crossed the river'. There are no restrictions on his food: he can eat and drink what he likes.

For over a month cattle contributions had been collected at Chief Gatsha's homestead. Some cattle arrived from his agnatic kinsmen (FBrs, FBrsSos, FFBrsSos, FSisSos!) as expected expressions of loyalty. Other cattle came from his subjects as voluntary gifts. The young chief himself contributed one beast from each of the homesteads he had inherited (excepting some too far away). At least one of these beasts must be from the herd set aside for the ancestors.

On the morning of the Installation the young chief put on ceremonial dress: a new loincloth made of sealskin 'as worn by Shaka', a dancing dress *(umQubula)* and *iLaka*. Over this he wore a cloak of civet skin, the magnificent cape having a leopard's head, and insets at the hips of python skin. Braces (*umDamadama*) of leopard skins were placed crosswise over his chest, red lourie feathers stuck erect in his hair and a necklace of leopard's claws was put on. The sandals which the chief wore on this occasion were a novelty which his FBrs and some tribesmen objected to. Before dressing up, the chief had been oiled and greased all over by the doctors 'to strengthen' him. Chief Gatsha summed up the effect of this treatment by saying that he got pretty near the *umMnyama* of the king at the First Fruits.

By now the chief's FBrs had arrived at his homestead and the commoners were gathering at the gate all dressed in war dress. The chief's agnates sang tribal hymns at the chief's residence and the senior FBr led him outside. A procession formed heading towards the cattle pen which is some distance from the houses. It was joined by the commoners, and the tribe intoned the Buthelezi hymn, sung on solemn occasions only: *"Sesala baleni - yehe nendao - enyao Baba phambili - emandudu - ninane baNtu - heya-he, heya-he - anazi yini - ukuba thina satholo phambili - emandudu..."* The chief was the first to enter the pen, the throng following in no special order. At the same time the cattle were driven in and the bards recited the Buthelezi praises, including those of Chief Gatsha's F and FBrs. (The pers/ns were avoided). At last the older women, widows of the chief's F, and Wis of the senior agnates, were admitted to the pen. The younger women, including the young chief's Wi and the Wis of the FBrsSos could not enter. They watched the ceremony from outside, avoiding pen, cattle and the men (H1).

The senior FBr (who had been acting chief) presented the young ruler to the tribe, to the cattle and the ancestors. He gave a report on the marriage of Princess Magogo to chief Mathole Buthelezi from the day it was arranged between King Dinizulu, her F, and Mathole up to the latter's request that his tribe contribute the bride-price for the princess and the announcement at the wedding that Magogo would be the princWi, being the king's Da. Princess Magogo had departed from the royal kraal to the prayer offered on her behalf: "Lie down together two and rise again three!" The result of this prayer, the young chief, was now presented to the ancestors: "Here are the cattle belonging to you, with which I present to you the young chief. His father gave him the name of Mangosuthu, his grandmother that of Gatsha!" After this the men performed leap dances, and on giving certain cues, had their praises recited by the spectators.

amaHubo dances to the slow measured stamping of feet followed in the enclosure. The chief doffed his cloak and joined in. Then all the warriors moved on to the veld, where evolutions in marching formation were carried out to the rattling of sticks on shields, the singing of songs (no longer hymns) and interludes when the men knelt in solemn posture. When they returned to the yard, they took up the stamping dance again but without singing the tribal

hymn. To the renewed recital of the ancestral praises the beasts to be slaughtered were now pointed out by the chief's FBr. Some of them were killed for the ancestors (and eaten by the agnates and their Wis), others for the tribe and others again for important visitors e.g., Mshiyeni's (the Zulu regent's) sons, who had their beast skinned and butchered and took the meat away with them in their car. Later beer was handed out (to which contributions had been received from the chief's agnates and the tribe), and the pieces of meat for roasting. Meat for boiling was given out as at all SACs the following day, on the afternoon of which dancing and general jollification ended the celebrations. One ritual act had yet to be performed. As Gatsha has no full Br, a half-Br of his was appointed his *umNawe*. The Br concerned was selected on clues given by Mathole which were now recalled in discussions leading to his affiliation. The half-Br was placed in the House of Gatsha's M. If Gatsha should die without issue - there is a belief that Buthelezi chiefs die young - the *umNawe* would raise seed for him.

3. The taboo regimen of the installation centres round the 'strengthening' treatment in which the same medicines are used as in the First Fruits and with the same effect, viz., the chief (or king) obtains *umMnyama*, or his *umMnyama* is increased. The term here is an equivalent of *isiThunzi* (dignity, personality, power). The process involves three courses of treatment. Bryant speaks in general of the employment of 'black medicines' *(umuThi omMnyama)* for the driving away of evil or *umHlola* (misfortune). The administration of such medicines is accompanied by abstentions and taboos, including isolation, sexual continence and fasting. It is followed by a cleansing process *(ukuPhothula)* in which 'white medicines' *(umuThi omHlophe)* are used to clear away the effects of the black treatment. Black *ubuLawu* removes filth, white *ubuLawu* medicines make a person 'eat blessings' (Callaway:1868:142).

In Chief Gatsha's case the black treatment consisted in the application of 'black medicines', i.e., fats and organs of 'black animals': the chief is smoked with 'black incense', receives inoculations with 'black medicines' and is steamed and washed in them. A black beast is slaughtered for it goes with the 'black treatment'. Some informants declare that the treatment takes away the chief's filth or misfortune; others, that it makes him fierce, endowed with a powerful personality. So strong is the effect that the 'black medicines' have to be removed ritually before the next stage so that contact between chief and subjects will be safe. Chief Gatsha's statement that he wore an old tattered loincloth belonging to an ancient forbear, used ancestral eating utensils and ate of the SM of the *izinKomo za imiZimu* (the ancestral cattle) reveals that the 'black treatment' identified him with, or ritually transformed him into, the powerful ancestor. There is no contradiction with the phrase noted by Asmus (p.81) that 'black medicines' 'darken' the relationship between ancestor and living descendants and interrupt the connection. For since the ancestors themselves are 'darkened' as *abaPhansi*, contact with them can be established only by becoming as dark as they. After a few days interval the red (also called half-white) treatment is begun. This consisted in emetics, incisions, sucking and spurting of, and being steamed and washed in 'red medicines'. A red beast is slaughtered at this time. After a further interval the 'white' treatment is commenced, and carried out in all the procedures enumerated except smoking in charred medicines which is here omitted. 'White' medicines give luck. To conclude the treatment a white beast was sacrificed. For the 'red' and 'white' treatment Chief Gatsha put on his up-to-date tribal ornaments. The whole treatment took about two weeks. It was characterized by the chief's abstentions from sex and human contacts. His servants, too, observed the sexual interdict and so did, of course, his Wi. The doctors, being from afar, had no chance of indulging in sex activities, since their Wis were not at the chief's kraal. The chief's agnatic kin and his tribesmen did not observe any companionship taboos, so that we are dealing here with an intensely individual taboo regimen.

B. THE KING'S BODY-ATTENDANT *(iNceku)*

Bryant (1929:68) relates that when Senzangakhona died his body servants had to die with him. They were caught, their limbs broken by powerful executioners *(abaThakathi abakhulu)* and their bodies strewn in the grave for the king to rest on. The killers were banished into the 'wilderness' for good. The rumour of such an observance led the British to dig up Mpande's grave after Ulundi without result. (386), a body servant of King Solomon's, a descendant of a noble Zulu clan and nephew to a councillor who accompanied Dinizulu to St. Helena, was anxious that his name should not appear in print, since he was under a solemn obligation to the royal family not to divulge anything about the court. He underwent no special training for his position, and said the *iNceku* could be married, althoug his Wi was not allowed to stay inside the royal kraal. She attended occasionally for the carrying of wood and water and the grinding of grain for beer, and then had to stay in a temporary hut outside the homestead (H1).

The body servant addressed the king as Ngonyama, Zulu, Ndabezitha, Mageba, Ndaba, Silo, also *nKonyane yenDlovu* (Elephant calf) - the term *inDlovukazi* was reserved for the Queen, the king's M. In (386)'s opinion *Baba* was not generally used in addressing the king, but the attendant being known to him might say: *Babawami* (!) (He is hesitant about this.) The king addressed his *iNceku* with his pers/n and occasionally his clan/n. (386) denied that women could address the king with *weMnyama*. The body servant had to kneel in the presence of the king and move about on knees and hands (H1). When bringing beer he had to carry the pot in one hand and the lid (for H1'ing the king) in the other. When putting down the pot, he had to greet the king: *Ngonyama;* he then strained and tasted the beer like a girl before her F.

When the king left food over the chief *iNceku* responsible for the royal food ate it and could pass some of it on to minor body servants. If it had been passed on to outsiders, the royal family would resent it; the body servant doing this was a 'bad friend' of the king, and revealed that he hated him. The body servant had to eat the king's left-overs out of his sight. It was considered enough if he went behind the hut. He could not eat them with a spoon, only with his hand, taking the food with his right and placing it in his left palm from which he ate. The body servants did not eat SM at the royal kraal, nor did (386)'s F, who had been an officer at court. (He looked after a military kraal and his food was carried there from his home, including SM (!). The king, or the commissariat supplied him with beer and meat.)

As *iNceku* (386) had to brush and press the king's clothes when he went on a journey without a Wi. The royal family had in his day all taken to trousers, but Solomon wore leopard braces *(amaBhande iziNgwe* or *iziNqaku)* on special occasions, e.g., the enlisting of regiments. When the king was alone the body servant slept in the same room across the threshold; when a Wi accompanied the king, he slept across the doorway on the verandah. The king slept on a bed, and found a bed wherever he went. Girls of the royal kraal swept the king's residence; they also made up his bed.

(386) was afraid of the king *(ukwEsaba,* with *uValo)*. There was, as he knew, nothing to fear, but he was nervous of the king's *isiThunzi* (personality, dignity), afraid of displeasing him. When the king good-humouredly joked with him, he got uneasy and upset, afraid of making the incorrect response. He did not want the king to converse with him in a bantering and intimate manner. However, he enjoyed listening to the king when he conversed with others, or chatted to the councillors. Towards the king's Wis, he felt not so nervous, for he noticed that they were nervous themselves before the king and some of them asked him for advice concerning behaviour at court.

C. OFFICIALS AND HEADMEN

(428), a 'cousin' of Chief Mqiniseni, enumerates the different ranks of tribal officials. He himself is an *umMeli,* a marriage officer who must attend weddings, obtain information about

how much bride-price was paid and how much is outstanding. No wedding may be celebrated without an *umMeli*. There are district headmen *(izinDuna)* who serve for a period at court and then return home. The head official of the royal council is the person through whom the king issues orders and makes announcements to the ordinary headmen; he does not do so directly. (427): The Great Headman (*inDuna enKulu*) presents matters in dispute before the chief. An ordinary headman cannot do so without such an intermediary. In a large chieftainship there are several Great Headmen. They are H1'd in that only they may bring matters to the chief or king. (428): The controller of the royal kraal is also styled *inDuna*. He receives visitors in the absence of the king. Among officers who command regiments *(izinDuna zeMpi, izinDuna zeButho)* those of high rank command large units, their subordinates local contingents. Each officer leads his troop in the dances at a wedding at the royal court. It would be beneath his dignity to do so at a small wedding. A singing expert *(iGagu)* composes the special songs for such occasions. The military *izinDuna* sit with the administrative officials in the various councils; thus a local officer attends the court cases of his headman. An officer deals with minor cases in his regiment himself, but if there is an open wound, a large bruise or a prospect of a deep-seated quarrel, he takes the case to the chief. The observance of the various competencies and the avoidance of interfering in another's business is a matter of H1.

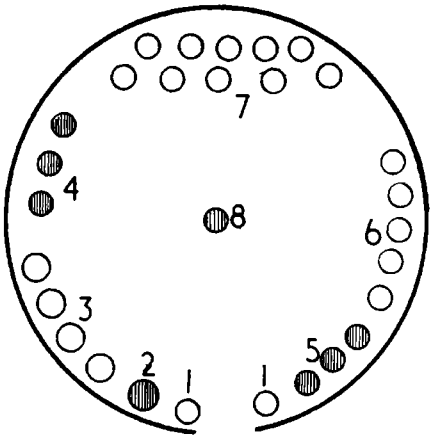


Fig. 49.

The seating arrangements for a council meeting at Chief Gatsha's homestead (Fig. 49) show that no distinction is made between hereditary and appointed headmen. Two guardian headmen (1) just inside the doorway direct new appointees or late-comers to their seats. To the left of the chief (2) sit important visitors (3), e.g., members of the royal family, and beyond them the chief's Brs (4). On the right side are seated the chief's FBrs (5) and the headmen (6) according to seniority. The commoners, forming the assembly, sit at the back (7) and among them, the chief's body servant(s) and private magician. (Hut post 8). The guardians (who are chosen by the chief or elected by the *iBandla)* may remove a headman who becomes troublesome. They must be assisted by the chief's FBrs or other senior headmen and may not use force, only 'persuasion'. They don't touch a brother headman (Hl). On entering or leaving the council hut a headman salutes the chief 'Shenge' (In:2) raising his hand, and walks past the chief in a bent position or preferably on all fours (H1).

An outside meeting is less formal. The headmen sit mixed up, but so that the chief can see each individually and each man sees him. A few men, the chief's FBrs, and some highly respected men, sit with the chief to face the meeting.

(427), a headman himself, asserts: Commoners H1 an *inDuna* less intensively than the chief. An *inDuna* Hl's the chief more than the commoners, since he has to set an example to them and look after their interests, e.g., the headman makes obeisance before the chief

(ukuKhuleka), so that the commoners know where and when to do the same. The chief in turn H1's the headman more than commoners to mark the distinction in rank between them. (428): A headman may be addressed as *inDuna* by commoners, e.g., they greet him: *SawuBona inDuna*. This is done more readily by members of his regiment. To address him as *umNumzane* would be 'stealing from the chief' and would be more resented than in the case of an ordinary kraal-head who is not so near the chief (nor likely to usurp his position). If a commoner wants to honour a headman specially he would greet him *waseNdlunkulu* (You of the Great House), a term equivalent to *wena-waseKhaya* with which a person 'assimilated' into a kraal is greeted. Commoner women do not greet a headman as *inDuna* but with his clan/n, and Chn use *Baba*. When two headmen walk together, they may walk in any order, even one behind the other. When they approach a chief's kraal the senior goes ahead and salutes, raising his hand, but he may not crouch as at the royal court; the king would become very angry with him!

The king in addressing a headman does not use any r/t but addresses him by his pers/n or clan/n. When the councillors are by themselves he may address them *umuZiwami* (my homestead), and before the assembly he will greet them *izinDuna neBandla*. It is unusual for him to address the assembly with *iBandla* alone. The king's Wis greet the councillors and headmen not as *waseNdlunkulu* but *baNtwawami* , lit., as 'my Chn!' and the headmen greet back *SaniBona Ndlunkulu boMama*. The same rank term cannot be applied towards two different referents!

VIII. WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS

Women's occupations differ from men's in that they are concentrated in or near the homestead; they are on the whole more regularly engaged in, e.g., cooking is a daily duty, hunting only an occasional pastime; they are safer and involve less co-operative planning than the activities of men.

A. COOKING

(UMP, and 128) gave the following list of restraints:-

Do Not: touch one spoon with another, lest you get a pain in the stomach; allow the stirring spoon to stand in food, lest your son develop a stitch when running; lest your husband cannot run fast in battle; lest the food 'stick' in your stomach, lest it cause *umQubukusho* (H1).

Do Not: take a pot off the fire whilst its lid is still on (Za/Hl); lest eaters become dumb; lest you die in pregnancy;
take the lid off on the husband's side of the hut, whilst food is in the pot; take the pot to the men's side of the hut at all when your husband is absent from kraal (Hl), lest husband's testicles swell. To do so is an *iChilo*, *amaHloni*, a disgrace, suggestive of adultery.

Do Not: take firewood collected for sacrificial cooking for your household; it causes quarrelling (H1: the H, as kraalhead, must be respected.)

Do Not: cook food immediately after a wedding, or when menstruating (wait till the release rite is performed).

Do Not: leave the kitchen while cooking food (H1);
take food to your H yourself, but send a Ch (H1).

(217) and (218) point out, that spoons play a role in avoidances. The big stirring spoon used by a wife and kept at the pillar of her living hut or kitchen may not be touched by her H (H1), "since he has his own spoons". If he has to use it for eating or stirring the blood-soup, he must obtain his Wi's consent beforehand or inform her. Nor may a woman - not authorized

to cater for her H - touch his spoons, viz., his sour milk spoon, the mixer and the soup spoon. The Chn likewise avoid all three. They are usually in separate receptacles on the main pillar of the Great Hut. To the question, whether the SM spoon is avoided because it represents the F's authority (217) replied: No, it's just custom; it is also described as H1, as *umThetho;* no sanctions are known to follow a transgression. In a hut in Chief Mqiniseni's homestead, a set of the women's spoons was kept in the back thatch of the hut as is usual; at (323)'s, the H's spoons were found there too, since the hut had no pillar. In the Mbatha kraal the great stirring spoon was stuck behind a big girl's sleeping mat, "since the hut is now a woman's hut and men call only occasionally".

B. BEER-MAKING

Next to cooking, beer-making is the most frequent occupation of a Zulu woman.

1. (225) enumerates the following steps:
A woman takes maize to soak in a large clay pot for two days.
On the third day she places soaked maize in another pot without water for a whole week.
On the 7th day the maize is taken out, the grains have sprouted and are spread out to dry in the sun *(imiThombo* : malt).
The malt is ground roughly on a grindstone on the 8th day and mixed with untreated maize or millet, and ground together.
On the 9th day the grinding is continued until a fine meal is produced, which is put into a clay pot. Water is brought to the boil in a large pot and poured over the meal, which is stirred with a special stick or spoon *(inGwaqo)*.
The liquid paste *(umNcindo)* is boiled on the 10th day until it bubbles for about an hour, 'until you feel that it is right'.
The paste is stirred and poured into many small pots to cool off (after boiling up again). When cool it is collected in a big pot; millet malt is ground and added again, and the whole stirred. The liquid is now called *imBiliso*.
On the 12th day the liquid is sifted and strained. It is now *uTshwala*. The dregs *(iziNsipho)* are thrown to pigs and horses or into the pen for the fowls. Women throw them over the fence.
The woman now bathes *(ukuGeza)* in the river. She then carries a sample to the kraalhead. This is the *isiCathulo* pot (the 'shoe'). After the kraalhead has tasted the beer the beer kitchen is accessible to him; he returns with his wife there and shares out the beer *(ukwAhlukanisa)*.

He calls other men; they drink in his living hut; she calls other women; they drink their share in the Great Hut, or in the brewer's hut, if there is no old 'dame'. In the case of three brothers living in a kraal, the beer is drunk in the Residence of the man whose Wi brewed it.

2. H l a n d Z a: While the beer is being made (i.e., from steps 1-7) anyone may enter the hut, help is welcome. The interdict against intercourse between brewer and her husband begins with step 4 (7th day) and continues to the straining and washing day, the 12th. (If her H wanted her, she would refuse: *'NgiyaNqaba:* I am brewing.' If they slept together, the beer would lose taste, be insipid like water. Some say she may not sleep with her husband to H1 the beer.) On the day of the straining nobody may enter, especially no strangers and no men: the woman has a Ch to help her. The explanation is: 'A kitchen with the kraalhead's food (sic) is not entered.' Even he may not come in. She may neither cook nor strain beer after sex intercourse (H1). The 'turning' of the beer may be prevented, if she employs a Ch to work for her. Some say the beer need not turn bad, or nothing happens at all. She may not stir the beer with a stick, lest this causes a fight: rather use an *isiKhetho*, a spoon with a holed bowl. A woman may make beer when she is in her menses, but she must take a precaution: she chews *umuZi* grass and ties it round her wrist. She must not wash in a basin of water after the beer is cooked, lest it does not ferment. Nobody is allowed to drink before the kraalhead, 'the

owner of the beer', has been given his pot. In serving beer H1 requires that the calabash be not served without a plate to support it, and a square mat to cover the mouth. When women drink beer in the company of men they must turn their face to the wall (H1). No other restrictions apply; a woman may cook food for her H, she may do any work, including pot making whilst she is brewing.

3. Beer as an offering to the ancestors:

When beer is brewed, a pot is offered to the ancestors. The old women of the kraal first carry a large pot into the pen. There the kraalhead recites the praises *(ukuThetha amaDlozi)* of the ancestors speaking towards the upper part, the *umSamo* of the pen. Then the pot is carried into the Great Hut and deposited in the apse to the announcement: 'Here is your food!' While this is being done the young women must remain in their huts. The Great Hut has been smeared, nobody may sleep there but a small Ch. Beer is always offered together with meat when a beast has been slaughtered. It is never offered in the beer kitchen. A woman may, when drinking with her boon companions recite the *izAngelo* of her eldest son, especially when he is about to marry; (she would never recite the *izAngelo* of a deceased in like circumstances). If beer offered at a sacrifice turns flat, some say the ancestors are offended; others, that they actually interfered with it, resenting that they have been 'forgotten'. (104) gives other reasons for beer turning flat: the woman went to her H; or she has no skill, e.g., if *umNcindo* is too hot when brought into contact with malt or if there is too little malt, or if the water put into the maize meal is not hot enough.

Magogo: Brides must not handle beer pots, nor women in their menses (H1). After the malt has been put into the pots, and before fermentation, a red-hot ember is thrown in, to prevent the beer from being spoiled by a woman having slept with her H *(onoSuku)*. When beer is ready, a senior woman of the kraal strains it into a calabash, nowadays also a pot, for 'the kraalhead'. She recites the *izAngelo* (childhood praises) of the late kraalhead and places this pot at the back of the beer kitchen for some time. It may be drunk by anyone; some people do not allow young people to drink it (H1).

C. POTMAKING

Princess Magogo, (UMP), (128) report:

A woman who is a potmaker has a special pottery hut near her living hut, so that she can control persons entering it. A 'soft-headed' Ch, a menstruating woman, or a person who has had sexual intercourse (and is *onoSuku)* must not enter it. Nobody may live in the hut, not even her Chn.

Pots are only made in summer; in winter the climate spoils the quality. A menstruating woman may not fetch the clay; she spoils the clay site for ever. The firing must be done in the veld, never inside a homestead. Certain woods may not be used: *iXeba* would cause headache; *iDungamuzi* makes people quarrel; *amaHlambahlale* causes Chn to die.

A woman must not make pots when she is menstruating (Za), after childbirth (Za), after sexual intercourse (Za); she should not emit wind (Za) or make unnecessary noises, lest the pots crack. The emphasis lies on companionship taboos: the following persons should not enter the pottery hut: Chn, strangers, mourners, menstruating women, recent mothers, women who cohabited the previous night (H1). No H1 expressions were noted down concerning the making of pots.

In the past women traded pots; the price for a pot was the amount of grain required to fill it. Pots differ as to size, shape, colouring and ornamentation. The different pots (beer, cooking, meat and vegetables, milk, water) may not be interchanged. They are kept separate in beer and food kitchens and in the apse of living huts, where only water pots and SM mixing

pots are kept if there is a kitchen. SM pots and water pots carry no decorations, beer pots have geometric patterns; pots in which beer is prepared are not blackened. Meat pots are not kept in the vegetable kitchen, but in the beer kitchen. These incompatibilities are often maintained by H1 restraints.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESTRAINTS IN DIACHRONIC SITUATIONS

I. FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADULTHOOD

A. EAR PIERCING AND CIRCUMCISION

1. Ear piercing

The first developmental rite is ear piercing of which there are two forms: *ukuKlekla:* to slit the lobe, and *ukuChambusa:* to puncture it (154, 261). Either the one or the other is performed, never both. The ritual procedure in each case is the same, and the sexes are not separated. (In the Ngubane clan *ukuKlekla* means to cut off last joint of little finger).

It is the Ms of a neighbourhood who, when their Chn are from five to eight years old, jointly engage an expert, an *umKlekli*, who does not receive a fee or even a gift. Before the appointed day the Chn are sent to gather sorghum stalks required for keeping the slits open. There is no suggestion today of selecting a favourable day, but the stalks are only available in winter and the cool air is thought to help heal the wound. The Chn are free to eat what they like up to the eve of the operation. The operator should be 'ritually fit'. He does not sleep with his wife the day before the piercing lest the ears do not heal, but he observes no food restrictions.

On the appointed day the Ms lead their Chn to the piercer's homestead. The rite takes place before sunrise and just outside the operator's home. (In an individual case the boy concerned was operated on at the gate of his F's cattle pen). The Chn come up to the operator in a fixed order: first the big boys, then the small boys; the girls bring up the rear. The instrument used is a sharp pointed knife or awl. Each M has filled a pot with fresh water on the way with which to 'wash' the wound. The operator, his task fulfilled, 'washes' his hands in water poured over them by one of the Ms. He 'cleanses' the knife at the same time and, returning home, thrusts it into the roof top of his Residence (or of the Great Hut). Any person taking it down is considered a witch. It is 'unfit to be used' until all ears are healed (Za).

After the operation all foods are taboo to the Chn. Before a Ch can eat a particular food his M takes a mouthful, chews it and then blows over the Ch's ears and across the wound to prevent the ears from swelling. Meat is the last food from the taboo of which the Ch is thus ritually released.

The wound is washed daily at first, later at longer intervals. The M does not sleep with her H, lest the healing be delayed or the ear 'poisoned' or turn septic (154). Exceptionally the F does the washing, when the interdict applies to him. If the wound festers it is washed with unmedicated hot water to remove the pus. If it gets bad, the juice of the *uShwawu* herb is dripped on the ear. Before its administration the F avoids his Wis. Should the infection spread the operator is called and treats the ear with his medicines, having previously observed the sexual abstention. Chn with still open wounds are not called *uNgcolile* ('unclean') but *uLungile* (good, correct), since they have conformed to custom. Other Chn are encouraged to follow their example. No feasting is held after the ear piercing.

This account shows that (1) both operator and parents are made responsible for the healing of the wound by the imposition of a sex taboo; (2) the Ch is made aware of the healing process by the taboos on the various kinds of food; (3) the Ch is released from the food taboos by a vicarious action on the part of its M; (4) the 'meaning' of the rite, whether tribal ornament or individual magical safety device, does not affect the taboo regimen.

2. Circumcision

Although there is no contemporary record of Zulu circumcision, Bryant gives a brief account of it. The candidates lived in secluded grass huts. Visitors were forbidden to approach. The boys were naked and had their bodies 'whitewashed' with clay. Food was taken to them by women beyond the menopause. The release rite from the taboo period consisted in a beer and meat feast for the family, from both of which the youths had to abstain. Henceforth the circumcised wore a penis cover and were formed into an age-class (Bryant: 1929: 99, 642; idem 1949: 490-2; Asmus: 158).

According to tribal tradition a chief introduced this ritual mutilation into Zulu culture, and another chief, either Senzangakhona or Shaka, abolished it, since the long seclusion interfered with the military usefulness of the youths. Several heirs to chiefdoms rebelled against paternal authority in rejecting the operation. On the other hand Solomon had his heir-apparent circumcised to 'mark him as his successor'. A point to note is that in the past the infliction of pain on, and the mutilation of, the sex organ was a ritual preparation for its legitimate use in reproductive activities. This notion is perpetuated in the anticipatory custom of Zulu herdboys who cut the frenum and of Zulu girls who remove the pubic hairs one by one with their fingers before intra-femoral intercourse with their lovers.

B. THE PUBERTY RITE (UKUTHOMBA) OF BOYS

1. Introduction

Of this rite (154) gives a simple account: when a boy's first emission occurs he takes his F's cattle by stealth to a secluded part of the pasture in the early morning. He makes the boys of the neighbourhood join him with their home cattle. Anyone disturbing them in their retreat is driven off. The boys must not eat anything the whole day (Za). Noticing the absence of the cattle at the midday milking, the boy's F reports to his M. She sets to grinding maize and prepares porridge or maize bread into which she mixes 'strengthening' medicines. On his return with the herd in the evening, the boy waits outside the gate until this medicated food is brought to him. He eats it, and proceeds to his M's (family) hut, where he sits in his usual place. There follows general feasting, his F's other Wis as well as his age-mates bringing food for the occasion. Girls join in the gaiety. If a beast is slaughtered the bile is ritually poured over the boy.

(241) describes a more elaborate procedure. The boy is submitted on the secluded pasture to 'strengthening' treatment by his companions: He must eat the bitter leaves of the *umHlaba*, an aloe, to make him 'grow'. The boys gather the castings of crabs at the river bank, which the boy swallows to keep off ill effects of the first 'sexual stain'. He and his contemporaries, but not any older boys, smear themselves with river mud all over for a 'sign'. If other people, especially girls should come near, the group remains silent so as not to betray their presence (Isolation + Sign).

The boys then test each other's skill in a stick fight. The winner leads the party home. They are met by a party of young men who will support them in a mock battle with the girls from the homesteads affected. The girls, dressed in shoulder cloths, approach armed with sticks. At the sham fight, which 'strengthens' the boys, the girls take to flight. The cattle are now taken to their respective pens to be milked. However, the boy who matured is forbidden to enter his F's kraal, to touch anything or eat anything there (umTh/Hl). Youths guard the gate and may use force to hold him back.

In the meantime, his F or a leech prepares a medicine *(umQalothi, iziNdawo)* on a potsherd in the pen. The boy is called inside and made to suck the red hot mixture from his finger-tips to 'strengthen' him. He now enters his M's hut. An animal has been slaughtered and he eats of the meat. His grandmother (FM) sings his praises and adds warnings that he must now beware of girls, since he is mature.

In Natal the boy's puberty rite, like other developmental rites, was a communal affair in which the pattern of taboos was applied, as Krige's data and my informants show.

2. Reserved Areas

The tendency to seclude the individual undergoing a rite is indicated for the ear piercing in the rule that he should not leave the hill where the operation takes place (Krige: 82-6); that during the puberty rite a boy must hide with his cattle in a remote locality (Krige: 88-97); that at the obsolete circumcision he had to stay in the isolation hut (Bryant; 1949: 490; Kohler: 1939: 10). Seclusion may mean no more than exclusion from the homestead. Thus (105) said: "The ear piercing is performed outside the kraal, near the riverside, and the Chn are free to move around." The absence of a seclusion hut in the first emission rite may seem to disprove the tendency to isolation, but other rules classed as (Za) express it undeniably: the boy must not allow himself to be seen except by his age-mates; he should make sure that he is by himself when he wants to laugh; on returning from 'the wilderness' he must not enter the homestead until called. He is thus ritually treated as a stranger, an outsider. Furthermore, boys in this condition shun all contact with a newborn Ch and its M; they cannot touch a corpse or the dead man's belongings, nor may they attend the king, especially if he is engaged in ritual such as the First Fruits. The sanction for the breaking of these rules is a threat of death. To complete the picture taboo-signs are used. The boy has to change his dress and paints himself with river-mud. The donning of the new *umuTsha* (loin cloth) is carefully prescribed: he may not yet wear it when the animal is being slaughtered for him; he can no longer wear his old clothes after the ritual release from the puberty restrictions (Krige: 94, 97).

3. Sexual Restraints

With regard to sex special prohibitions (Za) warn the pubescent boy against entering his M's hut or hoeing near her before the 'strengthening'. He must on no account touch her clothes (Krige: 91-2;97). He may not look at women, nor must he be seen by them. To watch girls bathing in his condition is prohibited. Some informants say this custom needs no sanction so well is it obeyed. Others offer a plethora of dire consequences: the offender becomes foolish, he laughs in a silly manner or continuously. He loses his mind altogether. He must not touch anything belonging to members of the other sex, nor sit with outstretched legs like a woman, nor allow a woman to cross his legs. If he did he would always fall when running.

Puberty leads to an intensification of the warning against incest and to a greater differentiation of prohibitions with sexual implications. A pubescent boy must no longer sleep with his sister in the same hut. He may no longer cover himself with her blanket. Although henceforth he is expected to make love to girls, he cannot choose certain bilateral kin and be must shun all girls sharing his own clan name. When he has intercourse with his sweet-heart, it must be restricted to intrafemoral contact and must not result in penetration and conception. The magical consequences are: an illegitimate Ch who is a monstrosity or a lunatic. The culprit contracts an infectious disease. The social consequences are awful: people will scold and abuse the guilty; the girl's age-mates will attack the boy responsible. There are formidable legal consequences: the girl's family claims a cleansing beast and a heavy fine in cattle: a goat or beast goes to the girl's M, two beasts or £5 go to her F. Nor does puberty give licence to a youth to make love to a woman who is his senior: it is a disgrace for a young man to make advances to a widow, even if she is free to remarry.

4. Speech

During the puberty rite a boy must not speak to anybody (Za), least of all to women. At least he should whisper only and confine himself to what it is necessary to say. The rule holds until the release medicines have been taken. In the isolation hut (Natal) the boy does not whistle, yell or make a noise. In talking to old people, all ostentation and nervousness must be suppressed. During the 'strengthening' rite in the pen the boy must not stand but should kneel respectfully. During the seclusion, he must not sit at a fire (Krige: 111). One informant says: No bad consequences are known; it is just not done. Others mention a list of

sanctions both rational and magical: the boy will burn his legs, he will suffer from the cold, he unfits himself for war - but also: his teeth will decay, his daughter will be barren! One of my informants interpreted the fire as a symbol of paternal authority; a boy who sits at it during his puberty rite shows thereby his wish to usurp his F's position (possibly also in the sexual sphere?).

5. Food

Certain food prohibitions are associated with puberty. The boy must not eat 'soft' foods, including SM. 'Hard' foods (i.e., meat, beer, boiled maize) are his fare (Krige: 86, 111). Some Zulu denied the interdict on SM; others maintained that a boy consumes nothing but the medicated dumplings. Kohler, talking of Southern Natal, says that boys taking SM harm the cattle and misfortune falls on any family member who shares the SM with him. Other food taboos mentioned are fowl, pork, groundnuts, mutton, sugary food, the lower lip of a beast lest the boy acquire a similar lip.

The implications of such prohibitions are revealed in the rule that the boiled maize must not be eaten out of a water pot. Water itself is taboo to the boy until sunset. Nor may water with which a woman sprinkles the grain she is grinding be used by any Ch who has his ears pierced (or who was about to be circumcised) (Colenso: 1905: *umQoboto)*. The sanction is vague: the taboo-breaker will suffer for it! Some informants are more precise: Food cooked by a woman of child-bearing age must be avoided by a boy in the transition rite. Nor may he eat the same food as his F (although it was accessible to him as a Ch). The prohibitions thus interrupt the commensality so far existing between parents and Ch; they also ensure him against contact with sexually active persons. Where the pubescent boy is secluded in a hut he fasts in the day time and eats only very little of the medicated food at night.

The sanctions to these prohibitions refer to reactions in the boy's social environment. The taboo-breaker will be shunned by his age-mates. He may be beaten, even killed by the 'champion' of the district, i.e., the leader of a senior age-group. He is considered a bad marriage partner, for he cannot possibly have Chn. Should he beget Chn, they must needs die early or become as disobedient as their F. He calls down upon himself the contempt of his whole family. His waywardness is talked about in the whole tribe. His agnatic ancestors will ignore and neglect him and prevent his growing up into an adult. They will cause him to have bad luck throughout life. A dreaded 'curse' is that he will perform the violated action in a continuous and automatic manner like a madman.

The observances by the boy are supported by his parents' companionship taboos. No 'unclean' visitor is allowed into the homestead. Parents refrain from entering the seclusion hut. Women do not enter the cattle-pen (H1) where the boy takes the 'strengthening' medicine, except the old woman who takes the gruel to him there. Where, as Krige describes, part of the homestead is 'managed' by the boy and his age-mates for a day, members of his family and especially his Sis, do not walk (H1) on the right side of the homestead which is administered by the boys. No private belongings of the boy are touched at this time (H1/Za). Sexual intercourse in the homestead is interdicted by the family head. Parents do not talk openly about their son's first emission, or even that he has driven away the cattle. The neutral phrase 'the cattle are gone' suffices (Krige: 89, 92, 97, 101).

C. THE PUBERTY RITE OF GIRLS (UKUTHOMBA)

1. (261) and others describe an i n d i v i d u a l puberty rite for girls: When a girl has her first menstrual discharge, she reports to her eSi, who takes her to the FM's hut. There she is covered with a blanket and seated on her GM's mat near the apse on the woman's side. A report is made to the girl's M. At sunrise the next morning the girls of the homestead look

for the *iNdawo* plant. They pound the root with sorghum and water in the Great Hut and form two dumplings of the paste which they heat on a sherd. The girl bites pieces off the dumplings. She must swallow the bites, although they are bitter (and some girls vomit). The girl stays in the hut for eight to nine days. Neither her parents nor her Brs may enter, only her GM and Sis. When speaking to these the girl must whisper. Her age-mates, who spend the time with her, are noisy; they sing songs, make merry and dance. When answering a call of nature, the girl leaves the hut covered in a blanket and surrounded by her age-mates or Sis. The boys of the homestead are on the look-out and try to beat her with sticks. She is defended by her companions. She must not eat either meat or SM.

When the girl 'comes out' *(ukwEmula)* the girls get up before sunrise and without dressing run a race to the river to find out who will cross it first *(ukuThathisa eZibuko)*. They take up water to their mouths in the hollow of their hands and blow it out shouting: *"Hamba Mshopi!"* (Leave Mshopi) *47*. Then they wash and paint their faces with river mud. The girl's sisters follow with her new dress, a *umBhelenja* or a shoulder cloth. The bathers dress in readiness for the *umSindo* feast, or celebrations *48*. The girls proceed to gather firewood *(izinKuni zenTombi)* and sticks. On their way home they meet the boys of the homestead and their age-mates intent to strike the girl who 'comes out'. Her companions beat off the sham attack. The firewood is deposited outside the kraal and its 'mothers' come out to share it. The girl's bundle, which is the largest, must go to her GM or M only. The girls gather in the Great Hut to dance the *iNgcekezi*, otherwise only danced by diviners. They point in all directions, but mainly up and down, while they stamp their feet - a ritual violation of the pointing taboo. When the meal is announced the girls wash off the mud from their faces.

For the coming out a goat is slaughtered, the *umHlonyane*, which has made the child grow. F's portion is the ribs *(isiFuba)* which he shares with his Wis if the girl is a younger Da. If she is the eldest, the Ms, particularly the girl's M, cannot eat of it (Za). The FeSi may, 'since her brother eats', and so does the girl's MSi, unless she is married by sororate to the girl's F. Before the girls can touch the meat, they eat *isiJingi*, a mixture of pumpkin and maize meal, and then partake of any part of the *umHlonyane*, because it is 'their animal'. (Of a normally slaughtered goat they get one leg only.) They also drink beer. The *umHlonyane* opens the gate to all other foods abstained from except SM, for which the girl is not considered 'strong enough'. She abstains from it for a whole month, during which she is given heavy work to do and is expected to obey implicitly any order given to her, "since she is but recently from the Great Hut."

The eating of the dumplings is a rite to 'strengthen' the girl: morally, to enable her to remain 'unspoiled'; physically, to make her capable of carrying big loads of firewood, the work of brides, and magically, to empower her to eat SM. (Yet previously the girl might touch the milk calabashes, grind boiled maize, mix it with SM and serve the mixture.) The taboo on SM is not felt to be a deprivation, since a girl who matures is said to dislike the very smell of SM, she fears, even hates it! The fear is partly magical. If she ate SM some ill-luck would befall her, or her F's calves would die and his cattle excrete blood and become lean.

Such a sanction raises the question of the relation between the girl's behaviour and the well-being of her F's cattle. As a Ch she was under no restrictions in this respect. The first suggestion made by me, that the ancestors, who own the cattle and are in the last resort responsible for the girl's existence, have also brought on her physical development, and thus menstruation, is unconvincing to the Zulu. They find a re-statement more plausible: The first menstruation is a sign of the girl's capacity to bear Chn. Whether she will actually give birth to Chn depends on the ancestors. That much is told every bride before she leaves her home on the wedding day. The ancestors receive the cattle in return for the Chn the woman will bear. Any misconduct on her part, including the violation of a taboo, reduces her chances of marriage and of having legitimate Chn. It also reduces the ancestors' chances of getting the

bride-price cattle. The sour milk taboo during menstruation is thus an a s s o c i a t i v e b r i d g e between a woman's fertility and her F's herd of cattle which will benefit by it. My informants indignantly rejected the corollary: that her barrenness would prove that she broke the SM taboo at puberty. No, they said, there is no need for her even to confess, if she were guilty. "They" would slaughter a beast for her at her H's or at her F's, to make her conceive! This answer, of course, implies again, that the ancestors desire cattle in return for Chn.

Some of the ritual acts indicate that the status of the girl is being raised. The race to the river and the crossing over 'change' her from an immature girl to one socially accepted as a potential 'wife' *49*. The paint on her face is a sign to all that this is the case. The boys' attack refers to this advance for they beat her, because she is now 'grown' and expected to become 'cheeky' and less ready to take orders from them. However, her status advance is only partial and places the girl under the behaviour control of the girl's age-group and its leader *(amaQhikiza)*. That this ranking-up is less decisive than marriage was brought out in a discussion on whether the depositing of firewood at the kraal gate was the same rite at puberty as after the wedding. My informants held that for a girl in her F's home the action was a customary law (umTh), for the bride at her H's, it was a respectful restraint (Hl)!

2. A review of the literature

on the puberty rite of girls shows that the taboo pattern is pretty consistently applied and that Zulu explanations vary greatly and refer to detailed prohibitions rather than the whole rite (Krige: 100-3; Bryant: 1949: 647-8; Asmus 160-4; my informants).

a. Reserved Areas

If the first menstruation commences while the girl is in the fields, she hides herself in a reed-bed, or near a river and draws a cloth over her head. She returns home only after sunset and is at once secluded in a hut. Frazer (1929: 595) comments on the fact that two universal taboos - not to see the sun and not to touch the ground - should be observed by the girl (Asmus: 161). The prohibition not to cross a river is a measure of seclusion, since 'crossing the river' is a rite terminating it. The girl should not walk in the middle of the path but on its grassy verge, lest her blood afflict a man stepping on it with ill-luck and cause her to contract a bladder affection *50*.

The girl is secluded in her M's or her FM's hut, the Great Hut. She rests on a mat behind a special curtain or wickerwork screen *(umGonqo*, or *isiThombo)*, set up near the apse or inside it. The girl should lie motionless on her elbows, with head bent or facing the wall. She must not look around her or she will become a termagant. She broods *(ukuGoya)* naked behind the screen, but when male visitors are allowed later, she must cover head and breasts. If she has to leave the hut, she must be covered with blankets and surrounded by her age-mates, for she must not be seen by boys. Her isolation lasts from eight days to two, even three months. The hut is given up to her and her age-mates for this time.

The physiological changes of pubescent girls, (viz., axillary and pubic hair, dark streaks along the legs and the filling out of the breasts) are supplemented by social signs. The girl cannot wear her normal dress in seclusion, except a worn-out one. She puts on a vaginal belt and, with her age-mates, a grass-girdle (DV: *umKhanzi;* Kohler: 1939: 12-3). The red paint, often put on on the last day, is sometimes worn during the whole seclusion.

b. Sexual Restraints

For the first half of the seclusion the girl must not talk to males, including her Brs; she would have no Chn. She should not be seen by them, nor touch any of their belongings. A modern relaxation is noted: When the girl goes out of the hut, she may do so under her Br's greatcoat.

c. Speech

The girl must return from the fields without talking to anyone; she may not even reply to

a greeting, for fear of becoming a habitual scolder of her H. Her M correctly interprets the girl's silence, and knows that she must not report her condition except by a go-between, either GM or Si. This, some informants insist, is a respect avoidance in a taboo setting. During her seclusion the girl must not talk much, nor may she be noisy or laugh. She respects (H1) her home even in the gentle manner in which she weeps. Her age-mates, on the other hand, frolic about in the hut, they sing rather obscene songs which 'help forward the discharge'. The girls make milking movements on a stick, which is set up on a drum; this produces a booming sound and has sexual associations.

d. Food

The girl's diet is 'to strengthen' her and make her 'fat'. She drinks water medicated with a pinch of ash by her M to make her a good cook. To become fertile she eats the bitter roots of the *imPhindisa* shrub mixed with sorghum which must have hung in smoke for a long time. The most generally reported prohibition is that on SM, and so is the sanction that her F's cattle would be harmed. Sometimes a girl is made to fast for a whole day before she is given the medicated dumplings. Older authorities mention the *uFuzo* taboos developed on the principle of sympathetic magic. The girl must not eat elephant (she would give birth to one), rock rabbit (her Ch will have protruding teeth), beef kidney (her Ch will be hairless); bush-warbler (the Ch will be scraggy-legged); head of guinea-fowl (the Ch will have a narrow head); cuckoo, eggs, eland, embryo calf, etc. Many of these taboos are general taboos for women intensified during pregnancy and puberty to ensure well-shaped offspring (Callaway: 1866: 280; Krige: 63, 101, 383).

During her puberty seclusion a girl abstains from all domestic work, such as cooking, fetching firewood and water, the weaving of mats and bead work.

3. Companionship taboos

a. Reserved Areas

During developmental rites no 'unclean' visitor is allowed into the homestead, a "showing of respect to the home" (H1). Parents must not enter the isolation hut, they should respect their offspring in her condition. Callaway mentions the violation of this avoidance by a F. The girl's age-mates interpreted it as a measure of his great love for her rather than as an act deserving magical punishment! If the girl's Brs try fo force an entrance, they are beaten off by the age-mates, and the hut door is barred while the girls are away. Nobody may touch the girl's possessions.

b. Sexual Restraints

No sexual intercourse should take place in the homestead during the first day of seclusion and on the Coming Out. An old woman, or the kraalhead issues the interdict. A number of informants deny that the taboo is generally observed, others class it as *umThetho*. Women informants did not divulge what would happen if a F were to break the taboo. It is accepted though that an 'unclean' parent and in particular one ritually unfit, (anything from 'sexually stained' to contaminated with death) must not see the secluded child. There is pressure on the girl's age-mates in this respect: they should not talk to boys and men get out of their way.

c. Speech

Parents are placed under restraints as to speech and expressive behaviour. A woman does not tell her H directly that their Da has 'matured', but uses his M as a go-between (H1). The term **Thombile* is an avoidance term for *Ngcolile* (unclean) and *Gonqile* (sexually mature). An unusually early menarche is hidden by the girl's mother and the puberty rite held at what is considered the correct time.

The old women instructors of a girl fast before the lessons to make their teaching effective. The age-mates of the girl avoid the same food as she, and in particular 'soft foods' and SM.

The rule is, perhaps, only observed while the girls are in the seclusion hut, but the sanction is the same for all: the homestead's cattle will run dry or perish (Krige: 101).

4. *The Coming Out (ukwEmula)*

A first release rite takes place after a week of seclusion. The girls wash off the red earth at the river. Grass-girdles and screen are burnt and the hut is smeared with cow-dung. The girls shave their heads, put on borrowed women's kilts and perform a dance in the cattle pen where they and other women enter freely on this occasion. Beer has been brewed and a goat, or even a beast slaughtered. The meat is eaten by kinsmen and neighbours, the girl who 'comes out' supervising the distribution. Bryant notes (1949: 648) that neither she nor her M could eat of it. The wearing of the women's kilts by the unmarried girls, their dance in the cattle pen are taboo breaches, i.e., ritual anticipations.

The Coming Out of a king's daughter was accompanied by a relaxation of the rule against touching her F's property: a large-scale and unchecked 'taking away' of his possessions used to be part of the celebrations (Callway: 1866: 182). This may have been an exemplification of conspicuous display of wealth.

In agreement with the principle of rhythmic repetition which characterizes all developmental rites the girl re-enters the hut (Asmus: 162) and prepares for the ritual removal of the interdict on eating SM and on choosing a lover. According to Bryant, it is only now that the screen is set up (Bryant: 1949: 648). The girl receives advice on sexual matters, both from old women and her age-mates. The lessons may be summarized in the following interdicts: Do not have more than one accepted lover (s c i l. at a time) (Za); Do not have (the now permitted) external intercourse without having removed your pubic hair with your fingers (never with scissors) (Kohler: 1939: 37). The sanctions are many: You will hurt your lover during the embrace; he will scold you and pull you by those hairs; you will not get married; your confinement will be difficult! The underlying idea seems to be that sexual pleasure must be purchased by some pain. Further conditions of pre-marital external intercourse (which must not result in conception) are: Do not allow yourself to be seen when going on love visits to your lover (H1) (Kohler: 1939: 39) and do not indulge too frequently in such intercourse before the Betrothal *(ukuQoma)* (Za), lest you be called an *isiGalagala* or *isiHobo* or have spittle flung at you by your age-mates, an extreme form of disapproval (Krige: 106). Male visitors are allowed into the hut at this stage of seclusion. A fee is charged, also called a gift: it goes to the girl and to the leader of her age-group. If the youths wish to spend a night with the girls, a present must be given to the old woman in charge.

For the Coming Out the girls used to prepare a grass costume consisting of fringe girdles, "one encircling the head to screen the face, one hanging round the neck, a third above the breasts, and the lowest engirdling the hips, with a couple on each arm." In this outfit the girls performed the *iNgcekezi* dance in the yard, and others in the pen (Asmus). Then they doffed their costumes revealing the borrowed kilts underneath and went to the veld where they danced wedding dances which were viewed by the local youths who in turn performed the *isiGekle* dance. Back in the homestead the dancers regaled themselves with meat, the division of which deviated from the normal, since the sirloin *(iNsonyama)* went to the youths and the ribs *(isiFuba)* to the girls. The girl, for whom the celebrations were held, distributed the meat.

The Coming Out is a r/r from the taboo on SM. It also involves the passing out of the girl from the exclusive conduct control of her parents to that of the group of age-mates and its leader. Even today the so-called girl-queen controls the relations between the girls and youths of the district by a number of prohibitions. This authority places her, as it were, in a tabooed state herself, for it is said that she will not nurse a Ch of her own, her Chn will all die. At first a girl under her authority is charged not to speak to a boy who has taken a fancy to her. He may speak to her, twist her arm, obstruct and even insult her to make her speak, but without avail. When permission to speak has been given to the girl by the Queen, she must

still restrict herself to stereotyped phrases, such as 'Leave me alone', or 'I don't like boys', and cannot as yet choose herself a lover. Permission to do so is only given several months later at a meeting of all the girls of the district. Still the girl can express her affection in symbolical form only, e.g., by some such phrase as 'What do you want me to do?' or by the action of a small girl companion who beats the amorous swain with a switch, a ritual which he knows how to interpret. The Queen's authority includes the power to grant permission for external intercourse after another waiting period, and for turning the private understanding between lovers into a publicly accepted Betrothal. She can impose fines if the lovers meet without her knowledge or anticipate a degree of intimacy to which they are not entitled. She also levies presents from, and claims a share of the presents exchanged between, the lovers (Farrer: 123-4; Krige: 106, 124). It is important that fining occurs in the peer-group, i.e., a legal process is recognized on a sub-legal level.

In one respect the parents still control their Da. Ms are accustomed regularly to inspect the hymens of their Das at this age, and especially after an accusation of impregnation has been made. As the Coming Out proper involved considerable expense, Fs hesitated to incur it. Two taboo mechanisms helped to overcome their reluctance: a F who 'forgets' to slaughter a beast when his Da has become nubile, is told that he will be the cause of her later barrenness or the girl voluntarily stops eating SM and thus forces his hand. The comment on the omission was never made, nor the abstention self-imposed, unless the girl's M connived at it; in many cases she instigated it.

D. RESTRAINTS IN LOVE-MAKING

1. Individual Reports

The interplay of restrained and forward behaviour in love-making, partly due to custom and partly to the clash in the individual concerned of feelings of shyness and passion, is brought out by (243): "The young man makes love to a girl. For a time she does not tell him her feelings in words but only in signs, presenting him with bead strings and ornaments. He knows from this that she is taking to him. One day he catches her by the arm and tells her: 'I love you, *Ntombazana!*' By using this term rather than the pers/n as in the past, he indicates that his intentions are serious. She at first tells him: 'Leave me!' but if he insists, yields, saying: 'I accept you, *Nsizwa!*', dropping like him, the pers/n. She might also have used his clan/n."

"After being accepted the young man gives his sweetheart a youth-name which he and his age-mates henceforth use." In (243)'s case it was Nkosingiphile. The girl's age-mates coin a youth name for him, viz. Sigodini, but it is made use of only among themselves. The youth name cannot be used after the wedding (H1). (Other informants allow its use.) The young man may now also address his sweetheart as *inTombi yami*, a kind of kinship term, and she in turn calls him *iSokalami*, (lit. my circumcised man). These terms are occasionally used even in old age and cause Nomenthise Sibiya (243) and her husband, who are both old now, to laugh.

"The private engagement *(ukuQoma)* which follows initiates other respectful restraints (H1). The girl may henceforth not eat in front of her lover. He in turn must not eat SM in front of her." Callaway (1866: 254) notes that, in addition, a lover cannot eat of the First Fruits without having obtained her permission; this is secured by giving her a present. Occasions for eating together would arise when both attend the same wedding. If a lover eats SM before his girl, she interprets it as a sign that he now rejects her. (243) knows no sanction as regards the girl's avoidance. Except for the food restraint, the lovers may freely sit together and talk and laugh *(ukuNtela*, a general term).

"The acceptance of a lover by his girl is followed by a thanking ceremony of the two age-groups *(ukuBonga)*. Beer is brewed and the two parties gather in a secluded spot 'to praise the girl', the maiden being formally addressed by them as *mNtawethu* (lit. 'our child'). All

including the girl drink beer and dance the *inDlamu;* thereupon the young men perform the leap dance and even the girls *giya* and have their individual praises recited by the onlookers. The betrothed girl, however, withdraws from the dancing and covers herself with her *iBhayi* 'to respect the dancers' (H1)."

"The private engagement implies a step forward in the degree of sexual intimacy allowed. Semi-secret meetings *(ukuQhetha,* Bryant: 1949: 540) between the lovers are arranged for the purpose of external intercourse. When the young man calls at the girl's homestead he respects her family by certain avoidances. He should not be seen by her F, M or even Brs. Consequently he hides in a nearby homestead, leaves for his girl's kraal at nightfall and returns to his hide-out in the morning. On entering the girl's homestead he walks up behind the circle of huts like a bride, but may move up on either side. The tryst is in the girl's Residence or in a kitchen. The interdict against a stranger entering the kitchen is waived for this kind of visit. The girl's Sis, who are in the know, respectfully avoid the hut; her Brs have no business there. The lovers have external sexual intercourse *(ukuSoma, ukuHlobonga)* (Ritter: p.lln). Not long after the betrothal, the young man's M and siblings visit the girl's kraal to thank her elder Sis."

"The girl may also visit her betrothed's homestead, first surreptitiously, later publicly. The visits are kept secret from her F longer than from her M. She must 'see' the homestead before she is welcome there for *Hlobonga* visits. What actually happens is that she is being looked over. The boy's F and M look at her; they even speak to her. She may not look at them, but must lower her eye-lids; she does not yet cover her face in their presence as she will do after the payment of the bride-price. She must answer demurely (H1). Nice food has been prepared for her, but she cannot touch SM or meat (Za). To respect her (H1), the boy's family avoid SM in her presence; the milking may even be suspended for the day (214). (The boy is likewise given choice food on his visits; he must abstain from SM in his sweetheart's kraal and initially also from meat.) For the proper love visits, the girl stays for three days and nights in the boy's Residence. She arrives late in the evening, sometimes accompanied by a Si and her presence is only known to the young women of the kraal." Callaway (1866: 61) records a tale in which a girl is taken to a hut in which sour milk, meat and beer are placed to her astonishment, since she may not eat them. An invisible nocturnal visitor, later to become her husband, eats thereof.

2. *General Survey*

This individual account is supplemented by a composite review of other informants' statements (214, 262, 382, 383) and of the literature (Asmus: 164-70; Krige: 123; Bryant: 1949: 535-7).

The preliminaries are strictly controlled by the girl's age-group which is directed by a Queen or by the *amaQhikiza,* older girls who have already 'chosen'. The age-group control today replaces control by chief or king in the past as still evident in the saying: 'Don't speak to a boy making love, until ordered by the king to marry *(ukuJutshwa)*!' The older girls tell the inexperienced ones not to give any replies to the boys at the beginning. This is not, according to some, a prohibition (H1), but a precaution *(ukuVikela),* so that the girls are not 'trapped'. A girl at this stage must not allow a boy to take anything from her, be it bangle or necklace; she must protest at once and report the matter to her M and demand the article back. Otherwise the boy says: the girl *qoma'd* me. At the next meeting of the girls' age-group the younger girls are permitted to reject the boys verbally. They are not allowed to fall in love as yet. After another interval they are told: Now you can fall in love. A reinforcement of the incest rules is undertaken. In the enquiries about a lover's family relationships the girl often takes the initiative; if he is one of the forbidden degrees, she says: 'Let us part!' Such ex-lovers revert to their former free and easy manner without great difficulty. 'Yet, you don't look a man as steadily into his eyes whom you once loved, as one whom you never loved!' The moment a girl confesses her love, her lover becomes a 'stranger' to her. On that day she

stops eating the meat of his homestead. She keeps apart from him now, and begins to fear him *(ukwEsaba)* as a bride should.

The *ukuQomisa* is not a public ceremony, nor is it an engagement in the Western sense. The young man who has been chosen, announces this to his age-mates and at his home; the girl for the time being only to her peers. She hesitates to tell her family as her independent choice may be interpreted as a not honouring *(uKungaHlonipha)* of her parents. They prefer her to report: 'I am wanted in marriage' rather than 'I am in love.' The one-sided publicity, the girl's silence, the free use of the girl's puberty name by her lover, the differential treatment of the lovers in the homes of their in-laws reveal a greater incidence of restraints on the girl and anticipate her transfer to a strange lineage.

Old records indicate that prior to the *ukuQoma* other occasions for the choosing of lovers existed, e.g., the love dance, *iJadu* and the pole dance, *uNomzimane*. The public choice of lovers on these occasions was apparently playful only and not binding on either party. The dances were followed by lewd songs and orgiastic sex play. Bryant describes the *ukuQomisa* as an exchange of presents only (Bryant: 1949: 567, 650; Asmus: 163).

The Thanking shows a tendency to place the girl in a Reserved Area. Today she sits behind the older girls under a sunshade. The imposition of affinal avoidances, accompanied by the release from sexual restrictions, is accentuated by an exchange of gifts. The girl hangs specimens of bead work round her lover's neck and arms *(umGexo)*. She receives a large present from him, and her age-mates smaller ones from his companions. The new ranking of the girl is indicated in a change of dress: she exchanges the plain *inCibe* or *uBendle* for a bead-decorated one or for an *isiGege* and replaces her white shoulder cloth with a red one (Krige: 124). The two groups of age-mates declare that the relationship set up has its limits. The elder girls say: "We don't as yet say, we accept the proposal; we but rest here; we only play." The boys reply: "We do not wish a girl with a bad reputation; we praise the 'white', i.e., the good heart." The interdicts which emergent love brings have been made known to the girl by her sisters: You cannot choose a lover more than once! Express your love not by word of mouth but by symbolic action! Keep the relationship secret, i.e., carry the love visits out surreptitiously. Honour your lover's family by using his clan name now, no longer his pers/n (Bryant: 1949: 535; Krige: 105; Asmus: 165).

The first public visit of a girl to her future in-laws' homestead offers an occasion for holding back behaviour. The visit serves to prime the cattle negotiations or presents an opportunity for the girl to be looked over. She puts on a married woman's kilt and enters her lover's kraal at nightfall. Having walked up on the right behind the living huts she stops in front of the Great Hut completely silent and her face veiled. She does not reply to the enquiries made about her home-kraal and about whom she wishes to see; it is her companion who answers. This is the first public avoidance of her future H's pers/n. She is now invited to enter but at once refuses to do so until she is offered a gift (a goat, 'the introducer-to-the-hut', now a 10 shilling note). She moves on her knees into the hut, but immediately refuses to accept a sitting mat until her resistance is overcome with a small gift of 1 shilling. She then sits down mutely with her head covered, facing the hut wall. She sleeps in the girls' Residence that night and does not participate in the dancing of the young people in the yard which follows (Hl) (Bryant: 1949: 536).

The gift of another goat, the *inDlaKudla-yenTombi* (or another 10/-) 'opens her mouth' for the food of her in-laws. When she is offered the basin for ritually washing her hands before the meal, she refuses to dip her hands into the water until a present is given. The girl does not eat of the meat of this goat (Za). Its bile is poured on the toes of the young man's M and her co-Wis, but the gall-bladder is stuck in the girl's hair (Asmus: 168; Bryant: 1949: 537).

Holding back behaviour may be described as ritual refusal. It manifests itself (a) in the not carrying out of a greatly desired action, and (b) in the carrying out of the action upon the

receipt of a gift. It is not a complete or permanent avoidance of an action, but a ceremonial pause, as it were, a ritual hiatus in the performance of an expected act. It is in its nature a variation of Za and Hl behaviour. A similar series of refusals takes place at weddings. Some Zulu describe holding back as a system of extortion. But the gifts are passed on to the girl's or bride's age-mates or parents. The custom is considered good manners in Natal and a method of ascertaining the attitude of the in-laws towards a bride.

In the morning, the girl, after a ritual bath, goes to the boys' Residence, moving behind the huts and sits down there facing the wall. She is veiled. The kraalhead and his Brs first enter 'to view' the young woman in silence. When they have left, the Mothers of the home, dressed for the occasion, appear. They order the girl to get up, turn round and undress before them. (This involves an avoidance breach, for after the wedding the bride does not undress in the presence of her HM) (Asmus: 167f; Bryant: 1949: 537).

The group significance of the engagement becomes apparent in the avoidances now observed by the girl towards her future in-laws. (139): "A girl begins to Hl her future F-in-1 as soon as she has declared her love to his So. She begins to Hl him in earnest when the bride-price has been paid. The speech and name avoidances are observed by both lovers and extend to both parents-in-law, while the getting out of the way applies to the parent-in-law of the opposite sex only. Lovers must not be 'seen' on their love visits; this is stricter for the boy than the girl; he may not be seen by her F, M or Brs, but there is no wrong done if the Sis and younger co-Wis of her M see him. He should not talk to those who are not to see him in the kraal, but may do so briefly if he accidentally meets them on the way there. He must Hl the kraal by not talking loudly or arrogantly. Quiet, subdued speech shows he is in love with the Da. To enter the kraal by stealth, he tries to catch a Ch's attention to report his presence to the girl. One of her Sis then leads him in. He spends the night with his girl in a grass hut for melons and tools or *enTangeni*, or in the boys' Residence, if her Brs are absent.

A man rejects a girl *(ukwAla)* because he objects to certain of her actions or suspects her of double-dealing *(ukungaThembeki)* or of unfaithfulness. He would also break with her if she did not respectfully avoid his parents. Mostly the break is not verbally but symbolically expressed: His Sis are made to offer her SM. She realizes that she has been jilted, and takes off her kilt *(umuTsha)* put on to Hl her in-laws. This symbolical response signifies: 'Since I am treated like a girl of the kraal I behave like one!' If only the young man's Sis object to her, they will offer her meat and broth. Although contrary to custom it does not lead immediately to a complete rupture as the offer of SM does.

The next step towards marriage is the putting on of the top-knot *(isiCholo, inHloko)* by the girl: *ukuKhehla* *51*. The engaged girl stops cutting her hair in order to form the top-knot. Concerning it a number of avoidances have developed. The H may not touch it in anger (Hl): to touch it is like throttling himself (457, 458). When her Ch dies a woman cuts the hair round the top-knot's base but does not remove the top-knot itself. For if cut it 'softens the H's head', it endangers his life and exposes him to death. When her H dies, a Wi has her top-knot cut off by a woman whose H is still alive, or by her HM. If she herself or one of the other widows of her H cuts it off - it is *Zila* to do so - they bring the contagion of death on them. The top-knot is therefore a symbol of the H's life.

In the Buthelezi chieftainship the fashion arose among the women a few years ago of wearing the hair parted into two ochred buns, the whole coiffure being covered by a kerchief. The chief decided to prosecute women adopting it, since in his opinion, the fashion struck at the root of the Hl custom. Gatsha's half-brother assaulted his Wi and refused her food when she undid her knot (Za). He said: 'How can you undo the knot of my F's cattle! *(inHloko yezi-nKomo zikaBaba)* meaning: how could the woman undo so unceremoniously the top-knot which was formed with the expectation that her parents would enjoy the cattle paid for her. Undoing the top-knot is equivalent to dissolving the marriage which involves the return of the bride-price. As soon as the cattle are paid the young woman visits her future H's homestead with top-knot

and kilt *(isiDwaba)*. If she went about without either, she would be considered n a k e d ! "What makes a woman a Wi is the cattle - and the sign of it: the top-knot!" *(Okwenza umuNtu abengumFazi izinKomo)* *52*.

3. Case Studies

Since the imposition of the avoidances between in-laws, especially between H and Wi is instructive, two detailed case studies are added. The first concerns (332), a youth, 'much-loved' by his own account. He freely states: "I choose a girl who is nice-looking and who pleases me, who behaves respectfully towards me (H1) and gives me signs of hope. I suggest to her that we meet at some secret spot *(eNdaweni eseHlane)*, at the edge of a wood or in a valley. At the tryst the girl shows her inclination by not running away: she stops *(ukuMa)* for me to talk to her. I take the opportunity to unbosom my heart: *'nTombi* I love you!' It would be impolite to address her with her pers/n; to touch her name would be wrong. She lowers her eye-lids and replies gently: 'Why do you love me? Am I perhaps a carrying-pad?' 'No,' I reply, 'you are no pad. But if I were one, I would be glad if you would use me!' She rejects the suggestion of intimate contact: 'No, I don't love you! "Yet her humble manner, her expectant attitude encourage the youth. He develops his argument: 'Of course, you don't look out for me. For I am not lost!' She: 'I don't want you! For if you were lost, it is your own relatives *(umNdeni)* that would search for you!' She has turned his play on words in his disfavour but owes him an answer. He leads her back to his question: 'You're quite right, when you tell me this wonderful word, that I am lost! 'She: 'I made use of it, because you said, that I love you!'

The fateful word has now been spoken by her too. The youth is seized by its inherent power: 'I have given you a task. If it is too difficult for you to take it on, tell me. If you don't love me, do tell me!' The girl who loves must not answer this second question (H1). Custom has it, that she gives her Yes not in a tryst of two but only among her youthful age-mates. The public nature of her acceptance is to bind her but also to protect her for the future. Custom also demands that he take leave now (H1): 'Farewell! I should like to meet you again tomorrow - and to find you as I am leaving you now!'

"The next day the lovers meet again, both accompanied by the group of their age-mates, the girl also by her 'supervisors', the elder girls of the district. The youth greets the girls and pours out his feelings: 'I have wooed this girl. Yet when I addressed my last questions to her, she remained silent and answered no more!' The 'supervisors' exclaim: 'What is your worry!' and they turn to the girl: 'Did you answer all this young man's questions?' She: 'I did'. The elder girls: 'Since you now refuse to answer him, you show that you love him!' She remains silent and confirms through her silence her choice."

"A few days later the 'supervisors' take to the youth a long string of white beads which was made by his sweetheart. They look him up at his homestead, but she may not be of the party, for that would be a breach of the avoidances which she observes since her silent choosing. The youth now purchases a white cloth which he hoists on a long pole as a sign that he has been chosen for love. If his sweetheart sends him a blue and white string, this is a sign that there are many wooers and he must hurry with the bride-price. The 'supervisors' collect £6 (!) from the youth with which they buy beads. These are worked by his sweetheart into beadwork ornaments which function like love letters."

"For the day of Thanking beadwork presents are prepared, also presents for the lover's family: sleeping and sitting mats, water and milk and beer pots. The Thanking takes place in a secluded spot. The girl's Sis have brewed beer, her 'supervisors' attend. They seize the youth and hang the beadwork round his neck, hips and body. The eSis of the girl present the gifts. They then dance and drink with the boys. The betrothed girl does not dance or drink, she sits apart, bent forward and with eyes covered (H1). The young man is in exuberant spirits, and performs the leap dance and is applauded with his praise names. When the beer pots are empty the two parties return to their homes."

"A few days later our lover visits his sweetheart in her homestead. He must arrive there at nightfall, enter at the lower gate, walk up behind the ring of huts to go to the girl's Residence

which has been prepared for him. His girl's sisters entertain him with the best dishes due to a lover. They pass the time with stories and jokes until it is sleeping time. Only now is the sweetheart brought in, for she may not be present at the welcome for her lover and his meal. She is led to the women's side of the hut, but mats and blankets are placed ready for use on the men's side. When the older girls have left, the youth calls his sweetheart to his side. If the girl has avoided her lover in public, she is now expected to let him know what she feels. She looks him in the eye freely; she talks to him; they tease each other. Restraint in public is to be complemented by passionate intimacies now. If a girl refuses to act thus, the youth complains to her age-mates and they scold the frigid maiden. In this love play a restraint must be observed: the girl's physical virginity must remain intact."

(378), a girl about 18: "Before I fell in love, I did not observe any avoidances towards young men. I addressed all of them by their pers/ns, or when they had entered a regiment by their regim/ns." The young men in turn called her by the name her F had given her. This changed suddenly when she fell in love. She now lowers her eye-lids when she meets her lover. At first she rejects any approach, later she allows him to take small things from her, a handkerchief, a bangle. One day the youth thanks her: 'I can as yet not properly thank you; I will do that when you cook in my M's hut' (i.e. as bride).

Thereupon follows the Thanking. The young man thanks the girl in public as he has done privately before. After the Thanking the girl addresses her lover with his clan name only. If she meets him on the path, she steps aside or runs away; but he may call her back. She avoids his Brs more than him; she doesn't look them in the face, and hides before them on the path. The young man observes many fewer avoidances towards her; he calls her by her pers/n, and coins a youth name for her or addresses her with her clan name (Ma + clan name). These signs make it soon clear to anyone that the two are lovers. The parents discover it, not by a verbal report, but through the girl's change of dress. She wore a bright coloured shoulder cloth before the 'engagement', a black one after it. The girl's mother provided the money; her F notices the change but refrains from asking. He awaits the official step by the young man's lineage, and the offer of the bride-price before he makes up his mind. Ncofi's lover hoists the white flag, blows into a kudu horn to announce his engagement; his beadwork ornaments speak a plain language.

After the Thanking the mutual love visits commence. Her lover arrives in the evening in Ncofi's kraal, and is led by one of her Sis behind the huts to the girls' Residence. If her Brs saw him, they would start a quarrel. Hence Ncofi does not say anything to them about the visits. The youth is shown a place to the right, on the men's side in the middle between doorway and apse of the hut. Opposite him sit the Sis and age-mates of his sweetheart, who is seated at the place of honour near the door. All sit on mats, the lover's mat has been woven for him by the girl and nobody else may use it (H1). He is now offered the best dishes available; while he eats his girl absents herself. He may not eat either sour milk or meat; from the former taboo he is never released. When the Sis have left, the youth calls his sweetheart to his side for love play. The next morning the young man is called upon by the mothers: the Sis sit at the back, the Ms on the women's side, the lover alone on the men's side, his girl again at the door. The Ms have shoulder cloths to show their respect to the young man (H1). He is restrained in their presence and answers their questions but briefly.

When the girl visits his kraal avoidances become more elaborate. She throws a thick cloth over her shoulders, and squats down near the pen. She is led into the boys' Residence together with her girl companion. The visitors sit on the men's side, to the right of the door, a ritual inversion which honours her greatly; her lover sits to the left of the door on the female side, a ritual degradation. He is followed by his age-mates along the wall. His sisters sit at the back. The girl is given nice food. When the company has left, the young man moves over to her side. The next morning the Ms of the kraal call on her: she answers their questions most demurely (H1).

II. THE UNITING OF TWO FAMILIES IN MARRIAGE

A. MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS

The girl's public visits to her 'betrothed's' homestead set off the bride-price negotiations. Five forms are distinguished: *ukuCela*, *ukuGanisela*, *ukuBaleka*, *ukuThwala* and *ukuBophela*. *ukuCela* is the type of negotiation current among commoners, *ukuGanisela* between royal families or nobility; the three last procedures are abbreviated versions of the first two. The negotiations affect the position in their respective families of the young people concerned. The relations between the So and his F become complicated by the demand on the kraal's cattle resources. The intensification of the latent strain between them is counteracted by a number of 'unofficial' mediators busying themselves on the youth's behalf, i.e., his FBr, FSi, MBr and foremost his M. With regard to the girl, her easy relations with her Brs become at once strained, so that she keeps her lover's visit secret at first. She faces the possible disapproval of her choice by her family and the interests of her parents may split, the siblings also taking up sides. Finally the two families hitherto meeting under the avoidance pattern of strangers now become in-laws whose social distance is ritually and carefully defined in the much more elaborate H1 pattern of affines. Round the crystallization point of the avoidance between the lovers the family avoidances are built up.

In the *ukuCela* procedure (Asmus: 166; Krige: 127) negotiations are started by the young man's family. (In a sub-form the youth gets his F's permission to invite the girl to his home). The interval between Betrothal and the *Cela* depends on the wealth of the boy's family. If he has to serve a term at the mines to earn the bride-price it may last as long as five to seven years. Even then the boy will ask his betrothed on his return: "I propose marriage" *(NgiCela ukuba ungiGane)*, addressing her by her youth name. If she has not changed her mind, she replies: "Go to my F, *mNtawethu*", a k/t used here in the meaning of 'sweetheart'. If she wished to reject him, she would use his pers/n. The boy's F thereupon initiates the negotiations by calling on the girl's F, and usually does so in the company of a witness *(uFakazi)*. The two men sit down at the gate (H1) till a child is sent to enquire their business. The reply: "We have come to kindle a fire" *(SizokOtha umLilo)* is H1 by metaphor. They are invited to the Residence where they sit down on the "small side" and the kraalhead on the "great side" (H1). In such negotiations even a wealthy man, or a member of the nobility, is seated on the inferior side! When the callers are asked through whom they wish to kindle a fire, they identify the girl concerned by her pers/n. Discussions about the kind rather than the number of cattle and about additional gifts begin now in earnest. When agreement has been reached the two families become in-laws *(abaLingane)*, a k/t which the parents use reciprocally henceforth, while the siblings of the betrothed refer to one another as *osiBala*. At this point the girl begins to H1 the root of her future HF's pers/n. In the case of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's betrothed she began to avoid names and roots of both Mathole (HF) and Mnyamane (HFF), a case of etiquette. The betrothed also observes the appropriate H1 of action at the young man's kraal.

In well-to-do families the necessity is felt of avoiding direct contact and a go-between *(umKhongi)* is appointed by the boy's family. His first duty is to find out from the girl's F what his demands are. Using a covered approach, he may receive as guarded a reply as: "What did the girls tell you we 'eat' at this kraal?" (i.e., what bride-price is customary). However, he may not receive satisfaction until he brings a beast to prime an answer, the *inKomo eyokuMemeza*. When agreement has been reached the herd is driven out of the pen in the girl's presence: she ritually touches every animal with a switch. This custom, called 'eating' is technically an avoidance breach, since nobody, not to mention a woman, must strike cattle. Pointing at the animals, especially with the seventh finger (index finger on right hand) is taboo (Za/H1) except at the formal 'pointing out' of bride-cattle.

The delivery of the bride-cattle at the girl's home may be ritually delayed by a sham fight between the girls of both families or by an attempt by the girl's Brs to drive them back. (Brs

more readily object to an exchange between girl and cattle than Fs.) The herd is announced by *Yethi, mNgane* (i.e. Grant us, s c i l., friendship through the exchange). At the subsequent feasting the go-between and his companions resort to holding back behaviour: By the present of a goat they are made to 'open their mouth', to sit on a mat, to take part in the eating. The groom himself may not take part in this feast (Za/Hl).

ukuGanisela (Krige: 124; Reyher: 22-30) is of such political importance that the detailed avoidances and taboos are greatly elaborated. Princess Magogo relates the *ukuGanisela* undertaken on her own behalf. She gave first a detailed historical account of why a marriage between royal Zulu house and the reigning Buthelezi lineage became a necessity, viz., to overcome some misunderstanding that had arisen between the two noble families. Magogo related how the general decision to bring about such a marriage was followed after some time by the king's proposal that she should take Mathole. A delegation was sent to the Buthelezi chief which suggested to him: Go for a pinch of snuff to the king! (Hl). In return Mathole sent a delegation with an earnest of the bride-price. Bride and bridal party (incl. regiments) were sent off without previous announcement to Chief Mathole, and wedding and payment of the bride-price (of 110 *izinKomo eziNtsha* and eight extra beasts as presents) were transacted at the same time.

ukuBaleka is the running of a girl to a man to whom she is not engaged and possibly does not love. She does so to save herself from an unpalatable match, or because she has been jilted by her lover or decides to jilt him, or because she despairs of making a suitable match, in general to get cattle for her F. The Hl ideal binds the man selected not to reject the girl, who must undergo a 'cleansing' in his pen. (222) reports: "One day I saw a butterfly in our kitchen; it was strikingly coloured and represented the ancestors. That very night a girl arrived with some companions, and stood at the top of the pen and 'coughed' (to draw attention to her presence by respectful restraint). The GMs went out to enquire, and the girl replied: 'I pick N.N.!' using my Br's pers/n to make known that she wanted to marry him although unknown to him. The GMs then shouted 'Somebody's got married!', rejoiced greatly and recited the praises of the family (a taboo breach since they were not dressed for the occasion)." The kraalhead and his Brs could not come out since they respectfully avoided the girl, but (247) says the young man's F could perform a leap dance. The newcomers were taken to the young man's Residence where they were joined by the young folk of the home. Callaway (1868: 60) stresses the following features. The girl stands in the upper part of the kraal without speaking. When asked, she gives the name of the man she wants to marry. If she is accepted the *imVuma* goat is killed for her; if not, she is handed a firebrand. She should look for a home elsewhere.

On the following morning the U sends two negotiators to the girl's F. When agreement has been reached the cattle are taken out of the groom's pen, and the 'self-made' bride beats each beast, 'lest she be considered a woman not well brought up' (222). Her companions accompany the cattle, whereas the runaway stays for some time in the young man's Residence. She does not eat meat or SM (Hl) and the young man retires for his meals to his M's hut so that he does not eat before the young woman. When food is brought to the girl, any member of the household present, except the girl who carried the food, leaves the hut, for nobody may see her eat (Za). When preparations for the wedding are to be set afoot her F sends for her. (247) reports the following Holding Back when the girl's party is admitted. They kneel down at the youth's Residence and are given 1/- to enter. Inside the girl must be given antoher 1/- to sit down at ease. Although the girls eventueally eat and dance, they do not eat anything that first night (Za). When the youth's Ms and F come 'to see her' next morning, she turns her face to the wall (Hl) and is given 1/- to show it. Her party is now given the *inDlakudla* so that they may eat, but the girl herself abstains (Za) from the meat.

ukuThwala is bride-lifting, a procedure in which a girl is carried off by a man with her F's connivance or else with the girl's consent. The F may suspect that his Da is drifting away from a marriage which he is planning or the girl wishes to force her betrothed's hand so that she becomes his first Wi (who according to the Natal Code is the princWi among commoners). A

go-between is sent by the young man's F to report to the girl's F *(ukuMemeza)*. The go-between and his companions must beware of being attacked by the girl's Brs. The binding nature of a dress change is shown by the fact that after her captors have forcefully put a married woman's kilt on the girl she gives up her outward resistance. Here too, the young woman returns for a spell to her F before her marriage.

ukuBophela is the procedure where a girl is sent to an old polygynist who has cattle by way of punishing her mainly for allowing herself to be seduced and impregnated illicitly. A cattle-greedy F may send his Da even if no charge lies against her (Bryant: 1949: 536: *ukuBhadla ngaye ngubani)*. Several of Dinizulu's Das were married in this manner, one of them to a fat and ugly man, another to a man much older than her royal F. The man selected is considered to have 'special luck' and a token payment of the bride-price is considered enough. No beer is brewed but a beast is slaughtered. The procedure is a warning to other girls, a sanction enforcing sexual discipline. Significantly the men ordered to take the girl to her destination, leave her outside her future H's Residence shouting: 'Here is your Wi!' using a k/t ordinarily avoided.

To sum up: the proliferation of avoidance actions and covering phrases in the negotiations seems to have the following functions: (a) They produce a cushion effect in a situation emotionally charged, i.e., they provide opportunities to hide feelings. (b) They suffuse the haggling of the Fs with a romantic light consonant with the feelings of the lovers. (c) They soothe the (pretended?) anger of the girl's F who is in the strong position of being able to reject the first offer, and they assuage the opposition of the girl's Brs to a potential Br-in-1. The cover terms ('kindle a fire', 'fetch a pinch of snuff', 'thatch a hut') are in this connection perhaps less significant than the frequent identification of the girl with cattle. Making an alliance through marriage *(ukuGanisela)* was compared by Dinizulu's councillors to the agisting of cattle *(ukuSisa)* and the girl is compared to a heifer. The go-between who reports a run-away girl at her F's kraal says: 'We report your cow with a beast of such and such a colour!'

B. THE WEDDING CEREMONY

1. *Introduction*

The celebration of the uniting of two families in one couple is initiated in a day of discussion which takes place at the bride's homestead. The bridegroom's party is invited there to dance, drink and eat. For the first time they are addressed as *abaKhwenyane* (young men and women of the bridegroom's place) and are presented with a beast *(inKomo yabaKhwenyane)*, while the bridegroom is given a special goat *(inDlakudla)* as a r/r, so that he may eat meat at his bride's place and in front of her. To show good manners (H1) the bride's people themselves abstain from sour milk on this day (umTh). The bride is dressed in her best; she must look neat and 'decent'. It is her task to distribute the meat, but she must leave after serving the visitors, since she avoids her in-laws when they are eating (umTh). She is, however, present when the parties drink. The young man still calls his bride *inTombi-yami* (my girl) and not yet *uMka-wami* (my wife); but the girl may use *iSoka-lami* (my lover/betrothed) and already *umYeni-wami* (my "man"). When the bridegroom's party leaves, they are given the date on which to begin brewing beer for the wedding; the bride's people will start to brew one day in advance. A wedding which has been delayed can be hastened on by the go-between staying at the bride's kraal and making a nuisance of himself through provocative behaviour (Callaway: 1866: 330). The wedding must not fall on a taboo day *(uSuku oluMnyama)* such as the moonless day or the day following it. Both the bridal party *(umThimba)* and the bridegroom's party *(iKhetho)* now begin to compose and learn songs and dances for group and individual competitions at the wedding (247, 251).

2. *The Bride's Journey to her new Home*

On the day of the bride's departure from her parental home a beast is slaughtered. It is the *umNcamo* (or *ukuNcamisa)*. This is not a SAC since no sections are set apart for the

ancestors and the meat is cooked by the girls, and not by the men. The meat is eaten with expressions of sorrow and weeping by the women and girls. Some meat serves as provision for the bride during the wedding, at which the bridegroom's food is taboo to her. Through the *umNcamo* the bride is linked in a special manner to her F's ancestors, since the bile of the beast is poured on her.

The bride is now given the marriage lessons *(ukuLaya)* by her M or an old woman. Facing the apse of her M's hut and leaning against the great pillar, she listens in silence. She is told to behave well at her H's, since she represents her family and the type of education her parents have given; she must obey her H and his people, for everything that goes wrong will be blamed on her; she must be ready to bear humiliation and indignities to the extent of her being called bad names, a witch even. Upon the lesson follows the dressing up, when the bride is presented with a new kilt *(isiDwaba)* by her F. She puts on many grass-girdles and sometimes has her face painted red.

Her F then leads her for the last time through the cattle-pen, moving in the ritual counter-clockwise direction. At the top, opposite the graves of the forefathers, he informs them of the impending loss of the girl and blesses her: 'May all our forefathers care for you and guard you where you are now going, so that you may be happy there!'

The bridal party sing sad songs, and the bride may then dance for the last time in her parental cattle-pen (taboo breach?). It is on this occasion only that a woman is allowed to sing the clan's hymn *(iHubo)* (taboo breach), whereupon her F (or eBr) leads her out of the pen. The bride moves at the head of some cattle, to be given to the bridegroom's family. Asmus mentions four beasts: "The Meat-Chunks of the Bridegroom's Mother", "The Bride's Staff", "The Tail of the Staff", and "The Pate of the Father". Krige enumerates several *ukwEndisa* or *umBeka* cattle; Bryant gives at least three *umBeko* beasts: the *umBeko* (Presentation), the *isiGodo* (Tree-Stump) and The Tail. The Tree-Stump may not be slaughtered except when offered to obtain offspring for the bride or to stop her sickness. Its meat is taboo to her. This is the beast to which Leslie (p. 195) refers as the Ox of the Spirits, whose natural death indicates that the ancestors have deserted the bride.

On her way from the parental homestead, the bride, who has just experienced the sad and stirring leave-taking from her kin, may not look back. Nor may she refresh herself with a draught of water, except such as is carried from her home. She and her party may not arrive at the bridegroom's home before sunset (all three: Za). It is taboo for the bride's mother to attend the wedding. As to the F's presence at the wedding custom differs, some informants asserting that he only attends because his attendance is enforced by the Natal Code. The earliest report (Bleek: 16-7) notes that he sleeps at home after having taken his Da out of the kraal, but follows the next day to attend the dances and to pray for her. The interdict against the attendance of the parents may have a magical significance, viz., they must not be present at the consummation of marriage. It is occasionally couched in legal phrases: "The F has no right to attend, since he has no right to give away a Da of his homestead (sic)". "The M stays at home, since she has no right to send her Da to a strange man" (251).

The bridal party. on approaching the bridegroom's kraal, sometimes finds a symbolic obstruction: a log *(umGoqo)* is placed across the entrance. An exchange of gifts opens the way. Meat is thrown by the bridal party over the kraal fence, and in return goats are presented to it to be slaughtered the next morning. The 'Father's Pate' may have to be driven into the cattle-pen before admission is granted. This gift, symbolizing the submission of the bride to the groom's authority, secures for her the goodwill of his ancestors. At the gate the bridal party may assume a holding-back attitude until it is given the *umVulasango* (Door-opener), a goat or 10/-. If anything is bungled at this stage, either by the forceful removal of the log or by the omission of a presentation, fighting may break out between the two parties.

It is a matter of good form for the bridegroom's family not to look at the arriving bridal

party out of the doorways of their huts (H1) (Leslie: 116). To the joyful trills *(ukuLilisela)* of the kraal's mothers the bridal party moves up the Ceremonial Path to the Great Hut and down the small side of the homestead and out again at the gate. They are then received and shown into their huts. It is usual in a good-sized home to have four huts reserved for the visitors, one hut each for 'fathers', 'mothers', young men and young women. These huts are well-prepared, newly swept and smeared and completely emptied of their usual 'furniture' and utensils, except perhaps some seed cobs and a protective bone over the doorway. This preparation resembles that which is undertaken for the ancestors at a SAC (when the Great Hut only is cleared). The visitors first cover the floor with dry grass; they have brought their own sleeping mats, headrests, blankets, clothes and other necessaries. The bridal party is always accommodated in huts on the great, or ritual, side *(iNdlunkulu)* of the homestead, while the bridegroom's party dwells in the huts of the small or left side (H1), a ritual reversal of the legal position!

Such respectful treatment contrasts strongly with the mutual provocation which starts almost immediately. Already when the bridal party came up the kraal, they had been singing their family hymn, which is a taboo breach, since only a clan's own hymn may be sung in its territory. As the bridal party is settling down in the huts, the bridegroom's party begins to abuse *(ukuQhubushela)* the bride and her companions. Obscene and insulting references to the bride's chastity are made in these songs. The bridal party having collected at the gate reply in similar strain, accusing the bridegroom of fornication and sorcery. No offence is taken at this apparent breach of manners. This ritual lowering of the level on which contacts between the two families were hitherto conducted should be seen together with the similar obscenities of the pre-*Qoma* period: they overcome restraint between two families, hitherto strangers but now allied in a process of child getting.

3. The Day of the Dances (First Day of Wedding)

So far the bride has been sedulously isolated. She walked in the centre of her party up the kraal, to remain unseen. She is expected to settle down in the young women's hut without any signs of excitement. When spoken to, she should answer briefly. She remains at the back of the hut, when her companions leave for the contest of abuse. Before sunrise next morning she moves out from the hut to a clump of bushes near a river (or in default of this to the ditch beside a public road!) There her party establishes a temporary camp, in which the bride takes up her position closely surrounded by her companions, and shaded by an umbrella. This place is called at the ford *(eZibukweni*, also *esiHlahleni)*.

The morning is not far advanced when a beast, presented to the bride's party by the bridegroom's F is brought. It is variously called *isiPheko, umHlangabezo, inKomo yaseZibukweni, inKomo yoThuli;* it may merely be the *isiWukulu* goat. As the animal is slaughtered by 'strangers' and outside the homestead it is not a sacrifice, nor are any prayers recited. (Nevertheless, the goat should be killed by having its neck twisted, while its mouth is held to, so that it cannot bleat). Its bile is poured on the feet of the bride's F, who has joined his daughter's party by now. He also puts the gall-bladder on his wrist. The meat is cooked and eaten by all present 'at the ford', except by the bride for whom it is taboo. She partakes of her own home food and water. No one of the bridegroom's party may approach the camp (H1).

The bride now dresses. She puts on her new kilt and a beautiful bead belt *(iXhama)* as do her girl companions. But she is distinguished from them by bead bands crossed over her shoulders *(umGaxo)* and white ox-tails *(amaShoba, inGeqe)*, which she wears provocatively like a soldier on legs and arms, also a grass-belt *(isiFociya)* and a veil *(imVakazi)* made of bead fringes or tassels, put on to respect (H1) the bridegroom's people. It is also said to symbolize the virginity of the bride, since it is not worn by a 'spoiled' girl or a widow. The same symbolic function is performed by the short spear or knife carried by the bride. In some weddings the bride has her face painted red. Before the bridal party leaves 'the ford' all the refuse (at the ritual site) has to be burned.

At this stage the bridal party is invited to come to the dancing. They may at first refuse, 'holding back' until the invitation is repeated or a present is forthcoming. On their approach to the dancing ground, *isiGcawu*, which is either the bridegroom's cattle-pen or a suitable piece of ground just outside the kraal, care is taken to hide the bride. Her young women crowd round her or hold up mats to screen her (Hl). The taboo-breach of the preceding day, the singing of the hymn of the bridal family, is repeated. It may be intensified by wild dancing or shouting of an advance group of the bridal party (Shooter: 75; Samuelson, L.H.: 115).

The groom's party, still in undress, watch the proceedings from near the graves of the kraal's ancestors at the upper part of the pen. Various dances are performed, first by the men, then by the women of the bridal party, finally by the bride herself, who performs the wedding dance proper, the *umGcagco*. During these dances the old women of the bride's party trill but also swear at the bridegroom. The bride herself performs some provocative actions, calling the groom's names repeatedly, pointing her spear in his direction, even throwing dust at him as soldiers do at the king during the 'strengthening' of the army. After a single file movement of all she moves to the upper part of the pen and the bride's F (or her eBr) formally introduces the young woman to her F-in-law. Calling upon his ancestors by name, the bride's F recites their praises or praise-names and prays to them to give the young woman children. He describes the merits and faults of his Da and begs the bridegroom's family to befriend and care for her *(ukuKhuleka)*. The assembled guests listen in silence to this prayer which with its enumeration of the names of the ancestors of a 'stranger' clan is a ritual taboo-breach accepted by the kraal owners. The speaker then performs a leap dance *(ukuGiya)* and is joined in this by the young men of his party (Shooter: 74; Braatvedt: 1927).

The bride may perform her dance only then. After it the bridegroom does a leap dance, shouting his own praises. The bride then walks up to his M to commend herself to her care, to ask her to teach her the wifely duties, to pray for consideration and patience and to confess any faults she may possess. Her request for acceptance may also be addressed to the bridegroom's F (Plant; Callaway: 1866: 252; Bryant: 1949: 549; Krige: 145-6; Braatvedt: 1927). During the bride's dance a mat is placed in the middle of the pen; a member of the bridal party leads the groom to stand on it. This mat is afterwards avoided (Hl) by the bride's party (Callaway: 1866: 117).

After the presentation of the bride, there is an interval during which the cattle-pen is 'swept' by the spectators, who so far have watched from outside. Groups of these now dance on their own and compete with one another so zealously that fights may break out between them *(ukuShanela)*. In the mean time the groom's party dresses. The men put on white oxtails, beadwork and feathers and reappear carrying sticks and shields, the groom himself having so far been keeping in the background. They now emerge into the cattle-pen and perform a succession of dances *iNkondlo*, *isiQubulo*, *isiGekle*, *umPhendu*, *iNgoma*, trying to outshine the bridal party. During these dances, the old women of the kraal abuse the bride.

At about this stage the *umBeko* beasts have been shown to the guests and presented to the young man's ancestors to reconcile them to the loss of cattle incurred through the payment of the bride-price. Now the bride, too, is presented by the groom's F to the 'owners of the homestead'. Turning to the bride's F, the kraalhead says: "The cattle of N.N. - here he enumerates his own ancestors, calling out their praise-names - show their respect (Hl) to you.

And I, too, thank you for the woman you have given to us, as our ancestors are grateful for the cattle you have sent". The speaker, together with his men, then burst into leap dances. The parallelism between the performances of the bridal party and those of the groom's is thus complete: in both cases dances are followed by an appeal to the respective ancestors.

Feasting on meat and the drinking of beer by each party in separate huts concludes the Day of Dances, the First Day, according to Zulu counting. If the day is not far advanced the bridal party may even return to its outside camp (247,251).

4. The Day of Aggregation (Consummation)

At sunrise the following morning two beasts may be slaughtered: the *inKomo kaYise* or *yowoYise*, killed for the bride's F, and the *umQholiso* for the bride. The latter may be supplied by the groom's F. In this case the animal is a symbol of the groom's virility, and its gall, which is poured over the bride, ensures her attachment to the groom's lineage. Or the beast is provided by the bridal party in which case the scattering by her Ms of the stomach contents *(umSwani)* in the groom's cattle-pen implants her, as it were, into his family. The full significance of stomach contents and bile is discussed in connection with SAC. Here it is only noted that both intensely ritual actions are taboo-breaches: the application of an agnatic symbol to a stranger.

During the killing of the *umQholiso* the bride remains in the hut reserved for her. She has to stand, leaning, according to Plant, against the centre post until the animal is dead which is recorded by her companions' handclapping. Or she expresses the magical intention of preventing the animal's rapid fall by sitting on a ring made from the tail hairs of the beast which were stolen by a young boy of her party. The stabber aims to despatch the beast quickly, and to this end spits *isiBhaha* medicine on it. The girls of the bridal party, attending the stabbing in the pen sing: "May it stand" and are challenged by the groom's party from outside the fence with "May it fall!" If the stabber fails to fell the animal with the first blow, his spear is forfeit to the girls, who stick it into the thatch of the young women's hut, and it is taken away by the bride's Br or FBr. The groom's F has to cover the wounds (except the first one) with coins, a penalty for the stabber's clumsiness. The bride's companions place a string of white beads on the first wound to indicate that 'the bride will be deflowered with one stab' (bridegroom's virility symbolized). The beads must be white to show that the bride is a virgin (her virginity symbolized). The bride now advances towards the carcase which has been rapidly skinned and uses her dance spear to pierce the abdominal integument. If it has been punched by the skinners, this would be an insulting reference to her intactness. She would then be justified in leaving and would return only after the payment of a penalty in the form of an ox.

While the carcase is being cut open, the bride and her girl companions retire to their hut. The door is forced by the young men of the homestead. In the scuffle which follows a youth who has been hiding the gall-bladder on his body pours the bile over the bride. Two ritual taboo-breaches are involved: (a) the breaking into the hut, especially in the half of the kraal which the groom's party avoids, and (b) the pouring of the bile over a stranger. A 'fine' has to be paid if bile is spilled on one of the other girls, because the taboo-breach with her is not excusable. The gall-bladder is attached to the arm of either the groom's M (if the beast is from the bride's kraal) or the bride's assistant (if from the groom's homestead). A more dignified method of pouring bile over the bride may be used when the act is performed by the groom's M, while his F outside the hut prays to his ancestors for the blessing of children (Samuelson, R.C.A., 1923: 358).

The eating of the *umQholiso*, in which both families share, involves two taboos (according to where the beast came from). The groom may not eat of the beast of virginity (supplied by the bride's party), as long as the bride is not literally his wife. The bride may not eat of it, if it comes from the groom's herd. She may be handed a small slippery part which trembles, but must throw it away. Her age-mates, however, eat the sacred cut, the stabbed sirloin, normally reserved for the kraalhead. Part of the meat is taken away by the older men of the bride's party who, after farewell dances by both groups, leave for their home. The *iNanzi* (third stomach) is taken to the bride's M. Care is taken in separating it out, for if broken a 'fine' would have to be paid by the groom's people. Later on this day the bride's mothers and the young men also leave.

Towards evening one of the groom's sisters enters the bride's hut and hits her with a switch. The bride then sings "He (s c i l. her husband) has eaten the cattle of my father" and her companions respond: "Now you are a fatherless child". These metaphorical references to the transformation of the young woman from a daughter into a wife are a ritual sentimentaliza-

tion of the transition. The song anticipates the act of defloration, the beating with the switch is a fertility rite and has links with the association in primitive thought between the infliction of pain and the removal of the taboo on sexual intercourse. The hitting with the switch may be preceded by a scuffle similar to the one described for the pouring of the bile on the bride. That evening the bride is 'introduced' *(ukuNgenisa)* to the groom's residence.

When the bride is singing she may make a determined effort to escape through the gate and her companions join her. Young men of the groom's party have to catch her, otherwise a 'fine'- stated by some to be one head of cattle - is due to her family. A similar escape bid is attempted by the bride after the pouring on of the bile. To prevent her departure the bride must be touched on the arm by one of the kraal's men. Unless this is done, the bride may run away and cannot be induced to return until an ox is surrendered to her people.

The boldest attempt to escape occurs on the morning of the Third Day, when the bride, with her companions, tries to drive away the groom's cattle. The groom intercepts her, but if he fails to do so, his F must pay a forfeit. Other escapes may be staged on the Third Day after the presentation of the gifts and again after the anointing of the bride.

5. The Day of Presentation (Third Day)

On the Third Day the girl companions of the bride, after their morning bathe, demand the delivery of the *uMeke* goat (a symbolic acknowledgment of the defloration). It may not be partaken of by the girls (Za) before consummation has taken place and is reserved to close kin of the bride. The meat may not be eaten by any inmate of the groom's kraal, not even by a child (Za), and it is taboo to the bride; "she has no right to it", as she is still subject to the taboo on food from her husband's kraal.

The scene now shifts to the cattle-pen. Holding in her palm a white and a black bead, the bride asks her H to pick out one of them, but makes his task difficult by shaking her hand. If her H gets hold of the black instead of the white bead this is considered an insulting reflection on her virgin state and he has to pay a small 'fine' to the bride. The rite is thus not a mere symbolical re-affirmation of the bride's virginity but an acknowledgment of it in public likely to humiliate her H. The bride symbolizes her change of status by carrying her dancing spear point downwards which on the First Day she had held provokingly point up.

Hlambisa or *umKwaba*, the presentation of the gifts, follows. The presents, kept in boxes so far, are now displayed by the bride and handed over to her in-laws. They are meant for all those affines whom she will have to respectfully avoid (H1) in personal contact: HF, HM, HFBrs and their Wis, HBrs and HSis. In some families all sisters must be given presents, while others are satisfied with token presents to the eldest and possibly the youngest sister. Presents are also given to the go-between, the only person not an in-law thus honoured. The gifts differ according to time and economic circumstances. In the past goats went to the male in-laws and beads to the sisters and young men; rich brides would give mats and blankets to all affines. All brides will give away strainers and brooms. The husband is not given any present on this occasion, except, perhaps beads.

After the distribution the bride's female companions depart, but not her attendant *(umThwalali wo-Makoti, umShanelo, isiGqila)*. The bride retires to her hut or the Great Hut. There a baby is handed to her. She places it on her back after having smeared it with fat from her home. The bride is anointed by her Mother-in-law (or the princWi) and she in turn anoints her. By smearing the bride, the mother accepts her as her own charge, by anointing the child the bride expresses a similar acceptance of the Chn of her H's kraal. By placing the baby on her back the hope for offspring is symbolically expressed. If the young woman should bear no heir this Ch may inherit her hut's 'property', and in return he would look after her in old age.

At this stage a change of dress designates the change in the woman's status. Ox-tails and

veil have already been taken off after the bride's dance on the First Day. A present from her M-in-1 of a blanket permits her to dress like the other women and she proceeds to do so after bathing in the river with her attendant. On her return the bride for the first time walks up behind the huts to her dwelling. Her H1 regimen begins. She puts on the headband *(umNqwazi)* with which she respects her M-in-1. She is also given a white cloth or towel behind which in future she will hide her face (H1) whenever she meets anyone or a person enters the hut. Her great time of occupying the centre as a dramatic personage on the wedding stage has almost come to an end. Her incorporation as a new female member into the structure of her H's family is about to begin. *52A*

A temporary intensification of respectful restraints appears as a purposive reminder of her HM's authority. The bride is secluded in her hut (or the kitchen attached to it). Head and face being veiled and her breasts covered, she 'broods' *(ukuGoya)* in order to respect (H1) her M-in-1 as long as the latter considers this humiliation good for the bride. Only after word from her is the process of aggregation continued.

(247) (251): Dress aggregation has to be supplemented by food aggregation. A goat, an *inDlakudla*, is slaughtered for her - in a poor family she is given one shilling - so that she can eat the 'soft foods' of the H's home. She is then for the first time told to grind mealies and given a pot to cook with, for she may now kindle a fire in the kitchen of her M-in-1, where she is quartered in the daytime. She has not yet her own hut, nor her own kitchen. About a week later a cake of cowdung, carried on a meat tray is placed before the bride. (It may be two trays, one with a piece of meat, the other with the cowdung.) With her H's knife she cuts the cake in two, the halves being thrown away. Henceforth she may eat any meat and any food of her H's home except its sour milk. In some families the *inDlakudla* is given at this stage. The rite also releases from the isolation of the 'brooding', but not yet from the avoidance of the cattle-pen.

The final release rite turns on the permission to eat sour milk. Bleek, describing conditions a hundred years ago, says that the bride's own people supplied her with foods such as sour milk and beer, until after a while she visited her home kraal, where she had her head shaved. She returned to her H's homestead with girls carrying beer, and herself with a pick in her hand. On her arrival her husband would give her of his sour milk. She had now to build her own hut, and was expected to make beer for him, for he gave her a c h i l d, so that she would give him food. Today it is customary for the bride to be given a goat, or The Sour Milk Beast, to take to her F. She returns with another goat, or The Spoon Beast. (The visit goes by the phrase *ukuPhinda umKhondo*, Krige: 155n). Henceforth she may eat sour milk. Frequently the exchange is simplified: she is given a clay pot and told to get a spoon for it, or she is just told by the Ms: "We are going to give you sour milk to-day." She may eat sour milk from her H's cow, but must have her own calabash and sour milk pot *(uKhamba)* for her H mixes his own.

C. BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS AT WEDDINGS RELATED TO H1 AND Za

In reviewing the behaviour patterns described above we can make out the following ritual elaboration of the process of separating the young woman from her own family and of incorporating her into the groom's: Sentimentalization, Dramatization, Objection to Omissions, Isolation (Reserved Areas), Refusals including Obstruction, Withdrawals, Provocations. The items can be grouped under two headings: Positive patterns and negative patterns. Taboo breaches occur frequently apart from the Avoidances and Taboos which are generously distributed over the two or three days of celebrations.

Under the positive patterns falls R i t u a l S e n t i m e n t a l i z a t i o n by which is meant the exaggerated expression of emotions such as occurs at the departure of the bride from her home, when she and her M "weep" at the last meal together. The songs concerning deflora-

tion and the *isiMekezo* songs with their nostalgic references to the loss of virginity and the orphan-like existence of the bride are other instances. This type of behaviour strongly contrasts with the phases of the wedding in which bride and groom show obvious pride and with its more spectacular aspects. It sets off the now inevitable unification of the marriage partners and their families, but in addition supplies some of the negative patterns with creditable motives.

The repeated use of Ritual Dramatization centres round two themes: First the bridal party changes its stage at least four times: It establishes a Reserved Area in the visitors' huts, and again 'at the ford' for dressing up, at the dancing site for the dances, and in the groom's cattle pen for presentation to the groom's ancestors. The second theme concerns consummation of the marriage, and the symbolic representation of virginity and virility. The employment of this cushion of symbolic expressions makes up for some of the cruder phases of the ceremony. Moreover, since the meaning of the dramatic symbolism is known to the onlookers and performers the tendency to rupture which emerges again and again is checked by the strong experience of common understanding.

Although every wedding differs from every other one which has been observed and described, the Objection to Omissions of detail has an important ritual significance. What is achieved is not objective identity of details and their sequence but the subjective satisfaction that all motifs which are intertwined in so complex a ceremony have found adequate expression. It is usually the bride who insists on the traditional form of the wedding. It is for instance she who remembers that the 'dowry', carried by her girl companions, must contain a large beer and water pot *(isiGubhu)*. Leslie (p. 196) sums up this point: "The principal idea of a wedding is to show the great unwillingness of the girl to be transformed into a wife ... Even a modest girl will omit nothing but fight tooth and nail for all the observances". Omission of significant detail is punished with the same mystic sanctions as appertain to the violation of taboos in the narrowest sense.

Turning to the negative behaviour patterns, we notice that the wedding shows a decided tendency to place the two star performers into Reserved Areas. The bridal party is placed on the Great side of the kraal which is avoided by the groom's people, the hut in which the bride resides being particularly inaccessible. The bride is at all stages closely surrounded by her companions and hidden from view and shaded against the sun. During the first stage of the Dancing she is in the back row out of sight of the groom's spectators. The groom, too, keeps in the background. In Natal especially this sometimes amounts to seclusion. He spends the day before the Day of Dances in his M's hut, where he is visited by his age-mates only; they closely surround him when he has to leave it. During the dances of the bridal party he remains hidden in the midst of his own people. Such seclusion is sometimes explained as an avoidance of the bride's sisters!

Ritual Refusals, or Holding Back items, abound in the first half of the ceremony. At the initial visits of the contracting parties, at the first public visits of the girl to the groom's kraal and in great profusion on the arrival of the bridal party for the wedding itself, this type of behaviour is enacted. The underlying motive is not a threat to go back on the pledged word but the public repetition of the consent-giving act, and the demand for the fulfilment of supplementary conditions. Hence the repeated non-performance of an expected action which is overcome by the presentation of small gifts.

Ritual Withdrawals, or mock attempts to escape from the marriage, are a vivid expression of the as yet fragile nature of the new union, a playful reminder that the process of union is not complete. It is remarkable that the escape bids are staged after the ceremony has passed its zenith and not at its commencement. They come after the pouring of bile on the bride, after she is ritually beaten with a switch, after consummation, after the presentation of the gifts and the anointing of the bride. Their common feature is that they follow rites of assimilating the bride as a sort of anti-climax. The efforts made by the groom's people to recapture the bride are ritual reassertions of the rights of the groom's family over her.

R i t u a l P r o v o c a t i o n s appear to express several motives: When the go-between becomes troublesome at the girl's home, he therewith hastens on the marriage. His actions have thus more than nuisance value. The abusive songs, obscenities and insinuations in which both parties indulge at certain stages at the expense of their opposite numbers seem to overcome any vestige of 'strangeness' still remaining between the newly fledged in-laws. Already at the Betrothal a similar dose had been given to that effect. Thirdly the provocations seem to test the new alliance between the two families on the very first occasion, perhaps in the fore-knowledge that the relations between the spouses and the families will be submitted to the attrition of close contact over long periods of time.

The Wedding is replete with R i t u a l T a b o o B r e a c h e s committed by both parties. Taboo barriers which hitherto existed must be broken down. The taboo breaches of the bride are examined in detail in another context. The point must be made, however, that these breaches are not resisted. They are so much accepted that their omission rather than their commission would be commented upon and resented. The taboo breaches of the groom's family, e.g., the pouring of 'their' bile on the bride and on her F subserve the function of assimilating the bride to the family, and of ensuring the help of her ancestors (as represented in her F) in the procreative business. They thus acquire the function of ritual releases of the bride from her status of being a stranger at the groom's. The taboo breaches of the bridal party are as signifiant; e.g. the presence of the bride's attendants in the pen when the *umQholiso* is killed, while the groom's party looks on from outside, is a ritual reversal of normal behaviour on the occasion of killing a beast.

With these findings in view the traditional explanation of the Zulu wedding as an expression of rivalry, of emulation between the two families appears not exhaustive enough. It is true this factor enters in the songs, dances, praises, and abuse employed and works towards a climax on the Day of Dances. But rivalry alone cannot account for the ritual elaboration and refinement of behaviour in the whole ceremony as analysed above. These half-dozen mechanisms are brought into play so that an appropriate distance within affinity is established for the families-in-law and supersedes the hitherto existing relationship between them as strangers. A comment on the presentation proves this point: "Each family is very strict about due respect from the other. The forfeits help to maintain this respect and uphold the dignity of each group" (Krige: 153n). Both the rendering and the accepting of the presents are occasions for the display of mutual respect.

The connection of these ritual behaviour patterns with H1 and Za is obvious. H1 and Za are highly formalized and institutionalized restraints from which individuals can be ritually released. The negative patterns examined are loosely defined restraints, which, however, approximate in their function the more rigid avoidances and taboos. The positive patterns participate in the function which in the system of restraints is performed by the release rites. The similarities can be pursued into details. E.g., Omissions are 'punished' with magical sanctions; Holding Back is overcome with fees; Escapes can be viewed as attempts to withdraw from the restraints of the bridal status; ritual Provocations acquire their specific quality only against the background of the whole system of restraints.

III. A WOMAN'S LIFE IN HER HUSBAND'S HOME

A. RELEASE RITES INCORPORATING BRIDE INTO HUSBAND'S FAMILY

A bride avoids a number of actions which have reference to her in-laws, in particular HF, HM and H. (396): "After the wedding the bride walks behind the huts until she is 'brought forward'. She doesn't eat SM until the r/r; she doesn't eat meat until meat is ritually given to her. When she enters a hut, she does so on her knees; she doesn't enter her HF's hut at all; she may not call out aloud in the homestead, e.g., for a child. She may not enter the pen until

she is given permission." There are two main ways of relieving her from the observance of these avoidances: (a) a special release rite and (b) a verbal order from the HM.

R e l e a s e f r o m a v o i d i n g t h e H M ' s h u t. (334): "When a bride has just 'arrived', i.e. after the wedding, she wears a 'scarf' as an avoidance sign *(isiHlonipho)* and lives in a separate hut, often a kitchen. She may not enter any living hut, not even her HM's; people would be surprised if she went into one. (She visits her H in his Residence at night). Before she takes off the cloth, she is offered two goats, called *isEthulo* (the 'take-off'). After this she may enter and live in her HM hut."

F e t c h i n g f i r e w o o d, m a k i n g f i r e. (319): "Two days after the wedding I received an order from my HM to go out in the morning to fetch firewood and water and cook food for the first time. I was accompanied by my girl companion *(imPelesi)*. But I could not as yet carry firewood and water across the yard and had to put the bundle and bucket down at the gate. In this avoidance I showed respect to the kraal *(umuZi)* as a whole rather than to the H and his ancestors in particular."

T h e m e a t a v o i d a n c e s may be among the first to go. (319): "I did not eat meat for ten days. On the tenth day I cut a piece of dry cowdung *(ukuNquma iLongwe)* in the HM's hut, the knife being supplied by her. The cutting is done on the women's side of the hut. My H had been waiting for this; he killed a goat and I ate of it" *(inDlakudla)*. (379) describes the r/r thus: "A piece of fresh cowdung is brought by the HM on an eating mat *(isiThebe)* and the bride is given a knife. She cuts it into cakes in the presence of HM and other Ms and her co-Wis. No males may be present, not even her H, nor the unmarried HSis. The cowdung is thrown outside the homestead afterwards. If there is no cowdung an old bone is brought; the bride scratches it with the knife, and it is thrown away. Then an ox or a goat is slaughtered, everyone partakes of it, and the bride eats meat in front of her HM for the first time. The bride feels still shy *(amaHloni)* however. The animal is slaughtered without report to the ancestors. It is not a SAC."

R è l e a s e f r o m t h e SM a v o i d a n c e in the H's kraal is described variously. According to (379 and 396) the bride's people brew beer, the *umShisaNyongo* (lit. Burn the Bile), and take it to the H's place. In return he sends 'the goat of the SM spoon' *(imBuzi yoKhezo lwamaSi)* to his in-laws. The bride thereupon looks for a 'SM goat' *(imBuzi yamaSi)* and a SM spoon at her F's kraal. This goat is slaughtered and eaten by all at her H's. Then the HM presents her with a pot of SM in her hut in the presence of the other brides of the homestead. The young bride takes out a spoonful and presents this to a child who eats it (vicariously). The remainder is given to one of the wives, the bride herself may not eat from that first pot (Za). A second pot is prepared for her. When it has been presented, HM and the other Ms leave so that the bride may eat freely, since she still feels shame *(amaHloni)* to eat SM in their presence. She feels embarrassed to be doing a thing in her in-laws' home to which she is not used." (319) reports that the exchange is entirely in money: "My H gave me 10/- *(iMali yokuDla uBisi)* and I took the money to my M since my F is dead. My M gave me another 10/- note to take back to my M-in-1, saying: 'This money is for you to eat SM where you are married'. My HM then offered me a clay pot of SM to eat and my H a special cow to be milked for me alone."

The c a t t l e p e n a v o i d a n c e of the bride is removed after a few weeks in the case of small kraals; in large kraals the ritual introduction may be postponed for a year or more. In the meantime a child gets dung for the bride from the pen for smearing floors, and a co-Wi or the HM grain from the pits. (379) reports a simple r/r: "Beer is brewed for the occasion - the order for this always comes from H or HF; the HM places a pot of beer in the upper part of the pen. The bride is given 1/- to enter it and fetch the pot which she takes to the HM's hut, where the women of the homestead drink it. The bride still feels shy when entering the pen. The day is called *uSuku lokuNgenisa uMakoti esiBayeni*. Formerly the bride was not given any money." (396) describes an elaborate rite: She carried a pot of beer into the pen and, following the right hand fence up to 'the apse', deposited it there. The

inmates of the kraal sat down in four rows along the left hand fence: brides in front, older women next, young men then and old men up against the fence. The bride drank first, then the princWi, after her the old men, then the young men, old women and other brides. The bride was afraid to drink first but did it because it is the rule." (319) is a woman who has not yet been given permission to go into the pen. She thinks it will be given her when she has given birth to four to six children. "My F or Br will pay £1 which I shall give to my M-in-l, since my HF is dead. She will then get the things together for brewing beer to show the ancestors that I am allowed to enter. I shall go into the pen for the first time then and be no longer afraid, because I will then be entitled to do so. Only the H's people will attend the party. If I entered now, the H's ancestors would give me no luck, I might have no children. In avoiding the pen I am respecting my H's ancestors. "The bride said: "I am afraid to go into the cattle pen of strangers" (scil. her groom's) (Callaway: 1866: 128).

Permission to walk in the yard in front of the living huts is generally given late in life and often at an order by the HM. (379), however, was released before she was allowed to eat SM. "On the day when the bride's people bring the *umShisaNyongo* beer to her H's home, a Ch runs in front of the carriers. At the gate it throws its calabash of beer to the ground to break it, shouting: *"YaShisa Nyongo!"* (There burns the bile). The bride comes later in the afternoon with a pot of beer, a goat and a milk spoon and presents the beer to her H. On entering the homestead she walks in front of the huts for the first time." From (392) we know that the Wis of a U are released from walking the Path of Avoidance on the death of the UM, "since the yard and the space near the UF's grave were no longer avoided by her!"

The bride does not eat in front of her F-in-1 until she is ritually released from the avoidance. Formerly she was given a goat, nowadays often no more than 1/-, by her HF. Frequently several brides are given the goat collectively. The bride by accepting the gift gives up the last vestige of strangeness and becomes her HF's 'child'. Since the bride has been released from all avoidances her 'shame' disappears. The timing depends again on various factors: with a barren woman the release would be postponed and the same would apply to a woman who is quarrelsome or 'cheeky' to her HF. Other informants make the release dependent on some ritual or the whims of the HM.

The avoidance by a woman of her H's cattle is theoretically never removed, although SM, meat and pen are linked with this basic avoidance. (319): "I cannot walk through my H's cattle, if they cross my path. I run away from them *(SiHlonipha ukuDabula izinKomo zabaDala:* I avoid the crossing of the cattle of the people of old). Nor can I touch his cattle; it is like avoiding his, or my HF's mat and spoon." The thing itself, the animals, are nothing. It is the authority they represent, the group which they stand for. The cattle pen is not only the place where the cattle sleep, it also represents the resting place of the ancestors. "In fact, it is only my HF who is buried there, and if not, the bride's avoidances are directed to the upper part of the pen as if he were buried there." (381) accepts that the bridal avoidances refer to meat, SM and pen because they stand for the cattle, and the cattle are avoided, not because the bride-price was taken from them, but because having come down from the HF, they represent the authority *(amAndla)* of the homestead *(yiNgoba uMakoti umThatha njengeDlozi uYise wenDoda yakhe)*.

Most of these rites involve an exchange of presents, though in others gifts apparently go only in one direction, from the H to the bride, from his to her people. (379): "For the meat and the pen r/r the bride is given a beast and 1/- respectively. She does not return anything for the beast, but replaces the 1/- piece to her M-in-1. In the SM r/r a goat goes in either direction." Where no counter-gift comes from the bride's people, the idea of an exchange is not altogether absent. The man's gift is then viewed as a further instalment on the bride-price, in other words the bride herself is the counter-gift. (379) referring to the meat r/r states: *UseziNikele emaDlozini alapheKhaya.*

(381) adds, that the release from the yard avoidance, in which the bride is given from 1/-

to 5/- and does not return anything, implies: *Kunga ngakho ngoba eseziNikele kúlomuZi.* The process of incorporating the young woman is thus a long drawn-out affair. It is not only spread out in time and directed at many parts of the H's homestead, it is also elaborated occasionally into finicky observances. (379): "Although I am released from the avoidance of meat at my H's kraal, I cannot yet take meat directly from the eating mat. Another Wi, already released, picks up a piece for me and places it in my palm." All the young women eat from one mat, the mothers from another. "Nor am I allowed as yet to 'chew' bones. I would feel ashamed if I did either at this stage. There is no special rite to release me from these (casuistic) avoidances. I shall give them up after giving birth to a child. The more senior brides will give me the sign!" Clearly these are derived avoidances which do not refer to the agnatic power structure, but impress the control of the older women upon the newcomer. They borrow the symbol round which they build these avoidances from the repertoire of patrilineal authority symbols.

The underlying avoidance remains undoubtedly that of the HF. (381) argues in this connection that a HF may be classed among the ancestors *(useFana neDlozi)* although still alive. "Very often one of the HFBrs is already dead and he who lives is classed with those who have gone before." *(Uma mina nginguYise wenDoda yakhe kuNgenzeka ukuthi abaFowethu Baba sekoFile besemina ngimBelwa ndawonye nabaFowethu abangasekho ngibe iDlozi noma ngisaPhila).* The identification is easily done on the principle of the unity of siblings. Since the H observes a number of avoidances towards his WiM which resemble the bride's avoidances of her HF, the question arises whether he considers his M-in-1 an *iDlozi.* (381) replied: "No, he avoids her because she has given birth to his Wi. In consequence his avoidance is not accompanied by the feeling of fear which a bride has towards her HF. Even if the H looked at his WiM as an *iDlozi,* he would not fear her, since a female ancestor is weaker than a male, and the ancestor of another clan is never as strong as one's own ancestor. The ancestors of another clan have no power over me at all." However, this rule is subject to modification where bride-price has not been paid. It is through the bride-cattle that the H's ancestors gain power over the bride. If no cattle have been transferred she observes the avoidances only in expectation of the price, and if she is disappointed in that, the avoidances are not binding on her and she returns to her F.

B. WOMAN'S MENSTRUAL PERIOD *(iFindo, ukuPhothela, ukuQaka)*

A menstruating woman is considered *Ngcolile* (unclean). The taboo pattern she has to observe results in isolation from her H.

R e s e r v e d A r e a: A menstruating woman may not enter her H's residential hut, nor the cattle pen. She may not walk through a herd of cattle, or a flock of sheep and goats. This rule is especially strict with regard to the H's herd and flocks: their milk yield would be reduced or dry up altogether. She might be stopped by the herdboys! In consequence she may not smear any huts with cowdung (an exception may be made with her own hut, when she is older) (Krige: 188). If she crossed a ground-nut or tobacco field, she would cast a blight on the plants, the nuts would rot in the ground.

S e x: A menstruating woman should not walk between men. She must not have sexual intercourse with her H. He is liable to contract a disease *(iQakelo* the rag disease), or *iPhamba,* a pertinacious cough or he suffers misfortune, becomes unpopular, subject to accidents, and will be killed in war (Colenso: 1905; Bryant: 1949: 620; Asmus: 204).

No restrictions on the speech and expressive behaviour of a menstruating woman were recorded. She observes the following f o o d r e s t r i c t i o n s: she may not eat sour milk for seven days, nor even drink sweet milk. The cattle would be adversely affected. She must not cook food for her H, lest he become unpopular in council or is wounded in war. Nor may she touch or serve food for others.

On the last day of her menses the woman smears her hut with cowdung, after having swept and cleansed it for the first time in a week. This day is called 'white or bright' day, she 'comes out' *(ukwEmula)* and may eat SM again.

Her H has to observe companionship taboos. He keeps strictly to his side of the hut and is especially warned against stepping on his Wi's mat. He may not have intercourse with his Wi, and should not speak much with her (Asmus: 204).

C. PREGNANCY

When a woman has conceived, she begins to observe a number of avoidances and interdicts. Possibly because pregnancy is accompanied by the cessation of the menses, a pregnant woman is not considered unclean *(Ngcolile)*. The Zulu are pretty clear about the physiological conditions of conception. They nevertheless accept that it cannot occur without the good-will of the ancestors of both marriage partners. Whenever it is delayed a woman will be made to undergo treatment which takes different forms, viz., the taking of home remedies, a doctor's medicines, treatment (magical and 'surgical') of the organs of reproduction, and, last but not least, a SAC to the ancestors may follow.

Pregnancy initiates a process of 'strengthening' the expectant M, of 'setting her up' *(ukuMiselwa)*. It consists of (a) inoculation with certain medicines (of animal origin) at intervals in order to protect the embryo; (b) the regular drinking of the *iHlambezo* medicine which ensures an easy delivery. The medicine pot which is kept in the apse is secured by a taboo sign: two red ochre lines drawn across both the pot and its lid. The woman takes a daily draught, but is warned not to see her reflection in the liquid, lest the Ch resemble its M too much and have, as it were, no individuality of its own. No stranger may peep in the pot (Za), lest the Ch should be like him. (Some Zulu make nice-looking Chn peep into the *iHlambezo* to pass on their appearance to the newcomer). (c) An amulet of the *umKhondo* plant is tied round the M's ankle, to safeguard the Ch against spoor poisons. (d) The M's 'bad blood', if any, is removed through incisions in her vagina made by a doctor in the middle of a river, so that the blood is carried off *(ukuChaza)*. The pain inflicted must, it is believed, have favourable results.

1. Reserved Areas

A pregnant woman is subjected to arrangements which i s o l a t e her. She may not walk far from home, especially during her last months. She might step over the footprints of a witch, cross the spoor of an evil snake, e.g., a hostile spirit snake, or that of a royal animal (e.g. eland), or of 'monsters' in general. The birth should not take place in another than her H's homestead; it would be a disgrace *(iHlazo)* if her blood were to flow in a strange kraal. If she walked through a magically fertilized field, she would miscarry or become barren (Krige: 194). Nor should she pass a flowering maize field. Evil consequences are expected, if the field belongs to strangers; none if it is her own or belongs to one of the midwives (Asmus: 128). A pregnant woman should not cross a river. If she must, to make her passage safe, she picks up a clod of earth, rubs it against her buttocks and throws it into the water.

The woman announces her condition through a dress-sign. She puts on a leather apron *(isiDiya* or *isiGcayi)* to cover breasts and abdomen. After delivery this apron is converted into a carrying bag for the child. In some families the woman puts the apron on at her wedding; in others it is placed on the pregnant woman in a special rite. No expectant M may be without it (Za). No buck meat may be eaten by the wearer lest ill-luck, such as a miscarriage or difficult delivery be brought on. The rule that she must not leave her breasts uncovered is now a general taboo (Za); since her wedding she has observed the respectful restraint rule (H1) not to appear with breasts uncovered before her in-laws (Bryant: 1949: 622; Krige: 62).

2. Sexual Restraints

Sex relations during pregnancy should be stopped, but no agreement exists on the time. One sanction invoked is that the Ch will be born with a spotted skin, i.e., show signs of semen on it. In such a case, the M will be scolded as an 'unclean slut' by her midwives who refuse to handle such a Ch. Others maintain that intercourse in late pregnancy blocks the Ch's exit, hence birth will be difficult, the midwives will have to use manipulation or apply the rope press. The first sanction appeals to the woman's social sensitiveness, the second to her fear of pain. (130) thought that the prohibition against intercourse is neither a taboo nor an avoidance (H1), but a law (umTh) which is broken by most. Some would stop intercourse because they dislike it during pregnancy, others maintain that coitus during pregnancy 'strengthens' the foetus. The sign on the skin, he suggests, would show only if the H treated his Wi unkindly; if he treats her like a bride, it would never show! Here obviously a condition is superimposed on the interdict which cancels it. Against such laxity some maintain that coitus during pregnancy kills the Ch in the womb.

3. Speech

Speech and expressive behaviour are regulated in various ways. An expectant M must not say beforehand what sex her Ch will be, nor should she laugh at an idiot, a deformed Ch or an albino lest her Ch is born with the same defect. She should not be very talkative or noisy, nor leave her kraal to talk with neighbours, and never speak to a stranger, for he might carry evil magic on his hands or face. She should, when communication becomes necessary, use a go-between. She should not use any bad language (H1/Za). When she gets up from the floor, she should not rise slowly but briskly, lest her Ch be slow during delivery. She should avoid peeping out of her doorway, for her Ch will peep out at birth and withdraw again. She should not sit in a slouching position, nor sleep during the day, lest she becomes used to it (or transfers slouchiness and drowsiness to her Ch) (383).

4. Work/Food

The making of clothes for an unborn Ch is strictly prohibited (Za) for it kills it (136). An expectant M continues to eat her H's SM and meat. Idiosyncracies are distinguished from genuine abstentions. A pregnant woman may acquire a dislike *(ukwAlisa)* for certain foods, e.g. beer or sour milk, as she may now have a dislike for her H. (Since such squeamishness is also described as *ukuZila*, the connotation of the term becomes blurred). The H is taught not to take notice of such fads or of special cravings for, say, fatty meat or certain herbs (wild spinach), especially during a first pregnancy. On the other hand the woman is told not to let her H notice that she is enjoying her food or what food she now likes.

Under food taboos proper fall wild herbs (spinach): they would scorch the Ch in the womb, it would be born with scars; any birds, especially the *uNgceda* finch, lest she have no milk, and beer dregs boiled with maize. The general rule against eating while standing (or while walking about in the yard) is intensified in the case of an expectant M - her Ch will stand up in the womb, it will be born feet first, it will become insane - and thus becomes a critical taboo. The *uFuzo* taboos, now almost forgotten, were directed against eating of plants or animals whose characteristics might be transferred to the Ch, e.g., guinea fowl - long flat head; hare - long ears, split lip; rock rabbit - long front teeth; bush warbler - scraggy legs; reed buck - blue eyes; antelope or eland fat - sunken fontanelle; swallow - shiftlessness; bone marrow - chronic running nose (Krige: 383). The H is, in this respect, under an inversion rule, for he is expected to eat the animals concerned so that their qualities are n o t transferred. The question arises: does he commit a taboo-breach in so doing, or is he ritually fit to achieve the opposite from his wife? If his action is interpreted as a taboo-breach, it may be argued that he is 'strong' enough to draw upon himself the harmful characteristics and to dispose of them vicariously, as an explanation of the c o u v a d e will have it. If the second explanation is preferred, we therewith introduce the interpretation of inversion, according to which a superior status may do what is forbidden to an inferior status and do so with a ritual effect.

The H observes some companionship taboos during his Wi's pregnancy: The sex taboo applies equally to him as to her. If he is a polygynist the interdict would, however, not apply to his relations with his non-pregnant Wis. A H should not talk in a loud or angry manner with his pregnant Wi, nor use bad, vulgar or profane language in her presence. He may not lift the lid from the *iHlambezo* pot, nor does he pass through a river without due precautions, lest he be carried away (Krige: 64).

D. BIRTH

Zulu medical knowledge prescribes the application of certain herbs during the last months of pregnancy as well as when labour has started *(iXolo)*. If delivery proves difficult the midwives may try 'to turn' the Ch, or they resort to the abdominal press. The H (or kraalhead) may then not leave the kraal without having engaged a diviner to find out the cause and without having made arrangements for treatment (H1). He may, of course, be induced to offer a propitiatory sacrifice. Before he goes as far as that, he may try 'to provoke' the birth through a violation of taboos. He enters the hut of the parturient, undresses and sits naked beside his pain-distorted Wi. Taking off his penis-guard he pours water in and makes her drink it. Under normal circumstances any of these actions constitutes a taboo breach of unusual proportions. In combination they are an enormity, yet considered the most effective action to promote delivery. Since a difficult delivery, resulting perhaps in a still-birth, indicates to the Zulu that the woman has committed some wrong, a cattle 'fine' may be demanded from her people (Asmus: 201; Bryant: 1949: 612; Krige: 65).

(136): When a birth is near, the woman moves into the HM's hut or any hut prepared for the event. A woman who has lost many children may be permitted to have her confinement in her F's homestead. In Natal this practice is quite common for primiparae (323). Old women, Ms and midwives stay and sleep with the expectant woman. The confinement results in the isolation of the young M, because she is considered 'unclean'; it also protects the newborn against evil influences from outside. The inmates protect themselves by eating medicines; they must not touch the ordinary household utensils and are subject to a number of (mainly food) taboos (Krige: 68). The young M may not sleep on her sleeping mat, but is made to lie down on a sheaf of grass throughout her confinement. Nor may the hut be swept, except by moving the sweepings in the direction of her 'bed' (Za). During parturition the woman must not shriek or cry or call on the ancestors. The midwives may use a covering (H1) term for *ukuZala* (to give birth), viz., **ukuBeleha* (Krige: 64; Kohler: 1938: 98).

The Ch is taken care of by the HM *(oZakwama)* or the HBrsWis *(oZakwabo)* and the M's co-Wis. The Ch was at one time 'cleansed with cowdung' (Holden). An enema is applied to drain the 'internal body-dirt' into a hole in the apse (Asmus: 202) and the same is done with the medicated water with which the newborn is washed to ensure its 'goodness'. The young M has to clean up her own blood and the afterbirth. It is the custom in (136) 's family to bury the afterbirth in a swamp or near a river; it may also be buried in the apse, the hole being sealed with cowdung, or near the side-wall of the hut where the Ch was born. The cord is either placed with the after-birth or it is buried at a cross-roads with the bones of certain animals.

(132) insists that if the birth occurred in the night, the after-birth is taken away before sunrise, if the birth happened in the daytime, it is buried in the evening, i.e., at times when the young M cannot be seen. Otherwise she might be bewitched and might not be able to bear again. (If she is too weak, the HM buries the after-birth.) (Krige: 66; Bryant: 1949: 613, 627; Asmus: 202).

The M's seclusion can be divided into three periods of decreasing severity. The first period lasts about ten days till the Ch's umbilical cord has dropped off. The M's strict seclusion is called *ukuGoya* like the seclusion at puberty, wedding and (possibly) widowhood. In this condition she is said 'to hatch' *(ukuFukama;* Colenso: 1905) and must not let herself be seen,

even if she is poor and has to work outside. If she must leave the confinement hut, she must do so by stealth. She must on no account touch any of her H's belongings. She should not talk loudly at this time. She must avoid sour milk (even at her F's kraal) and all 'hard' foods.

She eats from special vessels and must avoid the ordinary ones, nor should she eat when company is present, but alone. No fire should be lighted in the hut and the young M must not cook food for her H, since 'she still has some blood', although in some families no objection exists to her cooking for herself. In her tabooed state the woman does no work, not even beadwork, because 'she is too weak'. As a sign the young M wears a grass belt *(umKhanzi*, also *isiXhama)* like the girls at the puberty rite. In some families the length of this first period varies with the sex of the Ch, five days for a girl and eight for a boy. At its conclusion the young M smears herself with red ochre, for a sign, and according to Walk is 'purified' by being sprinkled with *inTelezi* (Shooter: 88; Krige: 68-9; Bryant: 1949: 613, 648, 557).

The second period of mild seclusion begins with the falling off of the Ch's umbilical cord, the scar being smeared with ochre. The period is not without interdicts. The young M may not, especially if it is her first Ch, enter the cattle pen or pass through her H's herd of cattle. She may however now eat SM again, and is free to cook for her H, fetch firewood, and work in the fields. She resumes even the brewing of beer and the making of pots. The mothers tell her to do so. When the midwives leave, the young M burns the sweepings which up to now might not be removed; she also freshly smears the hut and makes it ready for female visitors (Bleek: 22). The only precaution is that the woman strews some ash on the threshold which visitors will pick up on their soles. Even the Ch is released from its taboo pattern. Until now it was not allowed to take its M's milk, especially the colostrum and was fed on gruel or SM. Now the M's breasts are considered safe and may be taken even outside the hut. The length of the second period may be shortened by the H ritually stabbing his spear through the thatch of the hut, an action which makes his visit to see the Ch safe, and also by practical necessities of domestic or agricultural work (Kidd; Bryant: 1949: 651; Ludlow: 64).

The third period of seclusion centres mainly round the taboo on sexual intercourse. The woman replaces her grass-belt by a properly woven waist-band *(isiFociya)* "to keep the stomach from bulging now that SM is again allowed". Cohabitation with her H is tabooed for varying periods. Some state 2-3 months, others 15 months. It is sometimes wound up by the shaving rite (a sexual r/r in this instance) or by the weaning of the Ch. The following sanctions are a threat against too early cohabitation: You become pregnant too soon again. The new foetus will poison the milk for the as yet unweaned Ch. The ancestors will be angry and prevent the birth of further Chn. Your Ch will become an idiot. Your in-laws will scold you, spit at you, strike you, express their contempt for you! The H is told: Your Wi will accuse you of pestering her before every inmate of the kraal. You will be charged with casting a shadow over the first Ch's life. You will be troubled with a chronic cough. You will meet with many accidents. Whatever the attitude about intercourse and its nature during this period, pregnancy before the weaning of the infant in arms is avoided. A speech restraint during this time is that the young mother should not talk about, or even 'remember' the pains of child-birth. 'It is not good for a woman to do so!' (Krige: 73; Kohler: 1939: 101; Samuelson, R.C.: 1923: 347; P.J. Schoeman).

A confinement initiates some companionship taboos. During the first seclusion period, the Ch's F may not enter the hut, nor touch any of his Wi's intimate belongings, an intensification of the ordinary avoidance. The young M's male in-laws, especially her F-in-1, and all pubescent boys and girls are forbidden entrance. Small Chn, boys and girls, and the woman's co-Wis have free access. It is taboo for men to enter the confinement hut or to be present at a birth. It would be 'awkward' for the H to see his Wi's organs of reproduction, the blood and the newborn *(ubuYeka baBi)*; such things look 'filthy' to men (although not to women) (136). The midwives and the HM may of course move in and out freely, yet they are reminded not to speak aloud when attending a confinement. (If the Ch dies the midwives cannot go home until a goat is killed for them to take away the *umMnyama*, i.e., defilement of death.) A H must not leave his homestead during his Wi's confinement. He may not attend assemblies nor church services(!)

or go to war. This rule applies to the firstborn only, nor does it exclude the calling of a doctor (Gardiner: 219; Kidd: 306). During the first and second seclusion period the door of the hut is left ajar in day-time. Any unauthorized person approaching is warned by the call *'akuNgenwa.'* (no entry). If he enters he has to pay a 'fine', some beads or another small 'gift' (Krige: 69). No visitor, not even a family member, should eat of the food provided for the young M (just as the groom's family does not eat of the 'beast of virginity' given to the bride's M) (Za).

The following rites have been recorded in the first stages of a child's life. Most people do not bother about slaughtering an animal at the birth of a Ch, but some do - especially in the case of a firstborn - and invite the extended family *(uZalo)* to the feast. A SAC of a beast is common when twins are born; beer is brewed and the ancestors are thanked. It is felt that it is difficult to bring them up together; when the umbilical cord has dropped off, one of them is sent off to a foster-M, usually his maternal GM, to grow up there. A M must not hold a twin in each arm simultaneously (Za). Frequently the SAC coincides with the release of the young M from the first period of seclusion.

Later rites of infancy may be combined with the r/r from the sexual taboo on the Ch's parents. Before relations are resumed the Ch should be subjected to the 'smoking rite' in which he is exposed to the smoke from *iziNyamazana* medicines. Or the woman has her head - the hair has been growing unchecked since the confinement - shaved (round the top-knot which is not taken down during a confinement) to indicate that she is ritually prepared for full marital life. On this occasion her H establishes his ascendancy over the Ch by jumping over it *(ukwEqa)* or passing it between his legs. Till now it has been considered an 'animal' *(isiLwane)* and belonging to the ancestors. Henceforth it will be a member of a human family. Scarification, the supply of charms (e.g. a 'health knot'), the cruel operation of rectal bleeding to remove 'lustfulness', the slaughter of a goat to make 'strengthening' skin braces *(umuNcamba:* Bleek: 21) are other rites in infancy which form occasions for re-establishing full conjugal life. Of course, a H may just call his Wi to come again to his hut when she is no longer considered to be 'unclean' (Krige: 69-70; Bryant: 1949: 617).

Finally weaning involves the parents again directly. A goat is slaughtered for M and Ch, and both are 'secured' by magical means: the Ch is given a necklace, the mother's breasts are treated. With some families normal sex relations between the parents are only resumed now, two to three years after the Ch's arrival. Since the H is now expected to impregnate his Wi again (Bleek: 22n), the Ch may be removed from the maternal hut and made to stay with his F's M or at his uterine family home. Regular shaving on the part of the woman indicates that she has resumed sex relations with her H (Bryant: 1949: 164, 633).

It stands to reason that no woman in confinement observes any but a selection of the above described taboos. Laxity and strictness of families, anxiety and carefree nature of individuals swing the regimen of taboos observed either in the direction of completeness or of depletion. There are modifying factors of a general nature: a first birth, previous miscarriages or still-births, a death in the neighbourhood, the rank of the parturient, the absence of the H on a dangerous task make midwives and mothers insist on an elaborate regimen and many reasons are found to relax it.

IV. DEATH AND BURIAL AS PARADIGM OF TABOO REGIMENS

If a Zulu is asked to give an instance of Z i l a he invariably mentions the death ceremonies and abstentions of mourning. The death of a family head has meaning and consequences for his whole lineage and its neighbourhood. It involves status changes among individuals, and the relationship between the groupings within family and lineage has to be redefined.

I propose to give (A) a brief outline of the funeral ceremonies, (B) a full description of the taboo regimen pertaining to and consequent upon a death; (C) an analysis of Zulu theories and a sociological interpretation; (D) a survey of modified customs mainly at the royal court.

A. FUNERAL CEREMONIES

1. The Burial

Four causes of death are customarily distinguished, viz., natural illness, old age, sorcery and a summons from the ancestors: 'those of below' *(abaPhansi)* kill a person because they want him 'to dwell among them' (Callaway: 1868: 13).

When a kraalhead has died, his Wis, assisted by the deceased's Brs, wash his head and shave it on the first day. The corpse is trussed up in a cowhide or mat with grass bands *(uZi)* in a sitting posture, the arms having been folded over the knees. The bundle is placed against the main pillar of the Great Hut. According to strict custom the widows stay near the corpse till burial. If the deceased was a chief, for whose funeral lengthy preparations are necessary, the widows' task is formidable: they have to stay with the decaying corpse for several days and nights. The princWi has to sit nearest to it. Women who plug their nostrils with *umSuzwane* leaves are despised by their more obtuse co-Wis for showing horror or squeamishness rather than respect (H1) to the dead husband.

The grave of the family head is placed at the top of the cattle pen just opposite the Great Hut. The heir (among commoners the eSo of the princWi), using the a n c e s t r a l, o r h i s F 's s p e a r, stabs the ground where the grave is to be made and stands, holding it pointing downward, at the head of the grave while it is being dug. Male agnates (Brs and Sos) of the decased, but also neighbours, do the digging. The shape of the grave is that of a pit with a niche. The men (or women) carry flat stones up from the river to wall up the niche after the corpse has been placed in it. In doing so they place a small grass pad in their palms.

The burial is undertaken on the second day. The corpse is taken out of the Great Hut by the Wis and handed over to the dead man's Brs, and possibly neighbours, at the door. The men carry it to the grave. The princWi (or one of the Brs) descends into the pit and receives the corpse. It is placed in the niche. The dead man's head-ring is put between his feet, maize and sorghum grains and pumpkin seeds are placed in his hands. His private belongings such as clothes, sleeping mats, blankets, and eating utensils are arranged round him. Finally a flat stone is placed on his head. Now the niche is walled up with the stones and the men ascend by means of steps cut into the wall of the grave. As the earth is being filled in, each member of the family takes a clod and, spitting on it, throws it into the pit 'for good luck!' Stones are placed on the mound.

The grave-diggers' tools are placed in the Great Hut and fetched there next morning for cutting down trees. The stems are placed round the grave like stakes to protect it against wild animals and to give it shade when they sprout. The new grave is guarded or watched for several days (Krige: 173). The graves of kings (and chiefs) were guarded from the time of the burial to the Bringing Home. The grave guards were isolated from royalty and commoners; a herd of cattle was set apart for their support. Smith A. (p. 41) remarks that it was customary for grave guards to be killed after a time (after the *Buyisa?)* since they were thought to have acquired the protection of the spirit of the chief in too great a measure. However, one of Shaka's grave guards escaped this fate. When he jumped on a hut and invoked his dead master's spirit to his aid Dingane did not touch him.

According to Callaway (1868: 213, 13) "At first the bodies of the dead were burnt, especially the remains of a chief, and many of his servants were buried with him." "When a person is buried all his things are taken, a large fire is kindled to burn them, not a single thing which he wore on his body is left, all is burnt." This is old Natal custom. The son of

an ancient Natal king reported in 1705: "My father is dead; his skins (i.e. clothes) are buried with him in the floor of his house, which is burned over him; the place is fenced in and none may now pass over it..." (Bird: I, 60). (Today if a woman dies, her clothes are given to a very old woman if still usable and only burnt if in rags).

2. *Getting down to the new Situation*

When a death has occurred the homestead is cut off from contact with the outside world for a time. Silence reigns; anything said is said in gentle tones. All work in the fields ceases; the cattle are not milked; sometimes they are not even brought into the pen. No food is consumed and the drinking of water is tabooed on the day of burial.

When the kraalhead has died, the kraal inmates take 'black medicines' *(umuThi omMnyama, amaKhubalo* or *iDoyi)* 'to strengthen' themselves. The same medicines are taken on the Third Day to render 'hard foods' harmless. A doctor heats them on a potsherd adding some of the stomach contents of the animal slaughtered. The medicines are both 'sucked from the finger tips' and 'imbibed'. 'Soft foods', including SM, are on the interdicted list until a special r/r has been observed. Beer, however, which is sometimes brewed in anticipation of a death, may be taken, also water medicated with ash (Bryant: 1949: 706; Wanger: 1917: 514).

On the third day the men slaughter a goat, or an ox, for the cleansing of the grave-diggers and the persons who handled the corpse. They rub their hands *(ukuGeza,* or *ukuHlamba)* in the stomach contents *(umSwani)* of the animal. The rite is also described as 'to wash off the dead man' *(uku-m-Hlamba)* or 'to remove all evil consequences of the dead man' *(ukuSusa umMnyama womuNtu oFileyo)*. Accounts concerning this rite differ greatly. Some families kill two goats *(izimBuzi zamaKhubalo)*. The bile is poured into a dish and mixed with the contents of the third stomach. All, but especially the grave-diggers, rub their hands in the mixture and throw a handful on the ground where it is eaten by the dogs. The grave-diggers are given the gall-bladder (118). Mabanga, talking of rich people, says two beasts are killed, the first, 'To accompany the kraalhead' *(ukuPhelekezela umNumzane)*, is eaten by the grave-diggers and male agnatic mourners, the other by the women and Chn. The rite releases the kraal inmates from the food taboos and gives them permission to leave their homestead. The ritual washing by the grave-diggers has been 'replaced today' by washing in running water immediately after the burial. But this may not be an 'innovation', since Arbousset and Daumas mention washing in water as one of the Zulu methods of purification (in Dingane's praises), and washing in water is a generally accepted r/r for widows at their Remarriage (Bryant: 1949: 704-6).

On the fourth day the men shave their heads completely except for the head-ring of those privileged to wear it. Girls and Chn likewise shave their heads. The widows (and possibly other women of the kraal, e.g., UBrsWis) cut the hair round the topknot only - the sign of their married status -, undo the topknot and allow the loose strands to hang over their foreheads. The widows take off clothes and ornaments and put on 'the weeds' when these are ready. They must wear the sign *(inZilo)* of widowhood: grass necklace *(uZi)*, goatskin cloak, fillet and grass girdle *(inTambo)*. Goats are slaughtered to the number of widows, the skins rubbed soft with stones and made into cloaks "which they have to wear to Hl Mvelinqangi." (407): "Nowadays a black cloth dress is worn over an old kilt to separate widows from the others", *(iziNgubo eziMnyama zokubAhlukanisa kwabanye)*. The *inZilo* dress and the abstentions of mourning (mainly from sex activities and SM consumption) are observed only by young widows who have a chance of remarrying. Widows past the menopause, to whom their H did not 'go in' any more, eat medicines with the men and are then allowed to eat SM. The fourth day is the day for condolence visits by close agnatic relatives of the deceased *(iLanga lokuKhuza)*. To receive them well the huts have been smeared with cowdung. The reorganization of the family is begun with the disposal of the Chn, if their M has died. If the U dies Chn remain with their Ms.

3. *Washing the Hoes and the Spears (iHlambo, isiPheku, isiDlo)*

Three mourning ceremonies follow the burial of the owner of a homestead, of which the first, the Washing, is split into two.

The Washing of the Hoes is preceded, according to (110), by the sprinkling of the fields with medicated water. This is performed as early as the morning of the Fourth Day. In summer a simple Washing of the Hoes takes place a few days after the burial: the tools are ritually used without medication. Or a doctor comes, a goat is killed, he spits at the hoes and other garden tools. In winter when the rite may be delayed for months, the tools may not be touched before the Washing, since they are 'unclean' or have the Contagion of Death on them. One day all the women take the tools into the fields and till a small patch which is either not seeded at all or whose crop is not harvested and left for the cattle to eat. It is said by some to belong to Nomkhubulwane or Mvelinqangi, by others to the deceased.

The Washing of the Spears is the rite for the men. It is said 'to escort the spirit down' *(ukuSusa iDlozi)*. It is held one month after the death of a commoner and not before six months have elapsed in the case of a person of rank. The men - lineage members and neighbours in the one case, all tribesmen in the other case - gather with spears, knobsticks and shields which have not been used (Za) since the death and go on a communal hunt to remove the 'rust' or 'darkness' *(umMnyama)* on them. On their return beer is drunk and the game eaten with 'white medicines'. The men wash in 'strengthening medicines' then and perform leap dances which do not form part of an ordinary hunt. This removes the last taboos under which the men may have been.

The idea of 'cleansing the weapons' may be variously symbolized. The 'rust' or 'gloom' may be removed by sharpening the weapons before the hunt. Or the hunters chew the leaf of the *umGanu* tree and spit it on the blade. Or they go to the river and wash themselves and their weapons before using them. The Washing never meant the dipping of the weapons in the blood of animals of the hunt. (411) reminds us that the *iHlambo* is no longer held since the Europeans came. However, occasionally one meets a family which observes it, perhaps to obtain prestige, and it is still observed for chiefs and royalty.

Eating Rite: To wind up the Washing a beast, the *inKomo yesiDlo*, is slaughtered. Its meat is placed in the apse of the Great Hut with an offering of beer and snuff. The *iNanzi* and the stabbed sirloin are not pinned to the roof on this occasion but cooked and eaten with the other meat. The gall bladder is kept in the roof and the bile poured into the apse next morning. It is the heir or the deceased's Br who wears the bladder. The bones are burned and the ash thrown on the ash heap which is not done at an ordinary SAC. None of the meat may be taken out of the homestead (Za). No singing and dancing takes place. Beer and snuff and meat are consumed by the deceased's agnates, the neighbours who dug the grave and the Wis of the agnates who attended the funeral. "This rite takes away the *umMnyama* of death" (181).

This rite must be an alternative to the hunters' rite. For normally hunters are afraid of mixing beef with game. It might cause an *isiNyama* (misfortune). In fact where a beast is slaughtered any game in the homestead must be thrown to the dogs. (This seems a case of incompatibility between meat of different provenance.) The unusual treatment of *iNsonyama* and *iNanzi*, which in this rite are not stuck in the roof of the hut but eaten like the other meat, may be explained as indicative of the fact that the reconstruction of the family has not yet been accomplished. Until there is a kraalhead proper the *iNsonyama* cannot be used as the symbol of the *umNumzane's* status. And as long as his position is not filled, there is no recognized UM who (or her delegate) is qualified to eat the *iNanzi* ritually at the end of a complete sacrifice (cf. infra p. 385). The treatment of these two parts thus manifests that the full sacrificial ritual is possible only after the return of the spirit of the deceased to the home and this depends on the reorganization of the authority structure of the homestead.

4. The Bringing Home (ukuBuyisa) also Great Washing (iHlambo elikhulu)

This is a rite which is observed for a kraalhead only and never for a man killed by lightning, or a woman or child! It consists of the slaughtering of a beast for the deceased followed by feasting, singing and dancing. On this occasion the praises of the ancestors may

be recited for the first time after the death, the taboo on the deceased's pers/n is lifted and his praises included.

The majority of informants assume that the Bringing Home changes the *isiThunzi* (wandering shade) into an *iDlozi* which takes up his abode in the homestead. "The rite brings the spirit out of his grave or home from the veld" (222). The deceased is turned from an *iLahliwe* (i.e. 'a lost person') into an *iDlozi* who looks after the family. Others state that the rite enables the deceased's spirit to join the ancestors from which it was hitherto barred. When this has happened the widows may remarry; hence in a poor home the Bringing Home and the Remarriage of Widows are made to coincide. At the royal court the two may also be celebrated together, especially for the minor widows. After the Bringing Home a snake, the ancestors' snake, is expected in the homestead. It eats 'nothing' and is not given any food, but may be 'promised' a goat. It prefers the Great Hut for its visits.

5. The Remarriage of the Widows

completes the reconstruction of the family. The Washing removed the mourning taboos from all men and women of the kraal except the marriageable widows. So much have the weeds become part of them during the two years taboo regimen, that it is said the widows have *umMnyama* because of their drab clothing.

A beast is slaughtered for each widow 'to take off the weeds'. It comes from the homestead of her F. In addition the deceased H's people slaughter a beast 'to wash the widows', 'to cleanse them from the signs of widowhood'. Beer is brewed for the occasion. Early in the morning the widows take off the goatskin cloak, the fillet and the grass girdle. Since these articles are magically (as well as physically) 'dirty' they cannot be worn by anyone else and are buried in ant heaps or porcupine holes. (407): "The kilt worn during widowhood under the black dress is thrown away with it or burned because it is full of *inSila, umMnyama.*" The widows are then smeared by a doctor with fats and treated with an emetic. For the first time in two years they proceed to the river to wash in running water. On their return they put on festive dress, fix their hair into the top-knot, put ochre on their faces and feast on beer and meat. They are now ready to remarry and to resume the eating of SM.

The Brs of the deceased make their appearance at this stage. Each widow chooses a leviratic H from among them. Only the deceased's yoBrs are eligible, the eBr is excluded, since he has assumed the position of U and 'father' over the younger family members. The women must stay in the deceased's kraal and their Chn with them. Any Ch born from the new union is counted the deceased's for purposes of inheritance, succession and descent since 'no cattle have passed' in the new marriage.

If a woman chooses to be married by a person w[illegible] [illegible]n agnatic kinsman of the deceased, she cannot remain in the homestead when the Beast to wash the Widow is being killed. On no account may she eat of its meat (Za). It would make her barren in her second marriage, for which her new H has to pay a reduced bride-price. Widows who eat of the meat tie themselves to the ancestors of the lineage, as the beast is slaughtered for them 'to inform them that the *iZilo* mourning has been taken off the widows and that these are free to marry' (s c i l. the deceased's Brs). The Zulu still feel strongly on this point although it was Mpande who raised the interdict on widows marrying outsiders.

Before the second H may 'enter the widow's hut' he slaughters a beast *(inKomo-ya-maHlangano)* to tell the deceased not to be angry, otherwise he contracts a disease. A doctor is called and mixes the contents of the beast's stomach with medicines which he heats on potsherds. The newly joined pair suck the charred powders from their finger tips. In this way the effects of the treatment against 'adultery' to which the widow had to submit immediately after her H's death are removed. The widow may also be treated against being unwittingly used as a medium through which a wizard causes the death of her new H.

The eSo of the Great House must now leave his F's homestead and set up his own establishment. He will take his M with him. This is obligatory if the other Wis have grown-up Sos and need not be remarried as is desirable for women with small Chn. It is the heir's duty to look after the material interests of his siblings. At the heir's new homestead the recital of the old genealogy is at once possible.

B. MOURNING TABOO REGIMEN

1. The Isolation of the mourners

is secured by a variety of taboos: (a) "The grave spear used by the heir to point into the grave, *umKhonto kaYise*, or ancestral spear, was kept in the deceased's Residence. It could not be used in war, hunting or stabbing beasts (Za). While his F was alive the heir could not touch it, for 'it is just as good as the F', a symbol of his authority. Now that the heir handles it, it is a sign of his seniority" (407). (b) The difficulties caused by the death are met by calling in the help of the *abaHlali* who share some of the mourning taboos with the bereaved. *abaHlali* are neighbours who do not possess the same clan/n and who give assistance on a reciprocal basis in case of death. The relationship does not affect their mutual SM avoidance (244, 245). (c) The mourners, and this includes the grave-diggers and *abaHlali*, may not leave the homestead before the 'cleansing', whether they wish to go to court (on pain of death) or to war, or to attend a wedding, a dance or beer party. Not even a visit to So or Da in another kraal is permitted. With regard to hunting the evidence is contradictory. In the literature it is listed as prohibited. (127, 140) said: "There is no *umMnyama* as to hunting in mourning", perhaps because it presents a distinct world from the domestic one and the Contagion of Death cannot carry over. Their remark may, however, refer to private hunting only (Samuelson, L.H.: 133; Krige: 163; Asmus: 59).

The close contact of the widows with the corpse is a method of making them instinct with the *umMnyama* of death and thus of becoming inaccessible to other men. This applies even to a woman whose H has died in hospital. When the corpse is taken home she must sit with it on the sledge: if a lorry is used, she may not sit in the cab but with the coffin in the back for "the Wi belongs to her H"! It is remarkable that the spheres of H and Wi which in life are kept apart by avoidances and prohibitions, should be merged after his death. It brings about a complete inversion of behaviour rules. In the case of an important polygynist the widows spend the night after the funeral together in the Great Hut sleeping on the floor. The princWi, having as it were been raised in status by her H's death, occupies a place on the male side! (a taboo breach of the first order.) Even among commoners, widows spend some days 'brooding' in the apse of their huts covered with a blanket. Condolers may call on them there and comfort them. A go-between replies on their behalf since they may not talk.

The widow's isolation includes complete severance from her H's cattle. All the bridal taboos concerning meat and SM are revived; the taboo on cattle applies to all inmates. During the burial the herd must be outside the kraal; it is driven home only after the 'strengthening' rite. No mourner points at cattle, steps over their yokes or walks through a herd. The prohibitions have, naturally, to be quickly raised for men.

Mourning clothes are part of the system of isolation. Shaving the head is obligatory: women cut off their hair with a 'razor', men use a 'knife'. When a widow's hair has grown again she cannot cut it until the Remarriage, nor may she put it up in a top-knot; she wears it dishevelled. A widow must not wash, at least not in running water, because the contamination of death would be spread thereby. (The absolute prohibition to wash resulted in the accumulation of scaly body dirt which made widows unappetizing!) Nor may a widow anoint herself. She cannot wear her skin kilt but must don a goatskin cloak: the customary softening with fat is prohibited (Za), only stones may be used. By wearing the goatskin cloak the widow "H1's Mvelinqangi!" The most striking dress sign of a widow is the grass fillet woven from *uZi* grass and prepared

after the first r/r. A leather or cloth fillet may also be worn (110) but she has to doff all ornaments. The omission of these signs results in illness in the homestead. The grave-diggers, too, wear bands of *uZi* while they dig. They tie them round the corpse before it is lowered into the grave. The dress-signs have thus not only a protective function and warn off non-mourners, but also concretely represent death and must for that reason be buried or destroyed later (Krige: 166; Samuelson: L.H. 133).

2. Sex Restraints

Death in the kraal leads to the immediate separation of the sexes. The women withdraw into a hut, the men gather in the cattle-pen or at the top of the kraal. Mourners do not attend a wedding. They abstain from sexual intercourse till after a r/r, some say after two months, but (127, 129, 140) agree: "Such is rarely observed" (Gardiner: 189).

The F of a deceased kraalhead abstains from sexual intercourse for a short time, his real M longer than her co-Wis. The Sos of the deceased 'do not meet their Wis', even if they live in their own kraals already. Married Das do not observe mourning at their H's, but they do if they happen to be at home when their F died. Unmarried, divorced or runaway Das refrain from showing interest in men, and so do the deceased's Sis, whether married or unmarried, but only if they are inmates of the homestead. Two determinants exist thus for the sex taboo: closeness of kinship relationship and a spatial factor: domicile in the afflicted homestead. Boys and girls of the sweethearting age interrupt their love visits for one to two months. They are released by a Small Washing rite, when a beast is slaughtered for them. They remove the signs of mourning, but no dancing takes place (108). They may now attend weddings and dances again, but only as spectators and helpers. On no account may they as yet indulge in the practice of partial intercourse *(ukuHlobonga)* (Za). They still carry the contagion of death *(umMnyama)*.

The sex abstention for widows lasts at least a year, and in strict families two or three years. Chief Gatsha and Princess Magogo insist that already at the 'strengthening' immediately after the death, the widows are given special medicines to make them 'fast' against 'adultery'. Although apparently the deceased's Brs and Chn partake of the same medicines they differ in fact.

3. Speech and Expressive Behaviour

After the first lament *(ukuKhala)* there is no speaking, singing, noise-making or weeping in the afflicted homestead. Offenders will be unable to stop talking; they will become mad. The same will happen to persons who quarrel, scold, talk to strangers, receive and greet strangers inside the homestead. (Some say, this last rule is a recent invention!) Forbidden to mourners is a glum face; they should appear bright and brisk.-But excessive gesticulating is deprecated. Mourners, especially women, should have their arms folded at the burial (Samuelson, L.H.: 133; Krige: 163-6; Asmus: 59).

The prohibition about talking is raised after the second lament *(ukuKhuza)*. (405) urged me to stay, when I arrived at his kraal soon after the death of one of his Wis, because in his opinion nothing was more suitable on such an occasion than to talk about *ukuZila*. Still, to talk bluntly about death and the deceased is avoided. A euphemistic expression **uShonile* (he passed away) is used for *uFile* (he is dead). More elaborate avoidances are reported for the royal family. Such practices, although part of the Za observances, are classed as respectful restraints (H1) towards the deceased *(umuFi)*. It is, however, taboo to mention the deceased's pers/n before the Bringing Home. Exceptions are allowed for the sake of clarity and for ritual reasons, e.g., to prevent the evil effects of the deceased's premature return. Nor does this prohibition prevent the speedy and obligatory passing on of the news of the death to family members, neighbours, headman, and chief.

4. Food and Work Prohibitions

On the day of the death n o f o o d should be consumed. No cooking is done for three days, the fires are extinguished. Food substances may not be touched. Food may be sent in by neighbours and is eaten after the 'cleansing'. Even then food cooked by an unknown person is refused altogether; many eat food only if medicated. Some clans satisfy their hunger with wild roots. Today few people observe any abstentions. The mourning foods are 'hard' foods.

Even after the cleansing 'soft foods' which the Zulu enjoy more are prohibited. Widows may have to do without them for the whole of their widowhood. (Violations are said to occur readily). Some mourners adopt an individual imitative taboo by abstaining from food the deceased was fond of or had avoided himself. It is taboo to send eatables out of a homestead in which a death occurred, for death is spread by them (Braatvedt; Gardiner; 191; Bryant: 1905: *iDlakuBi)*.

The widow's food regulations are most severe. She must not eat in the company of her co-Wis or of other women for about a month. Because she eats in her own hut, she cannot get any SM in the Great Hut and must abstain from it throughout her prolonged mourning. Even after she has joined the other women at meals, she cannot be in an eating party with men until after the Bringing Home. (This taboo shows the intimate link between commensality and cohabitation, between board and bed).

On the day of the death no milking is done. The cattle are left on the veld. No SM may be eaten in the homestead. The rule is sometimes disregarded by men and Chn, but women abstain until the r/r. This consists in adding fresh milk to a medicine *(iKhubalo, iDoyi* or *ubuLawu)*. A doctor heats the mixture on a potsherd and makes the mourners suck it off their fingertips. No water is drunk on the first day; the taboo breaker remains thirsty for ever. The taboo is circumvented by taking water medicated with a pinch of ash, or the water is first warmed with a hot pebble. The mourners' regular drink is beer both in the form of *amaHewu* and *uTshwala*. The deceased U's responsibility for the food of his family is expressed in the following manner: "All meat that happens to be in the homestead at the time of death is flung into the veld, for the meat is part of the corpse" (238). "The meat is destroyed because there is a dead man in the kraal. The meat is identified with him *(YayiFaniswa nesiDumbu somuNtu oFile)*. The meat is not thrown away when Wi or Ch are dead, but only at the U's death, for he is the owner of the cattle, the head of the home" (407) (Bryant: 1949: 706; Colenso: 1905).

A b s t e n t i o n s f r o m w o r k form an essential part of mourning. No work is done in the fields. The tools, as we saw, are used for digging the grave. The abstention is observed for about a week. (101), perhaps with royal ignorance of the work taboo for commoners, denied that there is a cessation of work when a family head has died, since the Chn have 'to be strengthened', i.e., to be given food.

No seeds may be given away from the home in which the family head has died. Nor may a clan stranger, e.g., the doctor during the release rites, touch the family's seeds and indeed any food. Several motives are here intertwined. (a) Since the bereaved do not work in the fields lending seeds to neighbours would give them an unfair advantage (105). (b) The fear of spreading the contagion of death interrupts the normal exchange of seeds. (c) The taboo ensures the bereaved's monopoly in good seed since through the burial of the U with seed it is magically invigorated. But (407): "The burial of seed with an U is not a general custom. No crops which grow on the U's grave could be touched by anyone, not even the heir. The crops are the same as the U." No groundnuts may be planted for twelve months.

Nothing may be purchased or acquired by barter after the death of an important member of the homestead till after the Washing of the Hoes (Leslie: 28; Krige: 163-7). Nor are traders entertained. The Natal Witness of 12th July 1850 reports that one J. D. Jackson on a trading excursion to Zululand was delayed going to Mpande, "because one of his sisters being dead, we could not go before."

5. *Companionship Taboos in Mourning*

Companionship taboos involve agnates, affines, neighbours and possibly outsiders. A F is expected to Za for his deceased So, and a So for his F even if they live in separate homesteads. A F might mourn for his Da if she died at his homestead "but not much." If a H dies his WiF may visit her as 'comforter', but he does not Za himself. There are people who say: "Even a F's kraal inmates Za when his married Da dies in her H's homestead!" However there is no obligation for them to do so. Affines take little part in mourning. In fact a married woman who must eat cleansing medicines in her F's kraal after his death must be given 1/- as a fee for doing so (Wanger: 1917: 547). These distinctions stress that taboo regimens are spatially circumscribed and that marriage transfers a woman from her F's to her H's taboo community (130, 129).

The circle of comforters is restricted to kindred and neighbours. No visitors other than 'comforters' are allowed to enter the homestead on the day of death, at least not till sunset (Isaacs: I, 51; II, 190). Mourners should not sit down in company except with comforters, i.e., people condoling with them. It is possible to measure the intimacy of relationship by three criteria: mourning with the bereaved, being invited to condole, and participation in release rites. Only the first criterion implies joint observance of mourning taboos (Shooter: 240).

Condoling itself has several phases: The first cries of dismay *(isiLilo)* uttered by close relatives of the deceased function as announcement: the invitation to certain categories of relatives and neighbours; the lamenting *(ukuKhala)* of male condolers at the top of the kraal and of women comforters in a hut; the sympathy phase *(ukuKhuza)* for which condolers return two or three days after the funeral. Condolers should not cast furtive glances around the homestead; they should bend their heads low. Women are expected to cover their heads to H1 the deceased and the bereaved. Condolers must approach the homestead quietly and may not talk among themselves inside. At the Lamenting they must not enter upon a conversation with the bereaved but must be satisfied with the exchange of a few standing phrases. On leaving the homestead condolers refrain from saying Farewell. At the Sympathy stage questions about the deceased and his last hours may be asked and are answered. Moreover male condolers may proceed from the men at the kraal-top to the women in their hut and women proceed in the reverse direction, a relaxation of avoidance between the sexes at the Lamenting stage. The taboo regimen of mourning is thus shot through with companionship Za and H1 (Samuelson, L.H.: 134; Krige: 166).

C. CASE STUDIES

These case studies give (1) an account by one informant of his FBr's death; (2) modifications in the case of Chn: (3) in the case of Wis; (4) in the case of royalty and (5) in the case of tribes.

1. *Report on the Mourning for a FBr:*

Matakana Khumalo (388) states that his FBr, Mashoba Khumalo, lived in a kraal close to his F's. (388) used to do the milking there when his FBr had no Sos yet. The following attended Mashoba's burial: (a) Agnates: The deceased's Sos (who had not yet reached puberty) and Das; (388) 's F, (388) and his yoBr; other Brs of the deceased; their Chn did not attend since the homesteads are too far away, but their Fs took the mourning signs *(inZilo)* home for them. (b) Neighbours *53* *(abAkhelwane):* U and three Wis from one Zulu kraal; U and four Wis from another Zulu kraal; and from a Mvubu kraal the three Brs with two Wis of eBr, one Wi each of second and third Br. "There were no neighbours who did not come". Chn of 'other kraals' do not attend funerals as a matter of H1, till they have reached puberty. Chn of the home kraal do attend.

The grave was dug by all the men present taking turns. Mashoba's young sons and (388)'s yoBr did not assist: they H1'd the deceased. Since they were still young they were believed to catch the Gloom of Death more readily than adults *54*. The women gathered stones at

the river for the niche, carrying one stone at a time with two hands on the right shoulder. Carrying them differently would make them prone to death. Three women, (388)'s Wi and his BrWi acting under instruction of a FBrWi from far away, had prepared the corpse: they washed, bundled and tied it up. The corpse was carried by (388), his F and FBr (who had come with his Wi). They placed it down at the grave and jumped in to receive the corpse from the three women. The personal possessions of the deceased were placed in the pit after the corpse had been pushed into the niche (called *iNdlu* = house by 388), and the niche had been walled up, viz., all worn-out clothing: *amaBheshu*, and *iziNene*, mats, skins, and headrest. Still serviceable clothes were kept for the Chn. The eating utensils (spoon, calabash and mixing bowl) were broken and crushed, the debris being placed in a termite hole, likewise old spear handles and sticks. The holes were covered up carefully, anyone taking away the pieces would be considered a witch. Mashoba was buried at the top of the pen with head facing his residence. (If the heir dies before his F, or within three years after his F's death - the period he is allowed to prepare for moving out of the parental homestead - he is buried in the same kraal on the great side of the pen enclosure, a H1 of space.) At the end the mourners threw soil into the grave, and the yoSos joined them in this. Then the women returned to the huts to smear them, including the deceased's hut.

The Day after the Funeral: To the public lament *(isiLilo, ukuKhala)* came many people, more than for the funeral, viz., agnates (Brs of the deceased with their Wis) from a few hours' distance who stayed for three days; the neighbours listed above and people from outside the neighbour circle *(abaNtu abaseDuze kodwa esiNgatshalelani)* who are not mutual buriers. Agnates from far off came much later and the deceased's in-laws, who live near Piet Retief, came only in the second year after his death; his M's people who live near Mtubatuba never came.

A goat was slaughtered for the persons who dug the grave and touched the corpse and the meat eaten with medicines after the condolers had left. Persons who do not belong to these groups are not always excluded from the meal. A beast, *inKomo yokumGqiba* (Beast to bury him), was killed and eaten by all who attended the funeral. Condolers may be given of it. Nobody is allowed to take a bone of this beast away (Za), because the deceased's relatives could be bewitched with it. Boneless meat may however be taken away; the bones are burned by a close relative of the deceased in front of the pen, in this case by (388), a BrSo of the deceased. He scattered the ashes in the veld. Nobody talks about such matters but if they were forgotten, somebody would remind a responsible person: 'Look out that the dogs don't run away with the bones!' The bones are kept under observation till they are burned.

Release Rites: After a month a beast was slaughtered to remove the *inZilo* from the Chn, so that they could visit their girl friends and sing and dance again. This *iHlambo elincane* (Small Washing) is thus also called The Washing of the Children. The beast was treated like the beast slaughtered after the funeral. All the people present at the funeral came, except two Mvubu boys who had left for work in the meantime and had not asked for leave since their departure was generally known. Everybody brought his *inZilo* (sign of mourning), and the far-away Brs the mourning signs of their Chn. They were all burned outside the kraal by my informant's Wi and the ash scattered. If his M had been alive it would have been her responsibility. Since the neighbours do not Za, they have no *inZilo* and do not attend this ceremony.

The Great Washing *(iHlambo elikhulu)* is celebrated with the brewing of beer and the slaughter of a beast. Anyone may come, even strangers, for it is a feast. In the morning the young men of the family and neighbourhood went out on a joint hunt *(iNqina)*. The heir used the spear, ritually employed at the graveside, for the first time with its new handle. The hunters returned at noon, even though they had killed nothing, and were given beer and meat, after which they performed a leap dance. The FeBr of the deceased addressed the ancestors, thanked them and recited their praises. The burden of the prayer was: "Mashoba, come back and look after your homestead; protect it!" Hitherto he had not been united to his forbears and

this state of separation had become a matter of concern to his descendants. He was just 'a dead man' *(ube ngumuFi nje!)* Henceforth he participated with the lineage underground in looking after the homestead. Thus, according to (388), Great Washing and Bringing Home are made to coincide in his family.

The Reconstruction of the Family: the Disposal of the Widows: During their lengthy taboo regimen the widows wear black dresses. In addition they don't eat SM, don't pass through herds of cattle, don't enter the pen, have no sex relations. No man can *Ngena* a widow under the taboo regimen; he would contract a disease *(uZilweNdlu,* lit. 'tabooed hut', or *inSila,* lit. left-over); this holds even when the widows have removed their *inSila* (weeds) after the Great Washing but are not yet released to remarry. To prepare for this rite a widow has to get a beast from her F's home; it is killed at her deceased H's home to 'cleanse her' (s c i l. from him); she and her new H can then take the *umLulama* medicine (which contains also milk) and suck it from their finger tips. Her new H has to kill a beast the same day to remove the *umMnyama* of death from the widow. Her former H might prevent the woman from conceiving unless this is done. The beast is called *inKomo yamaDolo* (the Beast of the Knees). It is reclaimable from the deceased's heir when he receives bride-price for the first of his Sis given away in marriage.

Summary: The following circles of people involved in mourning can be distinguished: (1) Affinal group, i.e., the widows: they are under an extended taboo regimen and are ritually disposed of at its conclusion. Their anxieties centre round two points: they are suspected of having been the cause of their H's death; -they must be protected against the deceased's anger which prevents their having children by his successor. (2) Agnatic group: the HBrs mainly: they observe a limited taboo regimen; they celebrate the Washing of the Spears; their sleeping with widows is prohibited, the sanction being a dread disease; they ritually reconstitute the households at the Remarriage of the Widows. (3) Mutual buriers and neighbours are released from the Gloom of Death after the burial. Their anxiety derives from their close contact with the corpse. (4) The condolers observe only the Hl and Za of the Lament and Sympathy ritual, and are concerned about possibly being accused of witchcraft. Diviners are consulted about the cause of death within a fortnight thereof, a period within which condolence visits are expected. Condolers are also barred by a strict taboo from removing bones of the beasts slaughtered after the burial and at the Washing. (5) Strangers may attend the feasting at the Great Washing.

The resolution of anxieties, suspicions and sorrow is thus a matter which takes time. The Chn are disposed of at once (in the case of a woman's death). They are protected by avoidances against too close contact with Death at the burial. In this case, the heir, considered too immature to handle his F's spear at the burial, was allowed to wield it at the Washing hunt two years later. Agnates and neighbours are released from all anxieties soon after the burial except in the matter of sex relations with the widows. It takes a long time for the anxieties about the widows to be resolved. The widows' sorrow dies down gradually so that the new leviratic unions can be entered into with completely unburdened minds, full of joy. Suspicion cannot wait so long. The visit to the diviner comes two weeks after the death. If a person is pointed out as guilty of the death, he cannot deny it. In the past he was killed without judicial enquiry. Today anyone pointed out denies his guilt. At times a suspect succeeds in instituting a second divination with another diviner. If he is pointed out again, his guilt is proved; if another person, the latter would be punished.

2. Modifications in the case of Chn's death

a. (120) reports: "The Ch of my yoBr (actually FBrSo) who lives at my homestead died two weeks ago. The real M must not touch the corpse, her co-Wis handled it. They and some neighbours buried the Ch; the real M looked on. Neighbours dug the grave." (120), with two of the Ch's FBrWis, carried the corpse to the grave and lowered it into the pit. Only very old people may touch a corpse; it must be Hl'd, i.e., treated respectfully. If a young person touched it he would become blind! All the persons who had dug the grave and touched the corpse 'washed' in running water, it must not be stagnant! A goat was killed the following day to 'cleanse' the

mourners who had to rub their hands in the stomach contents. The ChM gathered all the youngsters of the kraal to wash their hands in medicated water to remove the Contagion of Death *(umMnyama)*. In this way people separate the corpse. They wash because they consider the corpse to be 'unclean' *(Ngcolile)*. The kraal itself remained 'unclean' for three days. All inmates talked gently, no vulgar remark was heard. The Ch's pers/n could be mentioned, for the name interdict applies to an adult only, especially one unmarried! To break the name avoidance brings ill-luck, danger, sickness to the homestead, no Ch would be born, and those who are born would die soon.

The ChM had to mourn (Za) for a month during which time she is 'unclean'. She took off her beadwork and bangles and shaved round the topknot. In olden days she would have a skin strap on her forehead as part of the *inZilo*. As long as she wears it, she may not eat SM, but meat is not forbidden to her. On the day of death she did not cook, but otherwise she did all her work except going into the pen. Grain, cowdung and firewood are brought for her by her co-Wis, even her H might lend a hand. On no account may she pass through a herd of cattle during mourning. If she disregarded these interdicts there might be a hailstorm.

The ChF has to mourn as well. He is considered 'unclean' for seven days (an unusual statement) and may not shake hands with any one (Za). He cannot have sex relations with the ChM for as long as she mourns (Za), but he may visit his other Wis after seven days. He also takes off his ornaments, beadwork, bangles and horns ornamented with beads. He shaves his head, but does not observe any food taboos, except veal (Za).

The deceased Ch's siblings 'mourned' for seven days. They did not go to work or love parties. They ate every kind of food, including SM and veal. They did not shave their heads, nor did (120) shave his for his FBrCh. All inmates of the kraal stopped work in the fields for five days, but repaired the fence of the pen in the kraal. Ploughing was stopped because it was the ploughing season. If any of these taboos had been broken a terrible wind would have arisen, also if the taboo period had been cut down to, say, three days.

In general, compared to the mourning for a kraalhead, that for a Ch shows a pronounced reduction in the severity of the taboo regimen.

b. (346), a young M, reports: "When my Ch died, I could not put fat of any description on my body (Za), I did not cook for a month, but did all other work. My HSi cooked for me and also fetched water and wood for me. I did not enter the kitchen at all. My M-in-1 smeared the hut, for this was taboo to me. I did not sleep with my H (who was at work anyhow). I put on mourning dress *(inZilo)*: I took off 'apron', top-knot, bead necklaces, armlets, anklets, sandals, even ear-plugs *(iziQhaza)* and wore the kilt only. I continued to wash myself." She did not abstain from SM especially, since she had not yet started to eat it at her H's place. "I did not walk among cattle, did not enter the pen, did not attend parties or visit other homes in search of beer. I again walked behind the huts, although I had already walked in front of them."

The other Wis (HWis/HBrWis/HM) and also Wis of neighbours condoled with her, talked a lot to her and brought her food, to 'soothe' *(ukuDuduza)* her. The HM Za'd nothing, but put on a strip of cloth round her neck to express her sorrow *(inZilo)*. At the end of mourning her HBr killed a goat *(inGezo)* to cleanse her. She then cut off the hair round her ears which she had allowed to grow since her Ch's death.

She felt sad at the loss of her Ch and was full of sorrow at the commencement of mourning. It was painful for her to take off her dress because of this. Her HM informed her about the taboos and ordered her to observe them; the bride did not enquire herself what was to be done. The HeBr knew when to kill the goat. "At the end of mourning I felt like everybody else, the sorrow had worn off, but I had not forgotten my Ch. I was glad I could take off the mourning dress, because I had become rather lonely." Her M-in-1 had not given her any reason why

she should Za, and she could not at first formulate a reason herself, when asked to do so. When I suggested: 'to express her sorrow' she replied in the affirmative. When I said: 'because such a woman has *umMnyama'*, she said: "They told me, if I did not keep these instructions I would get *umMnyama.*" When I added: 'Such a woman might convey *umMnyama* to her H during intercourse', she replied: "I haven't heard of this, I didn't do it!"

c. The purification of a woman after her Ch's death *(ukuQekwa kwabaFazi)* is described by Asmus (p. 207) as follows: A man does not cohabit with his Wi when her Ch has died or when she has had a miscarriage, an accident or an illness. Before he can sleep with her again in her hut it must be cleansed and smeared afresh which is usually done three days after the death. Then he engages a doctor to 'cleanse' the woman by a series of treatments (sweat baths, inoculations, medicine sucking, etc.) lasting several months. Finally the doctor prepares a concoction of which both H and Wi partake. This, containing a specific by the name of *iHlamvu*, produces pregnancy.

A number of taboos centre round the death of twins. Many twins appear to be sickly. People say that, if one of them does not die within one year, the F will die (Dr. H. McCrea)! When a twin dies he is buried just outside the door of his M's hut in which he was born, so that the surviving twin may live. The M does not Za, neither does the family. But since the M has the remaining twin at her breast, she would not cohabit with her H at this time.

3. Mourning for Women

a. (385), who originally came from Swaziland, says: Whereas the U is buried inside the kraal, his princWi is placed in a grave outside it and behind her hut. The men of the homestead and neigbours dig the grave. The body is washed by close female relatives, her HM, co-Wis or Das. The water is thrown away 'privately' lest wizards use it to kill other family members. The corpse is wrapped in the deceased's sleeping blankets and placed against the left wall of the hut. Anyone who wants to see her removes the covers; then the blanket is sewn up after everything she wears has been removed. Her bangles and beads are buried in a separate grave. Nobody takes a deceased's private belongings. It doesn't happen; people fear the *isiThunzi* (influence) they have got. Some graves are made with a niche, others not. A close relative descends into the grave, often the H and others at either end according to the weight. The old sleeping mat is frequently placed beneath the corpse. If old clothing is placed over it, all buttons have to be removed, lest the woman comes back (!). Her better clothing is stored away for a considerable time and may then be worn but by a close relative only. The corpse is laid flat. The niche is walled up with sods or stakes and a mat against its mouth. The personal belongings are placed in the main pit of the grave. The men then fill in the earth. Stones are placed round the grave, or sticks to protect it. The women of the neighbourhood bring the stones. "If you carry more than a stone at a time, you are casting a curse on the family and more will die!" (Za). However, they may be brought in numbers on a sledge!

Every mourner washes his hands now, men and women apart. The women return to a hut, the men sit down at the top of the kraal. People arrive to express their condolences, e.g. *SiyaDabuka ngoba usuShiwe umuZi wakho ngoba umuZi wakhiwa ngowesiFazane* (We are sorry because your kraal has been bereft, since it is a woman who builds the family). Beer is served to the grave-diggers and other mourners - it may possibly be provided by neighbours, - after which they leave. Somebody (HM or co-Wi, rarely the deceased's grown-up Da) smears the hut as soon as the corpse is taken out so that the mourners find it ready when they return.

No work is done on this day, except domestic duties: cows are milked, food is cooked and fire kindled in the huts even in that of the deceased. One of her co-Wis, and women from the neighbourhood sleep in it for one to three nights; they use both sides. They may talk and cheer one another up, even laugh, but must not be too noisy.

The following morning men and women from the neighbourhood, but no Chn, come for the

Lamentation *(isiLilo)* and especially the woman's own kinsfolk. They meet the U at the gate and first lament with him, they then proceed to the women in the hut. No hard work is done this day (in the fields) by close relatives of the woman. The U may do grass weaving or wood-carving to cheer him up. He does not abstain from any food, not even SM; and the Chn do not Za at all. Nobody may go out to other homesteads. Chn shave their heads. The mourners remove all ornaments from their bodies, but they continue to wash. The informant does not know whether the U sleeps with his remaining Wis, but boys should not go out on love visits and girls receive no such visits at the homestead for some time. Hoes and other tools are washed in water and kept unused for three days in the deceased's kitchen or in an empty grain store since they have *isiThunzi* (i.e., are 'fearful') and can't be kept in their places. Boys and girls are allowed to put ornaments on again after about three months, when a beast is slaughtered for them and beer is brewed *(iHlambo elincane)*. They can now resume love visits. On this occasion the *inZilo* (a cloth or skin strip placed round a Ch's neck) is removed. Adults who wear their *inZilo* on the arm remove it at the *iHlambo elikhulu* of which, according to (385), the Bringing Home is a part.

Women mourn (Za) for a woman as a way of sorrowing for her fate. They do not work for three days and neighbours may join them in this observance, although generally they do not Za. The women also Za in sympathy with the U. If they did not a storm might occur. If neighbours worked in the fields, they would not be considered witches, but if they omitted to come to the Lament they might. The mourning period gives an opportunity for reconstructing the family. The deceased's Chn are given to a co-Wi. They are never split up and remain in their M's House, i.e., where her bride-price came from, or the HM moves into the deceased's hut and looks after them. This takes just one day. Older Chn move into a new hut with their eating utensils (SM calabash) and sleeping mats and may inherit their M's calabash, "since they ate from it when she was alive."

b. (389): "My Wi died ten years ago. My lineage came to her burial": i.e. his three Brs, of whom two lived in his kraal, and their Wis and Sos, (389) himself and his eight Sos, of whom the grown-up ones helped in the work, and the immature ones merely looked on; his two Das were still very young; they came to throw soil into the grave. Small Chn stay away from the actual burial (Za). The married Das of his Brs were not present. No other lineage members were at the burial but some came to condole. The deceased's people did not attend her burial since they live far off, but they came to condole. Of the neighbours *55* the two Ndwandwe Brs came (one of them unmarried) and the two Nkosi Brs with their Ms and Wis.

As a great exception (141) asserts: After the death of my Wi I was unable to go into the cattle pen. I had to kill a goat before it was safe for me to enter and another goat whose cooked entrails I ate with *umLulama* before I could eat SM again two months after her death! (When his Ch died he combined these two killings into one). If he had eaten SM without this ritual his cattle would have died. An emetic *(uShawu)* was taken by his kinsmen to 'strengthen' them so that they might eat his SM again without ill effects on the cattle. "During the mourning for my Wi, I got up every morning early 'to wash off the dirt of the dead Wi' in the river *(ukuGeza inSila ya umFazi wami)*. The ablution prevented me from dreaming bad dreams about her!"

c. (411) reported on the burial of a co-Wi: The dead woman was prepared for burial by co-Wis and her Chn. They sewed new clothes round her after having washed her body. The corpse was not trussed up (as in the case of a kraalhead). All her personal belongings were gathered in her hut and the corpse made to lie on them (to steep them with the Contagion of Death?): viz., blankets, mats, clothes. Her ornaments must be thrown away, but not into the grave. Her pots do not go with her, nor her calabash, which may however be broken outside the kraal, or exceptionally in the pen!

Men, the woman's affines and neighbours, dig the grave at a site behind her hut and outside the kraal, pointed out by the U. It has a niche for the corpse. Women carry it to the grave just

as a man's is carried by men as a matter of H1. A So receives the corpse in the pit, or a co-Wi of the deceased, even her H may do so. It is lowered by carriers and the belongings which accompany the dead are placed beneath it. It is covered with a blanket. The corpse holds nothing in its hands, nor is anything placed on the head. The niche is closed with a mat. Then the grave is filled in slowly to make the work easy and to H1 the deceased. Her grave must not be filled in hurriedly like that of a dog! Stones have been gathered to be placed on top of the grave. They must be carried in the hand and cannot be obtained from the river. "I have never seen people bring stones from a river. No sane person would leave stones lying in the veld to get those from the far-away river!"

There is no general abstention from food in the homestead, not even from SM. Only the U has to Za food until a beast is slaughtered and "he is told that he may eat again". The person who is directly concerned with the deceased slaughters a goat to cleanse with its stomach contents the persons who dug the grave and handled the corpse. The grave-diggers eat the meat only after this 'washing' and may then leave the kraal to attend weddings even. The mourners may not yet. Abstention from visits is part of mourning. A month at least has to elapse before it is raised.

(411) held an *iHlambo* for her deceased co-Wi acting for her ailing H. She brewed beer, slaughtered a goat and held a 'cleansing party'. Previously she had called members of her H's family and neighbours to go out to the fields. No food or beer was sent out and no reference to the deceased was made, but all hoes of the kraal were used on this occasion, a H's agnate using the deceased's hoe. It had not been 'cleansed' beforehand, nor did the person handling it undergo a special rite. This hoeing followed a few days after the death, the Washing only a month later.

d. (366) reported on the burial of a woman. The listeners laughed when she began her account, for the Zulu way of burial is no longer used on the farms from which they came. "The woman's body is washed by her co-Wis for she should not go to the grave with a dirty body. The water is thrown anywhere. The corpse is then folded up and wrapped in the blankets which she used when alive - only the U's corpse is placed in a fresh skin. The grave is dug by men (neighbours and friends of the family) and provided with a niche. The deceased's Sos and Das (!) carry it to the grave. (By now a hush had descended on the listeners.) All inmates of the kraal are *ekuZileni* (i.e., in mourning); they may not leave the kraal until 'released'. On the first day no SM is eaten, no milking is done until after the burial: this is a way to let cattle participate in the mourning. Fire may be made in the deceased's hut, but no food may be cooked on it. Sexual intercourse is prohibited (for a time?). On the next day a goat is killed in honour of those who looked after the corpse *(ukuBakhipha eNdlini)*. It is eaten by everyone in the homestead. There is no Washing for a woman, but after some years (sic) there is an *ukuBuyisa*, a Bringing Home: a beast is killed, beer is made. The people present at the funeral come to the feast. It is a sort of 'cleansing' of the U so that he can 'meet' the ancestral spirits of the 'other side'. If this is not done 'the gate is closed'." (These dark sayings were not further explained. They may mean, that the U must keep on good terms with his dead Wi's ancestors.) The old women of the homestead may visit the huts of the brides after the death of a co-Wi. After the U's death they are debarred from so doing. They would cast *umMnyama* on the USosWis. Nor could they go among cattle for the same reason: The Contagion of Death would fall on them.

4. Mourning for Royalty

Mourning for a king or important chief shows modifications in four directions: (a) Elaboration of the ceremonial aspects of burial; (b) Intensification of sanctions; (c) Inversions of the mourning customs for commoners and (d) Supersession of the kinship principle by the political, e.g., the king's widows cannot touch his corpse; this service is rendered by officials. These changes can be seen at work in the historical burials on record: Shaka's Grandmother (Fynn; 121); Shaka's mother Nandi (Fynn: 132-138; Bryant: 1929: 608-14; Bird: I, 91-3); Shaka's assassination led to the imposition of a mourning taboo regimen on the tribe (Fynn: 84, 157;

Bryant: 1929: 667; Bird: I, 97; Arbousset and Daumas; Lugg: 1948: 82); Dingane (Lugg: 162); Mpande (Bryant: 1949: 526-9).

a. The Burial of Dinizulu: Informants: (409), Dinizulu's widow, and (410), her co-Wi's So.

When asked to describe the mourning for Dinizulu, (409) sat silent for a while, then said: "When we, his Wis, heard of his death, we took off our gay dresses, and those who had top-knots had them cut off at early dawn by our Ms-in-l using scissors or knives. This was done at the river, for it can't be done inside the kraal (Za/Hl). The young women buried their hair in a swamp *oDongeni lokaMyengeza*, where Cetshwayo used to swim, digging it in with a stick and covering it with sods. (There is no connection with the disposal of Dinizulu's milk calabashes: The SM was thrown into the river, to float away; the sherds only were buried). The widows were not 'to be seen' with their top-knots, i.e., they must be recognizable as women whose H has died!." (At the end of mourning the top-knot was not reintroduced in the royal kraal, but a European hair style was adopted!)

"When the king died at Middleburg Tvl. the magistrate told Gebuza that the king had left instructions for burial at Nobamba. We left at night for Babanango and were told on the way to return as the king's body would be brought here. On the following day we went to Denny Dalton and met the coffin on the way. We came back with it and cried when we saw the wagon. *inDuna* Mankulumane kaSomapunga Ndwandwe, who was in charge of the funeral, announced: 'The king's body cannot be taken into Nobamba kraal at night, we must not take its child there in darkness!' (The imposition of this interdict was explained by (409) as a Hl of the *maKhosi*: the ancestors). It was arranged that we enter about 10 a.m. When still at Mapopoma R., the *inDuna* made another announcement: The doorway of okaHlabane's hut, i.e., mine, should be widened to admit the coffin of Dinizulu who was a big man. (I nearly died of surprise when I heard the order). No rite was performed at the crossing of the rivers. If we had found them in flood, the men would have recited the praises of the kings to make the rivers go down (for they are so powerful that they can control natural phenomena). The coffin was accompanied by Mnyayiza Zulu (the king's Br), David his eSo; Drs Dube and Seme, and the Rev. Maseko."

Reserved Areas: "When the wagon arrived at Nobamba the warriors of the area had gathered and were reciting the king's praises. A brown ox had been selected from the Nobamba herd and it was slaughtered as the coffin was taken into the hut. *56* Before this could happen the fence of the seraglio was broken down by the *abenKatha* (servants working in the seraglio); nobody else might touch it (Za). Selected people carried the coffin from the wagon to (409)'s hut. Here the doorway had been cut wider at the sides and top by Nompofana kaBayana Ntombela, the king's *iNceku*, who had sat at the gate and reported the arrival of strangers. The slaughtering of the beast at the entry of the coffin was a matter of Hl-ing the king. okaHlabane's hut had been cleared of mats, clothes, blankets, pots, a matter of Hl; it was cleaned and freshly smeared with fat (royal huts are not smeared with dung). The princWi had burnt incense just before the body was brought in and placed on the king's mattress on the left side, on which side Dinizulu used to sleep in his Residence and to which side he had called his Wis. (Shepstone's Da was present and placed a deodorant in the hut). Only the older Wis of the king spoke, okaHlokolo and okaDunzwa, the M of Solomon; the remaining widows were silent. In the evening the older widows sat and lay round the coffin on the left side, the younger ones were in the apse, and flowed over on to the right side. There were so many widows (50 in all), that a tent was put up outside to accommodate the rest. The *iNceku* Lokothwayo Mngadi, who had grown up with the king, also slept in the hut".

Food: "On the day when the corpse arrived no cooking was done. Neither we nor our Chn ate that day (Za). No fires were made, so as not to light the king away or disturb him with smoke (Hl). Only candles could be lighted in the hut where he lay, lanterns had to be kept outside. We (the widows) ate no SM; our calabashes were emptied, and broken on the day after the burial 'at the river'. The Chn continued to eat SM and the widows resumed eating food on

the second day. We ate meat! All the cattle the king had in agistment with commoners had been brought to Nobamba the day the corpse arrived. The *inDuna* of the Nobamba area, Masimba kaSohoyase Buthelezi, showed them to Solomon, the heir, and the chief *inDuna* who selected the big oxen to be slaughtered for the warriors. Many other beasts were killed for the people. No talking was done at that stage, the warriors sang the *iHubo* only. The herd was taken out of the pen by young men, not by boys, lest some of the animals run away." (The pen was full of Nobamba cattle, the agistment cattle were kept outside. Any person holding back agistment cattle was 'fined': his own herd was 'executed'!)

"The grave was dug by Christians belonging to the Lutheran and Wesleyan Missions. The heir did not stand at the top of the grave as is customary with commoners, but his eSi, Princess Magogo pointed the spear at the site and then handed it to Ndongeni Zulu, while she went to the river to 'cleanse' herself. If the heir had performed the rite himself he would have become a lunatic. (When I explained the contrast of custom between commoners and royalty as a case of inversion, this was agreed to as correct.) The eSi would never stand at the grave, if the heir were not already known! The grave was a rectangular pit, the depth of a rondavel, with a large niche at one side. The diggers came up on steps cut into the wall."

"The coffin was taken out of the hut by the Wesleyans, the Lutherans awaiting it outside; the Anglicans had refused to handle it, since Dinizulu was a polygynist. The widows followed immediately behind the coffin, then Shepstone's daughter, the *izinDuna* Lokothwayo and Mankulumane, then the warriors. We still wore our Christian dresses, since Solomon had yet to order black dresses, and it was a large order! Ndongeni Zulu stood still over the grave with the royal spear and shield, he was the conductor of royal burials. The *abenKatha* (of the Sikhakane, Mbuyisa and Mgema clans) lowered the coffin into the grave. The funeral oration was spoken by the Wesleyan minister."

"Into the grave were given the king's blankets, mats, rugs, sheets and a whole bed on which the coffin had been placed in the niche. A special niche had been made for eating utensils and vessels. No medicine pot was placed in the grave' for the king was not at home here!' The niche was not walled up-- no stone went into Dinizulu's grave - it was closed up with stakes. (This account, prompted by questions, was given in a whisper). Six concentric circles of stakes crossing at the top were placed round the grave. Only hard trees were used, and green *umLahlankosi* at the head, the sides and the feet. The grave was watched for a time."

"The digging tools were taken into the kitchen of the Great Hut and placed in the apse there. The diggers did not wash until they had been given two beasts, one 'to shake off the soil', the other 'to cleanse them'. The king's implements and weapons were not broken but placed in a special hut *(iNdlu eMnyama)* which had been built as soon as it was known that the king had died. All the king's widows H1'd it going behind it. Since this hut lay in the seraglio not even the chief *inDuna* could go near it. The hut door was left open; the guards who watched it sat outside and roasted meat whenever they liked. On the day of the Washing of the Spears Solomon and his Ms brought out the tools and they were used again for the first time."

(409) gave no report about *iHlambo* or *Buyisa*. The following sociological remarks apply to her account:

Young widows could remarry after four years but Brs of the deceased only. Ms gave instructions to that effect.

"The heir must not remain longer in the dead king's kraal than until the leaves from the stakes on the grave are dried up. Solomon was given a site across the Mpembeni R. and called his kraal enziBindeni. After a time he had to move to another kraal, for 'he has to keep running away from his father!', since he might overshadow his son in the old kraal. (In life the heir can overshadow his F, in death F overshadows So!). He wore a black suit, black tie, black shoes but with shining buttons until the Washing. He was expected not to make love visits for four months, but he was young and we could not restrain him. He was in love with Velemu Africander at the time. He did not Za food or drink."

C o m p a n i o n s h i p t a b o o s: Dinizulu's Brs Za'd their Wis till after the Washing (a rather sweeping statement). Solomon ordered the whole tribe to wear mourning bands or squares on sleeves(!); women were not to put any ochre on their top-knots. All the country abstained from sleeping with their Wis (?) They did not abstain from food or SM. The taboos were lifted at the Washing and the signs taken off.

b. T h e F u n e r a l o f M a t h o l e B u t h e l e z i. (Informants: two Buthelezi widows.)

'To stab the Grave' *ukuHlaba iThuna:* The heir marked the grave site with his F's spear, turning the point in the soil. While the grave is being dug he stands over the pit for a whole day. Gatsha acted thus, but at Solomon's burial an *inDuna* pointed and stood thus. A photograph shows the *inDuna* sitting, probably tired. Princess Magogo adds: There is a belief today that the heir's mental powers are affected by this prolonged standing, so he is replaced by a 'sister'. No explanation was offered at first, then: 'It makes clear to all who the heir is!' (The Sister is the heir's eldest full sister). No special dress is worn. (The account became general and comparative in the telling.)

The m o u r n i n g t a b o o s are observed from the moment the news of the death is known. All sexual activities, all eating of food and all work cease, but beer is drunk even at the grave (by the diggers) *57*. It is available since a king is buried several days after his death. The diggers, the king's servants rather than kinsmen, doff their loin covers and penis covers and put on a bark or fibre apron so as not to contaminate their normal clothing. The grave used to be round, not very deep, and had a niche for the corpse.

The corpse is tied up in a crouching position. After being bound up, it is covered with a kaross or a skin, in case of royalty a fresh black ox skin. This was observed for Mathole, but Solomon gave instructions that the skin should be white, an individual request of colour reversal. The corpse is taken out of the hut feet first, so that the deceased does not return. In Mshiyeni's case, the corpse was taken out through the bedroom window, not through the door. Magogo, on being told of certain customs in other Bantu tribes, claims to remember that in the past corpses were taken out at the back of the hut *(uFundo)* or at the sides, 'to prevent his Chn from following him soon'. Today one of the staves *(izinTungo)* is removed at the *uFundo* and the central pillar is cut and chopped into the grave. 'It is a symbol to everyone that the hut has no owner!', that 'it is fallen' although it does not collapse. It may get a new post later. (Magogo and Gatsha deny that the post cut down is the one against which the corpse is leaned.)

When the corpse is being carried out by senior men of the tribe *(abaNtu abakhulu)* the singing of the important tribal hymns is intensified. Wis and Ms follow crying. (Magogo was too grief-stricken at Solomon's and Mathole's burial to remember who carried the corpse). Old servants of Dinizulu, some *izinDuna* lowered the corpse into the pit. (These were killed in the past and placed in graves beside the king's 'to serve their royal master in the hereafter' as today's explanation goes, 'to serve him as a mat' as stated in the past.) Also many beasts are slaughtered in the belief that they follow the deceased into the other world.

T h e I n t e r m e n t: Before it stiffened the corpse had had seeds of all the important foodstuffs placed in its hands. Magogo did not remember this and (409) expressly denied it, but (236) and (237), Mathole's Br, recalled the procedure. All the personal belongings of king or chief go into the grave, e.g., his clothes if much used, for they are part and parcel of his body *(esezingumZimba wakhe)* but new clothes are passed on: Gatsha showed me a new shirt of Mshiyeni which he had 'inherited'. In practice there are great variations. Few things were put away at Mshiyeni's burial, even Gatsha, a 'modern Zulu', disliked the flouting of custom then; at Mathole's burial on the other hand things were overdone, and shoes, even the beadwork given Mathole in his youth by his sweethearts were buried. The king's (chief's) weapons, sticks, spears, shields are not destroyed but kept in the weapon hut.

When the corpse is in the niche, someone presents the deceased to the ancestors: "We are putting you in the grave, and join you to the ancestors!" The niche used to be separated from the pit by mats, nowadays by poles. The Chn of the deceased begin to throw soil into the grave, and are followed by his Wis, siblings and brothers, then any person present. The hands are used for this, in the past also leather shovels and scapulae of beasts. In the meantime people have been to the river to fetch stones. Only one stone can be carried at a time, and it must be carried with the right hand raised high making use of a small grass pad in the palm (H1). Others fetch stakes cut from *umSinsi*, *umDlondlo* , *umNyele* and *umPhafa* trees. Only one stake may be carried at a time and it must be shouldered (H1). Three circles of stakes are put round a royal grave. Nobody may go near them. When the stakes have been put up, the men wash in the river. The women wash immediately after the burial to 'mark the parting with the deceased'. Even small babies who did not go to the grave are 'washed'. The grave-diggers are given the beast to 'cleanse' themselves with.

F o o d T a b o o s: No eating is possible till after the 'cleansing'. No milking takes place on the day of death (Za). Any meat in the homestead is thrown outside the kraal. This is even observed in town where the meat may be put in the refuse bins. The SM calabashes are emptied into the pen (!) and started afresh by the senior women. The deceased's widows and M enter now upon a prolonged abstention from SM, the latter being allowed to resume the eating of SM after a year, when a goat is killed for her. Chn continue to eat SM. The deceased's calabash is smashed in the pen by his M, for it is part of his body-dirt *(nalo iGula liyinSila yakhe)*. SM spoon, pots and mixer are smashed too and the pieces buried outside the homestead, lest the inmates be bewitched by means of them. The pail is the only milk vessel passed on to the heir intact and is made fit for use by having the bile of a goat, slaughtered for the purpose, sprinkled over it. Solomon's pail was kept for Cyprian, but Mathole's was smashed by over-zealous mourners. It is realized at the Buthelezi court that this is the reason for the disappearance of Mathole's large herds. (A discussion arose at this point on whether the fortunes of the Buthelezi herd should not be restored by a SAC 'to correct the mistake'.) The ancestral spear, with which cattle are killed, is also transmitted unchanged. It is kept in the apse of the Great Hut, and not, like the F's spear, in the weapon hut. It must be Hl'd, i.e., its employment requires care: it may not be jiggled when a beast is stabbed with it.

The Third Day, *iLanga lesiLilo nokuDla imiThi*, is the Day of Lamentation and the Eating of Medicines. The Fourth Day is the Day of Condolence visits *(iLanga lokuKhuza)*, when all huts are smeared. It is also the day when the hair is cut. The men shave their heads at the main gate; the deceased's Sos must be clean-shaven, others have a hair-cut. The widows go early to the river and, using the deceased's knife, cut their hair off completely. They then collect reeds which they twist into strands and tie round the forehead and make into a waist belt both worn as taboo-signs.

c. T h e W a s h i n g o f t h e S p e a r s (for Mathole Buthelezi, and Mshiyeni Zulu) Informant: Princess Magogo.

T h e S m a l l W a s h i n g, also called *isAgila* (kerrie), releases the young folk at the royal kraal from the taboos on love-making and on wearing ornaments. The young men go for a short hunt at which 'they might knock down a rabbit'. Beasts are slaughtered, of which one must have been the deceased's personal property. The meat is placed in the weapon hut. The gall-bladder is burned with incense *(imPepho)* and this must be witnessed by the heir, his FBrs, some selected women (FWis, FBrWis) and servants. The bile is sprinkled on the floor.

T h e G r e a t W a s h i n g is initiated by contributions of cattle from the tribe but mainly from the deceased's agnates. Since the sorrow was great, the people sent *izinKomo za umKhando* soon after the death. Friendly chiefs also contribute, and poor tribesmen might send a goat or sheep. Affines usually contribute something of a vegetable nature e.g. kaffir-corn, but Mshiyeni, Gatsha's MBr and sovereign, sent four beasts. Beer is sent from all sides.

On the day before the Great Washing the widows go very early in the morning to the river led by the deceased's Ms, where they burn the widow's weeds (in the case of Christians: black dress, *izinTambo* necklaces and shoulder cloth; in that of non-Christians: goatskin, *imBeleko*, and belt, fibre fillet and neck band). New clothes are put on which are still weeds, but called *ukuZila oKumHlope* ('white' weeds), for Christians: a black dress; for non-Christians a new *imBeleko*, with fillet and neck bands made of *ubuBasi*, now called *iziNqwazi ezimHlope* ('white' bands). A small lock of hair is cut off at the front and at the back of the head, as a sign that the widows are not yet through with mourning.

The male inmates of the royal kraal (the king, his Brs, FBrs, cousins and tribesmen) go for a hunt into the bush 'to take out the deceased's weapons' *(ukuKhipha iziKhali zake)*. At Mshiyeni's Washing a thousand hunters had gathered, and according to a newspaper killed a duiker and a wild cat. One head of game at least must be killed. They wash in a river and return to the homestead singing the tribal hymn. As soon as the party of men returns the women and Chn who stayed behind go to the river to wash. This marks 'the parting with the deceased', *ukwAhlukana naye*, and ends 'the weeping' except for the widows *(isiLilo sakhe besesiSala noMkakhe)*.

The slaughter of the cattle follows, with a very calm prayer to the ancestors *(ukuThetha)*, only excerpts of the praises being recited. The cattle are briefly introduced to them: 'Here are your cattle'. The praises of the deceased are included for the first time. According to the newspaper report, the young king entered the royal pen with the hunters, they chanted hymns, shouted *weMnyama*, and had the praises recited. Older women joined the men now in a tribute to the royal ancestors. The stabber was informed which beasts to kill; as he stabbed them one after the other, and went down on his haunches, the huge throng was silent. At the feasting, drinking and dancing marked the cessation of all taboos for men.

The widows' release comes a few months later with the removal of the 'white weeds'. They are instructed to go to their homes to 'cleanse' themselves by having a beast slaughtered for them, and to return with a beast to 'cleanse' their H's kraal. (Nowadays money is given, but the ancestors really want 'a life'.) They may now eat SM again through the following rite. A small pot of SM is made, the widows are taken out by the Ms into the veld. Under the leadership of a senior M, the widows take each a mouthful of SM which they spit out, then another which they swallow. Since one pot and one spoon are used and SM is eaten in the open veld, we are dealing here with an intensified taboo breach: violations of the SM taboo are multiplied so that the real violation, the release from the widow's taboo, is hidden.

The younger widows are now told to get ready for a leviratic marriage. No special rite is observed; the arrangements are a matter of discussion. Men who enter upon such a marriage must slaughter one of their beasts at the deceased H's homestead 'to inform him'. His praises are recited but his name is not called. Now the condition induced in the widows by medicines which punished adulterous intercourse by giving the paramour a dread disease is removed.

5. The fifth type of deviation in m o u r n i n g c u s t o m s i s t r i b a l. Since the examples given are recorded of the Hlubi in the last third of the 19th century, they at the same time represent historical deviations.

a. Von Fintel (b: 54ff) reports: Mavuka Hadebe, a tribal councillor, grew ill. The doctor diagnosed a cold, and prescribed several medicines which were of no avail. Soon the patient could no longer leave his hut. He called his eSo, Shiyabantu, telling him: 'I must die and leave you. You are my heir and after you, your So. Treat your M and your family well.' He listed all people against whom he had any claims, and others who had claims against him, instructed Shiyabantu how to distribute cattle, goats and sheep. He then ordered that a big ox be killed of whose meat he wished to eat before his death. (His death thus coincided with a sacrificial meal.) His So acted on this, but scarcely had the patient touched the meat when he expired.

The women raised 'the lament'. The men tied grass bands round the arms and legs of the deceased, placed the corpse against the wall and bent the head on the knees. Relatives and neighbours came to dig the grave. A deep oval hole was made in the pen with a niche in the western wall. The corpse was covered with its blankets, the face washed with foamy medicine, so that the eyes would have light on its journey to the ancestors. A man received the corpse in the grave and placed it so that the face was turned towards the east where the Hlubi came from. A pot of beer, a box of snuff were also placed in the niche, because the deceased was partial to them. A few grains of sorghum were added, so that 'the lineage was secure against visits of the deceased in search of it!' These things were not offered to the corpse but to the living ancestor! The body counts little since with the departure of the soul, the body loses its shadow and spittle. The grave is counted as the terrestrial home of the ancestor. If it were made outside the pen, the ancestor would consider himself banished and would not return to protect the homestead. If the family moves, it places a branch of the *umLahlanKosi* tree on the grave for a night and drags it into the new homestead next morning and the ancestor follows.

The niche was carefully blocked up with stones after a flat stone had been placed on the deceased's head. The sleeping mats and all the things he had worn on his body were placed at the stone-wall together with his sticks which were first broken. The grave was carefully filled in and each shovelful trodden down. The work was done slowly and painstakingly. During the work the heir stood with his F's spear at the grave, and on its completion, addressed the ancestors: "You forefathers, accept this one, he has left us now. Will he remember us? We are being protected by you, who left us long ago. You look after all your Chn. We rely on you for ever!"

Now all who touched the corpse washed themselves in the foamy medicine with which the deceased was washed. This, the first purification, released them (scil., the grave-diggers) from the food taboo: they might now eat. The women retired soon that day, for they had held a vigil. It was not permitted for men to hold it. The women lamented gently, drank beer, and whispered with one another.

The next morning women from the neighbourhood arrived to express their sympathy. They laughed and joked on the way but in the bereaved homestead they became serious. One shouted: 'Who has killed our F?', another: 'Who has done this grief to us?' They then entered the hut, expressed their condolences, wept, and lamented. When a new group arrived they left. The women come on these visits in the morning only.

On this first day after the funeral a goat was killed, and the flesh cut in little pieces and cooked. Each inmate took a piece in one hand and roots *(amaKhubalo)* in the other, chewing from both. This second purification rite released the family from the food taboo. Then the Sis of the deceased kraalhead arrived from distant homesteads. They were led by the heir into the pen where they cupped their hands, the heir placed white beads inside and poured some medicine over them. Then the women washed themselves in medicated water and could now eat. (This rite resembles one of the virginity tests at a Zulu wedding.) Six days later another goat was slaughtered. All homestead inmates rubbed the stomach contents over their body and washed it off in the river. This was the third and final stage of purification.

Bringing Home: The family head's grave together with the pen is considered the centre of the homestead, the source of blessings for the family. It is the site for the performance of family rites. No shudder is felt at the grave. The bodily return of the deceased is not conceived of except that a wizard is believed to be able to raise the undecayed body and make a familiar *(umKhovu)* out of it. Since a familiar is used to send evil, a grave is carefully guarded for some time. The soul enters the bright underworld of the ancestors. There it turns into an *iDlozi* which visits the homestead as a snake. When the *iDlozi* of Mavuka was to be brought back to the homestead to act as its protector, beer, meat and medicines were prepared. A boy drove the beast into the pen, where Shiyabantu and his agnates were gathered. The heir called out: "Eat Hadebe, here is your sacrificial beast! You who died first protect our Chn! We rely on the spirits of our Fs. Return, return again, all of you of Bungane! We, who are gathered

here for a communal meal, pray: Direct your eyes upon us with pleasure! Don't turn your back, don't look past us, look benevolently on our Chn! We rely on you, there is your sacrificial meal. Turn away all sickness, misfortune, trouble and death!" As a man stabbed the beast and it bellowed with pain the heir cried: "Eat, Hadebe!" The animal was skinned, the fatty parts were cut out, and taken into the hut to be roasted together with a sacrificial herb. A pot of beer was placed beside it, and the deceased again requested to eat and drink. The remainder of the meat was roasted by the young men. The princWi of the new kraalhead distributed the meat portions. The various age and sex groups ate separately. They then thanked the kraalhead and expressed their good wishes to him.

b. Colenso (1874: 106-112) notes, that in the trial of Chief Langalibalele and his Sos one point of the accusation turned on funeral taboos. It read: The regiments had been drilled and solemnly strengthened for war by Mkindane, a tribal doctor, by sprinkling them with *inTelezi yeMpi* on two separate occasions. The object was 'to strengthen the knees of the men'. The sprinkling for the men of the low country took place at Epangweni, Langalibalele calling his army together. The rite was repeated at Amahendeni for men from the high country by the same doctor.

Colenso shows that in the statement of the purpose of the rites, the phrase 'strengthening FOR WAR' was an unwarranted addition of the press. It did not appear in the official record of the trial. The sprinkling was rather performed on account of the death of Langalibalele's Br, Ncwane, shortly before the First Fruits *(umKhosi)*. Ncwane had died unexpectedly after a short illness. Although Langalibalele was the So of the GreatWi of his F Mtimkulu he looked up to Ncwane, being an older half-Br, and he called him F. Because of this death, the First Fruits were not held, another reason being that Langalibalele himself was sick with his leg. Only some young men came together, the First Fruits were eaten as a family rite, but no sprinkling took place at the time. (In some tribes sprinkling was part of the First Fruits, in others, e.g., in Pakade's and Langalibalele's, the people were sprinkled at the discretion of the chief.) Thus the people ate their new crops by themselves, Langalibalele being at Nobamba at this time.

Colenso admits that such funeral sprinklings took place on three occasions at certain kraals to 'charm the people from the consequences of death' which, its cause being unknown, was considered an *umHlola* (mysterious event) and to call back to the tribe the spirit of Ncwane *(ukuBuyisa iDlozi)*. The sprinkling took place at the end of February ("full autumn"), in April ("harvest time") and in July/August ("the change of the seasons"). On Langalibalele's evidence the three homesteads concerned (out of 15 belonging to him) were not called by his name, but were regarded as belonging to "the ancestors", viz., *Mahambehlala*, the kraal of Mpangazita, So of Bungane, and *iKhohlo* heir, Langalibalele's GF; *Nobamba*, kraal of Mtimkulu, So of Bungane (chief, heir of Great Side); and *Epangweni*, kraal of Dlomo, So and heir to Mtimkulu, who, when he was killed by Dingane, was succeeded by Langalibalele. Epangweni was still considered Dlomo's kraal, and there the First Fruits were invariably celebrated since Langalibalele only 'represented' Dlomo. It was the most exalted homestead of the three, because it was in the direct line of Mtimkulu and "dignity goes forward, not backward". At *Endlalweni*, the kraal of Mahanqa, who although a So of Bungane was not a chief but a commoner, no sprinkling took place for that very reason, yet he was also called F of the tribe.

The sprinkling took place 'to bring back the spirit'. When the master of a homestead has died an ox is killed, a mixture of *ubuLawu* is prepared and the people are sprinkled with medicine *(inTelezi)* to strengthen them. (This is no preparation for war.) The sprinkling began at Epangweni, where a red ox was slaughtered, then followed Nobamba, where a black ox with stripes on the flank was slaughtered and completed at Mahambehlala, with a red ox slaughtered which came from Cetshwayo. The spirit of the deceased was 'charmed' *(Lungiselwa)* in these kraals because their ancestral masters must have willed his death as they were responsible for his coming into existence. Hence in those homesteads the three great chiefs were addressed and Ncwane as well, so that he might return to the tribe.

In the sprinkling against death the doctor sprinkled Langalibalele with *ubuLawu* so that he might be 'white', as he had long been black with fasting. Since the occasion concerned the death of a royal kinsman only the men of each kraal and the neighbours were summoned to be sprinkled with *inTelezi*. In sprinklings for a misfortune, *umHlola*, men, women, Chn, even infants are sprinkled. The *inTelezi* used for sprinkling at Ncwane's Bringing Home, was the same as that for lightning, for "the sky". It differs essentially from *inTelezi yeMpi* (for war) or for an *umHlola*. Langalibalele, being himself a doctor, knew the composition of the different *inTelezi* and had helped the tribal doctors by pointing out to them the required medicines. Furthermore, a sprinkling for war takes place outside the kraal, not within it (but tribes differ on this point). War medicine is not kept in pots as is *inTelezi* for the death of an agnate but in a basketwork container. Finally when warriors have been sprinkled with war medicine they may on no account (Za) return to their homesteads since if they mix with their women the *inTelezi* of war loses its power. To sum up, as the men returned after the sprinkling mentioned, it could not have been meant for war.

D. ANALYSIS

1. Individual Fear

The abstentions observed by the Zulu after the kraalhead's death are not due to fear on the part of individual mourners. Some reference to psychic factors occurs in the rites on the day of the burial when the undertakers and the inmates of the homestead take 'black medicines' and have these added to their food the next day. This is done 'to strengthen' the mourners, 'to brace up their system', *(ukuQinisa umZimba)*. This suggests that the experience of death results in a weakened physiological condition, which can be tuned up, as it were, by the treatment. Undoubtedly the relatives closest to the deceased also experience mental anguish and grief. It is true the *amaKhubalo* medicines taken on the Third Day are said 'to drive away the trepidation, the dread of death' *(ukuSusa uValo)*. But it may be observed that, in general, the response of the bereaved to an actual death is in inverse ratio to the elaborateness of the ritual observances. When a M loses her first Ch the poignancy of her grief is not matched by the perfunctory taboo regimen she observes. The emotional reactions of elderly Wis at their H's death, on the other hand, are not commensurate to the complicated taboo regimens which are imposed upon them and other kin. In fact concerning an old kraal-head, about whom ritually a tremendous fuss is made, so to speak, there is an almost unholy anticipation of his demise. Beer may be brewed in advance to tide over the first taboo days, and any meat in the homestead is removed to a 'safe place' from which it is recovered after the release from the food abstentions. The condoling visitors will go so far as to congratulate the bereaved on the old man's "going home". Generally speaking, then, the Zulu's manistic beliefs cushion them against fear of death; they certainly face death less emotion charged than missionaries brought up on the theory that 'animism leads to terror of death' assume. 'The Zulu', says one informant, 'are afraid of the corpse because it has ceased to talk and is speechless like an animal. But there is no indication that they are terrified or over-awed'. Few Zulu would accept that man fears a corpse as he fears a venomous snake or a flash of lightning. 'Death is a natural thing' they say (Asmus: 54f; Krige: 160-8; Bryant: 1949: 705, 715-30).

2. Gloom or Contagion of Death

The concept which agitates the Zulu at a death is not fear of death as a physical event but *umMnyama* as a magical consequence of that event. It is the notion which controls the taboos on contact with a corpse. The dictionary meaning of this term is darkness, misfortune (ill-luck), distress, contamination. But the disturbing thing about it is its contagiousness. This contagion of misfortune extends in several directions. It attaches itself to the private possessions of the deceased (which are therefore buried with him) and to the inedible remainder of the beasts

slaughtered for him (whose bones must therefore be burnt). It also affects the tools and weapons of the inmates of the kraal (which therefore have to be 'cleansed'). And worst of all it can be conveyed to the deceased's agnatic descendants through the omission of rites, the violation of taboos and the nefarious practices of a wizard who has got hold of some relic of the deceased. Mourners are liable to be affected by *umMnyama* because they share it to some extent themselves. In other words *umMnyama* has a twin connotation and means, according to circumstances, either 'ability to convey the contamination of death' or 'sensitivity to contract it'.

The social position which a person occupies determines which of these two characteristics predominates, e.g., a kraalhead does not touch his Wi's corpse, he must in fact keep away from it. His sensitivity to contract death from his dead Wi is great, and the more so since this *umMnyama* will spread to his descendants. On the other hand he unconcernedly helps to bury his neighbour whose *umHlali* he is, or even his eBrWi. Any 'ability to convey misfortune' which he may thereby acquire is so minimal, that it can be easily removed in a simple 'cleansing' and 'strengthening' rite. It is moreover desirable that the cleansing after his Wi's death be carried out at once, since the kraalhead's full attention is required for the management of a complex kraal community and the disposal of the deceased woman's Chn, as well as her domestic and garden establishment. The position of a widow is completely different. The death of her H affects her freedom of action considerably. Provision will have to be made for her Chn whose rearing must not be interrupted and whose social position in the lineage must be secured. It may be necessary to find another spouse for her. If he is chosen from the deceased's Brs his relationship to the deceased and his estate will have to be defined. If the choice falls on an outsider the deceased's agnates will formulate their claims against him. In this complex of problems which emerge after her H's death a woman's dependent status is clearly revealed. It is this dependence which affects the proportions of the two kinds of *umMnyama* in her with the result that she is considered a conveyor of *umMnyama* par excellence, while she is hardly ever expected to contract it herself. The severe taboo regimen imposed on her prevents the spreading of *umMnyama* through her. Pending the solution of the guardianship of her Chn and her own re-marriage the old arrangement must remain undisturbed. Her close contact with the corpse identifies her as still belonging to her H for the time being, and makes her inaccessible to a possible substitute. However, she remains a woman and an object of sexual desire. Since she cannot be allowed to indulge in sexual adventures pending her re-marriage and the disposal of her Chn, her 'ability to convey the contagion of death' is magically increased in the treatment which makes her, unknown to herself, a carrier of horrible and painful diseases. Unlike a man who contracts the contagion in himself and his descendants, a widow conveys the contagion to her paramour and the kraal's cattle. Legitimate marriage protects a man against this power of conveying death (though not against a similar inborn quality which some women bring into marriage). It is the adulterer and the man who fornicates with a widow who are victims of the magically intensified contagion.

The mystical sanction which threatens the fornicator is supplemented by a legal one. If he is an outsider he gets away with a cattle fine. If the violator of the widow taboo is the deceased's Br, he is called an 'evil-doer' and is liable to be smelt out. If he is a So of the homestead the crime is so enormous, being a kind of incest, that the new kraalhead strangles him with his own hands, keeping the matter a secret from the chief, according to one informant. The widow involved in such doings is suspected of having caused her H's death since she does not shrink from bringing about her paramour's destruction. An informant, trained in indigenous law, said that the widow could be fined a beast - to be paid by her F. The animal cannot be kept in the H's family (Za), it has to be slaughtered at once and is consumed by its members including the widow.

3. Structural Duplications

The structural differentiation of *umMnyama* is further revealed in the taboo against a M handling the corpse of her own Ch and of burying it. Her co-Wis help her out. Only as a bereaved M a woman shows 'liability to contract *umMnyama*', to bring misfortune upon herself. She abstains from sex intercourse until she and her hut have been 'cleansed'. It must be remembered

that no taboo exists against her handling her H's corpse or the corpse of one of her co-Wis or of one of her co-Wis' Chn. *umMnyama* does not only distinguish widow and widower, parent and spouse. It is also selective with reference to kin and stranger. An instructive illustration is the reporting of death and the taboos observed in that connection. (208): "It is the heir's duty to report his F's death to his FBrs and neighbours. Since he comes from the 'kraal of death' he is the only inmate who may violate the taboo against leaving it - it is taboo for him to enter non-related homesteads and he shouts the news to them from outside their gates. He may however enter an agnate's kraal. He does not need to say there, that he has the contamination of death upon him, for it is his F's home!" In other words, within his agnatic group he is free from *umMnyama* *58*.

The report of death to the chief arouses conflicting considerations. As the homestead of a non-agnate the royal kraal is taboo to the messenger. Moreover the high pitch of the king's sensitivity to the contamination of death is expressed in the many taboos which shield him from contact with persons or objects associated with death. It is impossible for the king to be a grave-digger or the carrier of a corpse. As the supreme authority, however, the chief has an interest to hear about the death of his subjects. The difficulty is overcome by making *umMnyama* (as ability to convey misfortune) removable. The heir may enter the royal kraal on paying a fee at the gate. This fee is said by some 'to cleanse' the messenger and by others the chief. Both views can be defended. It is etiquette (H1) that the gift, or fee, be presented to the king through his attendants acting as go-betweens. During the audience the messenger symbolically refers to his gift, if substantial, by pouring water out of a calabash *59*. The exceptional 'sensitivity' of the chief to contract 'misfortune' from a bereaved person was cleverly used by umVunyelwa, a former body-servant of Mpande's, as an excuse for not obeying a summons to appear at court. His 'uncle' was accused of having caused umVunyelwa's M's death and umVunyelwa was ordered to attend this 'witch-dance' (the Smelling Out). umVunyelwa excused himself, "since he could not appear before the king unclean" (i.e., still mourning for his M). (PAR: Shepstone Papers, Case 8, no. 22., August 1855). Smith A. (pp. 51, 93) supplies two instructive examples. His party was temporarily refused admission to the king's kraal, because he was thought to have entered a homestead where a person had died and it was feared that 'some infection' might be conveyed to the king. Even after they were admitted the presents they had brought were kept in a distant hut. The pioneer Cane was made to purify himself at Dingane's kraal on the death of his companion Farewell. He had to cut the gall-bladder out of a calf at the kraal gate. Half of the bile was sprinkled at the gate and over Cane. The other half was taken to the king and poured over him. Such a calf may not be eaten by anyone except boys or it is allowed to run away still alive to perish.

4. Kindred's Actions

The structural implications of the taboo regimen of mourning can also be traced by means of finding out which kindred are involved in each of the following stages of 'mourning', viz., condolence, abstentions and ceremonies. (128) lost her H who had lived in his eBr's kraal; she gives the following table.

Called to Condole		Abstentions Observed	Ceremonies attended
HFBrs (HF dead)	v	v	v
HFBrsSos	v	v	v
H half-Brs/HeBr(+)	v	v	v
HFSisSos: unmarried:	v	v (no signs	(special beast may be
married	v	put on)	killed for them)
H in-laws (WiF, WiM	-	—	Invited, since
WiBrs, WiSis)		—	Washing released Da.
Neighbours	v	—	Participate in brewing beer for Washing/Bringing Home.

The table shows that agnates form a closely knit unit who share condolence visits, abstentions, and ceremonies. With paternal cross-cousins marriage makes a difference; before it they are treated more or less like agnates; marriage separates them from their M's group. Affines do not share in condolences or abstentions, but attend at the release of the widows since their Da is involved. Neighbours condole with the bereaved, but do not mourn (Za) with them; however they share in the celebration of the ceremonies. According to (208) the heir invites the following agnatic kinsmen to condole over his F's death: FBrs (with their Wis), FSos (with Wis and Chn but excepting herdboys!), FDas (and their Chn). If a M dies, any member of the kraal may be sent as messenger and he calls to condole with MF and MM, also with MBrs and MSis, i.e., the M's nuclear family only. Neighbours are not informed at all, since they hear the 'lament'.

The sociological implications of mourning also come out in (375)'s statement: "I Za after a death so that when the condolers come they find me at home (!). When the visits stop the abstentions come to an end. If any of the persons expected to condole do not come they will be suspected of having caused the deceased's death. The condolence visit removes suspicion. Agnates and neighbours come to help with the burial; they come again later to condole. In the case of an important person they come three times: to the funeral, the *ukuKhala* (lament) and the *ukuKhuza* (condolence)."

5. Taboo Regimen as Index of Social Position

A more accurate measure is the taboo regimen. It is extended from the nuclear family in a unilinear manner mainly among the deceased's agnates, if he is a kraalhead. The extension does not follow mathematical degrees of closeness but shows a weighting of kinsmen. When a U dies (a) the deceased's married and unmarried Sos living at the kraal observe the mourning regimen up to the Washing. This is also true for married Sos living in seperate kraals including their Wis and Chn. (b) The deceased's GSos observe the regimen. (c) His Brs, senior and junior, full and half, wherever they are domiciled, observe the abstentions with Wis and Chn till the Washing. (d) Parallel cousins observe Za with the nuclear family. (e) Cross cousins are less involved: they are invited to condole, yet they do not wear signs of mourning and they do not Za. (f) Of the dead man's Das, only those unmarried and in residence at the home kraal, 'mourn'. Married Das, who live in the kraals of their affines, do not 'mourn' (Za). They may, of course, be sad and understanding Hs would for that reason not cohabit with them for a time. They are invited for the Washing and it is good manners for the DasHs to attend. (g) Of the kraalhead's unmarried Sis who live at the kraal complete Za is expected and of their illegitimate Chn. (They may, for instance, not attend betrothals). Married Sis do not Za since they live in strange kraals. Nevertheless a special beast may be slaughtered for them to remove their *umMnyama(!)* (Since there is no question of contagion at a distance, it must be the women's membership in their family which is here called *umMnyama)*. (h) The dead man's F and real M abstain like Brs and Sos till the Washing.

(i) The widows outdo the agnates by far; they Za from one to three years. In their dress, their food abstentions, avoidance of sex entanglements, their general restrained conduct they express the treble amount of *umMnyama* they contracted (from the occurrence of the death in general, from their exposure to the H's corpse, and from their special treatment against fornication.) As a Si must not be married to her Br and the incest taboo ensures her exchange to outsiders so the reverse holds for the widow: she should not be married out of the agnatic group and must be reserved for it through a harsh taboo regimen. (j) Whereas mourning abstentions are observed in the deceased's agnatic group by two ascending and two descending generations, no mourning is observed among his affines (excepting always his Wis). His Wis' Fs and Ms, their Brs and Sis together with their families are free from restraints. The affines who attend the Washing and the Bringing Home attend as neighbours who contribute beer, take part in drinking it and are regaled with meat. In short, the contagion of *umMnyama* is not an abstract quality attaching itself automatically and indiscriminately to anyone who comes into contact with the corpse, but it is highly selective and extends mainly unilaterally

along patrilineal kinship links. *umMnyama*, whatever its semantic connotation, functions sociologically as an expression of kinship structure and agnatic solidarity. Mourning, in fact, activates kinship to a greater extent than the ordinary SAC. A SAC mainly consists in the re-affirmation of the solidarity of a three-generation family which normally is in daily co-operative contact. The death of a U necessitates the setting up of several new kraals and nuclear families. More cattle are killed than at a SAC, and hence more meat is available. This is commensurate with the greater number of persons involved in the ceremonies and the attendant taboos.

6. Different Taboo Patterns for 'Minors'

At the mourning for a deceased UWi a different pattern of kinship obligations and Za observances is switched on. (108): "Naturally the bereaved H has 'to mourn', but it is done in a perfunctory and abbreviated manner. The HBrs together with their Wis and Chn may observe some taboos, even if they have moved out of the homestead, but they do not Za beyond the H's own narrow limit. It is possible to say that his agnates 'mourn' only in sympathy with him. The deceased's HF and HM observe a taboo regimen even more limited than her H's. The married Sos of the woman, including their Wis and Chn, observe mourning until the Washing, even if they have established independent homes. Unmarried (real) Sos and Das observe the abstentions of the home kraal, i.e., regarding 'soft foods' and work with contaminated tools. The woman's own people are affected to an even lesser extent. Her M voluntarily 'mourns' but without putting on any *inZilo* (signs), i.e., she observes self-imposed restraints on speech and work only. She will not attend weddings although there is no definite taboo against it. The deceased's F and M will not cohabit for a time and a sensitive man might also avoid her classificatory Ms until a r/r is performed. The deceased's Brs and Sis are informed of her death, they condole with her H but do not Za and hence are not invited to the Washing. If the woman died at her F's homestead some mourning may be observed there, but it is not for long. Work is stopped for a day or two, and an abbreviated Cleansing may be held at the U's discretion. There is no full mourning for a kraal's Da who is married away. She is treated like a stranger, for has she not helped to raise offspring to another family? She cannot give the Contagion of Death to either her F's or her H's kraal".

We can also take the sex abstention as a measure of woman's subordinate status. After a few day's abstentions her H resumes sexual relations with his other Wis and without any r/r, although he may still observe a few food taboos and be chary about seeing strangers. Mourning makes it impossible for him to marry an additional Wi for about a year, unless the deceased left small Chn behind or was his only Wi. A married woman's F does not Za sex on her death, only her real M does. Her parents-in-l might observe sexual continence like their So even if they live in a separate homestead. The woman's Sos observe sex abstentions in their homesteads. Her married Das abstain from SM but not from work in their H's homesteads; their Hs would not insist on intercourse for about a week. They are called to the Washing where their M was married for "it is the hoes which she wielded in the fields which are being cleansed."

We conclude: Husbands are more sensitive to the contagion of death (than Wis), but particularly the chief. Hence a man avoids the corpse of his Wi (but not that of neighbours), and the chief all contact with the dead. The mourning regimen which men observe about their Wis is limited in extent. If a man dies the amount of *umMnyama* (Contagion of Death) his death engenders is large and spreads along patrilineal lines among his agnates and includes also his widows in an excessively extended taboo regimen, but none of his other affines. Women, especially widows, on the other hand are viewed as carriers of the contagion of death through the specially virulent sex *umMnyama*. They do not suffer directly being little sensitive to it. They do not avoid their H's corpse, but on the contrary, stay close to it until the burial.

They observe a most elaborate taboo regimen which lasts very long, and a M's taboo regimen if her Ch has died is heavier than its F's. When a woman dies, the amount of general *umMnyama* she brings upon the homestead is small. Since, however, she may not touch her own Ch's corpse we conclude that it is always the inferior status whose corpse is avoided by the correlated superior status, viz., chief - all others; H - Wi; M - Ch. This rule and the

contrast between men contracting and women conveying the contagion illustrate the function of mourning taboos among the Zulu.

7. Rules

Finally a definite grading in the severity of the taboos can be established which corresponds to the hierarchy of statuses.

The first rule is: The higher the status of the deceased, the wider the circle of mourners. When an unimportant person dies, it is said: "It is nothing, let him who likes shave the head and have done with mourning," i.e., none of the food and work abstentions are imposed in his case. "They don't worry". If a Ch of the family dies, it is the M mainly who observes abstentions, although her H may isolate himself for a day or two. In the case of a deceased woman, it is her Chn and H only who "fast and eat the strengthening medicines", while after the death of a kraalhead all the inmates of the homestead are laid under the taboo regimen of mourning. In the case of the king's death, the whole tribe mourns. When Solomon died, all the Zulu shaved their heads for a whole year; sex intercourse was generally avoided for a fortnight; ploughing and planting was interrupted for six days in the whole country.

The second rule is: The higher the status of the deceased the longer is the taboo period of those mourning for him. A Ch is mourned for by its M up to a month; siblings mourn for an unmarried sister for two months, for an unmarried brother three months, but for a married Br in their home kraal up to one year. For a kraalhead his widows mourn for two years and if he was a chief, even up to four years.

The third rule is: The higher the status of the mourner the shorter is the taboo period observed by him. If a Ch dies, its F 'mourns' a few days, its M for a month. If a kraalhead dies, the mourning regimen imposed on his Brs lasts to the Washing; the widows have to mourn for over a year until the Bringing Home. An apparent irregularity is that adolescents are released from mourning comparatively soon; they do not need to wait for the Washing to take up love visits again.

The fourth rule is: The higher the status of the mourner the less intense is his taboo regimen. When his Wi has died the kraalhead excuses himself from mourning observances at the Washing at the latest; he abandons the sex taboo often much earlier, even if the deceased was his chief wife. He often considers that he fulfils the purport of the sex taboo, if he does not marry an additional Wi in the year of mourning. Widows on the other hand are expected not to leave the kraal for weeks after the death of their H; they should renounce all interest in dress and finery as well as in sex activities (not to mention re-marriage) for a year after the Washing and for some time after the Bringing Home. During all this time they should not eat SM in the deceased H's nor in their F's kraal. (129 and 130) agree: Mourning goes by grades or rank: This is Zulu "law".

CHAPTER SIX: RESTRAINTS IN THE THREE COMMUNIONS

I. THE SOUR MILK AVOIDANCE

A. THE MILK ORDER

The Zulu distinguish between sweet milk *(uBisi)* and curdled milk *(amaSi)*, the thick residue after the whey *(umLaza)* has been drawn off. As fastidious eaters of SM the Zulu have many terms for various kinds of it (T and DV: *iliKhwababa* sour milk of a strange kraal which is not eaten, a term of contempt, *umQungo, iHongo)*.

The restraints examined in this chapter refer to sweet milk and curds alike; whey is not involved; only one informant said that a bride avoids it. The ideal in reference to the eating of SM - little use is made of sweet milk - is, that each recognized consumer should have his own milch cow. As independent consumers are counted the kraalhead, his Wis and the Chn of each, a M and her offspring forming a unit. Individual households, rather than the Houses into which a large homestead is divided, are the units. The milk of all cows goes first into a common pail. Thence it is transferred into separate calabashes for souring and at a second remove into mixing pots. Each of these vessels should be touched by the owner only; they may not be interfered with by any unauthorized person. The owner mixes boiled ground maize with his own mixer into the SM and eats the mixture with a spoon which, like the mixer, may only be touched by him. The subsequent account deals with the conditions under which this ideal can be achieved and the modifications to which it may become subject.

1. The Assignment of the Milch Cows

The family head assigns the milch cows of his homestead according to definite rules. The first available milch cow is milked for the U, others are assigned to the Wis (as representing households with Chn) in order of rank. The kraal head's household is closely associated with that of his M, and that of his princWi. His calabashes like the vessels of either M or princWi are kept in the Great Hut and the sour milk is prepared by them. The Great Hut in an average kraal is supplied with the milk from two to three cows, the households of the Wis have one milch cow each. The Great Hut frequently exercises an over-all control over the milk supply either by distributing from a common pool of fresh milk to the calabashes of the Wis, or by an arrangement in which the women contribute SM to the Great Hut from which it goes out to equalize deficiences in some, including the kraalhead's households. Where the UM is dead, or a princWi has not been appointed, the distribution of the milk is diffuse from the beginning, i.e., the calabashes of the individual households are filled in the cattle pen and go from there to the huts without passing through a pool (246).

The assignment of milch cows to the households should not be confused with the apportioning of cattle to the several Houses for purposes of inheritance. A family head normally has two lots of cattle; entailed cattle which come down from the ancestors and go to the heir, and of which two or three head are sacrificed at the U's death, and cattle he has privately acquired. The milch cows are assigned without regard to this distinction, as they become available and as need arises. This assignment applies to cows in milk or in calf, it is to individual households, and is of a temporary nature and for milking purposes only. The apportionment is to Houses, i.e., structural units which may comprise several households; it occurs only at the end of a kraalhead's life, is of permanent significance and is extended to male and young beasts as well. Once the apportionment has been made, milch cows for a household are preferably taken from the cattle apportioned to its House. Yet it is possible for a Wi to lend a milch cow to one of her co-Wis with the kraalhead's approval. But under no circumstances may a milch cow belonging to one House be used for structural purposes of another House, e.g., as bride-price

of a So of the House or for a fine incurred by one of its members. The apportionment cattle are reserved for this (301). It should be noted that certain cows are reserved, e.g., a bride from a rich family may have her own milch cow from home, and the milk of the *umuMba* beast of the bride-price goes together with its calf to the M of a bride. The assignment of milch cows in a well-appointed homestead is the result of discussions between family head and his Wis. This is not so where the p a t e r f a m i l i a s is an autocrat or belongs to the old nobility, and the rule does not apply to the apportionment.

The ideal has to be scaled down in emergencies. If the kraalhead's cow runs dry, a cow newly in milk is allotted to him, and if none is available then a milch cow so far milked for one of his Wis. And so in general: if a cow assigned to a household does not calve or runs dry, milk may be asked for it from another household (144); more usually milk is obtained through the Great Hut, which has the largest supply. The kraalhead has the power to transfer milch cows from one Wi to another, but also to himself and v i c e v e r s a (401). He may also order a Wi with many Chn but only one cow to keep all its milk and contribute none to the Great Hut. In time of scarcity of milk, e.g., in the winter drought, small kraals may run short of milk and special solutions have to be found. If there is only one cow in milk, the U eats the SM. He may share it with his M and possibly Chn but not with his Wis. "A Wi *hlonipha's* her H in not eating SM in the circumstances, since it is her task to feed her H. No Zulu woman will eat what has been prepared for her H: this is a condition of her marriage" (307). If there are two cows in milk, the family head uses one and the other is shared between his Wis and their Chn, who may eat together. It is an exception, if there are two cows and two Wis, that the H arranges to use milk from either cow in turn, as prepared for him by his M. In this case, while he eats SM daily, his Wis can eat only every other day. T o s u m u p: The head of the family, the senior member of a patrilineage, must never go without; his Wis are supplied according to their rank, but preference is given to those with Chn. Bleek (p. 37) surmises correctly that the Chn, not the Wis, are 'the owners' of the cattle assigned to each household and thus are the legitimate consumers of their milk.

The following case studies illustrate special arrangements: (402), whose F had 30 Wis in four kraals, and many cattle in each, also two waggons and three ploughs, remembers: The kraalhead had one cow at least in each kraal which was milked for him; it was called 'the cow of the Great Hut.' Such cows were respected (H1), for they were always milked first. The cows milked for the kraalhead were also milked for his M a n d the princWi who stayed in the Great Hut. (They are milked for the princWi too, because they 'belong to her' - s c i l., her establishment - and when the kraalhead dies, they will belong to his heir, who is her So. For the same reason the animal could be killed for the princWi). Each kraal had several pails, one was set apart for the Great Hut, the others served two or three huts clubbed together arbitrarily; their pail was kept in the leading hut of each group and could be touched only by persons belonging to that group (H1).

The kraalhead had his own calabash in each of his kraals and it was looked after by the chief Wi in each case. The SM of one kraal might be sent by the chief Wi to the kraalhead staying at another of his kraals (but not to a strange kraal). It was a way of showing her diligence and her cleanliness. It would be carried in a clay pot by a big girl, who would be accompanied by a small girl carrying ground maize in its pot together with mixer and spoon in their respective containers (*iQuthu* and *isAmpontshe*), for the kraalhead could not mix the SM of one of his kraals with the maize of another (H1). Nor could the calabash of one kraal be removed to one of his other kraals.

The milk of one cow may go into the calabashes of kraalhead, kraalhead's M and kraalhead's princWi. The kraalhead may eat the SM from his M's calabash, as he did as Ch. He may not eat the SM from his princWi's calabash or v i c e v e r s a (H1). The princWi might, however, eat from her H's calabash, when he is absent from the kraal, e.g., at court or at another of his kraals. The minor, subsidiary Wis never eat from their H's calabash, since they are 'far away from the Great Hut'. For it is there that he eats both SM and other food and

his calabash and spoons are kept there. However no Wi, including the princWi, may eat SM left over by her H; the remainder is always given to the Chn. Nothing would happen if she did eat it, but in fact a Zulu woman does not touch it, even if she is hungry! "It is because it is SM which remained after the kraalhead ate of it!" (Za).

The heir must not eat SM of the cows which supply the Great Hut, especially from the kraalhead's calabashes and those of his M and princWi (Za). He may do so only after the kraalhead's death. Nothing happens, if he does eat, but "it is a bad thing, since the beast belongs to the kraalhead." It is an action, which is viewed as an attempt by the heir to overcome *(ukuThonya)* his F.

(301): describes a very lax order in a small kraal: The princWi sees to it that all Chn of the homestead are given SM, and it is for this reason that a greater number of cows are milked for her than for minor Wis. When a cow is in calf, it is she who 'assigns' the milk of that cow. Wis don't 'own' cows, but have them assigned so that they can handle the milk for their Chn and their H. A Wi without Chn eats SM at the Great Hut (i.e., no cow is assigned to her); one with Chn eats SM in her own hut. If two cows are in milk in a homestead with two Wis, the milk of one cow goes to the H and his first Wi, that of the other to the second Wi. The cow that is milked for the kraalhead may also be milked for the princWi! H and princWi may even eat SM from the same calabash, but they may never eat from the same pot.

SM consumption between the kraals of Brs in close neighbourhood is described by (413) concerning the senior kraal Cishukuluma, the junior kraal KwaZondehleka, and the small kraal KwanenKosi, all three of which hived off from the abandoned parent kraal Embilweni (cf. Fig. 35 p. 194). People from each kraal eat SM, meat, any kind of food in any of the others. The jun U eats from sen U's calabash; the jun USo from sen USo's calabash; the jun UWi from sen UWi's calabash and vice versa. The junior USoChn eat SM at the senior kraal and may accept it even from the senU. The same applies to the small kraal. The Das-in-l of the junior kraal may eat the SM of the senior kraal's Das-in-1 after special permission has been granted them. But they cannot take SM out of a calabash there. They may eat, but not handle SM there. The junU cannot take SM at the senior kraal if its U is not present, nor does he ever get a meal of SM of his own, only when the men are eating SM there does he get a share. He eats from the senU's mixing bowl and eats with the senU's mixer while the senU uses his own SM spoon. He could not eat with the senU's spoon. Nor may the junU bring along his own SM spoon. It would never happen! It would appear strange! He might perhaps want to overshadow the senU. Generally speaking SM spoons may be taken from one kraal section to another where Brs are still living in one and the same kraal. However, in this cluster of kraals the segmentation is already too far advanced and a definite SM avoidance (Hl) order has been set up.

2. *The Milking*

Milking takes place in the cattle pen, from about 10 to 11 every morning. To milk outside the homestead is a taboo breach (Bryant: 1949: 335). The cows are given special names according to the amount of milk they yield. The youths of the homestead do the milking while the herdboys control cows and calves. Women may not enter the pen then, nor handle the cattle, nor milk them (Hl). A violation of these avoidances results in a small milk yield, the cows will run dry, they come to harm. In practice they are disregarded if there are no Sos in the family, or when the men are away at public engagements. Preferably the Das of the kraal, but even the Wis act then as milkers.

(258): The youths in charge of milking must wash their hands inside the pen before touching the udders (Hl). The water has to come from a vessel kept in the apse of the Great Hut, one youth pouring it over the hands of another. The washing of hands is repeated after the milking. The washing of the milk-bespattered feet and thighs, however, must be done in the yard; to wash them in the pen is prohibited (Za) (*ukuNqamula*). A youth with milk on his legs will get sores when he sits down at a fire, the udders will crack, he will be beaten. This interdict applies with equal force to the kraalhead, his neighbours or the girls who milk in the absence of the youths.

The milch cow of the owner of the homestead is milked first, to respect (H1) him (Colenso: 1905: *ukuJuba)*. The cows of the other households are milked in any order, the youths preferring to milk cows which have young calves first. The milk is milked into a wooden pail *(iThunga*: Bryant: 1949: 407). Normally a whole kraal is served by one milk pail, but sometimes large kraals have more than one pail. In that case either each structural unit (e.g. the two kraal halves, or the component families of brothers) has its pail or, more rarely, each individual household. Milk pails are kept in the apse of the hut of the presiding wife of each unit. Pails are permanently attached to a particular unit and may not be interchanged, nor may a cow be milked into a pail not belonging to the structural unit to which it has been attached.

When a homestead has a Great Hut the boys carry the milk there to be distributed by the UM or the princWi. Where no Great Hut exists the milkers pour the milk from the pail into the calabashes of the various households placed in readiness in the pen. They know that the milk of certain cows must go into certain calabashes and not into others. If the milk were mixed, it would bring a quarrel. The Chn, or the youths, then stopper the calabashes and take them to their respective huts, for calabashes like the cows and possibly the pails must be kept strictly apart (H1). From infancy a Zulu learns to distinguish cows, pails, calabashes and also milk pots and their 'owners' although they do not carry property marks. In this semi-legal way they learn the claims of the structural units of their homestead and, as it were, absorb them with the milk. Girls and women may not touch the pails (H1) lest the cattle are harmed. Men, on the other hand, may not touch the milk calabashes and milk pots, when their Wis are present. The sexual division of labour is in this way supported by respect avoidances (H1). Women in turn may touch these vessels only inside their huts (H1). Milk may be carried in a pot from hut to hut by Chn, but it must be covered with a 'lid', in most cases a mat, to respect (H1) the head of the homestead or the Creator of the World (293). In a chief's kraal milk must be covered even in the pail to H1 the chief. If a visitor meets the boys carrying the full pail, he runs away or hides himself for the same reason (H1).

3. The Preparation of the Curds

If a woman wishes to use sweet milk, she goes out to meet the milkers, or carriers, with a milk pot into which the boys pour the required amount. Sweet milk is drunk by women, children and old folk only *60*. Some Zulu maintain: All milk avoidances refer also to sweet milk, for 'milk is milk!' The bulk of the milk is used for curdling, and it is poured by the boys into the respective calabashes *(iGula)*. They may not be touched except by their owners, and in the case of the kraalhead's calabash by the woman in charge of it. This is so strict a rule informants sometimes class it as avoidance, sometimes as taboo. According to whether milk control is centralized or diffuse the calabashes are kept either in the Great Hut or in the various household huts, and curdling takes place there.

In families with refinement, like the royal Buthelezi and Zulu, the stoppers are carefully 'cemented' into the calabash neck with some kind of clay. Any interference by an unauthorized person with the contents of the calabash is thus easily spotted. The full calabashes are deposited in the apse of the hut concerned. The kraalhead's milk is always made to curdle in the Great Hut, never in his Residence. Curdling is hastened by a small lump of old thick milk left in the calabash. The warmth of the apse is considered a condition favouring the curdling. In some families the calabashes are placed near the hearth to quicken the action. Some Zulu ascribe souring to the intervention of the ancestors, others deny it. If the milk does not sour properly, some explain this by the fact that the calabash had not been kept clean: it should be rinsed every time it is emptied and the souring must be restarted every fortnight. Others say, the calabash was kept in too warm a place, e.g., near the hearth, which would make the sour milk acid. Or it is said the ancestors 'visited' the calabash and spoiled the milk so that it became insipid.

One sometimes hears the general statement: "Curdled milk is not kept in the apse." If by this is meant that once the milk has curdled it is consumed, no objections can be raised. In any other sense, it is necessary to examine the conditions to which reference is made. Calabashes are kept in some huts near the hearth, especially in cool weather. Should a thunderstorm arise

they are quietly shifted to the apse. All food vessels, and especially all vessels connected with milk, i.e., pail, calabashes, and milk pots, must be removed (Hl) from the apse of the Great Hut before a sacrifice, because the offering of meat is made in the apse, and it is then inaccessible to women who alone handle milk vessels. But there is also a suggestion, that meat and milk are incompatible foods.

Calabashes have two openings, a large one on top, to fill and empty them, and a small one near the bottom which is used for draining off the whey. The whey can also be removed by sucking it out with a reed or by blowing. It is gathered in a special whey pot. Since it has no ritual significance it may be drunk by women when they are under the SM taboo (e.g., during menstruation). No woman may, under the avoidance rule, blow the whey out of a man's calabash (either Br's or H's); and a child is called to do it.

Generally only women may handle calabashes from the time they have been placed in the apse until the curds are ready for mixing. A H may touch them only if his Wi is absent. In this way he Hl's the work of women, the most important item of which is "to dish food." A H may also "assist", e.g., when a stopper has blown off, he may fix it back. Women in a condition of ritual unfitness (e.g., in menses, confinement or widowhood) must not approach the apse (Za/Hl) and cannot handle calabashes or eat SM. A child is told to work with the milk vessels then. The avoidance/taboo is explained by the fact that the milk comes from the HF's cattle.

When the whey has been removed the curds are placed in a SM pot *(uKhamba)*. Milk pots are made of clay, are smaller than beer pots and unlike them, in that they are unornamented, whence their descriptive name 'slippery thing'. Nobody pours SM into a beer pot; 'it never happens.' If a SM pot is broken, people have to get a new one; they cannot replace it by a beer pot. Beer pot and SM pot seem to be, like beer and SM, meat and SM, incompatible.

The mixing of the curds with ground boiled maize (*umCaba*) follows. A woman grinds the boiled maize on a grinding stone with a muller. The work has to be done inside a hut (Hl), and males have to avoid (Hl) the stone. The crushed maize is caught on a grass mat (*isiThebe*) placed in front of the stone. The mixing is done with a special spoon-shaped mixer in a special mixing pot.

Ideally each individual consumer has his own mixing pot and mixer and handles the latter himself. Usually a M mixes for her Chn, and the kraalhead's M or the Wi in charge of the H's SM is told to stir curds and maize together for him. But many a man prefers to do his own mixing; in such a case all his Wis avoid (Hl) his SM utensils.

Under Hl eating utensils are kept as separate as the vessels. The family head has his mixer, SM spoon and soup spoon. The former two are kept in one large grass-woven container, called variously *umGodlo, iHlelo, isAmpompo, isAmpontshe* and *iNyakeni*, the soup spoon in a smaller container. They cannot be kept in one cover as a matter of Hl.

The containers are hung up on the hind-post of the Great Hut where the H takes his meals- some say, that is why they are untouchable to strangers and may be taken down only by the HM or the princWi. The spoons of Wis and Chn are kept without container anywhere in the thatch, preferably in the apse, but never on the post (Hl). A man should not keep his spoons in his Residence, because too many people, including strangers, enter there, and his spoons should never be seen by strangers and never be handled by them (Hl/Za).

4. The Consumption of Sour Milk

SM is eaten daily but never in the morning, the chief eating time being midday and evening. The reason may be ritual, viz., it might clash with the influence of sexual stain *(uSuku)*; but old Khanyile (407) says that SM is milder when fresh milk has been added, rather than in the mornings, when it is very acid. Normally the kraalhead eats his SM in the Great Hut so long as his M resides there (301). When his M is dead, he commences to eat SM in his Residence. Other informants say the U eats in the Great Hut while his princWi lives in it. (401): "The kraalhead eats SM in the princWi's hut because it is his liking *(uThando)* and this is the custom, but when my princWi dies, I can eat in any other hut, and usually do so in the hut of the Wi

with whom I am staying at the time. My other Wis would bring vegetable dishes there, but only one Wi is in charge of my SM!". A H does not eat his SM in the Great Hut, when it is occupied by a minor Wi, i.e., when no princWi has been appointed. (293)'s account indicates one solution in such circumstances: "The U's calabash was kept in my M's hut while she was alive with all other calabashes of our home. After her death each Wi took her calabashes into her family hut and I have a calabash to sour in each of them. All SM is brought to the family hut in which I stay for the moment (there is no Residence). I am not called to where my calabashes are kept!". Strong objections to a man eating SM in his Residence were raised by some informants: It would be wrong to eat SM before strangers who are certain to call. (170) goes so far as to say: SM is never eaten in the Residence; food is taken there by the man's Wis, brides, betrothed, sweetheart, but men are ashamed of eating SM before women who are not their Sis. Sometimes the objection is phrased in neutral terms: Men do not appreciate eating SM where they also sleep (s c i l. with wives?).

The HM and his princWi eat their SM in the Great Hut. Even where the souring of the SM takes place in the huts of the Wis, these may be required to eat it in the Great Hut. Another arrangement is for the kraalhead's M to eat in the Great Hut together with the most recent bride who resides there. The older Wis with Chn eat in their respective huts. A refinement is the rule, that the princWi cannot eat her SM in the Great Hut where her husband eats his, but in the kitchen belonging to it (301). In the Mbatha homestead the kraalhead's M had died and the Great Hut was occupied by the princWi elect. She was being referred to as *nKosikazi* and ate her SM there, but a grown-up girl, the D of a co-Wi, who shared the hut with her, had to eat her SM in the kitchen. Brs living in the same kraal may eat their SM in the Great Hut (or in the Residence of the eldest, the kraalhead). But if they are of different Ms and these live in the kraal, presiding over the Brs' sections, as in the Nyandeni kraal, they may eat at their respective M's hut. In a large homestead which has been formally divided into Great House and Left House (*iKhohlo*) the subsidiary Wis eat their SM at the hut of the presiding wife.

Men consume SM on the men's side, women on the women's side of the hut. SM must be eaten inside a hut (H1); if eaten outside, the homestead will be struck by lightning. (There are one or two rituals where sour milk is served outside the homestead). To sum up: the spatial arrangement is not uniform. Within the general pattern, which always reflects structural factors, certain individual deviations are possible.

5. *Commensality*

The general rule is: SM cannot be eaten alone! But the circle with whom a person can eat SM is circumscribed by H1. In the daily routine a family head eats SM with his Brs, whether they are full or half-siblings. Brs and Sis eat together, and eat milk from the same cow, from the same calabash and even from the same pot! Ms and Chn usually eat together, i.e., at the same time and in the same place. When HF and HM are on a visit to their married son's homestead, they eat their curds at the same time and in the same hut as he, i.e., in the Great Hut. The other rule that a person may eat SM with anyone with his own clan/n holds only in theory. In practice SM is eaten within the lineage. (412): "I could presumably eat SM at every Gwala homestead; in fact I eat only at those Gwala kraals whose owners I know well. Just to go by clan/n won't do. The calabash is the symbol of closely related people of the home kraal, e.g., the Gwala at Eshowe are Sos of my Fs (i.e., half-Brs or cousins) and I would take SM there." (168): "People eat SM within the homestead and within the *uZalo* (minor lineage). To my *uZalo* belong my F, FBrs, FF, FFF and their Chn, i.e., Sos, unmarried Das and ChnChn. The eating of SM within the lineage is reciprocal. I can eat their SM, they eat mine." (163) states: "I eat SM at my FFBrs' (full and half), FF's, FBrSo's, at my own Brs' and my BrsSos' homesteads." He also added FSi! But this was done in error, for (401) says: "No man can eat SM at his FSi's home. Even if the milk was obtained from the *izinKomo zasemZini* (ancestral cattle) of the FSi, it is the SM of her H's kraal and the woman has to get permission of her in-laws to eat it." Bird (I, 43) reports from the 17th century that a F does not eat milk at his So's home. Today's comment is: If the So lives in a separate homestead from his F, i.e., has set up his

own kraal, his F will not eat SM there until the So has killed a fat ox in honour of his F. (103), however, thinks a F eats SM in his So's homestead without a rite, because the So's *umuZi* is part of the F's and the F is still responsible for what happens in it. Different practices can thus be explained by good theory within the framework of the Zulu system. A Ch born to an unmarried Da belongs to her lineage. But a Ch born to a woman married by cattle exchange, who subsequently ran away from her legal H to stay with another man, belongs to the lineage of the man who paid the bride-price for her. And where a Ch belongs in this manner it eats SM.

The commensality rule as regards SM is usually stated in a comprehensive form: You eat your milk with all persons bearing your clan name, or: You may eat SM in any household where you do not intend to marry. In practice this rule is observed in the breach. Firstly, travellers do eat the SM of strange kraals. (162): "If I have walked for a long distance and am exhausted, I may as an exception, and to save my life, eat SM in a strange homestead." (White travellers in the early days of contact almost invariably were treated to SM; and Thonga travelling in Zululand ate, and perhaps still eat, SM without qualms). None of my interpreters, however, was ever offered SM. In fact (380), a Zulu prince, suggested that an unwanted offer of SM on the pretext of a common clan/n might lead to a court case. Since he as a stranger, calling on an unknown kraal, would have to give his clan/n before the residents, they might pretend to be Zulu, either because they have no other food than SM to offer, or because they want to be hospitable anyhow and show their respect (H1). They could be fined, for they made him eat SM where he should not. However, he could not give me an actual case.

Secondly, for practical reasons SM commensality is limited to the lineage. (393), who eats SM only at his half-Brs' - he has no full Brs - thinks it is an *inHlonipho* to abstain from SM where the relationship is distant or unknown within one and the same clan. "There is no reason why I restrict myself to my lineage; I just don't fancy the SM of other Buthelezi!" He rejects the suggestion that he may unconsciously be planning to marry a Buthelezi daughter but laughs at the thought of it. "If a distant Buthelezi comes to me and wishes to eat my SM, I slaughter a goat, tie the gall-bladder round his neck and a strip of skin round his wrist *(isiPhandla)*. Only now is he regarded a full member of the family (*umuNtu waseKhaya*) and may eat my SM." Thus even within a clan genealogical links may have to be ritually established!

Thirdly, the SM avoidance between families becomes 'functional', i.e., significant only between persons with different clan/n who wish to marry. In short: SM commensality is practised only within ultimate clan segments (minor lineages) and the SM avoidance is observed intentionally only between potential (and actual) in-law groups. Clan segments which are not involved and the many other clans with whom inter-marriage is not intended do not enter the picture at all: they form an amorphous background.

6. Detailed Description

When the woman in charge of the SM supply has prepared the curds and boiled ground maize, she calls her H (and his Brs) to the Great Hut (or her own hut, if there is no princWi) and serves the meal. In many homesteads the H insists on mixing milk and maize himself, which is always done in the milk pot and never in the maize container. One does not normally eat with the mixing spoon (H1). While the men eat, the woman remains in attendance, keeping children, dogs, chickens and flies away, using the grass lid of the SM pot as swatter. She hands pot and spoon and container to her H, keeps to her side while he is eating, and clears away the vessels and utensils after he has finished his meal. Having rinsed them she puts them back in their places. The hut should be swept after the eating of SM. While the F is eating the Chn often play in the yard. They may not make a noise and may not peep in at him (H1).

The women can now eat their SM. Where all Wis eat together in the Great Hut they may eat with the HM, the H's unmarried Sis and possibly the HBrsWis, i.e., a wide range of female affines. Where the SM eating group is small, i.e., restricted to co-Wis, they may eat it in their living huts. A woman with many Chn usually eats SM in her own hut together with them.

A recent bride must, of course, not eat alone; a younger Si, a girl near her, shares the SM with her for a time in the HM's kitchen. Later she eats with the HM.

Each woman mixes her own meal in her own vessel and with her own spoon. She brings her own maize and collects her own calabash from the apse of the Great Hut. A Wi may not eat the SM left over by her H, except when she is old and has grown-up children! Where co-Wis have quarrelled badly, or where dissension between the Wis of Brs has arisen, the eating together of SM is in abeyance. Eating together is thus a sign of harmonious relations, and can be used as a check on them.

M and Chn eat together after the F. In some homesteads the M eats after the Chn. Smaller Chn and girls generally eat their SM in their M's hut, or that of a classificatory M; bigger boys are allowed to do so in the Great Hut, and it is a duty to eat there for the heir who, like his F, should not eat SM in his Residence. Chn always eat on the women's side of the hut, except that bigger boys may, according to a few informants, be called to the men's side by their F. They tremble with fear when this happens for the first time. Smaller Chn eat with their hands, bigger Chn may have a spoon and eat with it from a common pot supplied from a joint calabash. Chn may eat the SM their F has left over, but they must do so with circumspection. They may not eat without his express permission. Strictly forbidden is to eat F's SM with a spoon (Hl). A Ch takes the SM from his F's pot with his right hand and transfers it to the left hand, from the palm of which he may eat it. This is observed to Hl F as well as M, since both parents eat SM with a spoon and directly from the pot (Inversion). While a married man cannot eat SM before a stranger, no such rule exists for Chn and wives.

Special etiquette in eating F's SM is observed in the families of chiefs. The king may call a Ch into his presence, then, dipping his finger into the mixture in the SM pot he takes the first fingerful into his mouth, the second he places on the floor before him, and so turn about until a small mound has arisen. From this he invites the Ch to eat. This custom was only observed at the courts of four great chiefs: Zulu, Buthelezi, Ntshangase, Ntuli. The chief's servants from the *esiGabeni* section were similarly "privileged". In *ukuKhangeza* the Ch sits in front of the eater who must be his superior, i.e., father or elder sibling, and cups his hands to receive a clot of the maize-SM mixture. *Khangeza* is possible only among agnatic kin. My informants were horrified at the thought of a Wi cupping her hands before her H or a commoner before his chief. The custom thus implements agnatic descent. A third example of etiquette was given by Princess Magogo Zulu: "During Mathole's, my H's life time, his Wis assembled in the Great Hut for eating SM. The senior Wi dished the milk into small bowls (*isiKhangezo*) directly from the calabashes. The wives had to eat from the bowls without spoons."(They thus behaved symbolically like Chn). When she went to her father, the king, to obtain the spoon beast, one of Cetshwayo's Wis, okaMkayibi, exclaimed: Mambo! How can young wives eat SM without spoons? Magogo's objection to being ritually treated like a Ch may, of course, have been induced by her F, so as to raise her rank above her co-Wis. She was not only given permission to eat SM with a spoon, but also to eat it separately. Her co-Wis' chance to eat SM with spoons came only after Mathole's death.

To sum up:

1. H and Wi may not eat sour milk from the same cow. They should have separate cows. A bride should be provided with a cow from her home (*inKomo yasemZini*). When released from the SM taboo at her H's home, she eats milk from the cow assigned to HM or senior co-Wi. When she has Chn of her own, she is given a milch cow for the use of her own household. As has been shown the rule is waived under certain circumstances.

2. H and Wi eat SM at different times. Normally the H eats first, his Wi afterwards. The order may be reversed if the H is away on business at the time of eating. A woman may not eat in the presence of her H, at least as long as his M is alive. When a woman has grown old, the rule is relaxed. The avoidance is extended from the H to his M. A bride may not eat SM in the Great Hut in front of her M-in-l, but eats in its kitchen.

3. H and Wi do not eat in the same place. As long as a man's M is alive, he eats his SM (and all other food) in the Great Hut, and in particular on the men's side. He does so even if his M is of inferior rank (and does not reside in the Great Hut) because his calabashes, pots and spoons are normally kept there. If the HM is dead, and a princWi is appointed into the Great Hut, the H may, if he is of sufficient standing, eat in his own Residence. His Wis with Chn eat SM in their family huts.

4. H and Wi do not eat from the same vessel nor with the same utensils. The H has his own calabash, container, mixing pot and spoons and the Wi has hers, which the H may not touch. Wis may share their vessels and spoons. Quite exceptionally a H and Wi may use the same vessel. Informants admit its happening but consider it quite wrong. It is then more excusable that they share a calabash than that they should share a mixing pot. They may never share a spoon. In brief: the more distant in the following series: cow-pail-calabash-mixing pot-spoon the item is from the actual eating, the easier it is to condone a breach of the avoidance rule.

7. An Unconfirmed Hypothesis

Chief Manyala Biyela gave the following account: "I cannot eat the SM of my Wis' cows, nor eat from their calabashes or their pots, because they sleep with me. If I ate their SM, or ate with them, they would be like my Sis. For with them I ate SM from one calabash and one pot. But with my Wis I cannot, since they H1 me and I sleep with them." The relationship between H and Wis can thus be subsumed under the general rule: Where you eat SM, you do not marry (in this case: cohabit) and where you marry (i.e., cohabit) you do not eat SM. The question arises whether in the minority of cases where the Wis contribute SM to the Great Hut and a kraalhead eats of this SM some arrangement is made, whereby this rule is honoured. The chief knew that certain Hs are given SM by their Wis in turn. Does this imply that the two time-tables are kept separate, viz., that a woman whose turn it is to supply SM is not called to the Residence for purposes of sexual congress? Of ten informants asked, eight rejected the suggestion, although they admitted that in certain ritual situations sex intercourse and the eating of SM were both tabooed. i.e., nobody who has *uSuku* (sexual stain) should eat SM. Two informants stated that such dovetailing existed. (181) and (170) even developed the idea: If a man and a woman meet every night, they must leave off eating SM, because they have *uSuku* . If a man doesn't wish to meet his Wi, he may eat SM that night. (With married people intercourse takes place only at night). After eating SM he could not sleep with his Wi. A man need, of course, only avoid the woman whose SM he has eaten. He might visit another Wi; and this is one reason why men have many Wis. (185) argued from her personal experience: "As the princWi distributes SM and knows the calendar of visits of the Wis to the common H, she knows that she must not put in their H's pot the SM of that Wi who is expected to go to his hut on a particular night." She gave a general rule: "A man avoids the SM of the Wi with whom he wants to sleep." In her homestead's case the dovetailing of the timetable is possible, because the Wis' visits are few, viz., two to six nights in succesion, with the princWi occasionally more.

The majority as already stated denied vigorously that the time-table of visits is made to fit in with the SM supply to the Great Hut. (183) objected on the following grounds: If there is little milk available the H may eat SM from both his Wis on the same day; normally, since a Wi stays, according to Zulu custom, for a month at her H's residence, the dovetailing would break down on that score alone. It is sufficient that a H has his separate calabash. (187), a princWi, describes putting SM into her H's pot daily, one day from her, the next day from her co-Wi's milk. But each Wi sleeps at the H's for a whole month at a stretch. In her F's case, who had 12 Wis, each took milk to the Great Hut every day; the princWi distributed the SM and decided which Wi's milk was to go into the H's pot. Since Wis there also stayed a whole month with their H, no dovetailing occurred. (189) stated categorically: A Wi can sleep with her H whether she sent vegetables or SM with samp. (194): The princWi arranges which Wi is to send SM to the Great Hut for the H. The H (she thinks of her F) would not avoid a Wi because he had eaten her SM that day. (167): A Wi is told by the kraalhead, often through his M, when to send

SM to the Great Hut. Wis sleep with their H for two consecutive nights, and this would not coincide with the milk supply. Nkunyase states: There is no SM time-table to fit in with sex visits. And (402) has two further arguments: Sexual intercourse is never planned, it is decided on at the spur of the moment, and is not as regular as the visits of the women to their H's Residence. Moreover, when a kraal head returns home unexpextedly, he may find that the woman in charge of his calabash has eaten his SM, as she may do. He might then desire to sleep with her that night, saying they are befriended, since she has part of him already!

B. EATING SM WITH STRANGERS

1. SM at MF's homestead

Certain consanguineous kin are technically strangers, since they have different clan/ns from Ego. How is the impasse overcome in SM consumption? The general statement concerning SM eating at the M's home kraal is: Ego can eat SM at his MF's home, also at MBr's (and some assert even in MSi's hut, but not in MSiH's kraal). Consequently he cannot marry any woman from these homesteads. SM may also be eaten at the kraal of the MFF and the MFBr and their descendants.

The persmission to eat SM at these homesteads is rarely automatic but procured through a rite. A goat is slaughtered at his MF's home before a person eats SM there. The goat, sometimes described as *imBuzi yokuKhunga* (gift goat) is often killed for the Da's first-born only, occasionally for first-born and last-born at their first visit. The rite activates the claim of all Chn born subsequently. Alternatively the gift goat is slaughtered at the puberty of the Ch, 'when the breasts come out.' (383): The prohibition of marriage of Ego within his M's clan is reinforced by this rite. The goat is killed outside the hut, in the pen or yard, and is eaten by everyone present, i.e., members of the M's agnatic kin, neighbours, even strangers. The bile is poured over the Ch's feet, sometimes over the hands too. The MF, or MBr, tells it, that its M's people desire it to grow (183). The gall-bladder is tied round the Ch's neck. If the M's people are poor, the child may eat SM there without the goat, but never in the absence of MF or MBr! Unless it is famished! (381) said he did not feel any shame when eating SM at his MF's.

The relationship thus established is broken if the Ch's M should die. All her Chn abstain from her people's SM now (Za), until another goat is slaughtered for them. (383): "Some of my MBrs have not yet slaughtered the goat so I can't eat their SM." She likes all MBrs equally well, some of those who have not slaughtered for her perhaps better than the rest. Although she avoids the milk of some MBrs she describes it still as 'good'. The relationship is not reversible, i.e., members of the MF's and MBr's homestead may not eat SM at their Da's (or Si's) married home; they may accordingly marry there.

To sum up: SM commensality with the M's people is ritually established at the first visit of a Ch, it is reinforced at puberty and at the M's death. It is not reciprocal.

SM Consumption at Parents' other Collaterals:

Evidence concerning the eating of SM at the homesteads of MBr, MSiH and FSiH shows contradictions. (163): "I can eat SM at my MBr's since I may not marry a MBrDa. I do not eat SM at my MSi(H)'s place and yet cannot marry a MSiDa!" The same problem exists at the FSi's married home. (167): "You eat SM at FBr's place because you do not marry a FBrDa. But you don't eat SM at your FSi's married place and yet you cannot marry a FSi Da. It would be death to marry a MSiDa or a FSiDa!" This informant could not give an explanation for these two exceptions to the general rule: Where you eat SM you cannot marry and where you avoid SM you can marry; he resorts to the well-worn: 'This is natural, an *isiDalo*, inborn with the Zulu!' When (168) was asked: Is there after all a person at MSiH's and FSiH's whom you

might marry?, he found the solution: A person doesn't eat SM at his MSi's homestead, since he may marry a MSiHDa of another Wi than his MSi and also a MSiHBrDa whose F resides at the same kraal. Similarly a person does not eat SM at his FSiH's, for he might marry a Da of the other Wis of the FSiH or a Da of FSiHBrs. It is only impossible for him to marry the real FSiDa. (226) adds: There is indeed a preference in this direction: 'You are recommended to marry there, since your family sent a Si there!' Shades of sister exchange! He infers that the k/t in this instance is misleading. The k/t clubs together all parallel cousins and all cross-cousins; but this grouping does not differentiate between which cousin is eligible in marriage and which is not. Nor does the clan/n help for it follows the F. Only the SM rule gives a warning. He also reminded us that Ego eats SM at his FSiH and MSiH when young; he observes the avoidance after puberty because he might now marry at either place. The prohibition is strict in the FBr's case. You may eat SM there, but you cannot marry a FBrDa: it would be a case for the king!

SM Consumption among consanguineous kin presents thus three irregularities which have structural significance - they are in favour of the female line in each case: The first exception is that Ego may eat SM at his MF's although he has a clan/n not his own. The second exception is that although he does not eat SM at kraals of his M's clan/n (other than his MF's and MBr's) he cannot marry there. The third exception is that although Ego avoids SM in kraals belonging to Hs of Sis of both his parents (FSi and MSi) he can only marry the Das of their co-Wis. Polygyny, resulting in the non-consanguinity of certain 'cousins', allows of the relaxation of the rule against Parents' SisHsDas. The same is not feasible in the case of the Parents' BrsDas, since they are all consanguineous.

2. *The SM Bond*

(226) and (227) volunteer: "It is a characteristic of Zulu culture that good friends must leave each other's presence when they eat SM." The reason they give is that SM is one man's property alone! But they accept the suggestion, that they separate because they or their Chn may marry into the friend's family or clan. (162) sums up: "I cannot eat SM in a strange kraal, i.e., one with a clan/n that differs from mine. The reason is that I may marry a girl there. Where I eat SM I cannot marry."

The question arises: Do the Zulu allow the eating of SM in a strange kraal under certain circumstances, and what ritual significance has such a taboo breach? The ritual slaughter of a goat establishes as we saw SM commensality within distant agnatic and consanguineous kin! Can the same be achieved with complete clan strangers? Of a dozen informants nine got so heated in denying the possibility of such ritual kinship that they ignored the well-known fact that servants and dependants, whose clan/n differs from that of their master, are often given his homestead's SM. (182): "A person living at a kraal with a strange clan/n may, after doing for years without SM, finally be given a special cow, an *inKomo yoKhezo*, whose milk is his. He is then 'taken' as of the same clan/n as his benefactor and can no longer marry into his lineage or clan."

The following considered fictional kinship through SM commensality possible. (181): The SM bond may be entered into with a person of another clan/n and not related by marriage. A goat has to be killed. Its bile is poured over the hands and the feet of the person to be affiliated, the gall-bladder is tied to his neck. No report is made to the ancestors. The person cannot marry into the family which offered him goat and SM. It is an individual arrangement and his Brs and Sis are not subject to the prohibition of intermarriage *61*. (174), a man without cattle, is more explicit: Kinship may be extended by ritual. Any person who kills a goat and pours the bile on another person's feet makes the eating of his SM by that person possible. The bile makes them related. A herdboy who is fond of another may beg his father to kill a goat for him so that he may eat their SM. A married woman, who likes another woman, may persuade her H to kill a goat for her, so that she is enabled to eat SM at their homestead. A woman granted such privilege would not be able to marry a person of the H's clan, including the H himself. Theoretically a woman may thus prevent a friend from being married by her

H. The informant does not know of such a case, but knows instances of the SM bond (*kuKhona ubuHlobo*).

A mechanism to establish fictional kinship implies a reverse ritual which breaks the blood bond. (393): When two Brs quarrel, they stop eating each other's food, including SM. If they did eat it they would become ill. In fact they utter conditional curses: "I won't eat your food, I won't have anything to do with you, I'd rather die!" and they reinforce their curses by spitting (*ukuQalekisana*). All the elders of the lineage are called to discuss the quarrel: Fs, Ms, FBrs, eBrs. To bring about peace the hostile Brs are made to meet. Each takes a pinch of ash and after dipping it into the other's palm swallows it. They can now eat each other's food again. The ash is taken from ash heap or fire place, but not if a fire is alight there. (Normally a man does not touch ash (H1), it belongs to the woman's sphere of work. Its ritual use in the settlement thus involves an avoidance breach). The rite is called *amaBinda* ('to get choked up': S) "because if one is angry the heart chokes him and if the quarrel is not settled he will die of a painful heart." (393) does not call this sort of food abstention an avoidance (H1) nor taboo (Za). But the description shows a succession of condition-controlled actions which closely resemble restraints in other contexts. The ritual to split a clan so as to make intermarriage between the two sections possible is discussed elsewhere.

Cattle Agistment (*ukuSisa*) as a Preliminary to Marriage (*ukuBophela*: S: 437) is the practice of loaning someone a cow for purposes of milking only. (180): A person may give another, not belonging to his clan, a cow so that the recipient may use its milk; the giver must in future abstain from that cow's milk (Za). Marriage between the two families is not made impossible thereby.

(393): The agistment of cattle is practised if a man has too many cattle, or has no sons to look after them, or fears the jealousy of others. He selects a caretaker, whether related or not, whom he can trust to look after some of his cattle. The transfer is said to take place without any ritual (?). The caretaker, according to (212 and 220), gets the milk and the dung (sic) as wages, and the lungs and heart when the beast is slaughtered. If he is related and has to look after a small herd he gets the *isiSinga* beast whose increase will also belong to him. If he is not related, agistment often becomes a preliminary to marriage. The real owner considers a Wi for himself or his So to be a good return on his investment. The caretaker prefers to part with a Da rather than the cattle. As soon as an agreement has been reached by the young people (*ukuQoma*) the caretaker's family, except their immature Chn, stop the eating of the milk of the agistment cattle (H1). When the marriage has been consummated, the cattle are converted into bride-price and SM (and cow dung) becomes safe again to the bride's people. The time factor is elastic, as appears from (407)'s statement: "A F begins to eat SM of his Da's bride-cattle after the wedding;" after being defined as "when cows have calved a second time!" In the meantime Chn eat the SM.

3. The Recognition of Good and Bad

An important problem arises through the absence of the inter-family SM avoidance in childhood. (394), a Zulu prince: As a small child I ate SM only at our neighbours'; these were Zulu homes (with Zulu clan/n). There were many. I could not eat at others'. (381): I ate SM at five neighbouring kraals with clan/n(s) differing from our own. (390): All the Mabanga Chn ate SM at the Mabanga kraals in our neighbourhood and at Kheswa and Ntshangase homes. (379) gives the most extensive range: As Chn we did not discriminate SM at all and ate it wherever it was offered. The SM commensality of the Chn (from which the royal clan was excluded) was reciprocal. There was complete interchange of SM among Chn of a neighbourhood. "They eat SM everywhere because they do not know that they should not eat SM of another clan." The change-over takes place at puberty (394), when boys begin to herd cattle instead of goats and with girls when their breasts begin to form (*ukuHlosa amaBele*). They give it up in anticipation of marriage, and now begin 'to discriminate' (*ukwAhlukanisa*). They now refuse SM of another clan, saying 'It is not sweet; it is not good' (scil, for me). A girl now

realizes that eating SM may be either good or bad. Her own clan's SM is 'good' and that of another clan becomes 'bad'. It is 'bad' because it does not belong to her family (379). She would not think of the people as bad but only of their SM, although at this stage the other clan name is also dubbed as 'bad' (cf. *iliKhawbaba* and *uBizoBi)*. Youths or girls who continue to eat SM in the wrong kraal have a guilty conscience (*amaHloni*), a feeling of shame (*iHlazo*) (381), although eating SM there is not felt to be like committing incest. The badness of the SM is one of degree. (379): A woman in her changes avoids SM because it smells 'bad' to her; when the informant broke off eating the SM of neighbours, it did not become bad-smelling in this real, physiological sense. And (380): "The SM of unrelated neighbours did not become as bad to me as that of complete strangers, because I have no contacts with them at all!" He agreed that a neighbour's kraal is not 'bad' in itself, but only as regards potential intermarriage. (381) felt nothing when he stopped eating the SM of his neighbours at puberty; nor did it give (379) a shock. The neighbour's SM now gets a special designation, viz., *amaSi asemZini*, (the SM of strangers = the SM of in-laws), while the SM of one's own homestead goes by the name: *amaSi aKithi* (SM of our home). The adjectives 'good' and 'bad' are used but in a transferred, not the literal sense. Naturally youngsters do not jump to all this of their own accord. A girl's elder Sis and age-mates express their disapproval if she continues in the childish ways of SM eating, and a boy is taught by his Brs and age-mates.

(380) confessed that he married a Da of one of the non-related kraals where he ate SM as child, a Msimange girl. Surprisingly he added: "Eating SM together as Chn is a good preliminary to later love-making." (379) confirms this: "If you marry into a family in which you ate SM in childhood, and even beyond puberty, it brings good luck *(inHlahla)*." Her F was a herbalist; a certain boy came for a cure and stayed in the family, and began eating its SM. He later married one of her Sis. This was good luck: the ancestors were believed to have speeded the affair. However the young man stopped eating the SM of his curer's home at marriage, and would now call it 'bad' for himself.

To sum up: In childhood, 'the age of innocence', all SM is eaten without discrimination. It is mere food. At puberty SM becomes an index to suitable marriage partners. Good SM is that which indicates persons that may not be married, the forbidden degrees. Bad SM indicates all who are eligible and it is for that reason avoided (H1/Za). In other words, in an individual's relation to groups SM serves in childhood as a syncretic index which expresses likeness, uniformity, unity; from puberty on it serves as a diacritical index marking off the group within which sex relations are incest and an outside group with which sex relations are permissible. For a particular individual the SM index 'functions' as follows as he passes from childhood to adulthood: it splits the undifferentiated society of his childhood into two groups, one in which he eats SM and shows no sex interest and another in which marriage is possible but SM eating not. However, after marriage the very index SM which had split her social universe in two becomes a young Wi's sign of union with her H's family as soon as she is released from the SM avoidance.

4. The Bride's SM Taboo

H and Wi must avoid each other's SM, although their Chn share the milk of their F's and M's milch cows. The prohibition thus articulates the distinction between agnatic kin and affines. The general rule that young people abstain from the SM of the kraal into which they wish to marry is implemented in general as soon as a young person approaches puberty and, in particular, when a youth and a girl have reached a private understanding *(ukuQoma)*.

After the wedding the bride continues to avoid the SM of her H's homestead for a considerable time. Some Zulu explain this as a necessity, for she would defile herself, since some of the cattle belonging to her H, or rather HF, will be given in exchange for her. Others say, she avoids the H's milk since the Chn she expects to bear have not yet been born. Her H likewise is prohibited from eating the SM of his in-laws; this includes, of course, milk obtained from the cattle given by him for the Wi - of which he ate formerly. But whereas the H will never be released from this avoidance, the bride will be released from hers.

The most severe formulation of the bride's SM abstention is that she does not eat SM at all. This rule links with another, viz., that the eating of SM is not allowed in a man's Residence *(iLawu)*, because as a bride a woman has no dwelling of her own but sleeps in her H's hut, spending her days with her HM in the Great Hut. The bride's SM avoidance involves avoidances (H1) of contact with her H's cattle. She may not enter the pen, either to fetch cowdung or visit the grain pits. She may not smear the hut floors with dung, and may not approach the apse where the SM vessels are kept, nor touch the calabashes. An overall reason for these avoidances is the statement: "The bride is a stranger and not a stranger!" (106, 107): "These prohibitions are part of our custom. I do not know what would happen if they were broken." They are, in fact strictly observed, since the bride is afraid of disgrace, of shame: *ukwEsaba iHlazo*. (106) adds: "I would be telling a lie if it were otherwise!" However, where the bride's F is rich, she may bring her own cow from her home with the necessary vessels and spoons and eat its milk. This: *inKomo-yasemZini* anticipates the *inKomo-yoKhezo* . (246): "It comes along at the wedding"; according to others, the bride only reports at the wedding that her milch cow will be coming. Only the bride drinks its milk, but (401) is emphatic that she must receive the in-law's permission to do so. Small Chn of her H's kraal may eat this SM but the kraal's 'owners', the in-laws and their ancestors H1 it. (227): There is no difficulty about placing the strange cow in the H's pen; it is considered one of his beasts for the time being; it is herded and milked with the H's herd. However it cannot be slaughtered at the groom's homestead, not even for a Ch that is sick: a case would result. No magical use of this cow or certain of its parts seems to be made by the Zulu *62*.

The release rites for the bride from cattle and SM avoidances usually occur in stages. The bride is first released from the prohibition to touch a calabash, then from the taboo on eating SM from the HM's cow, then from eating SM in general (i.e., a cow is assigned to her), then from handling dung and grain in the pen and lastly from the prohibition to eat in the presence of the HM (*ukwEmula* : Colenso: 1905). The same order may not always be observed, and the release rites may be combined into one.

As to the date when the r/r occurs, Kohler suggests that it is determined by the first pregnancy. This link is sometimes denied in Zululand, although it is admitted that it is a Ch through whom a woman claims her H's milk. (However even a barren woman may get permission to eat SM if she has brought the 'spoon beast' from home). Some informants think the wealth of the H's people is important. Rich people celebrate the release five to six months after the wedding; poor people postpone it from one to two years. To many informants these times seemed excessive. In their experience the r/r occured within the first week. However, the Wi of a polygamous chief or leviratic Wis may be forgotten. Thus the young widow of a well-known chief was not released for many years after his death: in consequence she did not eat SM in her deceased H's homestead, nor enter the pen either. "If a woman is not given an animal by her H to exchange for the spoon beast, she will not smear huts till she dies!" (145). The r/r is initiated by a gift exchange which varies greatly in detail and has been described previously.

The permission for the bride to eat SM in the H's homestead is an important step in transforming her from a ritual stranger to an affiliated member of the H's kinship group. It is a pre-condition for her economic advancement: through it she acquires an independent household with her own hut and food kitchen, her own commissariat involving the management of her own grain pit, granary and beer kitchen. It has also implications for her sexual relations with her H. After the r/r she no longer lives with her H in his Residence and is no longer a bride in the technical sense.

A woman may not eat SM from her H's cow or pot as long as she is of child-bearing age, i.e., as long as she cohabits with him. V i c e v e r s a, a H may not eat his Wi's SM unless she is old (past her menopause) (H1). If these rules were broken, nothing would happen (211), but the transgressing woman might be sent home by her H and fined.

5. *The Eating of SM at Affines'*

(153): When the release rite has been held a bride may eat SM at all kraals whose heads were born in her HF's homestead, i.e., in her HF's, HBrs' and possibly also her HFBrs' homesteads. (She may however not eat SM in the homesteads of her H's halfBrs or her HFBrSos, i.e., her H's paternal parallel cousins). She now eats the SM of her H's kraal although she retains her clan name, is addressed as Ma+clan/n and remains technically a stranger: it is to some extent a condoned taboo breach. As a consequence of this practice a woman will have eaten of the SM of the kraal of her HBr with whom she may enter into a leviratic union in the event of her H's death. She has, however, never eaten milk of the cow reserved for the HBr and has to abstain from SM altogether during her widowhood. Before she may eat SM on her re-marriage, she has to undergo a rite. (401): "My Wi may eat SM at my Br's; my BrWis would prepare it for her. In case of my death her leviratic marriage to my Br is not excluded although she has eaten SM there." The rule: Nobody eats SM where he might later marry is got over by the ritual slaughter of a goat and an invitation by her leviratic husband to eat his SM.

A man avoids his affines' SM permanently. (162): "A man never eats milk from his Wi's people. I cannot explain how and why; it was always like that." (168) suggests: "I do not eat SM at my Wi's home, since I might marry my WiyoSi" (in sororal polygyny or true sororate). Since a Wi's home remains a source of supplementary and substitute Wis to a man, the rule ensures that cattle=Wi exchanges can continue between the two families. The suggestion, that a man wishes to avoid eating his own cattle's SM which he transferred there in exchange for his Wi, produced the following response: (401): "A man does not eat milk at his in-laws even before he is married!" Then why does the linking of the two families lead to the abrogation of the stranger's milk taboo for the Wi but not for the H? "The man is not, like the woman, incorporated into the spouse's family!" Is this incorporation of the Wi effected through a number of rites, e.g., introduction to cattle pen? "No, it is because she has been bought with cattle, and when a shopkeeper has sold a coat, it does not belong to him any more!"

To sum up: The H abstains from SM at his in-laws, because (a) no cattle equivalent has been received for him. (b) In addition, unlike his Wi, he is not spatially incorporated in the kraal of his in-laws. (c) His Wi's family remains a potential source of other Wis.

(381) begins with the apodictic statement: "I do not abstain from anything at my homestead." At strange homesteads he abstains from SM, *amaVovo* (beer dregs) and *umBhantshi* (i.e., strained water from beer or samp). He avoids SM because it is kept in a calabash which is placed in the apse where the ancestors eat of it. The same applies to *umBhantshi* : it too is kept in the apse, and he may not share food with strange ancestors. He could eat meat in these households, although meat is offered to the ancestors, and they are asked to come and lick it. But meat is placed in the apse only temporarily, whereas SM and *umBhantshi* vessels are kept there permanently. The beer dregs are more ancestral than the meat, because they are under the perpetual blessing of the ancestors!

Several dignified kraalheads when asked: When do you abstain from the SM of your homestead? replied: "Never, it is impossible for me to abstain from it." Their genuine indignation was due to the fact that they could not visualize themselves as strangers in their own kraal. When asked if they did not abstain from SM after the death of one of their Wis, they would admit it, but say "only for a few days." The 'badness' of eating SM of a strange kraal or clan is symbolized in the wizard's baboon. It is the familiar on which the wizard rides facing backwards, so that between them they have an all-round view. He rides at night to kill people. (412): The baboon goes out at night and sucks the udders of cows in strange kraals, an evil action, since milk should go to lineage members only *(uHlobo,uZalo)*. Moreover, an *umThakathi* feeds his baboon familiar with SM. It is a very bad thing to feed a wild animal with your Chn's food, i.e., worse than feeding a human stranger with SM is giving it to one with whom not even in-law relations are possible. Of course, an *umThakathi* will even have sexual intercourse with a baboon!

The significance of the Group explanation of the SM abstention became apparent in discussing the Physiological explanation sometimes mooted by informants. For instance (457, 458, 454) discussed the sanction against a menstruating woman eating her H's SM. They stated: it is not the cattle which are affected, but the calves - they become lean. And by implication rejecting the magical consequences theory: The reason is not, that cattle of that herd have been paid for her as bride-price, since a menstruating girl also avoids the SM of her F's homestead. (454) now propounded: I would not eat SM unless I was convinced that it had been prepared with the utmost care and cleanliness. Such cleanliness cannot be ensured by a menstruating woman. (The implication, of course, is that in order to keep her away from the calabashes in the apse, she is not permitted to eat SM herself). A menstruating woman is 'not clean' *(Ngcolile)*; she does not handle any SM, and formerly a menstruating girl could not enter a man's residence! - I admitted that this physiological theory sounded plausible at first. But the SM taboo is also imposed upon a man at his in-laws' place (WiF). And I place before them a sociological theory: Cattle, and particularly calves, symbolize the ancestors and with them the agnatic unit. Strangers must avoid them and especially their milk. Menstruation is a reminder to a woman of her status as stranger, of her obligation to bear Chn to her H's clan. The unmarried girl is reminded by the flow of the fact that her destination is to live as a stranger in a kraal not her F's; that she will bear Chn with her blood elsewhere. This explanation is more comprehensive than the physiological theory for it includes also the in-law abstention. (454) agreed wholeheartedly: You have now filled up my explanation! A menstruating woman avoids her H and his whole group in their symbol, the SM, (because she is unclean). The sociological theory is now even developed by them: A man cannot eat his own (his ancestor's) SM in a slovenly manner. He can't eat SM while he is lying on his side or on his stomach: he must sit up straight to Hl it. In other words, by his posture, a junior, a descendant, must express respect before his ancestors, his ascendants and the group they represent.

C. SM CONSUMPTION AND INCEST

1. SM Commensality defines Forbidden Degrees

An important principle emerged from our survey: While a Wi may not eat her H's SM, and he not hers, and they must eat from separate calabashes, separate pots and separate spoons, and at different times and in different places, Brs and Sis may eat of the same milk, from the same vessels, and while they are young they do so at the same time and in the same place, i.e., the woman's side of their M's hut. The two syndromes of action differ greatly. To the Zulu this contrasted behaviour has definite sexual implications. H and Wi, because they have no commensality, cohabit with each other. Br and Si, because they share their SM, must not have sexual intercourse, they cannot marry. This is expressed in different ways by our informants: "Seeing that H and Wi occupy different places when eating SM and do so from different vessels, they may sleep together at night" (194). "Since H and Wi do not eat from the same vessel, they do not abstain from sexual intercourse. Since they eat from different vessels, there is no sexual abstention between them" (195). "Persons who stand in the relation of H and Wi cannot eat from the same vessel. This is strictly prohibited even today" (193). The regulation of SM consumption becomes thus a signal or index of marriage regulations, in particular exogamy and incest.

The avoidance of incest is so important that a great number of methods are used to inculcate the interdict and to maintain it.

T h e C l a n / n is an obvious, and easily handled, criterion. (355): "Our parents tell us. When I talked about girls to my M, I was told not to make love to a Khoza girl, one of my clan/n, because I could not marry a sister. No other explanation was given. When I was very young I would fall in love with a Khoza girl, but my M would warn me off as soon as she heard. Now I am married to two Wis, and would never fall in love without making enquiries first. I was also reminded that when my F married, he did not choose a Khoza girl."

"Certain consanguineous kin have to be avoided, although they do not belong to my F's clan/n. I am told that it is because I am related to them, that I cannot marry their Das. I may not marry a person with my FM's clan/n or my M's clan/n; this I was taught in the same manner as regarding my F's clan/n. Whenever I found out that a girl had the wrong clan/n I dropped her." Obviously the system can work only, because the Zulu haven't the ideal of one and only love; and practise a frequent exchange of lovers without feeling embarrassed. "I had no sore heart (*angiPhatheki kaBi*), although I might feel slightly ashamed (*amaHloni*)." Exceptions do occur. In enumerating the clan/ns of his own family tree (355) gave an instance of his FF having broken the rule, since he apparently married a woman with his M's name.

The index of k/t is mastered well by (355): "I cannot marry persons whom I call *Dadewethu* (Si), *mFowethu* (Br/Cousin), *mZala* (Cross-cousin); a girl who calls me *Malume* (i.e., a SiDa), a girl born of my MSi or by my F's *mZala*; a girl born of my M's people, i.e., *mZalawethu*, no person I call *Mame* (and for a woman: no person she calls *Baba)*, nor *DadewoBaba* (in address) and *Dadewabokayise* (in reference), i.e., FSiDa. A man may marry his WiSi whom he calls *mLamuwami*, both when his Wi is alive or after her death. A man may marry his BrWi after his death, although she called him *mFowethu* (before her H's death). She does so only to H1 him; it is used metaphorically." Exceptions occur here too. (355) noted that he may make love to non-consanguineous cousins *(abaZala)*, i.e., MSi-coWisDas and FSi-coWisDas.

Spatial separation in daily life teaches Brs and Sis that they may not sleep together. At about puberty they are given their own separate huts to sleep in, girls sometimes earlier, since their maturity comes earlier.

Spatial separation is supported by SM commensality. Chn are told, that SM is meant for persons of one household only. They may eat it because they have the blood of that household. If a girl from a kraal where a man eats SM would select him for love-making, he would reject her. If he were to make advances to a girl from the lineage where he eats SM, she would say: Why do you make love to me, since you have eaten my SM? (However, if the elected were from a kraal with which he is not related, he would at once stop eating SM). "What is feared in eating SM of any kraal not related to you is that one may fall in love with one of the girls there. It would cause shame (*amaHloni*), because the calabash of that kraal is placed in the apse and is thus connected with its ancestors!"

Magical sanctions are threatened: When you marry a girl of your clan/n (or forbidden degrees) you have deaf, dumb, paralytic Chn. "It happens!" Sometimes a Ch falls ill, its condition deliberately brought on by the ancestors, because its F married a person he ought not to have married. (The inference that since many Chn get ill the wrong choice must be made often, is apparently not drawn: it is only specific diseases which are caused by ancestors).

The Sympathy of the Navel warns. If a youth is attracted by a girl, she might tell him: My clan/n is such; I heard yours is the same by the 'sympathy of the navel'. If an incestuous marriage has been entered upon unknowingly, and without the 'sympathy of the navel' intervening, the man pays a beast to clear away the relationship: *inKomo yokuGeza ubuHlobo*. It is slaughtered at the woman's home, eaten by the members of the house (but perhaps not by the young man and woman); the ancestors are told.

Adultery and incest: Youths are told: To sleep with your BrWi is like touching your F's sleeping mat. It is forbidden (H1): *umThetho wenHlonipho*. You are expected to respect your Br's property. The relationship will reveal itself in small acts, little signs: When the woman goes to fetch firewood, the HBr concerned offers to help her; when she serves food she will favour him, (in a law case at Nkandla, the HBr had built a granary for the BrWi). When such signs are seen a guard is set on their movements. Sleeping with a Si, the boys are

told, is much worse. You must Hl her; this rule has been given by *uMvelinqangi* (356).

Warnings by a large circle of relatives keep the Zulu on the straight path. (355): "My M told me the rules of incest, the k/t, the SM index. My M also finds out which girl I am making love to; if it is the wrong one, she checks me. My Brs likewise watch me, and my age-mates warn me." All love choices are semi-public selections. "My Si tells me which girl is interested in me, and she would not mention her if she did not pass the incest test. My Si would not, as a matter of Hl, tell me with which boy she carries on, or whom she has *qoma'd*. Neither Br nor F know until the go-between comes to offer the cattle! But my Si is, of course, guided by my M, her Sis and age-mates."

The common factor, which makes marriage impossible, and which is expressed in common clan/n, SM commensality, common residence, the classing under certain k/t(s), may also be expressed by common blood. (372): "A person may not marry his Si because she has the same blood as he. If you marry a person with another clan/n you marry a person of another blood. Marriage without blood mixture is disallowed. Put differently, people of the same *inSila* may not marry, people with different *inSila* may marry. If you join up with your own *inSila* you will beget deformities, if with dissimilar *inSila* you beget normal Chn."

(372) placed the various types of incestuous unions in the following order of frequency: 1. HF with So's bride; 2. F with Da; 3. Br with Si; 4. So with M (very rare). This frequency rating indicates that Fs break incest rules more often than Sos. (372): "If anyone breaks the rule, it is the U. He is the supreme authority in the kraal, he is in charge, he fears nobody. He can call his Da, or his SoWi to his Residence, without anybody suspecting anything, for nobody enters his hut without being called. The Sos have less authority, anyone just walks into their Residence (scil., or stays away as he or she pleases): if he called his Si suspicion would be aroused." Moreover the custom by which a F can ask his Da to raise her apron to display her private parts to visitors increases the F's temptation and opportunities.

"If a F touches his Da (body=sex organs) this is a Hl breach and resembles the breach his So commits when he touches his F's head-ring. In both cases the transgressor does not show respect, in particular: the So who touches his F's head-ring doesn't Hl his F; the man who touches his Da doesn't Hl his Wi(!); the man who touches his SoWi is not required to Hl his So, but he violates the law of the land *(umThetho weZwe)*; when a So touches his M, he Hl neither F nor M nor the whole kraal!" (372) mentions two cases he knows: In one case a man married his FSiDa, and the Ch of this union was blind. In the other case man and wife were from the same clan (Zulu) though no relationship could be traced. The first Ch was dumb, the second had white spots on the pupils of his eyes; the third had a dwarfed leg. The man had other Wis and they gave birth to normal Chn.

2. Comparison of Incest Indices

The SM taboo, in homesteads where marriage is possible, and the incest taboo in homesteads where SM may be consumed exhaust for a Zulu his field of social possibilities *63*. There are then four incest indices: k/t, clan/n, SM and 'sympathy of the navel', but their ranges do not precisely overlap.

The k/t does not bracket together the forbidden degrees of parallel cousins who are 'brothers' and 'sisters' and cross-cousins who are 'children of classificatory fathers and mothers' (*abaFowethu* and *abaZala*), but SM commensality does.

The clan/n is an unsatisfactory incest index, since it vaguely excludes all clan members even beyond the commensal lineage. The SM index by contrast ranges wider than Ego's own clan/n and includes kin belonging to at least three additional clan/ns, viz., M, FM and MM. The clan/n delimits the incest range agnatically, the SM commensality also concerning consanguineous kin. In regard to adjustability there is little to choose between the two

indices: the clan/n can be ritually changed to make a marriage between people of the same name possible; the SM relation is adjustable by means of marriage and brotherhood rites.

In certain relationships the SM index is more precise than either k/t or clan/n, e.g., in the case of marriage with FSiCh and MSiCh. The SM index does not exclude sororate and sororal polygyny, and because of the rule that H and Wi must eat from separate cows, it does not make leviratic union impossible. Moreover, SM is a daily ritual reminder of the incest barrier between siblings. K/t and clan/n cannot in this respect compete with the effectiveness of SM at all.

"The sympathetic feeling of the navel", or of the same stock (*ukuZwana ngeNkaba*), is said to make itself felt between blood relations who feel a vague attraction towards each other without being able to define it. Callaway's examples are a Ch who recognizes a M it has never seen and a girl who refuses a wooer who is her unknown Br.

Mythical non-observation of incest rule: The Zulu are aware that under certain circumstances the incest rules must be disregarded. Most informants, e.g. (356), consider the necessity to have arisen "in the beginning of times." It was suggested to him that since uMvelinqangi created one man and woman only, their Chn who were siblings had to intermarry. He at once started to demonstrate what happened by means of a kraal drawn in the sand, some seeds representing Him and Her. He made them come from opposite sides in his kraal. They did not stay in the same kraal but ran away; they broke the relationship by adopting different surnames. But the rule was only broken in the past, when there were too few clan/ns. After the Creation this process was repeated when necessary, but it was not legitimate. At present with so many *iziBongo*, there is no excuse for 'breaking the relationship'. And he infers: The people of the past who intermarried within a family had no defective Chn (it was so to speak a cosmological necessity), but those who intermarry or break the incest rule today, have!

3. SM Avoidance in Family Alliances

(162) "The reason why SM is not eaten at a strange kraal is that I may marry a girl there. Where I eat SM I cannot marry." And he sums up the stituation: "A person becomes a kinsman (affine) through milk avoidance and cattle exchange." Levi-Strauss's theory (1949) *64* of the incest rule as a means of ensuring alliances between kinship groups echoed in this statement. How did other informants feel about it?

(286): There are people with whom I eat SM, they are my relatives (*iziHlobo*); those where I do not eat are not related to me. This is the law of the creation! The rule: 'You eat SM where you do not marry and you abstain from SM where you marry' holds when love arises between a man and a woman, i.e., it becomes significant; it must be implemented then. (In other situations it might be of less account). Where he avoids SM (scil. on purpose) he might see a girl, he could fall in love with her, marry her. There his So might get a Wi and his (Ego's) cattle would go there. Or his Da goes there as Wi and he will receive cattle thence in return. The SM avoidance leads to intermarriage *(ukuGaniselana)*. He sums up: "No SM is eaten with families among which wife-cattle exchange may take place." However he adds: It depends on the character of the people, and he points out a boy who comes from a kraal, where his Wi (expression used is 'my SoM') came from yet he may eat SM here. This presumably means that the law is made for the people and not the people for the law!

He admits that the above rule has as corollary, that "in kraals in which I do eat SM the girls are not accessible to me. They are reserved for people from outside, for those people where I do not eat SM, and where I get cattle from. My Das will not get married in kraals where I eat SM. Nor do I want a girl who gets married at my kraal to eat my SM." He admits that this created order dividing the Zulu social universe into two complementary units may be altered by the ritual of cutting the relationship. That happens when a boy marries a girl of a kraal which is related to his. But why are the girls of his home reserved for men of other clans?

Why did Zulu forefathers want to exchange their Das for cattle and their cattle for Wis for their Sos only with people of another clan/n? "They considered it a disgrace *(iHlazo)* for people of one and the same clan to intermarry. It is a disgrace for people to behave like cattle in a pen, to make love (s c i l., within a limited group), it is as bad as adultery *(ukuPhinga)*."

(286) does not plump for the alliance theory, but he admits that fathers may wish to extend their influence through the intermarriage of their Chn, that through the exchange of cattle and daughters Chn would be born (for the in-laws) who would be counted relatives of the family which had given away their Das. He rather stresses that it is the nature of love to bring about social re-arrangements. "I blame the girls for 'spoiling' clan unity, because love within a clan leads to the cutting of the relationship." Again, where hostility exists between families, it is the girls who create friendship between them. The Zulu have a tendency to be enticed by beautiful girls. Marriage depends on love, love depends on beauty, and love springs up between young people irrespective of their kinship affiliation. The incest rule assists the lovers, for Sos are forced to look for Wis outside their families and how often do they surprise their Fs! And Das will run away from home and the parents' anger is soothed by the cattle offered in return! By implication (286) suggests that, although men would trust blood relations more, in the matter of sexual attraction there is a natural tendency to go beyond the narrow residential kinship unit.

The incest rule is acceptable, because it creates a large area where the free play of the love factor is possible. It has political advantages through the establishment of friendship between the families concerned, but these are not decisive. (285) adds here: "A chief who marries many Wis does not marry them all from one clan; he distributes his 'affection' for political reasons, to found his power on kinship ramifications. And chiefs who take two Wis from one kraal are rare. Yet wars between in-laws are not unknown, just as fights occur between groups which formerly were blood relations. It is the young who go against the hostility of the old people. They say: This hostility (between our families) is an old thing; it should no longer be observed. And they yield to the influence of love ." Old Khanyile and Linda seem therefore to think that it is the generation conflict which finds in love an opening to bridge past dissensions. The F's alliance policy strengthens this tendency. And, considering the fickleness of human nature and the transiency of feelings, love between strangers provides a chance to be made use of for cementing an alliance. The relationship can be fostered over a dozen years at least: Father A lends Father B some cattle; B becomes so used to them, he offers a Da in return, so that he may enjoy uncontested property rights over the cattle; the Da must find a marriage partner among the Sos of Father A; the marriage exchanges are spread over a long period; the birth of a Ch seals the compact; the repetitious release rites from various taboos complete the incorporation of the bride in her H's home; while the Chn of this marriage are considered so close kin that they may not marry into the M's family, the GChn only may make love again to members of their GM's clan.

(286) adds that the very fact of so valuable a possession as cattle being exchanged for Wis points to the importance of love in uniting families. A mere barter, an exchange of commodities, has no coercive unifying effect. It is the love between young men and women which induces family alliances! Love is directed outside the family by the incest rule which in turn is supported by the SM avoidance.

(394) The SM of in-laws is reciprocally abstained from (Za). A H does not eat SM at his Wi's home kraal; his-in-laws don't eat SM at his, their DaH's or SiH's kraal. If he ate (before marriage) he would eat what he is going to enjoy later, and (after marriage) he would eat "his own cattle", or their SM respectively, i.e., the bride-price. He should not eat, enjoy a thing twice: i.e., the bride and the cattle-milk given for her. Marriage might be considered an exchange of milk (and its value in reproduction): He sends cattle; they will give calves and milk. He gets a Wi and she will give birth to Chn whom she will suckle. The cow's milk goes one way, the human milk the other. (At this point, he says, he is fascinated; he now realizes what marriage really means: although he is excited, he looks to the ground and repeats: 'I've learnt

something'). He adds: I do not give the cattle for my bride as 'meat' but as milk; for that reason I can be released from the meat taboo, but not from the milk taboo. The exchange is concerned with the respective reproductive ability of woman and cattle as symbolized in their milk. (And since the woman brings this ability to her H, there is no reason why she should be excluded from milk consumption at his homestead). (406) confirms this hunch. If a menstruating woman dies, the cattle paid for her by her H's people and now in her F's kraal will die.

4. SM as Symbol of Virility

The SM avoidances perform another function as manifested in the calabash of a deceased kraalhead. (407), head-ringed: "A kraalhead's SM and his calabash are destroyed at his death. because their 'owner' is dead. The Wi who was in charge of it breaks it outside the homestead in the veld. A Wi's calabash is not destroyed. A Ch's is thrown away by its M in the grass." (246): "When a kraalhead dies his SM calabash and his milk pot are broken, his maize container is burnt. The spoons may be cleansed by killing a goat to remove the *isiNyama;* they may then be used by his chief widow. (Through death an inversion concerning their use takes place since they were originally taboo). The goat is known as *imBuzi yokuDla imiThi* . The objects are destroyed, because they can have one owner only. The Chn's vessels are not destroyed because they have more than one owner. A Wi's calabash is destroyed if she was the only owner of it." (The informant may here have been carried away by a formal desire for consistency).

At Mqiniseni Zungu's homestead, MaNdlela and MaBiyela said: "When the kraalhead dies, his M breaks his calabash *(Bulala)*. This is *umThetho*, meaning here as much as *imiKhuba* (customary law). The calabashes of Wis and Chn are not destroyed, since Chn (also Wis?) do not own cattle. Even if the heir dies, and he had lived at his F's homestead and had 'owned' cattle there, his calabash is not *bulalwa'd*, for the (real) owner, his F, is still alive." In other words, the destruction of the calabash is a ritual indication of cattle ownership. Linked with it is the killing of cattle after their owner's death (to accompany him). "The SM of a kraalhead is just like his *inSila* (body-dirt and power). This implies that Wis and Chn have less *inSila* or none at all. The reason is obvious, the kraalhead is the person who has *isiThunzi* (shadow, personality). If the breaking of the calabash is omitted, the dead kraalhead will appear in a dream and say: 'I want the calabash!'"

The pail is not destroyed, since it is not used in eating and goes to the heir with the cattle estate. (The same happens to the ancestral spear). (257): "Calabashes are no longer destroyed (by Xians). They were destroyed in the past because people were afraid of death and their destruction prevented the spread of death in the family. If the princWi forgot the breaking of the calabash, she would acquire the *umMnyama* (s c i l. of death). If someone ate of the dead man's SM he would increase the *umMnyama*. The SM left-over is poured into the cattle pen for it is as much as the deceased's *inSila*." (412): "A kraalhead's SM calabash is broken by his BrsWis outside the kraal" - he comes from a large kraal with five Brs as residents. "It is buried where broken; the SM in it is given to the dogs." Chief Manyala Biyela: "The SM calabash of the kraalhead is broken at his death, a matter of H1, sometimes on his grave by his princWi and about the time when the heir is appointed. Nobody must use it anymore (Za). The SM is taken out and thrown away, or put in a dish and given to the dogs to eat which also eat gall-bladder, bones, stomach contents." The breaking must be done outside the homestead to remove *umMnyama* of death which is considered specially attached to a vessel so intimately linked with the kraalhead. Any person acquiring the calabash, or eating the left-over SM passes on the 'Gloom of Death'; hence they avoid it (H1/Za). The pail, on the other hand, is a group symbol of the authority of the ancestors which is passed on with the estate or entailed cattle to the heir. In him is henceforth vested the representation of the group and their forbears.

The calabash thus symbolizes the individual virility, strength and authority of the U as exercised in his sex life over his Wis and in his ownership over the cattle and in particular his private beasts which are killed after his death.

Since SM avoidance has intimate links with marriage, it is not surprising that SM has significance as a symbol of reproduction. (290) says in an aside: "SM is abstained from because it is something that goes into a calabash", and Chief Manyala Biyela elaborates: "Milk goes into a vessel and undergoes a transformation in it", and he argues "There is a lot of connection between SM and semen. SM produces a lot of *isiTimu* (virility) *65*. Both SM and meat soup make semen. This is why women can't eat SM in front of men; they would be reminded by the SM of their H's semen." (401): "Plenty of SM makes a man have plenty of semen" *(isiDoda)*; and (402): "SM is nice sweet food which is offered especially to persons in their teens; it makes youths and maidens grow well. If there is only one cow in milk in a homestead, the SM goes to the kraalhead, to nourish his body, to produce semen. The very creaminess of it shows that it produces semen. It is because of this resemblance that women have to abstain from SM on certain occasions. Also when a man feels that his strength (virility) is fading he mixes fresh milk into the medicine" *(uBangalala)*.

This association is extended in another direction. SM is readily linked with white objects. White vessels and cloths are covered up during a thunderstorm, as also is SM: they attract lightning, and as we have noted, SM because of its whiteness has associations with lightning itself. Like lightning too, SM is a symbol of the male, the fertilizing element. Hence SM is associated by (401 and 402) even with *iDlozi* (ancestor) and (402) gives as reason, because an ancestor looks like a whitish cloud! Both Chief Manyala Biyela and (402) see moreover a functional identity of semen and ancestors. "Semen can well be called *iDlozi* for without it you cannot produce a Ch", and (401): "Semen can be called *iDlozi* , because a kraal without ancestor can't survive, and SM can be called *iDlozi*, because a stranger must not consume it, and a woman married into the kraal must be given it" (s c i l. as she has semen injected into her). The Chief rounds off the argument: "Without semen, without *iDlozi* , there are no Chn in the homestead. Semen is the life of a man. A man who no longer produces semen is dead. A dead man can't produce semen anymore. The breaking of the kraalhead's SM calabash at his death is a symbol of the fact that he cannot beget Chn any longer. And that is why strangers are not allowed to eat SM in my kraal: they cannot produce Chn in it!" (401) concurs: "The breaking of the calabash signifies that his semen is finished!" and (402): "It is because a kraalhead controls the milk consumption. and gets the first and main share, and produces Chn with his semen (produced by SM) that he has the overriding authority in his kraal." In other words, his authority rests in his ability to reproduce his agnatic group.

Discussing with (457, 458, 454) the implications of the taboo on milkers sitting down at a fire without having washed the milk off their legs, and linking it with the other taboo, that a woman may not spill milk into the fire, we note that in both cases the sanction is: the cattle (i.e., the agnatic group) will be affected. (457) interpolates. "If the woman's error is the result of an unintentional boiling over of the milk, it will not be looked at in a serious light." Then I place the following theory before them: Cattle remind of marriage (the union of man and woman, of two families), milk of semen, fire of vagina. Does the taboo on the milker not prohibit symbolically the placing of semen (milk) near the vagina (fire), i.e., the assumption of a privilege of his F, aggravated because performance of the sexual act and claim to authority go hand in hand? Further the woman's spilling of milk into the fire might be interpreted as expressing a desire to want sexual intercourse by which she shows herself forward. Magogo replied: "I had never thought of it like that. But put that way, I agree that it is a suitable explanation. Yet it is very deep. We don't know any other explanation, and it sounds to us a sound theory." The SM rites at a U's death signify thus that his main functions, the reproduction of the family and the control of cattle with which the first is ritually linked, are passed on to the heir to preserve the continuity of the lineage. A. Smith (p. 63) reports the execution of an old man who "by accident let some milk boil over on the fire."

Today's norm is that SM is a special food for Chn, and this goes back at least half a century. (412): "There was a period when all cattle died (rinderpest). Then goats were milked for small Chn only. The adults abstained from it (Za). It was unheard of for them to eat goat's milk; it would have been a disgrace *(iHlazo)* for them to eat it; they disliked it." Yet the Umpumulo

group reported: SM should not be eaten by Chn, and (119) supported this view. It is possible that at a time, when cattle were scarce, only the authority wielding persons in the family set-up were privileged to consume SM. So much may be inferred from Callaway's story of the wagtail, which produced milk for a man who had caught it. His Chn were not allowed even to lift the lid of the pot in which the wagtail sat and produced milk. When they once lifted the lid, the bird fled. Several of my informants remember a similar story. (401) gave it a particular twist, reconciling the old plot with the modern practice of feeding Chn with SM." Once a woman was hoeing in the field, when a bird came and asked her why she hoed, since she had been told (by the bird) not to hoe. And at once the field became again overgrown with weeds. The woman reported the matter to her H and he went out to chase the bird and caught it. The bird said: 'Don't kill me. I can produce SM' (At this point the listeners laughed, especially the teller's Br). The man looked for a hollow in a rock and asked the bird to demonstrate its ability. The bird did indeed produce SM and the man drank it. He took the bird home, told his Wi that the bird produced SM and placed it in a large clay pot. It is this bird's SM which the man used to eat and not to give to his Chn. Once when the F was absent, the Chn went and opened the lid and the bird flew away. When the man returned he gave them a good beating for letting the bird away. (Both the man and his Wi ate of the SM, I don't know whether from the same vessels or not)."

Whatever the distribution of the privilege of eating SM in the past, present day custom does not subject Chn and old women to any SM abstentions. For an old woman even the taboo on eating SM in the presence of her H may be abolished, although she may not be allowed to eat SM when other men (HBrs) eat with him. As for Chn we have already reviewed cases which show that they may eat SM even away from their homes. They do no wrong until SM eating at a strange kraal acquires a sexual significance with the onset of their puberty.

5. To sum up: A Zulu will formulate the following generalization: A person eats SM among people with his own clan/n; he will abstain from SM in kraals with other clan/n(s). In practice, as we have seen, both rules are considerably modified. A Zulu normally eats SM only within his lineage, among his agnates. To eat SM with distant clan brothers requires a ritual (killing of a goat) to establish 'relationship'. Such ritual relationship is also established with one's M's people, with friends, through marriage (for wife only), and with an agistment partner without rite. Within the lineage SM consumption rules accentuate ritually distinctions of rank, age, sex, marital status, and result in the separation of the source of milk, the vessels and the eating utensils. SM commensality may be ritually broken. The abstention from SM in 'strange' kraals is likewise not absolute. Apart from the exceptions in favour of consanguineous kin, it is permissible to eat SM in strange kraals when one is famished. Moreover in most kraals the question whether one would eat SM or not never arises; it falls outside consideration. The taboo is imposed mainly as regards those homesteads where a potential or actual marriage partner lives.

The function of the SM abstention can now be summarized:

It solidifies the agnatic unit (lineage), maintains its solidarity against strangers or outsiders.

It differentiates individuals within the unit according to age, status, rank, sex, by means of subsidiary avoidances.

It singles out families, lineages with which marital alliances are contemplated, or have been concluded (i.e., marital alliances are symbolized through milk avoidance and cattle exchanges).

It symbolizes the continuity of the kinship unit through time, by showing that the kraalhead's authority (as expressed in milk and cattle control, in his procreative function) is temporary, and given to him by the ancestors on trust. His calabash and private cattle are destroyed on his death; the pail and entailed cattle are passed on to the heir.

Two aspects of the SM avoidance are significant:

Within the compound family (minor lineage) the milk avoidance acts in a differentiating,

diacritical manner: Agnatic relatives (F, Brs, FBrs, Chn) enjoy complete commensality. Affines (Wi, FWis, WiF, WiM) enjoy only a partial or segregated commensality; they may eat SM from the same herd, but not from the same animal. The same differentiating tendency separates the generations: The So does not eat from the same milk (cow) as his F but from the same herd.

The SM avoidance also exercises a syncretizing function, i.e., it unifies the family group in its relations to outsiders. E.g., before marriage the young woman and the young man avoid each other's SM completely and are joined in this m u t u a l restraint by their respective families. The fact that in some SM arrangements all milk has to go through the Great Hut unites the various households in the homestead in a daily rite *66*.

D. CASE STUDIES: MILK DISTRIBUTION AVOIDANCES

1. Msenteli Zulu, DakwakuSutha, (423) (Cf. Fig. 50)

Msenteli, an old Mandlakazi prince, having condescended to admit us and to explain Zulu milking custom, announced his decision first to an elder So (above 30 years of age), then to a younger So (above 20), "to Hl them, and not to reassure himself that they had no objections." They received the news bending one knee. Painstaking preparations under the watchful eyes of the kraalhead (c) were now undertaken to establish a reserved area (b). Two herdboys, about 12 years, swept a circular site just outside the fence gate (a) with strongly scented plants, and one removed weeds from it with a spade. Weeds and rubbish were swept into the pen "to mix with the cowdung." Then the kraalhead's So brought calabashes from the kraalhead's hut and his own, and the herdboys those from the other huts. Walking with measured steps they carried the empty calabashes one by one, holding each with two hands, the arms angled slightly. Sweeping and ritual carrying were done "to Hl the calabashes!". Then the herdboys brought two pails from the huts and the eSo carried the kraalhead's pail (which had a fine burnt edge) from the Great Hut (3). In carrying the pots and bottles the Chn walked round the kraalhead's seat in a wide semi-circle; they could not pass in front of him (Hl). They deposited the vessels in the reserved area for they were to be filled there, while those of the other houses were taken into the pen later. Apparently those of the higher-ranking houses were dealt with with greater restraint (Hl). One herdboy had slight trouble with a calabash; its stopper came out, and the whey escaped. He anxiously looked round to see if the kraalhead had noticed it and was obviously pleased that he had not.

When the So with the kraalhead's pail had entered the pen, the calves were allowed in to suck. After a time the herdboys and a small girl carrying a baby on her back, started to throw a thong over the mouth of the cow about to be milked, to tie its hindlegs and to beat off the calf, the kraalhead shouting now and then from his seat: 'Don't kill it! You will kill it!' The milker whistled to calm the cow or to make her yield milk. The eSo commenced with one of the kraalhead's cows, but the other milker started almost simultaneously. The milker of the cows for hut 1 had his pail filled first and began pouring milk into the calabashes. Msenteli insisted: The cows that belong to the Great Hut are milked first (Hl), and the kraalhead's cow has precedence before that of his Wi. It was the milkers, not the herdboys, who picked up the calabashes. In filling them, the milker went down on his haunches, took the pail between his legs, tipped it and used his thumbs as a guide. Some milk was lost; a cat was there to lick it, also hens which pecked at the milk crusts on the vessels. The excess of milk was poured into pots and bottles. The milk of two cows was milked into one pail; this could be done since the cows belonged to one hut. As there were three milkers but four houses milked for, one of them milked for two.

The kraalhead told us he had 14 Wis, 8 had died, 4 of those remaining live in this kraal, two in kraals of their Sos, which are small and dependent on his. He has 7 Sos living with him,

three on the right, four on the left side, one So on each side being not yet married, and one from the right being away at work. (These latter three are not counted in Fig. 50). There are four pails in the kraal, kept in separate huts. This has no significance, since the homestead is not yet apportioned. One pail is kept in the Great Hut (also Residence), one in So's house, i.e., SoWi's hut, the third in the hut of kraalhead's Wi, the fourth on the left side of the kraal. Each pail is milked for its hut, but since in this case only three pails were used, the pail of hut 3 was apparently used for hut 5 too, and perhaps for that reason was first taken from hut 3 to hut 5 (and placed there in the apse briefly?) before it was taken out to the pen. Nonetheless Msenteli insisted that milk from any cow, for any hut can go into any pail.

The full calabashes, milk pots and bottles were taken back to the huts in an informal manner by small boys, from 5-7 years old, and by girls, about two years older. The milkers in the meantime washed themselves in the pen near the top gate, from a basin brought from hut 4, and while two calabashes from the Great Hut were still in the pen. "The milkers can't sit down at a fire without having washed the milk off their legs, the teats would crack on the udders (H1). The calabashes of the kraalhead, his M and his Wi of the Great Hut, who looks after his SM, are kept on one side. It is the law of the ancestors to respect them (H1). The calabashes cannot be mixed up, everybody knows his own. A stranger may not interfere with a calabash not his own; he would be suspected of being an *umThakathi* out to poison the owner. Such poisoning could not be done by the milker, who handles fresh milk, but only with SM, as is the case with beer, which is poisoned only when it is ready. However, the possible poisoning of SM is not the reason for avoiding calabashes, but the respecting of the owner, of the kraalhead's authority."

"He, a DakwakuSutha, can have SM brought to his Residence (*iLawu*). (He called the hut in which he lived with his Wi, and which ritually functions as the Great Hut, his *iLawu*). The milk sours there in the calabashes, and the pail was kept there even while his M was alive, because he is the kraalhead (*umNumzane*). He might eat SM in his Residence even when he has appointed the princWi. He can eat SM in the presence of his Wi and his Sos, and the Sos can eat in his

Msenteli Zulu's Kraal (423)

Married-Sos have calabash in Wi's hut, unmarried in M's hut

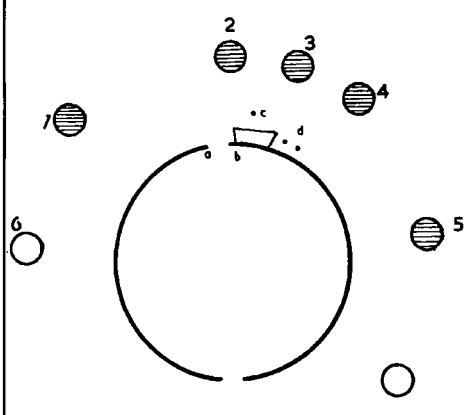


Fig. 50

a. Top gate to pen
b. Reserved area
c. Kraalhead on chair
d. OFR, interpreter

Hut No.	Cows	Calabashes reported	Milking Vessels observed	Residents' sons sleep elsewhere
1	3	3 1 pail brought by herdboy	3 cal. (2 large, 1 small) brought out by boy 2 sweet milk pots by girl 1 bottle brought by toddler	2 UWis; joint calabash 2 SosWis (2 Sos each with his calabash) 8 Chn incl. 1 UDa
2	5	5	1 pot brought late and taken straight to pen, not deposited at (b)	1 UWi: 1 cal 3 UDas: 1 cal each
3	3	4 1 pail brought by eSo	4 large calabashes brought out by So	U: 2 cal UWi: 2 cal they call 6 GChn
4	4	4 pail (?)	3 calabashes brought by herdboy 1 bottle by toddler	2 UWis 2 cal 1 SoWi 1 cal (1 So) 1 cal
5	4	4 Pail brought by So out of (3) taken to (5) via pen	2 calabashes carried by So 3 pots with lid carried by small girls	2 UWis 1 cal each 1 UDa (1 So)

presence. But a Wi cannot eat in the kraalhead's presence (Hl): 'it is natural'." (He admits some people allow their Wis to eat in their presence, and points out an oldish onlooker, a Swazi of the Myeni clan). The Wi of the Great Hut eats her SM there, unless there are too many visitors. when she may also eat it in the hut of a co-Wi. The kraalhead can eat SM out of his Wi's calabash (and mixing pot) but the Wi cannot eat out of his, except in his absence from the kraal. She can also eat *umCaba* from his container *(iQuthu)* when he is not at home. If he is at home, but for some reason does not eat SM, his Wi may eat the samp and even pass it on to her co-Wis, but she must not eat the SM. This refers to the Wi who looks after his food. But she may never eat with his spoon. All she could do is to ladle SM out of the pot with it; she must eat it from her palm (Hl!). She may however use his mixing spoon. His So may also mix with his F's spoon, but may not use it for ladling SM out of his F's pot. Something, *iziNyama*, would happen to a So who did; he is an *umThakathi* . (N. B. The table shows 8 UWis although only four are reported as living there. This may be a case of keeping alive household claims).

2. Chief Manyala Biyela, at his emaHlayizeni Kraal

Each family hut has a cow assigned to it for milking; several cows belong to the kraalhead's establishment (i.e., his M's and his princWi's hut). The cows belonging to the kraalhead are milked first (Hl); this is a very old custom. The rest follow without fixed order, except that the kraalhead's M's cow precedes others. In his kraal there are four pails. The kraalhead's milk must go through the pail which is kept in his M's or princWi's hut. No other milk may pass through it (Hl). (410): The "king's milk pail" cannot be used for anyone else. Pails are kept in the apse, placed upside down on a stick in the hut in which they are kept. No reservations are made about other pails in this kraal; they are kept in the hut with the most milk for the milkers' convenience, although it is customary that all pails be kept in the Great Hut. The larger the kraal the more pails are required to allow milkers to milk several cows simultaneously. A small kraal could do with one pail. The milkers know to keep the milk apart, for they know the cows and to which huts they belong. The milker shouts the name of the cow to be milked and that of its calf. (The women do not go into the pen at milking time - Hl - but they might, if suspicious, check up on getting the right milk by listening to the names. They could not do so in the hoeing season, since they are not at home at milking time).

In olden times the calabashes were placed by the Chn outside the fence of the pen in three groups opposite to the three Houses from which they came. Nowadays they are placed near the door inside each living hut and filled there by the boys *67*. Chn of the hut then place the calabashes in the apse.

Each woman has two calabashes for her household, one for herself, the other for her Chn. In the hut of the kraalhead's M (or princWi) there are more calabashes, because the old woman calls some GChn in every day to eat SM. She calls them in turn, and thus every Ch eats milk in two huts, in his M's and in his GM's. The chief does not specially assign a milch cow to his M, but she is the last woman to go short! It is really the UM's privilege to suggest which cow is to go to which Wi of her son. The kraalhead and his M have separate calabashes; they cannot eat from each other's calabash, but he concedes this might happen, if there were only one milch cow, or if she were temporarily without a calabash. But it is more likely that she would do without. The kraalhead (chief) must have SM, for "he has been brought up" in this kraal, and "he is being looked after" here. Even while his M was still alive, one of his Wis was placed in the Great Hut "to feed" the old lady, and her calabash was then placed in the hut too. After the death of his M, the kraalhead's calabash continued to be kept in this hut, which is now occupied by the Wi who looks after his food. She is not princWi, since as in most chiefly establishments the apportionment is postponed, and the Houses have not yet been appointed.

The kraalhead cannot eat his Wis' SM, since "he has his own." Nothing would happen. (He feels the avoidance so light that he does not describe it as Hl or Za, but a mere custom!) A Wi may not eat her H's SM, but she may eat her HM's, for "all the cattle in the homestead belong to her!" The heir cannot eat the kraalhead's SM (Za/Hl), and a Ch cannot eat his F's food, unless it is passed on to him by his M, a special Biyela rule.

To each eater belongs a calabash, and in each hut there is a mixing pot, although in family huts there may be two mixing pots, one for the M, the other for the Chn; in such a case the M may share her pot with the bigger Chn who eat with her out of it. In the Great Hut there are three mixing pots: the kraalhead's, his M's and his Wi's, i.e., the one who looks after the old lady's and the chief's food. It is a Hl to keep mixing pots apart. Each pot has the mixer which pertains to it. The kraalhead has two spoons, one to mix and one to eat with. The Wi in attendance pours the samp into the mixing pot, but he himself stirs the mixture. When finished stirring he gives the mixer to a Ch to lick it. A Wi has only one spoon which she uses for mixing and eating. The Chn, especially those eating in the Great Hut, have to eat with their hands after the GM has eaten out of the pot with her spoon (Hl). Each Wi brings vegetable food to the Great Hut daily, and the H eats of it. But they do not bring SM, and he eats only of his own supply. It is a rule that a family head has his own calabash, so that if he is bewitched, he knows that the woman in charge of his food is to blame. (This is a case of individualizing responsibility).

3. Milk Distribution at (412)'s Kraal

The U allots the cows for milking purposes; this is called *ukwAba* (but also apportionment of cattle to Houses is known by this term). If a So has paid out all his cattle in bride-price, he can get milk from other Houses.

(412) has only one pail. Young men milk, old men don't, if they have Sos. Girls can milk, Wis can't; they Hl the pen, since the cattle stand for the (agnatic) family and Wis are strangers (= affines). The U's milk sours in the Great Hut, where his M stays (she is dead!). His Wi is now in charge (only one is alive, the others are dead). He has his own calabash; his Wi has hers.

All calabashes are kept in the Great Hut, even those of the Sos, but only the U eats his SM in the Great Hut (he must eat there); a So can take his SM in a different (i.e., his Wi's) hut: he can eat any other food, meat, vegetables, beer in his Residence, but not SM (Hl). Only the U could eat his SM in the *iLawu* . The milk is poured by the milker from the pail into calabashes; they know them. The U, UWi, USos have different cows, also SosWis have cows allotted to them for milking purposes. USosWisChn can have their own cow or are given milk from other cows not allotted to them. There is a separate cow for each calabash but if a calabash is not full, it may be filled from another cow. The H's milk could go into his Wi's calabash and vice versa! The U may not eat SM from his Wi's calabash; his Wi might eat from his! If her cow dies, she has another allotted for milking. SosWis can take SM from UWi's calabash, but never from U (=HF)'s calabash. Sos cannot eat from F's calabash, unless he gives permission! Sos can eat from their M's calabash. Sos cannot eat from their Wis' calabashes he thinks, but he does not know their arrangements! "In my home (i.e., when I was young) it was not done."

From the calabashes the SM goes into the different mixing pots. U, UWi, USos, USosWis have different pots, each his own. All mixing pots are kept in the Great Hut. For each mixing pot there is a mixing spoon. The pots can't be mixed up; they are known to everyone. Nobody may use, e.g., the U's pot, for his purposes.

The U has an *iQuthu* (container, woven of *iLala*-fibres) with a lid and carried on a plate (=*imBenge*). In the *iQuthu* are placed the boiled, crushed mealies for him *(umCaba)*. Nobody can touch the *iQuthu* (Hl) except the girl charged with grinding the corn for him. The mealies may be ground in any hut (Wi's also SoWi's). Mealies are boiled in one pot for all. But it is the first ground mealies that are put into the U's *iQuthu*. (We saw the *iQuthu* come from the U's *iLawu;* he says however, its proper place is in the Great Hut). If his So were to get hold of his F's container without being authorized, he would really punish him. He could beat him. It is *ukungaHloniphi* ! A So cannot eat SM left by his F with a spoon nor with any of his F's utensils. When the U is dead the eating utensils go to his heir: he is referring to manufactured utensils. In the past the U's eating utensils were buried, not in the U's grave, but elsewhere.

4. SM at Royal Kraal Nobamba

(409 and 410) state: Since the SM order establishes claims of succession, it cannot be talked about freely. There are three pails in the kraal, one for the Great House, one for the eBr's House, one for the House of the heir. (410) says: "I cannot be called U, the heir is the U. He is a boy who works in Durban. He is now of age and my BrSo. But (really) I am the U, because I am his F. (NB: I am not U and I am U: legally not, in fact yes)." Q: Where do you (410) get your SM from? "According to custom all SM must come from the Great House, but here I eat SM that comes from the eBr's House."

The discussion ran at once into difficulties, when we tried to find out which huts belonged to the Great House establishment. Then we started with one of the other Houses: (a) H e i r ' s H o u s e; he lives in Durban, has one Wi only, 4 Chn, including twins. (They laugh at the word for twin). The Wi is not given SM yet, since no proper Zulu wedding was held for her! Her Chn get SM; it comes through the pail of the heir's House and sours in calabashes which are kept at heir's M's place (i.e., his Wi's M-in-l). The M of the Chn can't touch milk, nor calabashes, etc. Since she is not properly married, she has no proper hut. Her H's *iLawu* fell down. She lives in her M-in-l's hut. If the heir comes home, he will live in his Br's hut, and build his Wi and himself new huts. To this House belong the heir's Wi's non-existent hut; the heir's hut, *iLawu*, also non-existent; only the heir's M's hut exists and in it the SM for the heir's Chn and his M, but not for his Wi, is handled.

(b) eBr's House: Personal name of 410's eBr is *BekaMakosi-Mpembeni-Richard kaDinizulu*, he died 8th June, 1956, his widows still walk about the kraal with black dresses in 1958; all other women wear print dresses. (409) Puzile Nkosi-Dhlamini, is his real M. The widows, because of their condition do not eat SM. Their milk used to come through the pail of this house, and still does so, the milk being eaten by their Chn. Each Wi had her own calabash, souring took place in each Wi's hut, because "each hut is the king's" and they Hl him. The Chn of each Wi have (at least) a calabash, and now, since their Ms are widows, they also eat the milk from their Ms' calabashes.
The calabash of the eBr, the late BekaMakosi, was broken by his M, (409), beside the river. She took it with its contents to the bank, broke it on the sand, and buried the sherds and SM there.
(410) "lives" in this House since before BekaMakosi died; he has an *iLawu* here and one Wi who with three Chn lives in a family hut. He comes only for brief periods on visits; he has a whole kraal in the Mahlabatini area. At one stage (410) said his SM comes through the pail of his eBr's House. (But this may be to claim the inheritance of the kraal, if its heir with his irregular marriage could be disinherited?)

(c) G r e a t H o u s e: over which the 'Queen' (409) presides. Q: How many calabashes are supplied from its pail? A: All the houses get their milk from the Great House. "It is difficult to explain the distribution!" Q: Are there any huts in Nobamba which do not belong to (a) or (b)? "The Great House must have particular huts which are directly under it; it cannot be part of the heir's House or of the eBr's House." This is not a satisfactory answer, perhaps because the heir's House does not yet exist, it is in process of emerging, nor does the eBr's House really exist by itself, since its head is dead and no successor has been appointed. At one time (410) says that his SM sours in his M's hut (409), and his Wi's in the hut of yet another Br "who is still alive" (We have not heard of him yet nor seen him). At another stage he says his Wi's calabashes are kept in the old lady's hut (!), for his Wi is taken as her Ch. The calabashes of his Chn, however, are kept in their own M's hut. Q: What calabashes are souring in (409)'s hut? First a general rule is given: Each house, right from the beginning, has cattle for its own milking. "But when they eat SM they have to eat it in the Great Hut, both Wis and Chn. They go in turns, the Chn together (my Sos, SosSos and my SosDas) but not my Das-in-l who eat in their family huts." Q: What calabashes are souring in the Great Hut? A: "When Dinizulu was about to be buried, his corpse was placed in my hut for a night (see Burial). For this reason no more calabashes can be kept in my hut for souring (Hl). A special hut was built beside the Great Hut for this purpose. It is not a kitchen, although if the weather is bad, a fire

could be made there and food cooked. Souring of the milk is its main function. Although the kraal has been moved four times, and the huts are no longer the original ones, the same arrangement is retained."

"In this SM hut no love visits between young lovers are possible (Za). We respect it (Hl): the SM is the food of 'the Superior', we are not supposed to do anything 'bad' in his presence (s c i l. of the deceased). The hut is the ancestors'. Nobody may sleep in a hut where there is meat or SM in calabashes. In this case Dinizulu is thought of in particular as 'the owner'. The hut has no special sign, but everyone knows it. No stranger may enter (Hl), neighbours are not allowed. Only the person who milks the cows *(iNceku)* goes in. (Yes, we have *iz-iNceku* for this kraal, they no longer live here, they were dispersed at the time of Dinizulu's arrest, the farmers scattered them, but when we need them we call them still). The calabashes are placed in the apse, but no meat can be placed in the SM hut: it is just as good as the Great Hut. There is a special meat hut, and I (409) go there to distribute meat."

5. (414-421) Chief Phumanyova Zulu and his Councillors

The U has his milch cows, each of the UWis has a milch cow allotted to her and so have the USos. But UDas have no milch cows of their own; they eat with their Ms! Sos get cows allotted to them (for milking purposes) when they reach maturity; a F who is slow about giving cows to his Sos must be got to do it by any means allowed by Hl; a So can't ask straightforwardly; he can't do it via his M either! He must use a go-between.

The number of pails in a kraal depends on the number of cattle and especially of milkers. A special pail for *inKosana* and another for *iKhohlo* is possible, if their father is dead! If the father lives in the kraal, all pails belong to him, even if there are more than ten!

From the pail the milk goes straight into the calabashes; the calabashes have been placed inside the pen, unless there is windy or dusty weather, when they are filled inside hut-doors. If calabashes are set out in the yard, it is the U's wish that it be so, not a custom. The calabashes should be kept together, not separated according to kraal sides or Houses.

The boys know which cow's milk goes into which calabash; they are instructed; mixing up "is not done"; they would "be punished." The chief sings out: "Milch cow given by me to my Wi for milking is mine no longer; when I die, she claims it as hers." The calabashes go into the huts. They don't go into one "pool." The calabashes of U, UM, Uprinc(=first)Wi, or Wi who stays in the Great Hut go into the Great Hut. Calabashes for the Wis and for their Chn go into the respective family hut. (There is also a calabash for the Chn of the Great Hut). The milkers carry the calabashes into the houses and into the apse there. Only strangers may not approach the apse, family members may.

W h e y: The milkers remove the whey *(umLaza)* from the calabashes; they and in fact anybody may drink it but brides only inside a hut (Hl), not outside like milkers! There may be a special pot for the whey in which it is mixed with the curds to make 'milk lather' *(iHongo)*. The curds are taken out either by the Wi of the hut, or the M (in Great Hut), or in case of U's calabash by the Wi appointed. To each calabash belongs a mixing pot; but there is only one *iQuthu* (mealies container): it belongs to the U. The UWi (appointed) mixes the maize and SM with the U's mixing spoon. When finished she calls the U. He eats SM in Great Hut or Residence. The U may eat from his M's but not from his Wi's calabash. The Wi may not eat from the U's calabash, but she may eat from her M-in-l's. The Wi may not take mealies from the *iQuthu*, not even any remains (Hl); only the Chn may. She puts the mealies into the *iQuthu* (container) but cannot take them out for her own consumption! If she took them, it is a wrong, *iHlazo* (disgrace). What remains may be eaten only by the Chn, or by the UM.

6. SM Distribution in Gomba Shezi's KwaHlumeHlupeka Kraal (Cf. Fig. 51).

There are two pails in the homestead, one (1) the U's, the other (11) bought by the eSo of MaLwandhle, i.e., Folokahlela. The U (informant) does not admit that the milk of the two

pails is kept separate, only the calabashes of the two sides of the homestead are. "My pail does not belong to a particular House, it milks for the whole kraal. It is kept in princWi's hut. Since my first Wi died, there is no princWi at present, she may yet be appointed. Now it is kept in the hut for which the last milk was milked. It is kept in the apse (always). The second pail also serves the whole kraal and cannot be reserved for milk of the right-hand side. It was bought because there is more than one milker. It is kept in the F's hut!" (This is a claim that it should be kept in the hut of the wife (3), who looks after his food.

There are cows for the U, for UWi (left) and UWi (right). The calabashes are placed outside near the pen fence, those of each side together in one place. The herdboys take them out of the huts; they also fill them with milk straight from the pails. (In some homesteads the boys pour the milk from the pails into clay pots first, and the Wis pour it into the calabashes). The boys know which cow's milk goes into which calabash. The U's calabash is kept in the UWi's (left) (3) hut, together with her calabash; they are kept separate otherwise. The Chn (or rather GChn) also have their cows.

The presiding Wi of the right side, *MaLwandhle* (9), has her milch cows. She has three Sos. The eldest, Folokahlela (11), has no longer cattle of his own, he *lobola'd* with his. His F, the U, obtained cattle for him on loan and these are milked for him and his family. While he is away at work, his Chn eat the SM. When he comes back, a cow will be assigned by the U to be milked for him. The cattle for Silwanempi (8), unmarried So of the UWi (right), have been bought by him (presumably towards bride-price). In his absence they are milked for his M (and if present, he would receive his SM through her hut but in his own calabash and mixing pot).

The third So, Mangoyane (13), has no cattle; he never had; and the U paid bride-price for him; no cattle were obtained on loan for him. Hence his Wis have no calabashes. They eat SM when they are called by their Ms-in-1. Mangoyane's first Wi, MaDhlamini, occasionally gets SM from MaLwandhle i. e. Mangoyane's real M. The second Wi, MaMbatha, is offered sour milk occasionally by the UWi (left), a MaMbatha, who is her classificatory M-in-l and shares her clan name. This may be done because the bride-price cattle for Mangoyane's Wi was taken from cattle of the left House. The Chn however have calabashes and eat SM at their GM's (UWi right). The SM for the other Das-in-1 comes from calabashes of their mothers-in-law. The calabashes of the Das-in-l are kept in their M-in-l's hut as long as they have no hut of their own. MaNtombela (Wi of Folokahlela) has her calabash in her own hut (already), but Mangoyane's Wis have no calabashes yet, although owning huts. The arrangement is not admitted to be irregular; it depends on which side the bride-price cattle came from. It is true Zulu custom for a bride's F to send a milch cow along with her, but only at the wedding. It is not returnable, has no special name, it would be driven with her husband's cattle, and receives no special treatment.

In MaMbatha's hut (UWi left) are three calabashes: for the U, for herself (UWi left) and for USi: in addition the UWi has a calabash for her GChn, who may be called to eat either by U or herself. The excess of SM in this acting Great Hut does not go to the Sos, but to their Chn, for the Sos had their chance before they were married (Hl)! The USiSo and his Wi have separate calabashes and keep them in their own hut. (I did not enquire whether they have their own cow).

M i x i n g p o t s: A first pot is used for the whey: everyone may drink whey, but only that from his own calabash. A second pot is used for putting the curds in. Everybody mixes for himself (U, UWi, USi); there is a special mixing pot for the Chn even; the USi may use the U's pot and/or the UWi's pot - the U being her Br -, but H and Wi may not use each other's mixing pot. (A bride cannot eat whey before she is released from the SM taboo).

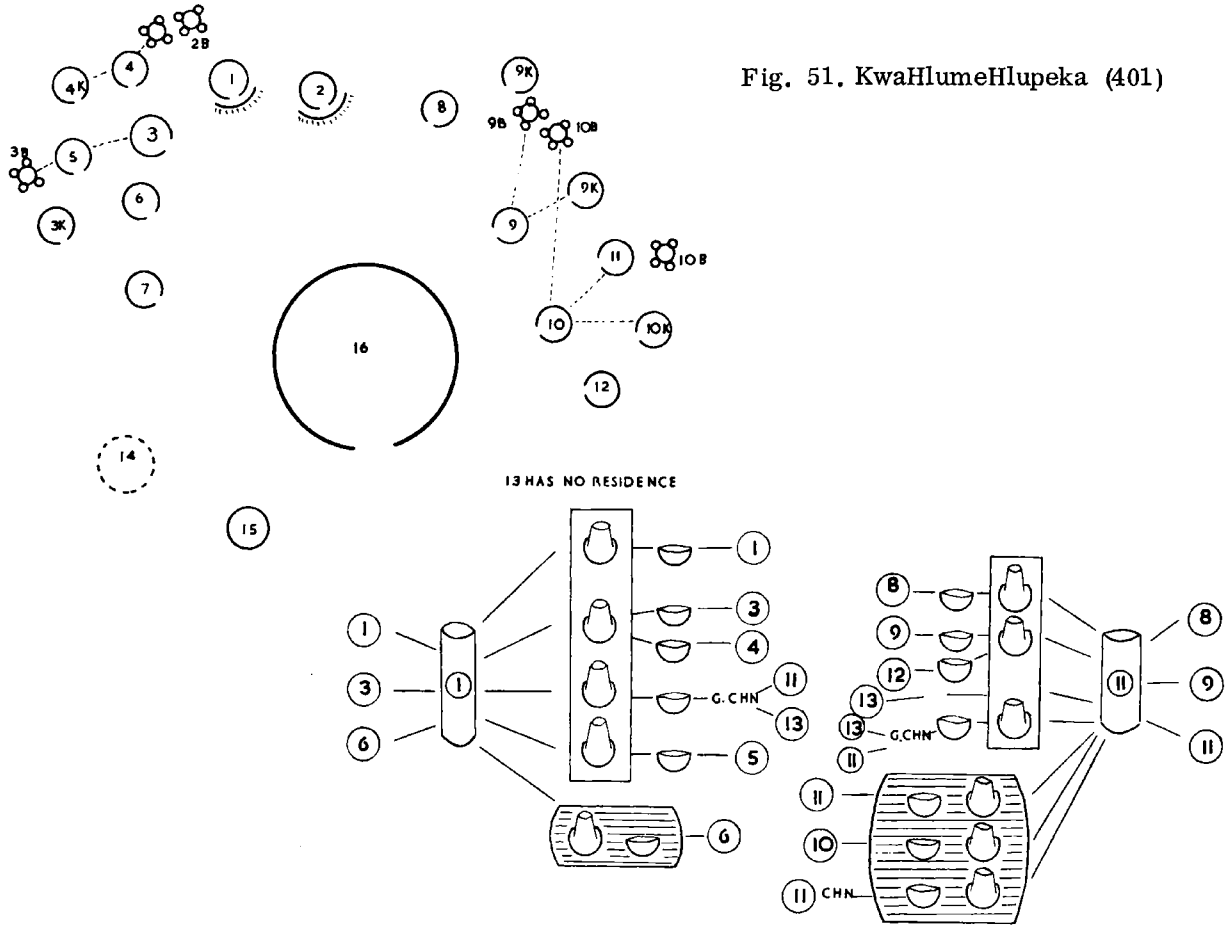


Fig. 51. KwaHlumeHlupeka (401)

1. Residence of kraalhead: *iLawu* means "it does not belong to a woman". He has been living at this site for 25 years.
2. Hut to be turned into his real *iLawu* later. (401) came out of his father's kraal as son after the *iKhohlo* . Hence his own homestead never had a Great Hut, in the sense of kraalhead's mother's hut. His first wife died, so the kraal has no principal wife at present. 2 b granaries.
3. *MaMbatha:* Kraalhead's wife, also known by courtesy name as MaShandu. She presides over left side of kraal. No children reported. 3 k and b her kitchen and granary.
4. Family hut of one of (401)'s daughters-in-law, a MaMbatha like her classificatory mother-in-law. Her place on left side of homestead is due to fact that the cattle for her bride-price were taken from this side!
   4 k her kitchen. MaMbatha is second wife of 13, Mangoyane, who has no Residence.
5. Kraalhead's sister's hut. She is a cripple. Before her husband died he told her to return to her brother. She was married to a Magwaza, and is not mother of 6.
6. Kraalhead's sister's son, with personal name Majola. His mother is dead; he cannot marry at this kraal, but eats sour milk there indeed. He lives in 6 with his wife, a MaNgema.
7. Hut at present used for putting calves in.
8. Residence of kraalhead's son Silwanempi, whose mother lives at 9. He is away at work.
9. *MaLwandhle*, wife of kraalhead who presides over right side. She is mother of Silwanempi (8), Mangoyane (13) and the eldest son Folokohlela. Her kitchen huts are at 9 k, granary at 9 b.
10. Family hut of Folokohlela's wife, MaNtombela, with kitchen and granary.
11. Residence of Folokohlela, with green painted door. He works in Pretoria

12. Family hut of Mangoyane's first wife, MaDhlamini.
13. Mangoyane has no Residence.
14. Enclosure for calves.
15. Enclosure for sheep.
16. Cattle pen.

E. SOUR MILK CONSUMPTION AT COURT: A HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

1. Problem of Historical Method

The king (and every chief) had to be w e a l t h y i n c a t t l e. He was expected to be generous in slaughtering cattle for visiting subjects, councillors and regiments stationed at the royal kraal. The king in fact possessed large herds. They were kept at different barracks and at special royal kraals (Shiyabantu, emHlangwini, etc.). Most of the cattle had been captured, and some presented by persons seeking favours or collected as gifts when the king toured the country. Others had been received as bride-price for the seraglio girls, some in lieu of obligatory labour, as tribute (*imVuma, umBondo*), as fines, and some had been confiscated. (Krige: 220-1; 111, 187; Gluckman: 1940: 45; Stuart: 1925: 237).

While royal homestead establishments with seraglio and councillors and servants were permanent, the royal commissariat was strained during the enrolment of a regiment. The warriors were given beer and meat. Those from afar had food given to them at the king's kraal or foraged for it; warriors from near had food sent to them every day from their homes. The diet consisted of hard foods, such as meat, beer and cooked maize (*izinKobe*). Sweet potatoes, yams, and beans were also permitted. SM was taboo for warriors and could not be eaten by them at the barracks. One of the tasks of the warriors was to look after the royal cattle. They ornamented them in various ways: they cut the ears into fantastic shapes, slit the dewlap, cultivated excrescences on the skin, selected animals of one colour for one barracks, and trained the horns in most different shapes. At frequent cattle reviews the beasts were exhibited in the herds belonging to individual barracks and there was great rivalry among the troops on that score. Although the king's herds were, generally speaking, "national property" and used for "state purposes" only, the king never took cattle from a military kraal without consulting the person in charge.

The following issue is raised by the above survey: Might visitors and councillors eat SM at the royal kraals, and if so, how was such practice reconciled with the agnatic principle we established on the kinship level, viz., that a person, with few exceptions, may eat SM only within his own clan or lineage? In other words, while the agnatic rule is modified on the kinship level by marriage, SM brotherhood and agistment, it appears that, on the political level, it is so radically modified, that it must be re-defined.

Two cautions are necessary in assessing the evidence: (a) Shaka deprived all the smaller tribes of most, if not all of their cattle. This state of affairs lasted a dozen years or so, and the present SM avoidances must have been built up since. In those days cattle cannot have had that central place in Zulu thought that they have today, seeing that the bride-price was paid in hoes. Further in early days only important people possessed cattle, so that in poor families the knowledge of the SM rules was presumably limited and their implementation impossible. The rinderpest must have been another disturbing interruption. (b) The evidence set out below is based on the memory and logical ability of a generation far removed from the events. The Ulundi royal kraal was destroyed in 1879 and again in 1884. Subsequent royal history was not smooth under Dinizulu, who moreover gave up "heathenish practices" on his return from banishment. King Solomon was different from the Zulu kings of the 19th century and so is Cyprian. Thus the last years of "undisturbed" conditions lie back three quarters of a century, i.e., the evidence is given at a third remove in human generations.

2. The General Rule

had two aspects. One concerned the king. A. Smith (p. 44) noted: "Chiefs (and by implication the king) cannot drink milk at any kraals but their own or the king's; the messenger of the king could not use milk on the journey!" The other aspect concerned SM eating at the king's court. Its rule was summarized by Callaway (1866: 164): "The king's milk may be eaten by any of his people, for he is the father of them all." The sentence is presumably a verbatim statement by a Zulu. But its sweeping generalization makes it suspect. If true, SM consumption at court completely disregards the agnatic principle, and is subject to another, which we may call the political principle. The establishment of Zulu kingship does not, as Gluckman vaguely argues, involve a mere extension of the kinship principle, it appears at least in this respect a complete reversal of it. The question: May any person eat SM at the royal kraal? was placed before a number of informants. Their responses ranged from rejection to affirmation with important riders (S: Kleza; Fynn: 128, 122; Bird I: 87; Smith A.: 92).

(167) accepted the proposition. In the time of Shaka people of different clan/n(s) ate SM before the king with impunity. The king frequently announced: 'Eat my SM, because I am the only king!' Such indiscriminate eating of SM was impossible in the homestead of commoners. While thus eating the king's milk, the visitors were not allowed to fall in love. This applied, for instance, to the regiments who had to remain unmarried. As soon as they were given permission to marry, they could no longer eat SM together (scil. . since they might now be making love to one another's sisters). If (167)'s argument was invented on the spur of the moment to explain away the discrepancy between the agnatic and political principle in the consumption of SM, it is most ingenious. If it was not invented, it reveals that SM consumption at court resembled the indiscriminate eating of SM by Chn !

(212), Siphoso Mpungose, a sub-chief, represents the other extreme: Like many Zulu he starts with a generalization: "People may not eat SM at the royal kraal; they are offered meat and cooked maize but not SM! I have heard this stated by my forefathers who were headmen at court. Too much work would have been involved in preparing SM for visitors and warriors. Further proof lies in the fact, that when I call on my head-chief, I am never given SM, nor is any other tribesman!" Lastly and most devastatingly: "Only the Thonga (scil. the rotten lot) eat SM anywhere (scil. . but not we law-abiding Zulu)." When faced with the statement that councillors at court ate SM which was supplied by the king, he rejoined: Today headmen going up to the king take their own calabashes of SM with them. He grudgingly accepts Callaway's rule, but insists that SM is seldom given to visitors. With this (286) vigorously agreed, saying that he was starved at Dinizulu's court, although he was the king's favourite.

The issue is, of course, not whether the king was miserly or generous as a rule, but whether custom permitted him to offer SM to all and sundry in conflict with the SM rule at private homesteads. Studerus, in this connection, recalls that some old Zulu were puzzled by the fact that warriors of old ate SM from the king's cattle and yet some of them married girls from the king's seraglio. The unravelling of this puzzle might be pursued in several directions: (a) The kings stood in a special relationship to the seraglio girls: they were both his 'sisters' and potential wives: he could give them away as their 'brother' for a bride-price or marry them without compensating their fathers. (b) The king by a convenient legal fiction used to claim ownership over all cattle, those in private possession being held in trust for him. The milk of his cattle must then not be subject to the same rule as the milk of privately owned cows. (c) The king owned several herds, some for the use of himself, his family and seraglio, the others for public use. The milk from these herds could be kept apart.

The latter proposition is received by every Zulu with considerable relief. (The first impugns the king's moral character, the second his political integrity). (164): Everybody is at liberty to eat the royal milk, but it is not the king's own milk, reserved for him which would be offered to a visitor, but milk from a different herd.

(332) Princess Sabethe Zulu, a daughter of Cetshwayo: SM supplies at the royal court were more complex than at a commoner's kraal. Special cattle were milked into special calabashes

for the princesses *(izinKomo zenKosi eziSengelwa iNdlunkulu nabaNtwana; amaGula aseNdlunkulu)*. The royal wives had their own cows, too, and their milk, like that of princesses, was not mixed with that of commoners. It is not possible to say that the royal cattle belonged to the king's Chn, as might be said of a kraalhead's cattle and Chn. The SM belonged to everybody, anybody could eat, yet commoners were not given the milk of an *iNdlunkulu* calabash but from calabashes which were attended to by body attendants (*izinNceku*).

Ulundi, Cetshwayo's chief homestead (after R.C. Samuelson: 1929: 127, 245 and Krige: 234).

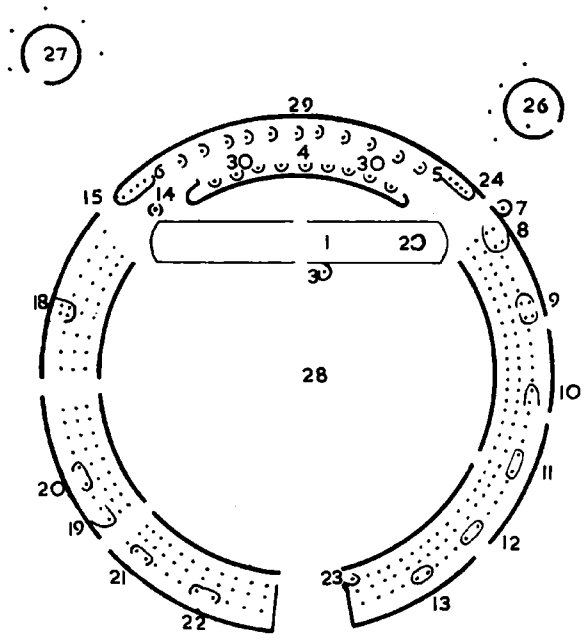


Fig. 52.

1. Sacred cattle kraal, *ezomLomo*. Through these cattle ancestors were spoken to.
2. Bathing enclosure of king.
3. Hut of gatekeeper.
4. King's Residence
5. King's wives in charge of his food.
6. King's 'girls' and children.
7. Gate hut for king's privy.
8. Huts for princes, councillors.
9, 10, 11. Officers over troops in this section.
12. Commander of army.
13. Second in command.
14. Gatekeeper who swept space between 1 and 4.
15. Gate to women's privy.
18. Huts for princes.
19. Third officer under 21.
20. Officer in charge of middle of this side.
21. Chief officer of this side.
22. Second officer under 21.
23. Gatekeeper at main entrance.
24. Private gate for king.
26. *emaPhotheni* where king's cattle were killed, and the milch cows milked. An unauthorized person entering here was liable to be killed.

27. Place for storing the king's corn and food.
28. Space for parades, inspection and magical treatment of troops.
29. Huts of 'maids of honour' and handmaids.
30. Huts of king's wives.

Umgungundlovu, Dingane's homestead (after H. Fynn and J. Stuart: 1925: 16; Smith A.: 53).

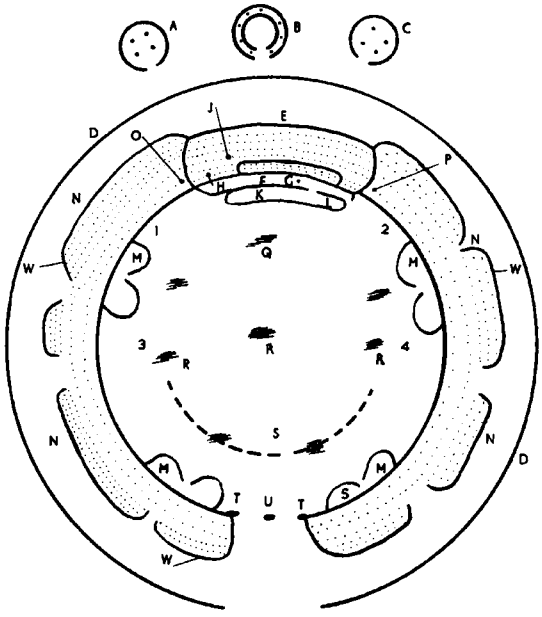


Fig. 53

A. uMvazana: outside left kraal.
B. uBeje: outside middle kraal.
C. KwaMbeceni: outside right kraal.
D. Outer fence.
E. 'White Seraglio'.
F. 'Black Seraglio'.
G. Guards of Seraglio.
H. King's Residence.
J. Mpikase, Dingane's mother's hut.
K. Pen for *ezomLomo* cattle.
L. King's bathing enclosure.
M. Pen for community herd.
N. Regimental barracks (see rows of huts).
O. Commander-in-chief Ndlela.
P. Commander Nzobe.
Q. Abattoir enclosure.
R. Milking enclosure.
S. Dancing enclosure: Warriors danced at milking time.
T. Gate posts.
U. Middle post.
1. and 2. 'Where the pillows are' = Neck of kraal.
3. The Left Side of kraal.
4. The Great Side of kraal.
5. Cattle pen of Wombe regiment.

There were many entrances on all sides, wind-screens in front of doorways, many grain huts and store houses for shields and weapons not shown. In the White Seraglio lived 1500 tribute girls of the king, called 'sisters' by him. The matron was Bibi, daughter of Nkobe (Sompisi) and sister of Ndlela. No one entered the Black Seraglio except immature boy servants. Here lived the king's wives and 'concubines' including those who prepared his food. In charge of the 'Black Seraglio' was first Langazana, daughter of Gubashe, later Mjanisi, Senzangakhona's widow. The kraal served as quarters for nine regiments, from top to main gate: on the left Ngobolondo, Makamane, Zibolela, Fasimbe, Tshoyisa; on the right Zimpohlo, Manketshane, Dukuza, Wombe. Undoubtedly many prohibitions centred round each locality noted. Smith A. (p. 53) noted certain modifications with regard to umGungundlovu, Dingane's capital, in April 1832. The left and right wings of the White Seraglio were separated by a rectangular dancing square. The Black Seraglio appears larger than on Fynn's sketch and correspondingly had larger huts. The enclosure for the *ezomLomo* cattle was much larger; it had a gate leading into the Arena, called Parade by Smith. Just outside it and to the right was Dingane's seat. In the regimental sections houses for shields and assegais are shown, three in each half; they were rectangular and had a saddle roof. Smith also records (p. 67) that when Fynn visited Shaka in 1824, he had a small place near his Residence; it was fenced all round and the king used it as his Sanctum sanctorum in which he examined presents by himself. The Black Seraglio (*isiGodlo*) is the part where no visitor could enter; the white *isiGodlo* was entered by those who were called by the king.

3. Historical Evidence and Sketch Maps

What historical support exists for the hypothesis that there were several herds of cattle at the royal homestead for each recognizable group: king's family, councillors, visitors, each with its name, special function, and special treatment? Fynn mentions (p. 26), that the 400 girls in Shaka's seraglio obtained their meat from cattle specially reserved for them and called *zomLomo* , 'of the mouth'. They might not be touched by other people. At the conclusion of every meal the girls returned thanks (to Shaka?) in set phrases. On p. 284 Fynn reports that booty cattle were sorted out according to their colour which had to coincide with the shield colour of the regiment concerned. Individual warriors drove away one or two beasts to whose milk they were entitled (!) while at the barracks. They were sometimes even allowed to take the beasts home, but these were liable to be called up any time to be slaughtered at the king's abattoir. The booty in cattle belonged in name to the king, but he gave them away in lots of 10, 50, 100 to chiefs, favourites and servants but not to warriors. Leslie, writing a generation later, notes that a small herd was given to a warrior who had distinguished himself. (Gardiner and Isaacs have no record on this point; Dube (Boxwell) describes the importance of cattle and milk supply at Shaka's Dukuza kraal).

The map of Dingane's kraal Umgungundlovu, (cf. Fig. 53) given in Fynn (p. 325) and reproduced in Stuart (1925), shows that the king's Wis and concubines lived in the two seraglios. The food, beer and milk establishments were located in the Black Seraglio. The vessels were kept in the huts of the women, not the matron's. The work in both seraglios was done by slave girls and widows. The map shows three small kraals above the seraglios, of which at least the central one has a cattle pen. In the central enclosure are various pens: Pen for *ezomLomo* cattle (K, L) which were slaughtered there; the king also washed there. Four pens for "cattle of the community" (M). One pen for the cattle of the Wombe Regiment (5). Three milking enclosures (R). One abattoir enclosure (Q) opposite (K/L); and one enclosure (S) in which warriors danced at milking time. The spatial arrangement allows us to infer that the cattle of the royal family (Black Seraglio) were kept separate from those of "the community", (perhaps the White Seraglio) and the troops (Wombe). Further, milking was a ritual occasion which was accentuated by the dancing of the warriors, and milking and slaughtering were carried out in separate localities and not as happens in kraals of commoners within the same enclosure. It is significant that the most 'sacred' parts, the Black Seraglio, the pen for the *ezomLomo* cattle and the king's bath were spatially close together, an arrangement which was most certainly accentuated by avoidances and taboos.

Besides *ezomLomo* early writers mention another term: Callaway, writing in Mpande's reign, refers (1868: 59 and 92/3) to the *izinKomo zemiZimu* as being dedicated to the ancestors and sacrificed by Shaka to bring rain. S: 530 corroborates this and calls the *imiZimu* 'festal cattle slaughtered at the First Fruits or any great royal occasion'; they were killed for the ancestors. Asmus (p. 256/7) refers to the *imiZimu* as the cattle sacrificed at the First Fruits and adds that *imiZimu* are the ancestors common to the king and the tribe: "the root stock of both, the pillar upon which the social order embracing king and people rests."

Samuelson, R.C. (1929: 127-9, reprinted in Krige: 234-5) decribes Cetshwayo's head kraal Ulundi. It had a long enclosure across the top of the inner ring. In it cattle (captured in raids, paid as tribute, confiscated from condemned men) stood for a day or two until they had been inspected by the king and passed on to other places, presumably other royal kraals or barracks. There is a conflict of opinion here, for Stuart (1925: 16) calls the top enclosure the sacred pen in which only cattle dedicated to the ancestors were kept; they were termed *zomLomo* , i.e., through them the ancestors were spoken to. It is, however, doubtful whether such sacred cattle were distributed to other kraals. Beyond the upper section of the royal kraal, i.e. the *isiGodlo*, was a separate round enclosure, called *emaPhotheni* , where the king's cattle were slaughtered and his milch cows milked. This was a tabooed site, for any unauthorized person entering there was liable to be killed. (cf. Fig. 52).

The king had his daily ablutions in his bath which was in the sacred cattle enclosure; he was then shaved in the *isiGodlo* immediately beyond. The curds and meat eaten by the king came from the special sacred herd kept in this enclosure; there was a strict taboo against his eating SM or meat from captured cattle (Krige: 237-8). Every morning the casualties of the cattle during the night were reported to the king with great precision as to colour, twist of horns, etc., and a herd paraded before him for inspection. From it he selected the beasts required for the day's consumption - from six to twelve were speared at once (Gardiner: 51; Krige: 239). Krige (p. 233) and Shooter (p. 116) refer to the cattle pens formed at the sides of the huge central enclosure which served as arena for the warriors and which is known to us from Dingane's kraal. Each day before the cows were milked the regiments had to dance, sing and recite battle stories before the king. "The cows were never milked before they had been danced for" (Stuart: 1925: 27). The warriors remained in the enclosure while the cattle were driven in. Whenever a beast lowed it was praised by them for "praising the king." The royal milkers entered in a long line, holding the pails high above their heads so that no dust should fall in. The foremost shouted: "The king says they can be milked." When cattle were in their places the warriors withdrew to their huts to eat.

Two sets of cattle played a role in the Zulu War of 1879. In the negotiations between the Zulu king and Lord Chelmsford before the battle of Ulundi, the British commander demanded i n t e r a l i a the surrender of the cattle taken at Isandlwana. The king sent about 110 oxen, all he retained, the bulk having been distributed, or killed or having died of lung sickness. He also attempted to forward a herd of 100 special white oxen, described by Vijn as Cetshwayo's own, and by Magema as a choice herd which had belonged to the king's father, i.e., Mpande. They thus formed the royal cattle estate. On this herd the fate of the Zulu nation depended. Norris-Newman (p. 214) supplies the background to the offer: "On the 2nd of July, at a meeting attended by the chiefs Nyamane, Usirayo, Umanvumgingivulu, Cefuga son of Maquondo, Palane (the second in command of the Ngobamakosi Regiment) and Umtuza, brother of Seketwayo, it was resolved to send to Lord Chelmsford the Royal Coronation White Cattle, but when they were five miles from our camp, the Umcijo *68* prevented their being given to us, being resolved to fight." Other sources add: The Zulu troops were indignant at the prospect of these cattle being surrendered. The people inveighed against Cetshwayo violently, saying the cattle should never be given up to the whites, as long as they lived! A Zulu prisoner, Undungunyanga, son of Umgenane, reported: "The King addressed us at the Umlambongwenya Kraal: As the Inkandampomvu Regiment would not let the cattle go in as peace offering and wished to fight, and as the white army was at his home, we could fight." Looking back on the critical situation it may be surmised that the 'peace offering' was a skilful test of the fighting spirit of the

troops. Their action threw the decision to accept battle on them and was likely to exonerate the king in the eyes of the whites. "Cetshwayo, it is plain, meant to save himself with these oxen, for he seemed to have a presentiment that he would lose the ensuing battle." The incident clearly shows that this herd had the significance of a national symbol. We get a glimpse of the herd accompanying the defeated king into hiding: "Sub-Inspector Phillips discovered the king's pet herd of cattle in the valley of the Omona River, and asked permission ... to seize them. This was given; -the beasts were taken to Ulundi". We are not sure of the name of these cattle, nor whether they were identical with the *iNyonikayiphumuli* , mentioned by Colenso-Durnford, for it was a magnificent herd of white cattle flecked with black. The animals were bought for a nominal price from the military by John Dunn (Lord Chelmsford: London Gazette: 21.8.1879; Colenso-Durnford: 1880: passim; Colenso, J.W.: 1880 : 50-1; Her Majesty's War Office: 1881: 113; Colenso, F.E.: 1884: passim; Holt: 79).

Besides these special cattle, the king owned enormous other herds. The kinglets set up by the Wolsey settlement (1879) were for ever busy ferretting out "royal cattle" from Zulu nobles. Large numbers of cattle, belonging to the king, had been distributed among commoners as caretakers, perhaps as a war measure. C.I. Müller in a report, written on the battle field of Ulundi, says: "Der innere Ring des Militärkrales scheint als Exerzierplatz zu dienen. Ich habe in keinem irgend welche Spuren von Rindvieh gesehen. Auch in der Umgegend von Militärkrälen findet man keine Rindviehspuren." (This was written six months after the commencement of hostilities).

4. Commoners' Evidence

What are the reminiscences of present-day Zulu on the several herds distinguished at the royal kraal? The informants form two groups: commoners who know little, and nobles who produce information and elegant arguments where information is scanty. To the first group belongs (167): The courtiers at the king's place could eat SM together whatever their different clan/ns. But people who wanted to marry a seraglio girl had to have their own cattle from which to get their SM (This argument proceeds from strict in-law avoidance on kinship level). (181): *izinKomo zemiZimu* are the cattle from which the king got his milk and meat together with his family, the warriors and everybody else. The slaughtering and skinning of the *izinKomo zemiZimu* and of royal cattle in general had to be done by attendants, for the king did away with his royal Brs as far as possible, and also because princes avoided manual 'bloody' work. *iNyonikayiphumuli* are the king's oxen from which he got his meat. Everybody could eat the king's SM, but he did not eat his SM with everybody. (220): Anybody can eat SM at the royal kraal. The commoners belong to the king; subjects are not supposed to Za, to abstain from anything at court. Even if they had a Da of the king to Wi, they would eat his SM. Of the warriors, he says, these are the very people who work for milk (SM). SM is kept in clay pots for them! He admits that the king must have his private herd and another from which visitors were served. He remembers only *inKomokayiphumuli*, none of the other names. (380) quotes a proverbial saying: 'The SM of the king is not abstained from' (Za) and is a means of Hl'ing the king. It is a custom *(uHlanga)*, a matter of the origin. *amaDoda aziZile izinKomo zenKosi* is a Zulu rule. Hence people do not feel embarrassed, or fearful, when they eat the king's SM but proud, and they would report such an event at home. The king is the purveyor of food and drink for the commoners. He is also above the law for commoners. For that reason, a man who has eaten the king's SM is not prevented from marrying his Da. It is an exception to the marriage rules on kinship level.

(183): The regiments carried their own calabashes to the barracks or to the royal kraal. There they would eat their own SM in the temporary huts till it was finished. They would not be supplied with royal SM. Councillors and attendants got SM but from a special herd. The king and his family had a private herd. The beasts had no special colour: they could have any colour but black, which would have meant *umMnyama* (gloom, misfortune) for the king. The girls of the seraglio had their special herd to supply their SM. As regards visitors the rule holds: Nobody Za's the king's milk. They would be given SM from the *imiZimu* herd. (A number of these statements were not volunteered, but derived after the problem had been discussed

and the difficulties pointed out in explaining SM consumption at court on the agnatic principle).

The following instance shows well the deductive thought process of Zulu commoners in such a situation. Madoyi Khosa (217) and Ndambula Mhlongo (218), both headmen of an Eshowe chief, started with the assertion that visitors never ate SM at the king's kraal. I tell them Shaka's reported statements and Callaway's proverbial saying. They accept these without demur. I then supplied them with arguments to defend their first stand: How could Shaka's invitation and Callaway's note be true, seeing that people might eat the same SM at court and yet marry their commensal 'sisters' afterwards. At this, Ndambula, perhaps giving vent to a feeling that I had trapped them, produced a low whistle. They regained their composure and formulated jointly the following reply: (a) People called to the royal homestead to eat SM were men only, never women. (b) The rule that SM is prohibited where you may marry is not without exceptions: it holds concerning the family of an individual whom you wish to marry. (c) At the king's homestead his order or rule overrides the family SM prohibitions. (d) A girl is certainly never given the chance of eating SM at the kraal of her intended. (In this reply is significant the admission that the principle underlying kinship structure is modified in the body politic, and also that exceptions may be conceded for men, never for women).

The two informants remembered *iNyonikayiphumuli* as the king's cattle, specially fattened, with long trained horns and special colour. Nothing like it is known among commoners. The herd comprised bulls and cows, besides oxen for display. The same account was given by Siphoso Mpungose (212). The three readily accepted the suggestion that the black bull killed at the First Fruits came from this herd. Before slaughtering beasts of this herd the royal attendants had to wash themselves up to the shoulder. The attendants also acted as milkers and used a special pail for the king. They did not remember any of the other terms for royal herds.

5. *The Evidence of Nobility*

The information rendered by Zulu nobility was, although not without contradictions, much superior. (161): "I visited Mpande's kraal at Nodwengu and Cetshwayo's kraal at Ondini and ate SM at both! No rite was performed for a commoner who ate the king's SM. The king's cattle of which anyone could eat the meat and SM although they belonged to different clans were the *izinKomo-za-imiZimu*. Nothing prevented intermarriage afterwards, for all subjects belong to the king. Commoners were not to Za anything belonging to the king. It was a case of the king being above the law (concerning SM commensality and incest). The king had his own private herd, the *iNyoni-Kayi-Phumuli*, of which he, his Wis and Chn ate SM, and the attendants and royal herdsmen likewise as being closely associated with the king. This informant denied that councillors, or head-ringed officials kept or were given small separate herds to supply them with SM.

(175), Mzinyazinya Zulu, gave the following fervently delivered account:

(a) Cows milked for King Cetshwayo exclusively were called *umAnda*. Their SM was eaten by him, his Wis, his Chn. The king's Wis and Chn did not live at the military kraal of Ondini, but in the *emKimbini* homestead just beside it. The family cattle *(umAnda)* were kept at this separate establishment. The oxen slaughtered for the king (and perhaps his visitors) were the *iNyonikayiphumuli*.

(b) The head-ringed councillors at Ondini had small herds which had been given them by the king. They made sure that they ate SM only from their own cows. When they went home on leave, they took cattle, calabashes, spoons, pots with them and their Wis and brought all back with them on their return. One of the reasons why they went home was the wish to slaughter to their ancestors; they could not do so at Ondini out of respect (H1) for the king and his ancestors. (The clash between political and kinship principle was resolved in the latter's favour in the religious sphere).

(c) The *izinKomo zemiZimu* are the cattle slaughtered for the *amaThongo* (ancestors) of the king. That is where he got SM from. When they were slaughtered anyone could

eat in the royal kraal. 200-800 were killed in the large enclosure in a day. Before they ate, people (warriors?) praised the king, and they sang an *iHubo*: Hahaha-wee-yahoo-oow-shsh-ji-shishi! Certain people were chosen to praise the dead kings after the feast in the enclosure.

(d) The SM of the *izinKomo zemiZimu* was eaten by the girls (royal maidens) of the seraglio. The attendants "sifted" the milk, put it into the calabashes, and when sour into a large clay pot from which the SM was dished out into small bowls. Because they had so much milk at the royal kraal (at that time) it was not necessary to mix *umCaba* into it, or only a little; the curds were eaten neat! - Some of the Wis of the councillors and officers were from the seraglio. They no longer got SM from the *zemiZimu* after their marriage. - The royal maidens of the seraglio could eat SM together, although they were of different clans, because the king had given their fathers cattle even before they were born; consequently they were presented to the king as if they had been *lobola'd*. Although they might become the king's Wis or concubines they were also considered to be of the king's *isiBongo* (clan/n) and for that reason he could dispose of them as brides to chiefs and officers for a high price. (The king was in a way both Br and H to them).

(e) The slaughtering of the *zemiZimu* was carried out by the royal attendants, each of whom had his own stabbing spear. The killing of the *umAnda* was done by boys who had not yet slept with girls. Each of these had his own spear and they were taught how to kill cattle by the attendants. (The national spear is not used for the slaughtering of cattle).

(f) To sum up this elegant exposition: There were at least three sources of SM at the royal kraal: The *umAnda* for the king, his Wis, Chn and servants; the *zemiZimu* whose meat went to, the (unmarried) soldiers who had no permission to eat SM; their SM, also meat, went to the royal maidens; a herd from which SM went to visitors; and small herds(?) assigned to court officials.

(306)'s evidence is important: he is Mbucu Sibiya, courtesy name Gazu, regiment Ncabayimbube, whose M was Da of Mpande, his forefather Sotobe Sibiya, Shaka's most trusted councillor. The informant's father, Mntu-wa-phanzi, was an officer of the Nokenke regiment, a head-ringed councillor at Cetshwayo's court at Ondini. Mbucu tells us that his F had his own *iLawu* (residence) at court. It was nicely furnished, the floor being so well polished that it was quite slippery. He could not have his Wi with him (Hl); since service at court was equivalent to war service, and senior councillors like warriors abstained from sexual intercourse (Za). In fact Mntu-wa-phanzi looked upon his service for the king as resembling a Wi's for her H: *Yena unjenga umFazi wenKosi* . Court officials were given supplies of food, meat, beer, SM, as presents by the king. "Food was never bought." During his F's absence from court his Residence there was in charge of his Br or a servant. The king had innumerable cattle; they were kept mixed up within one fence (*iThanga*). From this generalization Mbucu retreated only when asked: Did the king eat SM and meat from the same cattle as the councillors? He then argued that certain cattle were slaughtered for the king, others for the royal ladies, and others for the warriors, but they were all kept in one herd. The herds for the councillors were called *ezomPhakathi*, that for the king *ezomLomo* . (The latter were obtained fighting against Mzilikazi, who had raided the Boers; they were fine Afrikander cattle with horns so large that a bitch could place her puppies in them, and thus called *ezoBhelu-ezomLomo;* they were Dingane's favourite cattle).

Although Councillor Mntu-wa-phanzi obtained SM from the king, he did not have his own calabashes at court. There was a special hut for the calabashes (of the officials); it was in charge of the royal attendants who alone could touch them (Hl). Among court officials, as in the army, no women are available, hence men must be appointed to act as caterers. There is one Hl custom in the family, where only women can touch the calabashes, and another at court, where calabashes are handled by the attendants alone. There is a rule (which is an expression of the political principle with its inversion of kinship values): 'Food at the court must be prepared by men! If it is touched by women, councillors will be weak,

warriors will be defeated!' The separate cattle groups were also milked by special milkers, *iNceku, iNzomba-Khwela* , who knew which of the cows belonged to the king, the royal maidens, the councillors. When the king gave cattle as a present to his councillors, they would take them home at once. It would have been unbecoming to leave them at the giver's place. These strange cattle were received in the home pen with a rite: The herdboys threw dry dung at the beasts, lest they fight with the old herd.

The most cogent argument and the best information was obtained from four informants working as a committee to reconstruct the past, viz., Lokothwayo Nkwanyana, Zikode, Phefeni (230); Princess Magogo Zulu, Ndabezitha, widow of Mathole Buthelezi, Da of Dinizulu, Si of King Solomon, M of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (231); Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Shenge (232), and Nyangeni Buthelezi, Shenge, Pondolwendlovu (234). Perhaps because they wished to protect chiefly reputation, they were emphatic that everybody could eat SM at the king's kraal, even at Buthelezi's court. The prospects for intermarriage were not touched thereby, for "the king's place has a special exemption!" Even if a man were to excuse himself: I am *mKhwenyane* (Br-in-l) to the king, he would be told: "It doesn't apply; this is the king's."

My question: Were callers at court given milk from the king's milch cows? started an argument among them, before they presented their view: There were special cattle, *ezomLomo*, kept separate as the king's milch cows for his own calabashes. Even his Chn did not get SM from them, unless it was given to them as a special favour on the king's order. He might also give it to his Brs and court officials. Each of the king's many Wis had her own milch cow assigned to her, or rather to her hut and Chn. These were not included among the *ezomLomo*! (This assignment has nothing to do with the apportionment of Houses, a matter which has been exaggerated in its significance by the Natal Code. The kraalhead retained the right of disposal over the cattle, even if apportioned).

When tackling the question, how the councillors got their SM, I mentioned that previous informants had stated that headmen brought their own calabashes of SM to court, or that they had their own cows at the king's place. Both these statements were rejected with expressions of scorn. Nobody can have his cattle at somebody else's kraal for that purpose *69*. The SM for the councillors was obtained from a special herd of the royal cattle assigned by the king for the residents unrelated to the king's family, who lived in *eziGabeni* quarters. The four informants also rejected with scorn the assertion that warriors did not obtain SM at the royal kraal. The rebuttal started with a linguistic reference. "To camp at the king's as a warrior does" is called *ukuKleza*, to milk into the mouth. The objection that this referred to fresh milk which did not pass through a calabash was rejected, since "Milk is milk!" They admitted that families carried food to their warrior sons stationed at the king's kraal, and they would also bring large pots of SM. But this meant only that warriors ate two kinds of SM, that of the king and that from their own home.

The informants described the special herds of cattle as follows: *iNyonikayiphumuli* were oxen only, from tribute cattle of various chiefs and from the king's own herds, often with trained horns and placed in one-coloured groups. They were kept for display but not in an enclosure of the royal kraal being allowed to roam on the pasture in semi-wild state. When wanted for a review, messengers would precede them, shouting: *WaNyathelwa!* (You'll be trampled), for the herds were driven headlong along the roads. *umAnda* were all the cows at the king's kraal from which the king might expect increase, for the word *umAnda* is derived from *ukwAnda*, to increase. They were not identical with *ezomLomo*, the king's own milch cows. The *izinKomo zemiZimu* were the cattle designated for *ukuThetha* sacrifices. They were kept in a special kraal or a special section of the royal kraal. Since the time of Ndaba who had cattle for sacrifice at his eGazini kraal, these cattle have been kept at the kwaQikazi kraal up to this day *70*. Great astonishment was expressed by the Buthelezi Four, and appreciation, when I told them that *muZimu* in many Bantu languages means ancestor and that the royal family in this term has not only preserved its link with the past but also with a basic element of the far-flung Bantu culture. Scornful laughter greeted the remark that many commoners reject

muZimu in this sense as non-Zulu, since they know it only in the limited connotation of "cannibals" (*amaZimu*). Bryant (1949: 523f) confirms that the *izinKomo zemiZimu* were used in rain sacrifice.

The seraglio girls obtained their SM from cows assigned to them by the king. These had no special name. Although they were not sisters of the king in the physical sense, they ate the SM of the king's homestead, though never from the same cows as the king.

Only one reference in literature, by P.J. Schoeman, is to the *izinKomo zenKatha* : from them the black bull for the First Fruits was taken. Informants at Nobamba (409, 410) claimed that there was a herd of that name at this old royal kraal. The beasts were without tail, they were born like that. They were reserved for royal functions. They were bluish with white dorsal and ventral stripes. It is said they were born of a brownish cow at a time when there were no cattle in the whole country. The herdboys had special instructions not to beat them (H1); strangers could not go among them. (Apparently none of these cattle could be killed for rain, or in rites, where the victim had to be either white or black).

93 year old (407), a Falaza, who was 8-10 years (indicated by hand) when Mpande died in 1875, stated that all the royal cattle which had been agisted out were brought together at the burial, because their owner was now dead. They were first driven to the king's grave, then taken to the place where the king's body lay and where all the regiments had gathered. None of the cattle that had been on loan with commoners had been taken from the *ezomZimu*, *ezomLomo* and *iNyonikayiphumuli* (the first of which were slaughtered at the royal graves, the two last for the seraglio). He added that Cetshwayo left no cattle. He was arrested and taken overseas and Janton Dunn took away *ezomZimu* as well as *ezomLomo* and nothing remained.

T o s u m u p: In the consumption of SM in the family the 'agnatic principle' is applied in such a manner that it distinguishes a lineage from other similar units, and internally structures it according to its pyramid of authority; it can in addition be modified by marriage, SM brotherhood and agistment. At the royal court the requirements of (a) the enlarged establishments of women (Wis, Ms, royal maidens), (b) the necessity of the specialized services of councillors, warriors, body servants, executioners and (c) the demands of hospitality to strangers necessitate the replacement of the agnatic by the political principle, i.e., overall commensality in the interests of the cohesion of the central power. E.g., warriors foraging within Zululand could eat SM anywhere except in kraals where they had sweethearts. This court commensality was, however, distinctly structured , separating within the spatial unit the king and his family from the seraglio, the councillors, and warriors, and odd strangers both as to source of milk (cows), vessels (calabashes and mixing pots), utensils (mixers and spoons) and place of eating. The contradiction between informants who deny that SM was eaten at court and those who assert that it was eaten by visitors is resolved if we remember the progressive impoverishment of kings and chiefs. A practice which was permissible in the 19th century is excluded by economic stringency in the 20th, but still held up as an ideal. (427)'s resigned information confirms this: Today only the attendants, viz., *iNceku* and *isiKhonzi* eat the king's SM as strangers. Other commoners do not eat SM at court.

II. THE TABOOS IN SACRIFICE

A. THE RITUAL SITUATION IN SACRIFICE

1. Introduction

The Zulu acknowledge a number of occasions when beasts have to be ritually killed, when the killings take place not for pleasure or for food, nor for social reasons (entertainment, kinship

obligations) nor again as means of 'washing off' guilt. Such situations are positively characterized by the imposition of a pattern of taboos.

An animal is slaughtered for the ancestors for the following reasons: (a) to praise the ancestors *(ukuBonga)*, e.g., when a spirit snake is in the homestead, or according to one informant, to thank the ancestors for health in the family; (b) to express disappointment with the ancestors *(ukuThetha:* to scold) which happens in sickness, hunger and in trouble of any sort; (c) to propitiate the ancestors *(ukuHebeza, ukuLungisa, ukuQholisa*) either when a death has occurred or as acknowledgment of a fault committed; (d) to remove an illness *71* caused by the ancestors; (e) to consecrate a kraal site, smithy, hoop of power, etc.

In a full-dress SAC several persons participate each with his or her special function and abstention regimen, viz., (i). The patriarch *72*, or kraalhead, who offers the SAC to the ancestors. (ii) The stabber of the beast, often an agnatic kinsman of the patriarch. (iii) The praiser, or bard, of the ancestors, also a kinsman (but not so in the king's case). (iv) The celebrating family and its male neighbours. The latter attend on the second, the feast day, only. (v) The Wis of the agnatic kinsmen, who prepare beer, dress up for the occasion and observe severe a v o i d a n c e s. (vi) Immature Chn and old people who perform ritual tasks from which women of child-bearing age are excluded.

It is the patriarch who decides that a SAC is necessary. He may be moved by a diviner's verdict or by a dream. "He who dreams (s c i l., responsibly) is the family head. The spirit deals with the great man". It says to him: "Should you kill a bullock, the patient will get well" (Callaway: 1868: 6). The kraalhead's taboo regimen, which is not too strict, is discussed below. Some informants maintain that he has to stay away from women altogether and sleep in a hut without fire. (Some assert this is not Zulu but Southern Natal custom). When he officiates he wears a large skin cloak, while his agnates don their skin-flaps *(iBheshu)*. The stabber must avoid sexual intercourse with his Wi the night before the killing. A stabber with *uSuku* (sexual stain) or any other *umMnyama* would cause the meat to turn bad. Today this taboo is not always insisted upon. One of the Wis prepares the beer for the SAC. According to (175) the amount brewed is less than for ordinary festive occasions, viz., one pot for the ancestors, and three to four pots for the family and neighbours. This figure is for a small extended family and about 20 neighbours. If the beer has gone flat, although brewed by an expert, the ancestors are considered to be angry. They would, of course, never accept beer brewed by a menstruating woman. Flat beer in these circumstances is described as *bonakele* . During the SAC the Wis of the lineage members must foregather in the women's side of the Great Hut and be dressed in their best. They wear their finery, some informants including, others excluding *ubuHlalu* (beadwork), *ubuSenga* , wire rings, new kilts (*isiDwaba*) and girdles *(uBendle)*. The hair must be put up in a top-knot which must be freshly ochred. They must keep silent and demure, no laughter is allowed. During the killing they must stay inside the Great Hut and can move behind the huts only after the animal has fallen. Their respect behaviour in short is identical with that observed by brides. Demureness is thus not an expression of the bridal s t a t e alone, but of the relation of Wi towards in-laws.

The Das of the homestead are free from these restrictions. They do not dress up for a SAC, nor are their movements controlled. They may go into the yard and even, some informants say, into the pen and help in slaughtering. They may look on at the slaughter like any Ch. (120) and (414-421) say that like their Ms they are shut out from the pen.

2. *First day*

The first day may be called the Day of Dedication of the victim and of the localities concerned; the animal is killed and the flesh offered to the ancestors.

F i r s t a Reserved Area for the agnatic kin is established. The cattle pen and the area between the pen and the huts, the yard, are closed for the women. They are told to move

behind the huts or to remain inside altogether. The Wis of the celebrating lineage must keep a respectful distance.

Firewood and water have been fetched by the girls (and according to 128 by the women) of the homestead and placed outside the kraal. They may not carry water and fuel into the pen; this must be done by boys and young men. (The ritual situation involves thus an inversion of the sexual division of labour). No Wi would dare to use in her Kitchen water and fuel fetched for the SAC, she avoids them. On the other hand no household wood or household water may be used for the SAC. Old women place the large cooking pots in position either in the pen or in the yard, on the lower side of the Ceremonial Path.

The Great Hut is got ready for the offerings. Its floor is smeared with cowdung in the morning by the princWi, women still being allowed to enter the pen until the cattle arrive. All the vessels for cooked food, and especially those for SM (calabashes and pots), are moved out of the apse into another family hut or kitchen. Some people are satisfied with shifting the vessels from the apse to the women's side of the Great Hut. The vessels are moved so that the young Wis can attend to the milk vessels; they may not approach the meat which will be placed in the apse.

The selection of the victim needs care. In the case of an illness, the beast may have been indicated by its colour by a diviner. On important occasions it is a large animal; it may even be the Ox of the Spirit, an animal dedicated to the ancestors. Or the family head selects it on the afternoon prior to the SAC, without informing anyone *73*. This is done so that the ancestors may begin to consume the bile and the blood of the animal. The Zulu believe that an animal slaughtered for the ancestors has less bile and blood than one slaughtered for pleasure. On the day of the SAC in the early afternoon the herdboys drive the herd, or a group of three to four animals, home in the early afternoon and into the pen, whose gate is then closed. The boys remain in the pen. All the male members of the lineage should be present. The kraalhead now ritually indicates the beast to be slaughtered by pointing his middle finger at it from outside the fence.

In Callaway's days (1868: 174) the patriarch rubbed the victim's back with incense to make it acceptable to the ancestors. In Evans-Pritchard's interpretation (1954) this is a symbolic identification of the officiant with the victim. But the Zulu prayers at this stage rather point to a dedication of the victim. The patriarch says: "There is your bullock, ye spirits of our people" *(nina baKithi)*, and adding the names of all the GFs and GMs(!) who are dead, he cries: "There is your food!" In doing so the family head should face the top of the cattle pen and the Great Hut beyond, where the ancestors are thought to dwell. The recital of genealogy and praises may be done by a praiser, or bard, who should be a member of the family/lineage *(uZalo)*. It is because of this praising of the male ancestors of their H, that according to (128) the women have to be silent in the Great Hut.

For the stabbing all the lineage members must be present. If anyone is absent, he is suspected of witchcraft and scolded for it. The kraalhead with senior agnates is often outside the pen and they look on over the fence. The kraalhead's Wis and his BrsWis are in the Great Hut. The stabber, boys and skinners move into the pen after the praises. Not a sound is heard during the stabbing, except that the kraalhead may address his ancestors, if he does the stabbing himself, which is rare. The stabbing spear may not be used in eating beef; it will cause stomach pains (Fynn: 287).

Four or five factors determine the fall of the victim: the stabber's skill in hitting the vital spot, viz., behind the right front leg; his membership in the *uZalo* (lineage/family); his ritual condition: he should have abstained from sexual intercourse the previous night, and if chosen unprepared, he has to ritually cleanse himself from sexual stain. The fourth factor is ancestral responsiveness: the beast should bellow to show that the ancestors are pleased. The animal's groan indicates that the ancestors will grant the request that has been made, and on hearing

it, the family head shouts: "Cry, ox of the ancestors!" and calls out their names. A fifth factor is the possible interference by an 'evil-doer' who rubbed or scratched the fatal spot with medicines, so that even the most skilful stabber fails and the animal cannot be dropped *(ukuLinga nKomo:* Callaway: 1868: 429). If this happens, this is a bad omen.

After the fall of the victim all the men, the kinsmen of the owner, both married and unmarried, move into the pen and some begin to skin the animal. The women leave the Great Hut and return to their own huts or behind the ring of huts to work. The skinners have the privilege of putting small pieces into their pots or of carrying pieces of meat away on rods *(amaJuphu okuHlinza)*. They throw small pieces of meat to the other men who crouch round a fire and roast them. After the skinning the carcase is cut up. Anyone who severs a leg leaves a small portion of meat on the rump which he later cuts off and adds to his own pot. As the carcase is cut open, the blood is ladled out by the men and collected by small girls in clay pots for the dish called *ubuBende* (blood and meat mixed) and the blood soup. No drop of blood may fall on the ground, for it might be used by a witch against the family.

On the first day the men and women get some roasted titbits: the men the *amaNtshontsho* which they must eat standing in the pen, the women the *iTwani*, fourth stomach, which the must eat raw in a hut. Callaway asserts that the blood soup and the blood pudding are cooked on the first day, (180) that the paunch *(uSu)* is cooked and eaten by everyone before the blood pudding. For cooking these dishes the family head uses the big cooking spoon of the Great Hut which normally is taboo to him, a ritual inversion! The skinners also receive beer, which the women have placed in readiness for them in a beer kitchen.

Callaway (1868: 11, 141) reports a burnt offering which is not mentioned by present-day informants. After the skinning the familyhead takes a little blood, cuts off a portion of the caul, places this on a sherd and burns it in a secret place *(iGazana eliNcinyana:* presumably the apse) with some incense to give the ancestors a sweet savour. Krige (p. 295) mentions that the stomach contents are dashed against the roof of the hut, another dedicatory offering.

Some at least of the meat is hung up on the posts of the pen from the afternoon till the evening. The contents of the first stomach *(umSwani)* are mixed with the cowdung in the pen, so that evil-doers cannot get hold of it. By adding *umSwani* to their nefarious medicines they could turn the ancestors against their own family and thus destroy it! (258): At about sunset the meat together with the spear is carried by young men to the Great Hut where it is placed in the apse, sometimes on the left side. A kraal has a Great Hut only when the UM (or his princWi) is alive. When the family head is dead, a small special hut is built for the offering of meat.

Meat is dedicated in the Great Hut only when it is still occupied by the UM! 'The GM is as good as the ancestors!' If it has been turned over to a Wi's use, even the princWi's, it is no longer so used and the meat is placed in the Great Hut's kitchen, since 'Wis do not sit with the meat'. While meat is in the apse of the Great Hut no women may enter it. This is one of the reasons why SM calabashes, pots and all vegetable food vessels must be removed. 'Meat should be left alone!' 'It must be respected!' (H1). Of course meat and milk may also be kept separate because of their different nature! Anyone wishing to approach the hut, provided he has authority to do so, approaches it in clockwise fashion, i.e., he moves to it from the right (H1) (392). The meat is placed on the fresh hide, which is thrown over some leafy branches. These are in areas with woods: *inDende, umDoni, umKhiwane,* i.e., wattle, Combretum, wild fig, and *umPhopho* , and in 'the Thorns' *umShekisane* or *umGxamu* (392). This is done to keep red or black ants away. The meat may also be placed on a tray and nowadays in a basin. The young men walk on either side of the hut since its ritual use removes the sexual implication of the sides; they do not bow but do everything respectfully, e.g., using both hands in putting the meat down, and covering it with a tray (392). The spear is placed above the apse into the thatch with the point upward. The blood is never wiped off: hence before it is used to kill a beast, the rust must be ground off.

A small pot of beer and a container with snuff are put into the apse as well as the meat offerings but placed apart. Meat and beer may not be placed too close, or the beer will go bad - the ancestors would bathe in it (392). The snuff's place is underneath the spear. Not all clans offer snuff (175), or snuff is offered only at the Washing of the Spears for a person who in life was fond of snuff (180). The gall bladder of the animal is placed beside these offerings in a pot or calabash which may contain the contents of the first stomach (*uSu*). This vessel may also be placed against the thatch between the roof sticks (*isiXwembe*) above the fire-place (178).

Certain parts of the animal are never placed on the ground, e.g., the *iNanzi* (third stomach), the stabbed sirloin (*iNsonyama*) and the dewlap (*uBilo*). According to (392) the parts pegged up are: *amaGuma, umKhele, isiFuba, iBele* and *iNsonyama* . All these parts have important ritual and status-signifying functions. "They are pinned up in the roof in the apse, so that the ancestors can get at them" (180). For this reason they are also objects of witchcraft, e.g., the *iNanzi* is used by witches to wreak death on the family. Some of the intestines are also pegged up, according to (258) the *iThumbu lenKosikazi*, the *iThumbu leNtombazane*, and the *iThumbu lomNumzana*. They are hung up high so that there is no bad smell in the hut (Bryant: 1949: 267).

The offering takes place in the evening. The patriarch, or if the prohibition against his entering the hut is already observed at this stage, his M, and in the case of the beer offering his princWi, announces in a hushed, respectful manner: "Here is your food, people of our family, your beer, your snuff!" (120, 392). The ancestors may be called by their pers/ns or by their clan/n, e.g. (152) records: "oSithole, oLamula, oSobani, oSithole!". Neither the patriarch nor his princWi sleep in the Great Hut that night, but his M may (Za/H1). It is old women or young Chn who sleep with the offerings. If the hut was left unoccupied young men were stationed 'to watch all night' (Holden: 1866: 303). The door of the Great Hut is carefully shut. Everyone else retires to his own hut, the princWi being given a place in one of the family huts. The stabber may sleep with his Wi that night and so may the kraalhead.

On the first, third and fourth day only lineage members are present: the family head's F, arriving from his own kraal, the UBrs, both full and half, his FBrs, and FSis, also FBrsSos, but not FSisSos, since they belong to a different agnatic group and have a different clan/n, and the USos and UBrsSos. (175) mentions only his F, two FBrs who lived at F's kraal, and FSos, his F's three Wis and of the FBrs two Wis. (120) confirms the narrow range: at a SAC are present the U, his Brs both from the kraal and from outside; the U's half-Brs, who are free to come or stay away; the USis are also called but not the USisSos.

All male members of the minor lineage are expected to come. Half-Brs are free to absent themselves in some cases. Acceptable excuses for staying away are work and a quarrel with the family head or one of those attending. Any member staying away without known reason is scolded for it; he may be called a wizard. If later something should go wrong in the homestead, his absence is remembered and causally connected with the misfortune. Christians do not fall under this rule: they do not attend, because they cannot recite the praises! Unrelated men or dependants, living in the homestead, may be present and share in the meat. Their Wis and Chn are not excluded from their appropriate groups. Neighbours come on the second day only without being invited. If an unrelated neighbour does not attend, no suspicion is aroused.

3. Second day

The second day, known as *iDili*, is the Feast Day: the meat placed on the skin is taken out for cooking, e.g., the legs and the ribs are cut up, most of the meat is cooked and eaten by the extended family and the neighbours. Only male neighbours come, for among women 'there is no neighbourhood'. On this day the men sing and dance in the cattle pen, while the women are still in the huts, or move about cautiously behind them. On this day too a section of the skull with the horns is placed on the roof of the Great Hut above the door. This is a token that the ancestors have been slaughtered for, "and they can see it now for themselves." Men and women are dressed as on the First Day.

The cooking of the meat is done by the family head, his Brs and people of his rank. He may be assisted by old women of his homestead *74*. The pots are set up either in the cattle pen or in the yard at the lower end of the Ceremonial Path. If the meat was bewitched by a wizard blowing his breath over the pot, the meat does not get done in spite of a roaring fire (Callaway: 1868: 429). The meat becomes tasteless or causes vomiting although tasty, if the stabber violated the sex taboo. 'Bad meat' *(iNyama-emBi)* is also produced if he has 'bad blood' *(iGazi liBi)* as a congenital condition, or if he has eaten the wrong medicine. The meat is cooked in water without salt. The division of the beast is a responsible task, since the shares of the eating groups, viz., men and women, old and young have to be kept apart. Not all meat is cooked in the pots. Some parts are roasted by young men, the men's shares in the pen, the women's in the yard. Each share has a person appointed to handle it. The distribution of the meat is the function of the family head and a test of his ability in kinship conduct.

Sex and age-mates keep apart in special eating groups in different localities. Each group receives its allotted parts, both boiled and roasted, and the presence of individuals in a group and their partaking of the shares is a manifestation of group membership. Some informants maintain that SAC meat should never be eaten indoors, others assert that meat cannot be eaten in the Great Hut on this, the Second Day. As a rule, however, men and women of standing eat their shares in different huts, and the young men in the cattle pen. Nobody takes a share not his own. Informants cannot suggest what would happen if someone did.

Meat is eaten, when the sun is declining. It is eaten without vegetables, but today salt is often provided into which the pieces are dipped. In the past salt was taboo (Za). The men of the family and the neighbours gather in the cattle-pen, so that "those who are eating and those who are not are seen." The sections are dished into wooden bowls or trays and taken to the various eating groups by young men. Beer is available to all groups and *amaHewu* for those who dislike beer. Soup *(umHluzi)* and blood pudding *(ubuBende)* are taken according to taste by everyone. Each group has its eating mat. If only one person belongs to a group, he too is given a special mat: "Here is the mat of such and such a place" (group)! (Callaway: 1868: 181).

Callaway (1868: 9, 180) gives the following shares: Men eat the head and disperse to their homesteads. Then the breast is boiled and eaten by the Wis ("chieftainesses") and family members. He adds: The *iNsonyama* (superficial layer of flesh from hip to ear) goes to the head of the kraal, the ribs or shoulder to the next eldest agnatic kinsman, the leg to "the officer" (the stabber?). According to most of my informants the family head, his Brs and the men from the neighbourhood foregather in the Residence and there eat *uMbanqwana* roasted for them by the young men and *isiXhanti* (Bryant: 1949: 266: hump including neck and head) cooked by the kraalhead. Certain parts of the head - the chaps, cheeks, underlips - may likewise be roasted for the old men. The young married men and unmarried youth of the lineage and neighbourhood eat one *umKhono* (front leg) roasted and the boiled head (*inHloko*) in the cattle-pen. Meat-soup is taken by them too.

The young boys of family and neighbourhood take the lungs and heart to the pasture, where they roast and eat them together with the humerus of the front leg given to them by the unmarried men. They then carry out a stick fight. The victor (*iNgqwele*) pins the *uBhedu*, a piece cut from the heart, on his stick. They return to the homestead, where they try to snatch a morsel from the cooked head which the men are eating. They also eat blood soup and blood pudding before they return to herd their cattle. This is a ritualized anticipation of their status as men.

Now the men, unmarried and married, dance in the pen and sing songs, even the clan hymn. After thanking the kraalhead, the neighbours leave and the homestead becomes still. Then the women, who are still dressed and demure, according to (175), come together and take out their meat share. The younger, middle-aged and old Wis eat together in the Great Hut (151). Their shares consist of the flank *(umHlubulo)* roasted by the young men, one hindleg *(umLenze)*

and the chest (*isiFuba*). One flank goes to the Wis collectively, the other to the Wis of the Left House, soup and blood pudding (containing meat of the second front leg and hind leg) is also at their disposal. They do not finish all meat at once and are allowed to carry some of the meat away in clay pots (*imiCakulo*) to their huts and homesteads. This take-away meat goes by the name of *amaVenge* . The Das of the homestead eat the cooked sirloin of the unstabbed side. Their roasted share is the udder (*iBele*). Parts not yet mentioned are eaten on the Third and Fourth Day (Bryant: 1905; S: 184).

4. The Third Day

called variously *isiDlo*, *umuDlo* or *umuDlo wamaNqina*, *iLanga lamaNqina*, (also recorded as *umuHla kwamaNqina*) finds the extended family alone; the neighbours do not return. On this day the family head cooks what has been left over. The groups eat separately as before: the women, old and young, in the Great Hut, the men, married and unmarried, in the kraal-head's Residence, boys and girls in separate huts again. The meat is shared out in the Great Hut and carried to the eating huts by the young men (175).

The sirloin of the stabbed side, called sacred by Bryant (1949: 267), is cooked on this day; also the dewlap, the remaining hindleg, the *iziNqe* (buttocks) and the part above the fetlocks (viz., the *amaNqina)*. The kraalhead eats the sirloin (for, on behalf of the ancestors) but has the right to let others share. It is given to the senior representative of the lineage, if he lives near. The remaining beer is drunk.

When all is finished the family head says: "Be perfectly still!" The men are quiet. He then praises the ancestors for their deeds of valour, reminds them that in return for their beast they received an offering, and prays for more cattle and Chn. There is no dancing on this day. That night the princWi returns to the Great Hut.

5. On the Fourth Day

the *iNanzi* (third stomach) is cooked and eaten in some clans by anyone, in others by the oldest person in the homestead, usually a woman, but also by young boys or Chn (145); in one kraal (139) by the girls. Usually nothing is said at the time, but the GM may call her GChn together and tell them: "Come along Chn, we shall eat your GF's meat now!" (414). The third stomach may be eaten with blood pudding; it may be cooked together with the sirloin and the dewlap, which must be eaten by the family head. The third stomach and the unstabbed sirloin may also be sent to the married women who share them with their Chn. In contrast to the story-telling on the Second and Third day, nothing may be said on this occasion (Hl/Za).

The snuff and the beer offered to the ancestors are also consumed on the fourth day. Old people like to consume these offerings because they feel they are like the ancestors. They thus say "We eat what you left over!" Neither the family head nor a woman of child-bearing age partakes of them. (145) whispers: "the beer has been sipped by the ancestors." (180): "All that is known is that it decreases during those three or four days, but this also happens with beer not offered to the ancestors." (He is an exception by saying that the ancestral beer is drunk by the men who cook the meat on the second day! According to (192) the *iNanzi* may also be eaten on the second day!)

On the fourth day the Great Hut is smeared by the princWi (*inDlovukazi*). The younger Wis enter it again and return to it the food vessels, the milk calabashes and pots. The taboo period has come to an end. "No meat has been preserved: even your cat helps to finish it all" (392).

(401) enumerates the parts which are roasted:-

First day: *amaNtshontsho* , small pieces roasted by skinners (who are always agnatic kinsmen of the owner).

Second day: *oMbanqwana* (small ribs) and *umKhele* roasted for adult men and eaten by them in a hut.

umKhono (one fore-leg) roasted and eaten by young men and assembly of men; Heart and lungs, roasted and eaten by herdboys in veld.
umHlubulo (flank) roasted by selected young men and eaten by adult women in a hut.
iBele (udder) roasted for girls by a young man. (401) had forgotten this part, his Wis remind him.
amaThumbu are roasted too on this day, eaten by anyone, including neighbours, to whom the U offers them.
uBende (blood pudding), which is really meant for women but may also be offered to men.
umHluzi (blood soup): anyone eats, even neighbours, if they ask for it.
isiNqe (rump) eaten by the whole family (*umuZi*); even UBrs may eat of it if they have commensality in these matters.

B. THE TABOO REGIMEN OF THE PATRIARCH

1. *The Family Head's Taboo Regimen*

Reserved Areas: The family head alone enquires from the diviner whether in the trouble at issue an ancestor must be appeased. A great man does not go himself but sends a messenger, a go-between, to the expert. The patriarch is the only person to dream about a SAC; any other inmate of the kraal, even the princWi, has no standing in this. The kraalhead must not leave his Residence when he is preparing for a SAC. He can receive no visitors (except perhaps a chief). Indiscriminate contacts with strangers cause him to lose 'dignity' *(isiThunzi)*. His attendants however have free access to him. Before a SAC the kraalhead must beware of touching unlucky persons or animals, or of looking at 'evil sights', a widow, a beast that has aborted, a woman who has had a miscarriage. During the SAC the patriarch used to wear a special cloak or robe. According to (125) it was worn by the praiser (Bryant: 1905: 513).

Sex: The patriarch is enjoined not to sleep in any of his Wis' huts on the eve of a SAC but in his Residence. Sexual abstention is implied. Quite a number of informants see nothing wrong if he sleeps with his Wi since the patriarch rarely stabs the animal (120). If he sleeps with a woman who has not yet given birth such intercourse may in fact make her conceive! Sleeping with a pregnant Wi is, however, avoided by all. Sexual intercourse at the time of slaughter is unheard of. "The ancestors would abandon such a man." He will be dogged by misfortune forever. None of the meat slaughtered for ancestors is cooked by women of child-bearing age, not even the share eaten by them. Some is cooked by the patriarch himself, assisted by other old men and women; some is roasted by the young men. Women have to stay away from the fireplace in yard or pen (Krige: 291).

Speech: The patriarch does not talk about the SAC. When he orders his Wis to brew beer, he does not tell them that it is for a SAC. At the time of slaughtering even the patriarch should be silent. Only the praises of the ancestors should be heard then (as recited by the bard). The patriarch should not show signs of irritation or anger during the slaughter, even if he has reason to be annoyed. Obscene talk, vulgar language should be avoided, for 'the ancestors are present'. The patriarch must not stand when the beast is being stabbed; he should crouch for two reasons: to respect the ancestors (Hl), and to induce the beast, by sympathetic magic, to lie down and die. The butchers, however, stand while eating the titbits before the carcase is opened up, a case of inversion.

Food: The patriarch does not eat of the blood, nor may he partake of the beer, snuff and other parts offered to the ancestors in the apse. He may taste them, i.e., ritually nibble them, but they are consumed by the old folk or the Chn. No food prepared by women is eaten by the kraalhead during the SAC, except beer. No kraalhead sacrifices and feasts for himself.

"The being alone will wipe you out" (Colenso: 1905: *isiSulu)*: It portends evil and brings on ill-luck. This rule was said by some informants not to be Za, since it never happens! The patriarch must abstain from pork. The not eating of portions of meat reserved to other family members is, as several informants stated, not a taboo. It is adherence to customary meat distribution.

2. *Companionship Taboos*

The patriarch's Wis must specially dress up for a SAC: they put on newly fatted kilts, freshly ochred top-knots, wear forehead fillet and *uBendle*, withdraw into the Great Hut and walk or work behind the huts. All this, their soft talk and subdued behaviour especially during the stabbing is generally explained as due to respect (Hl) for the ancestors. The latter may be particularized: the women behave as if their HF appears among the ancestors (although the restraints are also observed when he is still alive). The solemnity of the occasion, the critical condition of the patient for whom the SAC is offered, help to revive the in-law avoidances with an intensity equal to that of the bridal years. The only difference is that on the days of the SAC women may eat SM unless they are menstruating. A SAC thus re-establishes the stranger status of the Wis. The contrast of their behaviour with that of the agnatic Das, who do not dress up and do not observe any avoidances, is striking.

No family member touches the patriarch when he is officiating, nor do they touch his belongings, or any medicines he may carry or his skin cloak. In some kraals no one but the stabber and the praiser are allowed into the pen during the stabbing. The family members do not make a noise, nor do they speak while the head or praiser addresses the ancestors. They should really not speak until the whole of the sacrificial meat has been consumed. Even a modern informant (102) stated that the interdict on speaking should be observed for six days after the killing. Any person violating it should be fined one beast. Nobody may eat of any meat until the patriarch has given the order. Nobody may eat of the meat reserved to the kraalhead. This rule is classed by (102) with (Hl) and not (Za); but there are analogues at the First Fruits and at Milking which are not infrequently seen as (Za) (Grout: 140-3; Callaway: 1868: 58f, 182; Krige: 48f; Bryant: 1949: 685).

3. *Zulu Explanations for Avoidances and Abstentions during SAC*

The stabber abstains from sexual intercourse on the eve of the SAC because, according to Zulu belief, *uSuku* (sexual stain) causes the meat to 'turn bad'. This is not *haut goût*, but a quality not noticeable during eating and only discovered by the after-effects. It will cause pain in the stomach, loose stool and vomiting *75*. There are several factors complicating the issue. A person may have a constitutional blood defect *(isiDilo)* which causes the meat to turn 'bad' even without *uSuku*. People with this complaint should not be stabbers. (Some leeches profess to have a cure). On the other hand, sexual stain may be neutralized by the chewing of a grass-root *(isiQunga)*. A person who is invited to stab may of course excuse himself. Moral defilement does not necessarily imply ritual unfitness, for even an adulterer may stab, if he has chewed! Casuistic thinking and ritual norms rather than moral principles frequently determine Zulu ethos.

The arrangements in the Great Hut, viz., the smearing of the floor with cowdung, the removal of the food vessels, especially the SM calabashes and pots, are said to prepare the hut for the coming of the ancestors. Other spatial taboos are interpreted in the same manner, viz., the cattle pen, even the yard, become temporarily taboo to the Wis and the ordinary wifely duties are stopped: viz., the carrying of fuel and water across the homestead and cooking.

The rule against the family head sleeping in the Great Hut is occasionally reinforced by an interdict against his entering the hut after the stabbing. The prohibition is sometimes so phrased that its object is expressed, viz., to prevent his sleeping with the princWi. Some informants make the sexual taboo absolute, i.e., they apply it to the whole homestead. Others stress the spatial aspect: the family head may sleep with any of his Wis in his Residence. As the main

reason for the interdict a number of informants adduce the presence of the ancestors in the Great Hut. Intercourse of the So before his F and the appearance of a Da-in-l before her F-in-l would be 'bad'. (Hence the princWi is quartered for three days in another family hut). Informants are agreed that no case has ever been known when this rule was broken. "If it were broken, the members of the family concerned would claim a fine in cattle from the offending family head!" (141). At this point (103) remarked: "I am glad that fines are mentioned as sanctions for ritual interdicts, for this is genuine Zulu custom!" The presence of Chn during parental intercourse is generally circumvented, and by analogy intercourse of the Chn before their parents is considered 'bad'. In other words, behind the taboo, that intercourse must not take place where the sacrificial meat lies, lurks the general rule: Sexual intercourse must not be performed in the presence of members of an ascending or descending generation. This explanation remains, however, hidden under a variety of 'explanations': No young lover may sleep with the meat, since the effect of 'sexual stain' on it is feared. The ancestors would consider it a 'disgrace', a 'shame' (*iHlazo)* if people in command of reproductive powers were to be in 'their hut.' They would get angry, the beer pots would crack and the meat turn 'bad.'

Young boys sleep in the Great Hut, or an old woman, for they cannot possibly be sexually 'dirty'. The carrying out of ritual tasks by Chn is explained by their not being grown-up (*Thombile*, i.e., sexually active). The young Das of the home do not dress up; they may walk between huts and pen, they even collect the blood in the pen. Chn feel no fear or revulsion at the sight of the slaughtering. The boys help in skinning the beast, they carry the chunks of meat to the Great Hut, and eat with the men in the pen on the Second Day. Chn also help the old people to consume the special organs which are not placed on the ground but in the roof. The aged men and women consume the snuff and beer because they are like ancestors: they no longer become 'unclean' with menstruation, child-birth or sexual emissions. My informants insisted that Chn who sleep with the meat in the Great Hut are not afraid, since 'they fulfil Zulu law.'

Explanations stressing psychic concomitants, however, do occur, and they refer to fear. The Wis, it is said, are afraid to look at the stabbing. But since a woman saw the stabbing of beasts when she was a Da in her F's homestead, this fear in her H's kraal must be structural, i.e., it arises in the woman's re-activated status as a bride during SAC. A woman also looks at the killing of the *umQholiso* beast at her wedding which is not a SAC. Her 'brazenness' then certainly has structural significance: under the rules of exogamy she is needed to provide the groom's family with offspring. But SACs at her H's home are performed to call in h i s ancestors' help, and are therefore occasions where neither she nor h e r ancestors have any business. Informants confronted with these exceptions to the explanation by psychic fear still maintain that it is a genuine fear which is felt by a woman when a beast is slaughtered, and it shows itself not only at a SAC but also when a beast is slaughtered for a woman doctor. On the other hand 'structural fear' is often quite patent. The *Biyela* Wis (169/170) whose H still kills beasts for ancestors, exhibit an extreme degree of avoidance on the day of a SAC. When the beast is being slaughtered they leave their H's kraal and hide in a valley. There they bathe and put on their finery 'because they are going to eat meat! If they did not bathe ritually, the meat would turn 'bad!' None of their H's agnates bathe. This bathing rule for brides at SACs is cancelled some years after their marriage.

4. Is Sacrifice Gift, Communion or Share?

How far are the ancestors presumed to be taking part in the feasting? The Zulu evidence does not seem to favour either the communion or gift theory *76* of SAC but suggests that the leading family members or the aged eat "as ancestors!"

It is true the beast is offered to the ancestors before it is killed. When it is dead the meat may be roughly divided into three categories: certain portions are roasted and eaten immediately by various groups - the ancestors cannot partake of these. The meat placed in the apse is consumed mainly on the second and third day. Although the ancestors are invited to partake of it, the ritual implies hardly more than a 'dedication'. Only the special organs, the *iNanzi*,

stabbed sirloin, gall-bladder and beer and snuff are specifically treated as if they are consumed by the ancestors.

It is said that the ancestors begin "to lick by stealth" blood and bile of an animal even before it is killed for them, and it is pointed out that the bile of a 'sacrificed' beast is less than that of a beast killed 'for pleasure'. Concerning the meat, Callaway (1868: 11) gives two Native statements as to what the ancestors eat: "When the flesh burns with the incense (in the burnt offering), the spirits eat" (perhaps the smell or the essence escaping in it). The old men also say: "The ancestors lick the meat." (238)'s line of argument is "The eating by the ancestors is invisible: Once they see the meat in the apse they're pleased and that is the way they enjoy it!" My informants also pointed out that the beer becomes less in the pot during the night. The ancestors, one informant whispered, evidently drink from it. The fact of evaporation is known and not denied, but considered to be a different matter. These portions are occasionally also described as left-overs of the ancestors. (239), Chief Mqiniseni Zungu, states that sirloin, third stomach and intestines, as well as part of the liver are pegged up in the roof. This part of the liver is the share of his Wis; the third stomach is eaten by the old women, and if there are none, by younger women; the unstabbed *iNsonyama* is given to those who are worth it, viz., his Brs! Only when asked whether sirloin and *iNanzi* are the shares of the ancestors, does he reply: "It is true. When we eat these portions, we say: I eat what is left over by our first ancestor, or by our creator!" *(SiDla okuSele kuNkulunkulu wethu,* or *kuMvelinqangi).*

More frequent is the thought that the old people eat for the ancestors. When the *iNanzi* is eaten the old men and women invite the Chn, saying: "We are going to eat your GF's meat now" (Bryant: 1949: 267). The snuff and beer are consumed by old people as if they themselves belonged to the ancestors. According to (258) the *iNanzi* "may not be eaten by a bride or a woman of child-bearing age, since anyone eating of it bears Chn no more!" - a vivid reminder that only the aged, who like the ancestors have lost the power of procreation, have a right to it! Confirmation of this trend of thought is obtained in the behaviour of Zulu about to die. Not infrequently they demand a beast to be slaughtered for them. (222): "If the HM feels her end approach, she tells her So, the U, that they don't need to consult a diviner. Each of her Sos should rather slaughter a goat. She tells them 'to eat quickly' and forecasts the day of her death. She herself eats little and only of the blood soup or the intestines."

The idea that the U himself eats on behalf of the ancestors is also pronounced. It is he who cooks *iNanzi* , stabbed sirloin and dewlap on the fourth day in a special pot and without any herbs. He eats sirloin and dewlap himself, and as some say, on behalf of the ancestors. (238): "The family head eats the sirloin, the most important portion, as ancestor, he represents them! For the owner of the homestead is also 'the head of the dead'. The sirloin is 'sacrosanct'; it is the important portion for the U, because he is the head of the homestead. He partakes of it, when all other meat has been consumed; it is the portion which belongs to the dead. The kraal-head is their embodiment (representative)!" *(iNsonyama yona isiBusiso. iliKhanda lomuZi ngoba yiSona isiTho somNumzane esiKhulu. UyasiDla lapha iNyama isiPhelile yonke ngoba yiSona isiTho sabangasekho. umNikazi-muZi naye uyibo labo).*

Even old or energetic women claim ancestral status in this situation. When the good-looking, efficient widow (392) said: "On the fourth day the meat pegged up in the roof is eaten by old people and the beer set apart is drunk by them", she continued: "I represent the ancestors in this kraal" - it had no fully acknowledged head - "and may even enter the hut where the meat is kept!" This may be exceptional. But it is quite frequent that the U, by identifying himself with the ancestors, poses in the role of the mystical supplier of meat to his Wis and Chn. This is well brought out by (258): "Both *iNanzi* and *iziNsonyama* are eaten after all other meat is finished. The stabbed *iNsonyama* is eaten by the U and he gives the unstabbed *iNsonyama* to his princWi: *NginiKhipha abaNtwana iNsonyama!"* The Wis are here referred to as *abaNtwana,* because "by eating the stabbed *iNsonyama* I become an ancestor, I am just as good as an ancestor *(NgokuDla iNsonyama sengiFana nje neDlozi)*!" He might even call his princWi

mNtanawami (my child) at this stage, e.g., when ordering her to take the *iNsonyama* to his Residence. "I eat the *iNsonyama* because I have to maintain the authority of the ancestors in this kraal!" This view is corroborated by several other informants. (293) asserts that the best shares of meat go to Wis and Chn. "Indeed Wis and Chn get a better deal than the men who on the Second Day eat neck and head only. But they are my Chn; when I am dead, what will they thank me for (scil., unless I give them meat?".) Likewise chief Manyala Biyela explains the better women's share with the statement: "The beast is slaughtered for the women!"

C. ANIMAL PARTS ROUND WHICH TABOOS CENTRE

1. The Bones

(338: with his BrSo and BrSoWi):

After the sacrificial meat has been eaten the bones are collected and put in the apse for two nights. The UM then burns them near but outside the cattle-gate where cattle will walk. If his M is no longer alive, the U does this himself or his Wis. Ordinary firewood and *imPepho* (incense) are used. Smell and smoke go to the ancestors; they delight in having 'eaten' all the meat and bones. The younger UWis, the Wis of his Brs and Sos, may not touch the bones (a 'sort of Za'). If any unauthorized person touches the bones, the ancestors would ask: Who has allowed the young ones to touch our food? The people would not hear this query, but see it manifest in someone's sickness. This would not necessarily attack the person who touched the bones. The ancestors often do not punish the guilty one directly, because people will more quickly be aroused if they touch an innocent person. There is also a magical explanation for the burning of the bones. On the third Day of SAC all bones are collected (Callaway: 1868: 9), the owner of the cattle burns them, that wizards cannot heat them to injure the sick man further. On this day too the skin is taken outside to dry *77*.

The part of the skull connecting the two horns is cut out on the second day of SAC and placed above the door of the Great Hut, as a sign that the ancestors have been slaughtered for, also to notify them.

2. The Stomach Contents

(193 and 196) state:- The contents of the first stomach (paunch) are treated with care. When the paunch is opened, measures are taken that none of the contents fall into the pen. A wizard might mix some with destructive medicines, causing sickness and killing off the inmates of the homestead. Mixing the contents with cowdung diffuses them and renders them useless to the evil-doer. According to Chief Mqiniseni, the contents can also be mixed with the dung in the large intestines, and in the past the paunch was at once taken to the Great Hut, stuck up in the apse and the door locked. It was emptied into the pen on the third day when all neighbours had left. Only the UF and UM could attend to it.

The contents of the *iNanzi* are not removed while it is pinned up i.e., for three days, but then are thrown away. They cannot be used in black magic (193); this, however, is asserted of the third stomach itself (Bryant: 1949: 267).

Precautionary measures are taken with the contents of the paunch on the following occasions:- During a wedding three beasts are slaughtered: the *umNcamo* at the bride's home, the *umQholiso* and the *inKomo yawoYise*, both at the groom's. In the first and last instance the stomach contents are mixed with the cowdung of the respective pen. The stomach contents of the *umQholiso* are taken by the classificatory Ms of the bride to the river and poured into it, so that they are washed away. If an evil-doer were to get hold of them he could make the bride barren. The fact that the bride's Ms may handle the stomach contents of the H's beast is a case of ritual inversion (and the taboo-breach secures blessings).

At the Washing of Hoes and Spears the family members rub their hands in the stomach contents of the slaughtered beast to cleanse themselves from the contagion of death. This, according to some informants, is the only time that a Wi touches the stomach contents of a beast belonging to her H (but at her wedding her Ms did). Studerus says, however, that stomach contents, and possibly the paunch, are buried in the pen. At the Bringing Home the stomach contents of the slaughtered beast are mixed with cowdung. If dung is not available a doctor must treat them with medicine *(inTelezi)* to prevent their being used by a witch. The stomach contents of a beast resemble thus the body-dirt of the human members of an agnatic group. The well-being of the group is tied up with them. The whole family is exposed to danger when they get into the wrong hands. Even the guilty person washes himself with the *umSwani* to cleanse himself. A vital group symbol is thus used as a medium removing an individual's guilt feelings.

3. Gall-bladder and Bile

The ancestors consume the bile of a beast dedicated to them, while it is still alive, so that the amount of bile of such an animal is appreciably reduced. (A beast killed for pleasure has much bile and no rite is performed with it). The liver, to which the gall-bladder is attached, is placed with all other offerings in the apse for a night. Or the gall-bladder by itself is placed in a calabash filled with the chyme of the paunch (181, 204) or the paunch is fixed against the thatch of the roof.

On the second day, before the cooking of the head begins, the U separates the gall-bladder from the liver, rips it open and pours out some of the bile in the apse and some on himself. Some report that he also pours bile on the back of his hands, others on his legs from the knee downwards or on his body from the waist upwards. The most usual place to pour bile on, according to Studerus and (239), is the big toe! The family head ties the gall-bladder to his wrist. With his permission it may be worn by the heir. When dry, it is taken off, cut up and thrown to the dogs. According to (185) the gall-bladder is hidden in the thatch; she laughs at the idea that this is so because the ancestors might live there, she does not know where they live.

The family head may also call the Chn of the homestead together on this day. They meet in or just outside the Great Hut, and he (or his M) pours bile over their feet (and on to their hands: 193). While he does so, he addresses the ancestors: "Here is bile from your cow. Look favourably on us!" The praises are not recited. (204 denies that Chn have bile poured over them). The master of the homestead may also pour bile over the threshold of the Great Hut, calling: "Look on us!" (this is unknown to 210, called obsolete by 204). The Chn are told to walk through the bile so that they carry it away on their soles. The only persons who enter the Great Hut this second day are the people who slept in it and the family head. The bile ritual thus joins the Chn to their agnatic group (the Wis of child-bearing age are not allowed into the Great Hut till it is smeared on the fourth day). This interpretation is confirmed when we investigate special cases. Chn not belonging to the *uZalo* (lineage), e.g., neighbours, know that they are excluded from this rite, and they do not enter the Great Hut. An illegitimate Ch of a Da of the homestead, or one born in adultery by one of the Wis, is allowed to pick up the bile on its feet, because it is counted into the family head's patriliny and lives under his tutelage.

Many Zulu say that these traditional or customary rites are ambiguous in their meaning. Some have never heard of the pouring of bile on the feet of the Chn or across the threshold. The majority are convinced, however, that the ancestors lick the bile wherever it is poured; in the apse, from off the hands and body of the family head and off the feet of the Chn without their noticing it. They further agree that both the sprinkling of the bile and the wearing of the bladder 'strengthens' family head and Chn. It is not the physical strength or the F's legal authority that is strengthened, nor has the rite any relation to *amAndla*, but rather to the mystic power, influence, dignity of the persons concerned. Some add, the bile protects the Chn, makes them lucky and fortunate. Others remark that the bile joins a person to his family. (185 points out that

only the Chn of the homestead - *umuZi*, not those of the lineage - *uZalo*, are sprinkled). The explanations harmonize, since in 'primitive' society good fortune is equivalent to enjoyment of kinship solidarity. The gall-bladder is often interpreted as a sign of belonging to a particular kinship group, of honouring, thanking the ancestors. No stranger may touch it (Za), lest it be lost or misused, and so much is the fate of the family identified with the gall-bladder that, after it has shrivelled, the family head cuts it up and buries it in the apse (127).

The gall-bladder with its precious content, the bile, is hidden in the thatch of the roof, or in the inaccessible apse. The family head treats it reverently: it reminds him of his ancestors, it makes him thankful for their protection, their interest in the welfare of his family. It makes him proud to belong to such a group. The bile is not only a symbol of, but also an instrument for achieving lineage unity. And membership in a lineage gives personality, dignity, as the Zulu put it. Hence the word *iNyongo* with its concrete meaning of gall-bladder, bile, acquires the abstract connotation of personality, and the phrase *ukuFaka iNyongo*, lit. to wear a gall-bladder, means in the transferred sense: to make important.

From this central meaning of 'bile' subsidiary meanings are derived. The bile serves as a life-giving substance to agnatic kin (Callaway: 1868: 6, 178). The bile of a beast slaughtered for a sick man is poured over his body. It is a life-giving medicine. Bleek (p. 9, 36) adds: 'The sick man is s t u c k u p with the gall-bladder to recover'. While the renewal of contact with the bile of one's own lineage restores health and life, the bile of a stranger is harmful. There is an exception on the principle of inversion for wizards and chiefs: if they consumed the bile of slain enemies this gave them strength, e.g., Matiwane was reputed to have eaten the bile of thirty chiefs killed by him (J. Frazer: 1929: 498; Bryant: 1929: 139).

Another corollary is the use of the bile for initiating or incorporating a new member into the lineage. When a Ch is one month old, a goat is killed for it. The skin is used for carrying it on the M's back *(imBuzi yemBeleko)*. Its bile is poured on the infant's feet and hands. The F pours and the M rubs it in. If this rite is omitted the Ch becomes sick, and this is caused by the ancestors. The meat is eaten within the extended family, no neighbour being invited. The bones are just lost, not burned. When a boy has matured, a beast is slaughtered for him. Its bile is poured over his hands and feet, the bladder tied to his wrist by his F. Members of the extended family and neighbours come to the feast, but the boy and his age-mates get larger shares of meat than usual. In this rite, as in the Washing of the Spears and the Bringing Home, the bones are carefully collected and burned, lest the pubescent boy be bewitched through them.

The use of the bile as a means of incorporating into a family is evident from its use during the wedding. The killing of cattle in this connection may be classed under confirmatory SAC, for the meat is not offered to the ancestors. The cooking may be done by men and women of both parties (181), and the stabbers need not observe the sex taboo (152).

Three beasts are important:- The *umNcamo* beast is killed in the bride's home on the day she leaves. The ancestral praises are not recited, the Great Hut is not smeared, nor is the meat placed in the apse. No offering of beer or snuff takes place. Obviously the ancestors are not expected to share the meat, but gall-bladder, *iNanzi* and sirloin are placed in the apse. The gall-bladder is opened by the family head in the bride's M's hut the following morning. He pours the bile over left hand and left foot of his Da, and addresses the ancestors: "Let me tell you, that your Ch is leaving now. Go with her, take care of her and prepare everything for her."

The gall-bladder is tied round the bride's wrist. The bride wears it till the *umQholiso* is killed (181), or for about a month, when it is burned. According to (175 and 177) the bile is thrown away and the gall-bladder kept by the bride's M for ten years or more (!) so that her Da may get Chn. It may not be touched by a stranger, lest he be suspected of wanting to bewitch the bride. According to many, the bride wears the gall-bladder from her home during the dances at the groom's place as a protection *(ukuVikela)*. It would be a great misfortune if she lost

it. It would be said that wizards took it. Should she prove barren, her people would explain: "The gall-bladder was stolen" *(iCuyiwe)*. Nobody of the groom's family, not even the groom himself, would remove it (Za).

The bones are collected and burnt, so that wizards may not bewitch the bride with them. Meat may be taken away from the home by lineage members and neighbours. The stomach contents are carefully buried in the cattle pen by the bride's classificatory Ms (never the 'real' M). *iNanzi* and sirloin having been kept in the apse overnight are now produced. The *iNanzi* is eaten by a woman older than the bride's M. The sirloin, wrapped up in a mat, is taken to the groom's place. There it is eaten by the bride during the wedding, since the *umQholiso* meat is taboo to her. The ritual joining of the departing bride to her F's lineage by means of the *umNcamo* bile is unexpected. But it symbolizes the fact that her own ancestors will go with her to her H's place and assist her there.

The *umQholiso* is slaughtered on the day before the dances at the groom's homestead. No beer and snuff are offered (152, 178, 193). The gall-bladder is at once removed. Liver, sirloin, *iNanzi* and flank are taken to the married women of the bride's home to be eaten by the bride's M and her co-Wis there (181). The stomach contents are buried in the H's cattlepen (and the *iNanzi* may be eaten by an old woman of his family). The gall-bladder is taken by a party of young men and women to the hut in which the bride and her attendants reside. The bridal party resists their entry. In the scuffle a young man takes the bride by surprise and pours the bile over her, an act for which he may receive a trouncing. In some families the bile is solemnly poured by the HF in front of the bride, or at the threshold of the hut in which she lives, and she as well as her attendants have to step through it. (181) says: Stepping through is equivalent to pouring over.

The rite secures a ritual link between bride and H's ancestors or kinship group. She may now freely leave her isolation hut and enter the cattle pen for the dances. The empty bladder may be kept by the HM so that the young couple is not bewitched. Or it is worn by the bride's *imPelesi*, the young H paying her 1 shilling for wearing it. She burns it when she has returned to her home. Presumably the bride cannot wear two bladders from different homes and representing separate groups of ancestors. The wearer, whether HM or bride's companion, ensures the welfare and safety of the bride and establishes a special link of great emotional value with the bride.

The third beast with a bile ritual is the *inKomo yawoYise* also *inKomo-kaNina*, because it is killed in honour of the bride's parents on the day after the dances. The bile may be thrown away (178), but more usually it is poured over the feet of the bride's F (or his heir), as the person who received the bride-price. This is done in the hut in which he lives during the wedding. The gall-bladder is tied round his wrist (by his own Br) in the presence of the groom's F. Anyone may eat of the meat of this beast (even the bride?). The stomach contents are mixed with the cowdung by way of magical precaution.

Some informants explain the pouring of bile over the bride at the groom's place as a sign that the bride's and the groom's people, between whom a woman-cattle exchange has taken place, are now friends between whom suspicion can exist no more. The rite symbolizes the new relationship set up *(ukwAkha ubuHlobo)*. It is because of it that a man may not marry into his M's people, for his MF has been ritually treated with the bile of the cattle of the man's kinship group. He and they have shared bile, and like the sharing of SM, this process sets up an interdict against intermarriage.

4. Cowdung

The animal's dung is ritually important and forms an object of restraints. Its main use is the smearing of hut floors. A woman smears her own hut, after she has been released from the avoidance on handling the dung of her H's cattle. Later she is called upon to smear the Great Hut, her HM's hut. For this she takes her turn with her co-Wis in the order in which

they once lived as brides in it. No woman however smears the men's side in the Great Hut, for it is the HF's side, and there is no release from this avoidance (either during his life-time or that of the HM). An immature girl may substitute for a child-bearing Wi. Smearing is done for neatness in all huts when the floors have become dusty or when visitors are expected. One application is considered enough. Even men may smear a hut for such purpose. When a person has bled a lot dung is smeared over the stain.

On occasion smearing acquires a ritual significance. E.g., when an animal is killed, whether for sacrifice or pleasure, the Great Hut, or the kitchen, in which the meat is 'dedicated', is smeared. The smearing has to be done the day before the slaughter or in the morning, so that the hut has time to dry out. The divergence in conformity is well illustrated in these statements by two informants: "No meat carrier may enter the hut unless it has been smeared" (392). But: "It is lazy people who smear when the meat is being put in!" The family head appoints the woman, often the princWi herself, and Chn have to bring the dung from the pen, as no Wi enters the pen at the time of a SAC (H1). The smearing cannot be undertaken until all food and milk vessels have been moved into another hut (sometimes only out of the apse). The smearing done, a herb, *imPepho* (helichrysum) is burned in the hut to attract the ancestors by its sweet smell. Thereafter no person of marriageable age may enter the hut (H1): it is now occupied by the ancestors. When all the meat has been consumed, and the *iNanzi* has been eaten by an old woman, the Great Hut is smeared again and it is only afterwards that women of child-bearing age may re-enter and return the vessels and utensils to their accustomed place.

The hut of a woman who has given birth to a Ch is smeared by her on the day the umbilical cord drops off (or by another woman the day after the birth). Chn and co-Wis fetch the dung from the pen. The smearing signalizes a partial lifting of the confinement taboo regimen. In the past the newborn was cleaned with cowdung (Holden: 1866: 171). This was perhaps a ritual 'cleansing' of the Ch from the puerperal 'dirt'. The hut in which a pubescent girl is secluded is smeared on the eighth day, when she leaves the hut. This 'cleansing' is described as *umThetho* of the Zulu (171). With some families there seems to be no smearing of the hut after menstruation. Usually a woman smears her hut on the day the flow stops, 'the white bright day' *(uSuku olumHlophe)*. At a wedding the groom's Residence *(iLawu)* is smeared, first before the arrival of the bridal party which will spend three days there after incense has been burned in it. The second smearing is done after the party has left and before the groom moves in, because the bride's people have played in it. A yoWi, a young M, a menstruating woman do not enter the pen to fetch dung. A bride may have to use cowdung brought from her F's homestead, for she is not supposed to touch anything connected with her H's cattle (H1). Usually custom is less strict and in the yard she takes over the cowdung fetched by Chn from the pen (Asmus: 204; Krige: 391).

Following a kraalhead's death some families smear the hut of the deceased when the party returns from the grave and after the washing in the river, others on the following day. Widows may not enter the pen, and Chn fetch the cowdung for them. The bile and stomach contents of the *imBuzi yamaKhubalo* may be added to the cowdung on this occasion. At the Washing of the Hoes the hut of the deceased is smeared twice as for all SACs. In some families all the living huts are smeared at the beginning and the end of the 'ritual hunt' and *inTelezi* medicine is added to the dung as well as the bile and stomach contents of the slaughtered goat. Huts are also twice smeared at the Bringing Home.

T o s u m u p: Smearing is done for neatness and cleanliness. Its ritual function is a twofold one: to 'dedicate' a reserved area at the beginning of certain ceremonies, when incense is often burned as well, and to re-condition it for profane use, and then special medicines may be added to the cowdung.

D. CASE STUDIES: SACRIFICE

1. Langalishona Dhludhla

(293), whose courtesy name is Cibisa, belongs to the DakwaKusutha regiment. His homestead is near Itala store. When we approached the huts we noticed ash at the top of the cattle pen and asked for an explanation: "We found meat, we slaughtered a beast. I killed it for my 'Chn' to eat; my Br did the stabbing: we sang the praises: *Nakho ukuDla kwenu: nina bakwaCunganye; nibuthane nonke naMakhosikazi enu, nenzalo yenu. Nakhoke Baba, Mshishizelwa ongenja, ogijimisa ifana eliphezulu. Mpindambambala nyawo zabela ukufa. Amanxeba azindwendwe anhlangothi zombili.* When we speak to the ancestors, my Brs are present (my real Brs are all dead; their Sos are counted in their place now). It is my BrSo, whom I call my Ch, who did the stabbing! My 'Brs' (i.e., BrsSos), who live in neighbouring homesteads, were in the pen during the stabbing. But all the Wis remained in the huts in their best dresses to respectfully avoid the ancestors. When I speak to the ancestors, the women have to run into a hut. My Das were also inside; they came out, when the men started to skin the beast, but they could not enter the pen as yet. The Wis come outside only when the meat is carried into the Great Hut (the hut of my M, who is now dead). They must not be near the meat which is being offered to the ancestors, it is Hl'd by Wis! The hut was smeared before the meat was brought in, in fact before the beast was killed, and only after all objects in daily use had been removed from the hut. (It is again smeared after the meat is consumed). The meat is placed at the side of the Great Hut, not right in the apse." In an aside: "I do not burn incense where the ancestors are. It is the diviner apprentice who burns incense on a sherd in the apse and inhales the smoke to induce the ancestors to enter him. Diviners are given instructions about this by their ancestors, but not I."

"The meat is put on the fresh skin; some of the meat is pegged up: the stabbed *iNsonyama* and intestines *(amaThumbu)*. The other parts of the carcase are cooked. (All parts must be handled correctly: I have to tell my Sos, since they know nothing)! I sprinkled the bile in the apse, saying: *NgiThela iNyongo phansi. Nakhoke ukuDla kwenu.* It is because I'm giving the ancestors their food that I say so; it is their beast, the bile is their food. A beer pot is placed where the bile is poured into the apse. No married woman enters the hut while the meat is there and until the hut is smeared again but I don't know the reason. Boys sleep with the meat at night, and if none are available girls might do. The boys in this instance brought their own mats and blankets, since they were told to guard the meat. The guarding is necessary, lest somebody enter to do wrong; a wizard might put medicine on the meat and we die. Not even I, the kraalhead, enter the hut then: *inHlonipho isiDalo* (an avoidance of the origin)."

The wood for frying and cooking as well as water is specially fetched by the girls of the homestead. If no girls are available, my Wis fetch fuel and water, but they leave the kraal walking behind the huts and put wood and water down outside the gate (H1) whence I and my Sos bring it in. *amaNzi nezinKuni kwaHlukile. Kuthathwa ngamaNtombazane, izinKuni zithathwa ngaphandle ngabaFana.* My Wi starts the fire; since she is old, she is just as good as my M". "Certain meat is fried on the first day: samples of all sections *(amaNtshontsho)* except *iNsonyama* and *amaThumbu* are fried by the boys (really youths). My Das may go near the fire, my Wis not (H1). The pieces are eaten by 'all the family's Chn', a term which includes all agnates, even adults. The udder is fried for the girls; a boy is told to cut it up and take it to them. The *umHlubulo*, the ribmeat, is fried for the women, and a big portion of the intestines (!). (The *umHlubulo* goes to the inferior status: it may be either the Left House *iKhohlo*, or the women; the *iNsonyama* goes to the status in authority, i.e., Great House or kraalhead). Only "family" is present on this day.

"On the second day all sorts of people attend: Wis and Das of Brs - they were 'called' on the same day as the Brs but come only on the second day - and neighbours, of whom only men turn up. On this day *isiFuba* (breast) and the unstabbed *iNsonyama* for the girls are cooked in one pot together with one hindleg for the women. Head and neck *(isiXhanti)* are cooked for the men in a second pot; in the third pot the broth is cooked *(ubuBende)*: into it is cut one front-

leg and 'some meat' from inside the beast. The kraalhead takes the broth to women, girls and Chn and 'dishes it' out to them! Men do not eat broth, although they do not Hl it; it is meant for Wis and Chn. The head is eaten by the young men in the pen (it could be eaten in a hut); the old men eat the neck. This division is a 'natural custom'. If any portion were eaten by one to whom it is inappropriate, he would be told: You're making a mistake; it is not your share; it is a Hl rule, in fact a great respectful restraint rule: *inHlonipho enkulu*. All present drink beer; we don't slaughter a beast without beer. The beer is offered to the company after the meat has been eaten. My Chn carry it; I order my Das to take some pots to the women and girls. My Sos are ordered to take a very big pot to the men. Some beer is taken out of that pot and presented to the young men in the pen. I, like other kraalheads, eat and drink in my Residence; the women, including the one who lives in my M's hut, eat in a hut which I point out to them. The brides eat with the older women, but on different sides of the Hut (Hl), the girls in a separate hut."

Third day: "The stabbed *iNsonyama* is cooked and eaten by the men of the family; the *isiNqe* (=buttocks/hindquarters) by the women who are mothers and their Chn. On this day it is inmates of the homestead who eat, although my Brs, their Wis and Chn could eat as well. Even strangers are offered meat, if they arrive unexpectedly. Beer is drunk. (All this eating and drinking is impossible with SM). No other portions are cooked."

Fourth day: "The *iNanzi* which had been pegged up and could not be touched by anyone since the first day (Hl) is taken down on my instructions by one of my Sos or Das. It is cooked (even inside if it is raining) by the old women who alone may eat it. Then the old women thank me."

"The beer of the apse is taken out by my Wis and placed before me, the kraalhead. It is stirred, poured into another pot and I offer it to my Sos and Wis. My Das and Das-in-l may not partake of it: it is Za to them, because it is not their beer. It is true, it has been offered to my Das' ancestors, but only my Sos drink it, since they are the people who are going to build up the kraal. When I die, they'll take over. My Wis drink, because they're now members of my family; when they die, they - like their predecessors - become ancestors too (scil., for my descendants)."

"Nothing is left by now in the hut, except the gall-bladder. When everything is eaten up, the hut is smeared by Wis or Das. The things which had been taken out, because they are of general daily use, and could not have been used by the young Wis while the meat was there, are returned, viz., SM calabashes, mixing bowls, spoons, sitting and sleeping mats, blankets."

"The beast was killed for the ancestors; we eat the meat belonging to them; the *iNanzi* is abstained from (Za) by Chn and young women; it is meant for old women. Nor does the kraalhead eat of it; he does not Za it, however; nothing would happen if he ate of it, since it is the meat of the ancestors. But if Chn ate, something would happen. The ancestors would demand an explanation of the old people. A fine would have to be paid by the person who made the mistake, the fine going to the U. I would accept the fine and speak to the ancestors: *Nakhoke sebeyikhiphile nina bakithi. Bathi bayashweleza kungabe kusavela ubuBi; abuPheleke*. Nobody need report the transgression to the U; the ancestors themselves would do it. The ancestors might inform me by means of a dream or an illness, the meaning of which is interpreted for me by a diviner. For the homestead in which I reside is not mine, it is the ancestors. Whatever wrong is done in it, they'll question me about it. I am responsible for all happenings in it. If all goes well, the ancestors express their appreciation. If I do wrong, they just glower at me and won't shelter me. I might go out of the house one day and fall into a hole and die there. Others will appear (scil., as guardians of the homestead who will obey). Those who disobey lose the support of the ancestors."

2. Princess Magogo

At the time of shifting a homestead to a new site, a SAC is necessary. People may not talk loudly; all educational punishments are suspended (i.e., no beating by 2nd generation of

3rd generation in presence of 1st generation). Such general restrained conduct is referred to as *KuyaHlonishwa*. The sanctions for a breach consist of compulsive exaggerated repetition of the tabooed action. E.g., a person who talks during a SAC will become loquacious; a person who steals will become a kleptomaniac. In fact when people meet a garrulous person, they will remark: 'We know what's wrong with her: she talked at a SAC!'

Magogo has not heard of sex abstentions during a SAC, and justifies this absence by saying: 'The procreation of mankind must go on!' She admits that 'love visits' of young people were suspended on the day of SAC and the day following it. She does not know of any food abstentions.

The proper sequence of addressing the ancestors is: *ukuThetha* or *ukuKhuluma* or *ukuJeqa:* to inform those below what the SAC is about; then follows a prayer or request for help or assistance for those who move and those who stay behind, then *ukuBonga*. At first she could not recall the meaning of *ukuBika*, but afterwards stated that, when a black beast is slaughtered at a time when black is not suitable, it will have to be explained to the ancestors, i.e., it is *ukuBikwa*'d.

The king, according to the same informant, eats only from *ezomLomo* cattle. 'When a beast is slaughtered for him, a senior official watches that everything is done correctly by the expert butcher. Special portions eaten by the king go by the name of *amaCwiyo;* they must also be taken out of the carcase in a special way. The twelve royal portions are distinguished as: *iBele* (part of udder); *isiNxele* (part of hindlegs); *uBilo* (dewlap); *umKhele* (strips from sides, below the *iNsonyama); isiXhanti* (extreme end of loins); *uBumbu*, part between *isiFuba* and *iBele* (chest and udder); and the following sections of the *amaThumbu: isiBindi, uSu, iPhaphu, amaThumbu amhlophe*. If any part is missing, it is a serious matter for both butcher and supervisor. The king also eats these *amaCwiyo* from beasts slaughtered for him by commoners. The royal portions and half the beast are taken away by him, i.e., half the *iziTho* (the main parts of a beast). Chn seeing the royal party begin to jubilate, according to the proverb: 'A king's path is sprinkled with *umSwani*'. If the royal portions of this beast disappeared in a commoner's kraal, it would be serious indeed. In the past he would have been killed; today a case results and he might be fined a beast. The following portions might be used in witchcraft: *umSwani* (stomach contents); *iNyongo* (gall-bladder, bile); *isiBindi* (liver) but not the *iNanzi*. Of the *iNsonyama* the stab wound is cut out by the wizard to send sharp pains to the king, or to any kraalhead.

According to (167) the bile of the royal cattle was poured on the feet of the king, and the gall-bladder burned. The bile of the barracks cattle *(imiZimu)* was poured on the feet of the seraglio girls who had not yet reached puberty. The meat offering of royal cattle was placed in the apse of *oHweni*, a special hut in the royal kraal. The meat of the barracks was likewise placed in its *oHweni (oHweni* must be: 'sacred hut' which is not a Great Hut). In both cases the *oHweni* was smeared before the SAC and after the feasting. If many beasts were killed, the meat was given to the regiments; they cooked it themselves. The *iziNanzi* of the royal and barracks cattle was not stuck up in thatch, but handed over to royal praisers who ate them. Beer and snuff for royal ancestors were placed in the apse of the *oHweni*. The offerings were removed on the third day and eaten by important men(?) at a special hut called *kwaNdlumnyama* (the 'black hut'), which was well guarded; its floor was polished not with cowdung but with fat. It was the meeting hut for the king with members of the royal family and important *izinDuna* for drinking. Doctors never entered there: the king was doctored in his Residence *(iLawu)* where, however, he did not sleep.

3. Sacrifice at the King's Grave (an example of inversion)

(410, assisted by 409) states:-

A SAC at the royal grave(s) requires that the Paramount goes there. "I (410) can go there on individual affairs to pray, get strength, as described under Royal Graves, but when a group of people go, something must be killed. Normally the kill-

ing is done at the grave, but at Nobamba, because the kraal is near the graves, it can be done at the kraal. If the Paramount goes, the whole country can go with him; if a smaller group wants to go, they must have royal permission. A group would go if there are no rains. Because of a drought last year visits were made to the graves of Shaka and Mpande. The result was plain: No donkeys had to be driven to the store to fetch maize, cattle were in good condition, everybody was satisfied. Everybody went to Shaka's and Mpande's graves, young and old, men and women. Cattle were killed inside the firebreak, near the grave. A special beast had been selected; it was driven with other cattle, near the graves its companions were taken away; the king's praises were recited, the beast was killed by a royal attendant *(iNceku)* who also handles the king's food. It cannot be killed with a firearm (Za), but must be stabbed with a spear, a special assegai *(umKhonto wenKosi)*." Q: From which herd is the SAC victim selected? "We are now wearing shoes, a sign that we have been defeated, and that the several herds are no longer distinguished. When killed for rain today it must be a white ox, but otherwise beasts killed at the king's grave must be black. The stabber *(iNceku)* must have Za'd his Wi, but not SM."

"The skinning of the cattle slaughtered was done near the grave by people specially selected to handle *izinKomo zomLomo*. They were people of the clan/n of Mbuyisa, Mngadi and Sikhakhane. These went by the name of *abenKatha*."

"The bile was sprinkled on the grave and the gall-bladder burnt at a small fire beside the grave. The chyme was dug into the ground. None of the meat was boiled, but all roasted at the graveside and eaten by the men. Officers got special pieces depending on their rank: officers of low rank ate the sirloin, of higher rank the chest. A common rank eating what was not his due was hit with sticks (H1). People can carry sticks, assegais, shields to a SAC at a grave (!!), because 'they originate' with the king! The stabbed sirloin, the third stomach *(iNanzi)* and the part called *uSinyaka* (intestines) were taken to Nobamba kraal, placed in the apse of the Grand Lady's Hut; young people were not to go near that hut for one night; next morning the portions were eaten by the old lady and young girls who have not yet menstruated." (410) admits that this is a reversal of the normal SAC procedure, where these parts, at least *iNsonyama* are eaten by the kraalhead. "The sacrificial meat from the royal graves is Za to the king! But a beast would be killed for him which he could eat! The fires are not put out; a cloud comes, it thunders just once, and rain puts them out. The bones are burnt at the grave; they are the very cause of the rain clouds, of the small cloud which extinguishes the gall-bladder fire and the large ones which bring rain to the country."

"There was a relationship between king and uMvelinqangi in the past. The kings killed cattle to thank the ancestors 'who are with god', and then the weather became cloudy. The ancestors speak with God and it rains. It is for this reason that they are H1'd."

4. Sacrifice at the making of the Hoop of Power

The making of every *inKatha* (Hoop of Power) is followed by a SAC. This was observed at (426)'s home. Nzuza Madela, (426)'s eBr, and nominally the *umNumzane*, his MBr, and the stabber stood to the left of the kraal gate, while the spear carrier, Sifubayisasi Madela, (426)'s yoBr, and referred to as 'youth' on this occasion, stood to the right. In the pen were three beasts, a large black ox, the victim, a cow and a young steer. Laduma Madela showed himself once or twice outside the pen at this stage but undertook nothing. The spear carrier handed the spear to the stabber, and then pointed out the beast with his middle finger. (This is H1, to point with index finger is 'not done': Ntulo, the mythical Bringer of Death, pointed with the index finger, and it meant 'complete destruction'). As stabber a Khumalo from the neighbourhood had been chosen because of his skill; the spear was ritually handed to him because he was not from the home. (Stabbers are not exchanged between homes). He could not stab without 'cleansing' himself from contact with a woman, and for this reason was chewing *isiQunga* root which makes the flesh sweet. Now the eBr, Nzuza Madela, addressed the ancestors: *Nanku umkhuba wesiZulu wokwamukela umNumzane. Siyamngenisa phakathi kwalelikhaya. Siyacela kini ningethuki ukuthi lomuntu esimngenisa emzini wenu uyisima kanjani. Cha siyamazi.* (The SAC was to introduce me to the ancestors). The stabber then stabbed the ox behind the

left shoulder, squatting down to induce it to fall. It bellowed, which meant that the ancestors were pleased. Yet it did not fall, but escaped twice from the pen, before it received the fatal second stab. (It may not be stabbed outside). The men commented: If it falls at one stab, this shows that the ancestors reject it; two wounds mean long life to 'the owner' (the author). When the beast had collapsed, the stabber went up and tied a knot into the tail.

At this stage a Ch brought a small tray *(uGqoko)* for the skinner's meat. Mashingeni Khumalo, the stabber, acted as chief skinner. The other three skinners were Ncumu Zulu, the cowboy-trousered BrSo of the district Chief, Mziweyixwala Thabethe, (426)'s assistant, and Leni Khumalo, the *umFana* (youth). Babayeni Madela, a paternal cousin, who is resident in Madela's kraal, acted as factotum; he did work the others considered i n f r a d i g., e.g., cutting off the tail, hanging chunks on the pen posts. Being willing but seemingly not very bright, he was ordered about even by the youth.

The skinners first ripped up the skin *(ukuQwatha)*, then opened the carcase *(ukuHlinza)*; finally they separated the parts *(ukuKhipha iziTho)*. The skinners did not remove the dewlap 'to Hl the kraalhead'; moreover the skin here is meat itself! It is cooked and eaten by the U when he eats the neck. First the skin on the right side was taken down to the backbone - the animal lay on its spine - then that on the left. The stabber at this stage examined the clot of blood on the wound. He may eat it or pass it on to another skinner. The skinners ritually washed their hands before they opened up the carcase; without this ritual they could not touch the bowels (Hl/Za). (At this stage they commented on the absence of beer, and rejoiced when it arrived).

The hindlegs were cut off before the opening up. The very first share of meat went to the ox's herdboy, a son of Khumalo, the stabber; he took it outside the pen to hand to his M who was standing about 300 ft away (Hl). The second piece was given to the *inDuna* (headman) of the district. Laduma, who had informed him of the slaughter in person, appeared now with the headman's small So who took the meat away in a basin. Laduma was without cape and fur hat but wore his ordinary "rags". (A photograph shows him with a smile but in an attitude of despair).

The first large piece cut out of the carcase was the *iNsonyama* of the right side, then lumps of fat. The front legs having been chopped off, the *iNtshontsho* and *iKhumulo* were removed. The large chunks, like legs and chest, were hung up singly on pen posts 'so that they could dry'. The stabber separated the chest from the carcase, but any of the skinners might have done it. Another skinner cut a small piece off near the stab wound and then ate it raw to make him tough and long-living if he should ever be stabbed.

For the making of a fire in the pen the permission of 'the owner of the doings' *(umNini womSebenzi*, viz. the author) was first obtained by the presiding agnate, Laduma's eBr. The Chn brought a fire-drill and dry grass for tinder and small twigs for the first fire in the very centre of the pen. It was used to roast small bits of meat cut in zigzag fashion, like *imiBengo*, by the youth. He ate them, dipping them in the coarse salt on his tray, a kind of 'tasting' *(ukwEshwama)* as at puberty and First Fruits. Then thicker sticks were thrown on the fire and *amaNtshontsho* for the other skinners roasted; each of them had also a lump of flesh hung up on the fence for taking home. The skinners must not use salt with their roasted portions (Za).

When the skinners were about to open up the abdominal cavity Ncumu Zulu brought a beer pot to catch the blood and clots for the blood soup *(ubuBende)*. Some of the blood spilt; the skinners who were not involved expressed surprise. When the liver was removed, the gall-bladder was accidentally cut, and the bile poured out. There was a suppressed cry; (but the accident may have been on purpose; for the bile was to be poured on the author and, since this incorporates the person concerned with the lineage's ancestors, it is conceivable that Laduma's eBr disapproved of it and had the accidental cutting 'arranged' with the stabber). The eBr commented: "If the skinners lose the bile, the beast is not counted; the unskilful skinner has to pay compensation." No suggestion was made that the loss of the bile meant ill-luck, but an unnamed

skinner was blamed for having already grazed the gall-bladder.

The *umSwani* was left lying below the carcase; this was not dangerous, since according to Nzuza Madela, "the *inKatha* (Hoop of Power) keeps wizards from getting hold of it." The *izinHlonhlo* followed the *esiNqonqweni:* "Now the ancestors are smelling the meat!" (At this stage the gall-bladder was deposited near the carcase in a basin of water: it was later removed again). Sifubayisasi Madela brought a grass dish to receive the *iTwani* filled with *umSwani*. It must not be placed on a meat tray (Hl) and was taken to the hut of the women who ate it raw. "It gives strength to them, so that they have more Chn!". Parts of *uSu* were now placed on the fire; it is the second skinner's privilege to eat them. The *iXhwala* was thrown to dogs outside the fence. The unassuming servant peeled off the skin round the root of the tail, cut it off and hung it up. By now the hind quarters, hind and front legs, the chest, the two *Nsonyama*, etc. had been placed on fence posts.

A long tray was now brought into the pen, the liver and *izinHlonhlo* placed on it and covered with a mat *(ukuHlonipha umNumzane)*, also a self-made knife; European forks being taboo (Za), thin pointed sticks were available. "This kind of meat is eaten with sticks!" (It cannot be touched with hands: Za). The liver was now cut into zigzag edged strips, like *umBengo* meat, and roasted. After the author's formal permission had been obtained, the senior men ate the liver from the sticks, viz., Nzuza Madela, the author, Elias Madide (MBr), Dhlamini (interpreter) and Mkonjelwa Zulu *(umNtaka-nina)*. "It is a serious matter for meat to be eaten with salt in the cattle pen. The kraalhead must be respected (Hl). It is like going to court with a hat on; you can't do it; it is a symbolic action."

Later the chunks of meat were carried into Laduma Madela's Residence and placed in a heap on the skin in the apse. Certain pieces of meat (the names were not asked) were placed in a basin on top of the wall carrying the roof - 'for the ancestors'! When the carriers (men) entered, they greeted them: *"Makhosi!"* and spoke gently. Boys also greeted *"Makhosi!"* at the doorway, and in addition knelt down to the right of the entrance, until they were given permission to move. The piece called *iNgobo*, and the upper lip and nose, were brought in last on a tray with knives placed ready. This meat is eaten by the young boys!

Two to three boys helped to hold the leg stumps while the skinners opened up the carcase; they were from neighbouring kraals, one of them belonged to Nzuza Madela. Small boys from the neighbourhood - one a BrSo of Laduma - brought the brushwood for the roasting, but not the herdboy, who is considered a "So of the home." Laduma's DaDa, a small girl in a blue dress, was extremely cheerful. Laduma himself was not present, and only in the pen when he handed over the headman's share, "because he was busy preparing for the presentation." The two women who came with meat trays were Sifubayisasi's Wi and Nzuza's Da; Ncumu Zulu, one of the skinners, brought the pot for the blood; Sifubayisasi himself brought the grass dish for the *iTwani*. Almost unnoticed the skinners gave orders to persons going to the huts: i.e., to bring trays, pots, grass-dish, fire-drill, gall-bladder. Laduma did not wear his kaross, but his Wis were expected to dress up for the second day, the Day of Eating. The last ritual action was the putting on of the gall-bladder on the author's wrist. Thabethe rolled it on to the left arm, Nzuza smoothed it over.

5. *Eating of Meat at Chief Manyala Biyela's Kraal EmaHlayizeni* (Cf. Fig. 54).
Main informant, besides Chief himself (411), was his yoBr Kuteni. In the division of meat, adjustments have to be made in a large kraal. F i r s t d a y: "The meat eaten is that which I select, sometimes it is the hindleg; it is given to the 'whole kraal'; it is roasted in one hut or if sunny outside, and eaten by all the women only! Sometimes I select the flank *(umHlubulo)*; it is roasted by the boys for the women."

The skinners eat pieces they cut off during their work, the *amaNtshontsho;* each roasts his portion for himself in his hut. Skinners are agnates (either inmates or neighbours) always. They can take their bits home. Big pieces can't be cut (to Hl the piece!) The stabber and those

who cut up the beast also get these pieces.

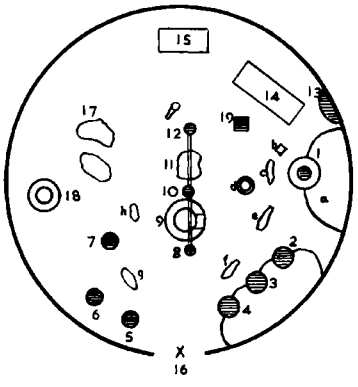
S e c o n d d a y: The *iBandla* (young men: neighbours and inmates) take the front leg, roast it in the cattle pen, and eat it there. Grown-up men eat the small ribs *(oMbanqwana)* in the Residence; the boys roast them. Girls eat the udder roasted by boys, sometimes by girls themselves. Women have the *umHlubulo* roasted for them. Related women (Wis of neighbouring agnates) may come to eat it in a hut. *isiFuba, umLenze, umKhono,* the other *umHlubulo,* a lot of other meat, and stomach *(uSu)* are cooked by the men who did the skinning. Head and tongue and neck are cooked for young and old men. If there is a big pot all is cooked in one pot, except *uSu* which is cooked in a different pot, not to dirty *(Ngcolisa)* the other meat. For women blood *(ubuBende)* is cooked and *izinHlonhlo* cut into it. *isiFuba, umLenze, umKhono* and *isiNza* (stomach+*uSinyaka:* part of intestines) go to women. Herdboys roast and eat *iPhaphu* (heart and lungs) in the veld. No other meat may be roasted or cooked outside the kraal (Hl). The intestines are cut up the day the beast is slaughtered: a piece goes to the U, a second piece to the women, a third to the girls. They are roasted on the second day.

T h i r d d a y: Trotters *(amaNqina), isiNqe* (back) are cooked by the skinners in the yard, and eaten by women. Men also get a portion. The stabbed sirloin is for U; girls eat the sirloin without the wound.

F o u r t h d a y: *iNanzi,* the meat of ancestors, is eaten by the old women of the homestead. It had been stuck against the back of the hut. The stabbed sirloin too has been stuck up till the third day.

On the day when the eating was observed children brought the pots of meat to the chief's Residence. The meat consisted of head, shoulder blades, neck and 'trotters' of a calf, i.e., inferior meat. The U, seated at (1) on a calf skin (a), fished chunks of meat with the only fork available out of pot (d) and placed it on tray (c). He left his fork on the only eating mat (b). He passed pieces of meat to (2), his yoBr, who received them with cupped hands *(ukuKhangeza).* (2) cut the pieces up with a knife and placed them to the left of him on tray (f) for (3), an old man from the district, and (4), my interpreter, to pick up. (2) also passed pieces on to (5). He was a senior son of the homestead and placed the meat on tray (g) to be shared by him with (6) and (7), junior sons of the home. At first large pieces were passed along, later smaller pieces. Only the chief got bones, which he cracked open to extract the marrow. The uncrackable bones went to (2), (3) and (4). At the end of the meal broth was poured out of the pot into trays (f) and (g) for each eating group, the U not taking any. Nothing was said during the eating. I, seated at (19), was refused permission to ask questions (Hl). Once or twice the U said something gently, and towards the end of the meal the young men whispered together. All eaters, in order of seniority, washed their hands before and after the meal in the same water. Gristle and bones were spat on the floor by the U and swept up by (5) with a brush at the end of the meal; he called the dogs when taking the bones away. Some meat was also placed on tray (h) by (5) and collected by a girl, about 12 years old, and presumably taken to her M. One large bone went also outside. A child going past the hut door later could be seen sucking it.

Fig. 54
(Other explanations in text)
8. Front post with puffadder skin nailed on.
9. Fire-place with special pieces of wood, and box for knives and forks.
10. Central post.
11. Saddle, overcoat, on crosspiece attached to 10 and 12.
12. Back post with calabash hung up on it.
13. Small loin-covering and dancing stick against wall.
14. Bed; above against roof a row of six *amaBheshu.*
15. Boxes and new blankets.
16. Threshold with a 'penny' nailed to it.
17. Mealies spread out to germinate.
18. Large beer pot.



E. SNUFF

Snuff forms part of the offerings presented to the ancestors on many, though not on all occasions. Many informants claim that it does not form a regular constituent of ancestral SACs; many others that it is always offered when beer and meat are offered, never alone, and at a time when the hut concerned has been cleared of all daily food vessels.

The snuff offered and left in the apse after a killing is consumed by old women, and possibly married Sos of the homestead. The old people say: "Now we take the snuff of the ancestors." Women of child-bearing age avoid snuff that was offered to the ancestors *(uGwayi wasemSamo)* (H1). The inconsistencies in the evidence may resolve themselves, if we consider snuff as an offering to a particular ancestor, not to ancestors as a group. It is said: snuff is offered, if the ancestor who is particularly remembered was a snuff addict. When snuff is offered at the Washing, it may be assumed that the deceased was a snuff-taker. Snuff is consequently omitted at the slaughtering of the *umNcamo*, when a bride leaves her home. This assumption is reinforced by two further observations: (a) The cultivator of snuff has to observe special precautions. (b) The diviner subjects himself to snuff regulations.

1. The Tobacco Farmer

may not be a young man: he would have bad dreams and get no Wis; his young wives would get no Chn. Tobacco may be cultivated only by a man in his prime, or by an old woman *(isAlukazi)*. Tobacco may not be planted inside a homestead; the inmates would die. It is best planted in an abandoned kraal. Special care should be taken by the farmer in handling the seeds, transplanting the young seedlings and in weeding. Such work may not be done after a night of sexual congress (Za); the plants would wither and die. The tobacco farmer also avoids his tobacco patch when he has helped to bury someone, or comes from a funeral. His *ubuMnyama* would spoil the crop. This also applies when he has killed a leguan (Asmus: 153).

His Wi does not walk through the garden, when she is menstruating. No Zulu would touch tobacco not belonging to him. A tobacco thief is troubled by bad dreams; he wanders aimlessly and restlessly in foreign parts. To protect a tobacco field against the evil effects of a stranger walking through it with *uSuku*, or one who has eaten meat or SM(?), the owner himself walks through it in such a condition. He may also throw a bone into the field after eating meat. A tobacco garden is spoiled by the excreta of strangers. To forestall such effects, the owner takes some old excrement and burns it in the field.

2. Diviners

(in particular whistling diviners) have a special relationship to snuff handed down from their guardian ancestor. While his clients are forbidden to take snuff before a consultation, the diviner does not answer a problem placed before him, unless he has taken a pinch of snuff himself. In doing so, he says: "Let the spirit take his snuff." He may sprinkle his head (the seat of his special power of divination) with snuff. An old diviner may have a tobacco patch, which is called 'the field of the kings' i.e., the spirits. The plants are watered by an old woman or a small Ch. They are specially smoked with spirit snuff (i.e., snuff mixed with honey). They are harvested by the diviner himself and carried into his hut by small Chn. He kills a goat, sprinkles its gall over the field just reaped, spreads the white skin to dry on it and uses it as a sitting mat during seances afterwards. The spirit will now not withold any knowledge.

Snuff has certain status associations: Chn do not take snuff; they start the addiction after puberty, at about twenty years of age. Tobacco is not grown by young men, only by fully-grown men and old women. Women take snuff especially in old age. When approaching a chief, snuff may not be used by a commoner. This is Za, and must be observed to respect (H1) the king. The person concerned might be fined for breaking *umThetho*. There is thus a patterned link between ancestors-king-diviner.

(331) hawks tobacco and reports:

H o w t o g r o w t o b a c c o: "I till the soil, put in seeds; I select a damp place, if possible an old kraal; when the young plants come I water them with a can. When they are 1 ft. tall, I transplant them. I look after them; in case of attack by cutworm, I buy DDT; I kill the insects; I attend in the morning and before sunset. There are two kinds, leaf tobacco and snuff tobacco; planting is the same. When mature, I pluck the leaves from the stalks. I dry them in the sun; they are now ready to sell, I hawk them from homestead to homestead. I might send my Wi to sell them. I sell a batch of leaves for 6d".

O b s e r v a n c e s: "Chn are not allowed to play in the tobacco patch (Hl); the plants will turn 'bad'. There is no instance when I can't get into the field (sic). When I've slept with my Wi, I can't get in (Za); the tobacco turns 'bad'. It's a natural result; I've always observed the rule." He does not reply, or only in the negative, to the question whether there is any r/r to this. He burns honey comb and *isiBhaha* in the patch, so that the tobacco turns 'nice' *(ukuThunqisela)*. If he entered after sexual congress, he would throw *umMnyama* over the plants; this state would last for approximately two days. He doesn't throw a bone into the field after eating meat, for he buries *uNyenya* in the centre of the patch, and frequently burns *uNyenya* leaves. There is nothing to Za then. (When he prunes pumpkins, he also buries *uNyenya* in the pumpkin field).

S o c i a l i m p l i c a t i o n s: "My F was not a tobacco planter, he was too lazy; his Brs planted, and I really learnt from them. No woman of child-bearing age may plant tobacco, only an old woman; it is not Za, just custom; if she did, she would bear Chn no more! But young women may take snuff. King or chief do not plant tobacco; it is too low a job for them; if they want tobacco they buy it. A girl doesn't touch the stone on which the farmer pounds tobacco and aloe leaves (Hl). If she ground snuff, she would get *umMnyama* (he used **isiTosi)* and would remain uncourted. She would soon find out, as no young man would interest himself in her.

S n u f f i n S A C: Snuff is offered together with meat and beer, if the ancestor 'meant' in the SAC was a snuff addict. If such an ancestor troubles an inmate with illness the diviner points out his name. The head of the kraal prepares the snuff offering; when he does so, he doesn't sleep with his Wi. (The tobacco would not turn bad; the ancestors would not be displeased: it is just 'custom'). When the box with snuff is offered, the ancestor concerned is addressed by the kraalhead. How does the diviner find out the ancestor's pers/n? It is God's creation *(baPhiwe uNkulunkulu)*. He endowed them with such knowledge; they can even point out wizards.

3. Hl of Snuff Consumption

(428): In the tribal assembly, councillors may take snuff, but they can't smoke; the old members complain that the smoke lies on them. Anyone wishing to smoke has to go outside; otherwise you don't Hl.

If a younger man wants snuff he asks for it from an older man; the older presents it with one hand, the younger receives it with both palms together. If the older asks for snuff, the younger offers it with outstretched arm and supports his arm with the other hand. It is received by the older with one hand. The giver, especially an inferior, may also present his snuff-box with both palms. A woman doesn't ask for snuff from a man, unless she is related, i.e., Si, cousin: *umZala*, Si-in-l whether married or unmarried, M, but never a Wi (Hl). A woman receives snuff from a kinsman with both palms and kneeling (Hl) if the transaction takes place in a hut; if outside, she need only slightly bend her head, although I have seen a woman kneeling even then. A man can ask from a woman, if she is related (M/Si/WiSi). He can even ask from his Wi, even if she is a diviner. Women can ask for snuff from each other. A lover asks his sweetheart for snuff; if she gives it, he knows that she loves him! But a girl can't ask a young man for snuff, even when he loves her (Hl). Snuff can be taken anywhere in kraal, huts, pen, yard. People begin to take snuff about puberty, Chn are innocent of it. The chief or king can

ask for snuff from a headman, or commoner, when he trusts him. But a commoner or headman can't ask for snuff from chief/king (Hl)! Snuff is offered to ancestors: a pinch is thrown into the apse, or presented in a box. An old man or woman may offer it. His Wi cannot offer it (Za), as long as she is of child-bearing age. For the offering is made in respect of getting Chn.

Snuff is used as a vehicle of poisoning. In a recent case a man had two snuff-boxes: he offered the one with poison to his enemy, who died.

III. THE TABOO REGIMEN AT THE FIRST FRUITS

A. HISTORICAL SURVEY

1. Introduction

The most important national ceremony was the First Fruits. It is thus described by Gardiner (quoted by Bird: I, 310): "The first ripe corn is partaken of by the king, before any of his subjects dare under heavy penalties taste it." The greater part of the nation assembled at the capital, much ceremony was observed, the annual dances were performed. Gardiner thought that the ceremony was perpetuated for a double purpose: to prevent improvidence in commencing upon the young crops too early (Von Fintel: a: 17-8, states the interdict was also observed during a famine; and other authors: even if the crops rotted!), and to afford an opportunity for assembling and reviewing the whole nation preparatory to war. He noted that the custom was not peculiar to the Zulu but was also found among their neighbours. The first full description, written c. 1830, is by Fynn (p. 304): Eating of the first fruits was prohibited till the king had first tasted of them. For this ritual act all the people were called to the king's homestead. The men turned up in their war dress. The meeting lasted three or four days. The celebrations comprised singing, dancing, the display of cattle, feasting and declarations of political intentions, in particular which foreign power was to be attacked, and instructions as to how to proceed in the war. King Dingane reserved a robe, given him by Gardiner, for the First Fruits. On the last day he entered the circle of soldiers with 'his seraglio grandly decorated'. His favourite concubines stooped and were surrounded by others who stood up secreting them from the eyes of the soldiers. The king, surrounded by boys, threw a calabash on the ground. Fynn noted that the warriors shouted the names of the enemies as a degradation, that persons who ate of the first fruits before the king were killed, also those who did not attend the ceremony. The king used the executions to convince his subjects of his power. The years of the king's reign were counted by this annual meeting.

When Natal became British, it was soon realized that the holding of the First Fruits ceremony, and the Annual Dance associated with it, was a prerogative of the chief, on which rested his claim to sovereignty. Since by Ordinance No. 3 of 1849 the tribal system was taken over and placed in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, all rights of native chiefs which appertained to a state of independence were "transferred to the local white government." Among powers thus transferred were the chief's authority to take life for crimes, to hold political intercourse with chiefs beyond the border, to assemble his people for the annual dance of the First Fruits, to assemble his men in arms, to institute a witch dance *(umHlahlo)* and to confiscate property by the Eating Up process (Native Affairs Commission Report 1852-3, part VI, p. 74: Shepstone's evidence; and PAR: Shepstone Papers, case 22). The chiefs could retain the prerogative of holding the First Fruits, if they obtained the permission of the Lt.-Governor on two conditions, viz., the celebrations were not to last longer than three days and the men attending had to be unarmed. The Resident Magistrates were informed that they could not grant such permission "as of authority inherent in their office" (PAR: S.N.A.I./7/2, p. 29).

2. Official Reports

The Pietermaritzburg Archives contain a number of applications for the holding of First Fruits. In December 1847 already SoMahashe had sought such permission and Dibinyeka vis-

ited Pietermaritzburg in person to this end (PAR: Shepstone Papers, Case 8, No. 21: Diary). In 1853(?) F.H. Fynn forwarded requests from the chiefs Sidoi and Kulela from the Lower Umkomaas for the holding of the Dance of the First Fruits. In January 1853 Musi of the Qwabe branch of the Inanda Magistracy requested permission on the suggestion of the R.M., Mesham, who remarks that no chief in seasons past had approached him in this matter. In Dec. 1862 Umswazi, king of the Swazi, asked the Lt.-Gov. of Natal for some scarlet wool to decorate himself and his family for the approaching Dance of the First Fruits (PAR: S.N.A. I/6/2, No. 113).

Under the guidance of Theophilus Shepstone the early Natal magistrates made some pertinent observations as to the function of the ceremony and the taboo regimen observed for it. In PAR: S.N.A. I/8/1, p. 146 Shepstone noted on 2nd Aug. 1848 that the annual muster had much political importance, giving opportunity to a clever chief to accomplish much by the influence it created. Without such an assembly the chief could not count on the services of the whole nation. Two tendencies could be distinguished: A sentiment of enthusiastic attachment to the chief was engendered by the renewal of the vow to defend and to die for the chief. Further, these protestations produced a spirit of rivalry and emulation between the various regiments, which was turned to advantage by the military leaders in battle. Shepstone also saw that the festival provided an occasion for the expression of jealousy between the chiefs. Macfarlane (Native Affairs Commission 1852-3, Report part III, p. 49) defined this point more precisely: "Among the Kaffirs the status of the chief is reckoned by the number of his regiments. These regiments are periodically mustered, e.g., at the dance of the First Fruits." Another cause of rivalry of course was the emulation between regiments. PAR: S.N.A. I/8/1, p. 146 notes: The regiments as they approached the king were privileged to make known their wishes to him. In the same document we are informed that the First Fruits were occasions at which new laws and regulations were proclaimed and the king's orders conveyed (by way of the warriors attending) to the general populace. If regiments were disbanded they were allowed to wear the headring and to marry. Finally, important personages contributed girls to the king's seraglio at this ceremony. At least Mpande used to select them from the company of the chiefs attending the First Fruits (PAR: Toohey to Natal Witness, 1/12/1848).

It is surprising that the official reports do not mention the magical or religious significance of the First Fruits. It is true, Shepstone in a "Memorandum on a Bill for securing the better protection and peace of the Colony" (PAR: S.N.A. I/7/2, p. 197, 6/8/1857) says in general terms: "The Bill specifies War Dances and Dances of the First Fruits, one is however as much a War Dance as the other. There is no doubt that originally the dance of the First Fruits was a religious festival now degenerated into an exhibition of the strength of the tribe accompanied by a few ceremonies from which the original intention may be gathered." But his attention was mainly directed to those features which had political significance and which might signal the aggrandisement of the material resources of the chief.

A different note is struck with the aside remark that during the "moon" of the festival all state punishment was suspended. This shows clearly that the First Fruits fell into a taboo period which could not be defiled by confiscation or execution, the forceful means of maintaining the state. But Shepstone never refers to the rite after which the national ceremony (and tribal ceremonies with it) was called, viz., the Eating of the First Fruits. What magical importance it had becomes apparent in a report by Peppercorne, R.M. at Müden, dated 16/1/1851 (PAR: S.N.A. I/3/1, No. 4). It is on a charge of witchcraft brought against one Noboko of Magedama's tribe for having eaten on one and the same day and at the same time, the same kind of food (a pumpkin) as the chief, and done other things for which he would be killed in the Zulu country. Noboko had been brought before the magistrate in the most wretched state, with his arms bound in such a manner that they had swollen to the size of his legs, the skin had burst from the beatings and the sun had raised large blisters. He had been left for three days without food and water. One of his Wis was implicated in the charge, viz., the eating of the pumpkin before the release rite. She had been as maltreated as her H and was tied to him back to back to a pole. The party who delivered the culprits were accompanied by Noboko's son,

who joined in denouncing him, as also by his M and another of his three Wis. (The magistrate suspected that the charge originated with them). Neither Noboko nor his Wi defended themselves, except that Noboko said: "I am old and have neither Br nor friend." The two accused had obviously made themselves obnoxious to the chief and their own family for the charge brought was not the only accusation. He was said to have poisoned the water by placing a dead man's foot in it by which some of the chief's goats had died; also that he had washed at the same place as the chief, perhaps as serious a taboo breach as the first.

The importance of one of the magical substances used in the First Fruits, viz., sea water, is brought out in the account of a detachment having been sent by Mpande to Eat Up Mvunyelwa, a former body-servant of his. He accused him of interfering with the women, who the previous year(sic) had carried the water from the sea for the king to wash in at the Dance of the First Fruits. (This was the first time the accused had heard of this charge which he asserted was a fabrication) (PAR: Shepstone Papers, Case, 8, No. 22). That the magical properties of sea water were considered exceptional transpires from the fact that in 1868, when his F Mzilikazi had died, Lobengula sent two messengers, Murimu alias Adonis (apparently not of Zulu stock) and Nomanhla, a hereditary envoy of the Tebele king, from Rhodesia to Natal to obtain from Shepstone the services of a Bhaca doctor ostensibly to treat Lobengula (for an illness?) and some sea water. Shepstone refused both requests (PAR: S.N.A. I/6/1, No. 37), because the Tebele succession was then in dispute and two of Lobengula's Brs were in Natal, Kuruman, Mzilikazi's choice, and Mangwane who was an eBr of Lobengula's. By acceding to Lobengula's requests the impression might have been created that the British Government took sides in the dispute. It was evident that Lobengula wanted the Bhaca doctor for political purposes (viz., to anoint him and to establish him magically as king) and the sea water for a royal medicine (to strengthen him against rival claimants). The use of sea water at the Installation and the First Fruits reveals that the two rites have a common aspect.

3. Colenso's Report

We owe the first detailed account of the Cermony to Colenso (1835: 107f) who on 23/2/1854 witnessed the First Fruits of Pakade, the Cunu chief, in the Impafana Location near Müden. Two regiments in feathered head-gear with large shields and long rods (in place of spears) formed a large circle. Pakade with 100 of his chief men was seated in front of them, reviewing the troops. Later the men collected on a hill and came marching into the chief's cattle pen, singing a war-song. The chief by then had retired to exchange his beads and "hangings" for a magnificent war-dress. Looking over the fence, which separated the seraglio from the rest of the kraal, he was greeted with the incessant shout of "Woza!" (Come), to which he at last yielded. He was received by a general surging forward with great excitement. The warriors completely surrounded him, shouting, humming and stamping, the chief now leading them in their movements. In the centre of the dance were about 30 girls, bedecked with the king's beads worn in white bands across the chest. They performed a slow shuffling dance. Old women shrieked (trilled), tribal bards rushed about uttering the chief's praises. Two oxen were killed in the midst of the dancers. The chief made a speech in which he gave permission to the younger regiment to marry. The warriors thereupon performed leap dances with pantomimic representations of their deeds of valour. Some men were applauded, and if the king pointed at them with a rod, this was a signal honour. Others, not applauded, shrunk back in disgrace. All the spectators wore very scanty attire. At Langalibalele's village, a few days later, the First Fruits had already been held, because the beer had been made too soon!

4. Shooter

(p. 26/7, 40), giving in 1857 a comprehensive account of the First Fruits, shows its complexity. The ceremony is celebrated at the end of December at the Great Place. On the first day a black bull, its neck having been twisted by the young men, is thrown on the ground. The doctor (while the animal is still alive) makes an incision in the side, takes out the gall-bladder and squeezes part of the bile into a vessel with medicines. The king sucks the decoction and squirts it over himself. He also spits it on an assegai which he then points at the sun. The king deals similarly with a mixture containing the produce of the gardens, including bruised maize.

In the end the bull is dispatched by the doctor with the blow of an axe. The flesh is thrown on a large fire, roasted and eaten by the boys. The eaters may not drink water till the morning, and are watched by doctors, armed with sticks. If the taboo were broken the king would be defeated in war or visited by a personal misfortune. On the second day a bull of a different colour is killed in the usual way. The bile is put into a medicine which the warriors(?) suck from their fingers after which they wash. The meat has been cut into strips and rolled in a medicinal powder. They are thrown into the air and caught by the men to put into their mouths. When a piece falls to the ground it is replaced by another piece. (This is the Strengthening of the Army). On the third day the king comes into the cattle enclosure dressed in grass and the *umKhosi* dance takes place. After it the king, having changed into his ordinary dress, dashes a calabash to pieces. The fragments are picked up by the doctor and councillors and burned (together with the grass kilt of the king) where the bull had been roasted. The ashes are strewn about and trampled into the ground by the cattle. At the conclusion of the ceremony the king addresses the people on their duties and gives them permission to harvest their crops. No crops might be gathered before the ceremony. Here obviously two rites are combined; the fruit ceremony and the war ceremony. Fynn thought that Shaka had added the war ceremony to the First Fruits to have his army ready when the stores were full and the rivers low. Two reports are given of lions having to be caught alive for the ceremony. Dingane ordered such a hunt, and it was successfully achieved, the names of the hunters being recorded by Arbousset. The other hunt, which was unsuccessful, was undertaken at Mpande's behest. The lion was required for doctoring the king as indicated by Asmus and P. J. Schoeman. (Grout's account, p. 161, of the First Fruits is substantially the same as Shooter's).

5. *Leslie*

(p. 91) presents a vivid account of the assembly rather than the rituals of the ceremony. In Mpande's reign the First Fruits were held annually at Nodwengu. All who were able went up, male and female, old and young. He records the term *ukuHlalanKosi* for the ceremony which was preceded by the lesser *Nyathela* ceremony, about 3-4 weeks earlier. At this only some regiments attended, one of which caught the bull which was killed without the use of any weapons or tools. Its strength was thought to enter the king and prolong his life and vigour. The *iNgoma*, a stamping dance, was performed to the singing of the national hymn. For the Greater Ceremony the people trooped up from all directions, carrying with them some of their household goods and provisions, viz., Indian corn. As the company gathered, there was much talk of the past glories of the nation. Leslie on one occasion transported the governess of one of the royal villages, Baleka, to Nodwengu together with her seraglio girls. He gives a very brief description of the First Fruits itself: The regiments in full war-dress danced separately and then marched up to the king in single file. At this inspection the warriors boasted of their deeds and the regiments outdid one another in challenges before the king. The king spoke to each regiment in turn. On the last day they all had a dancing match together.

6. *The Abandonment of the First Fruits*

We gain a further glimpse of the First Fruits from the time immediately preceding the Zulu War of 1879 in Vijn's notes edited by Bishop Colenso (1880: 189f). When the time of the First Fruits drew near, i.e., in December, the king announced it. The regiments gathered at their barracks about three weeks before the appointed day. They spent the time in hoeing the king's millet fields, in preparing their war-dress and in learning new dances and songs. The First Fruits was still held at Nodwengu, to which place Cetshwayo walked accompanied by a regiment. The First Fruits then lasted only a day. The various regiments danced in turn. No weapons were carried, only sticks were allowed. This seems to indicate a prohibition, for elsewhere it is stated by the same authors that every Zulu is an armed man and never moves without his weapon. The First Fruits in the seventies were attended by all the women of the king's household, by many of the unmarried and married women of Zululand, except by those with babies in arms who would avoid the crush.

After the troubles of the Zulu War and the turbulent period in the fortunes of the royal family under Dinizulu, the First Fruits as a national rite fell into disuse. But the ceremony

is by no means forgotten and was still carried out recently by hereditary chiefs in Natal. In Zululand minor chiefs have no such right! The Council of Chief Siphoso Mpungose (310), on hearing that the Ngcobo chief of Natal until recently performed the First Fruits, were resentful: "He ought to be killed since he has taken on a prerogative of the king! For when Natal Chiefs come to Zululand everyone knows that they cannot receive the royal salutation Bayede." The most complete recent account is that by Lugg. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the Paramount Cyprian Zulu have however been discussing the pros and cons of reviving the First Fruits.

B. LUGG'S ACCOUNT AND TERMINOLOGY

According to Lugg (1929: 357-60) three ceremonies were observed at the royal court till 1879.

1. The Licking of the Hoe

The first, The Licking of the Hoe *(ukuKhotha iGeja)*, took place at the time of the full moon. Some men were despatched in secrecy to steal a black, fierce bull from another tribe and samples of their fields and soils. One or two of the younger regiments only attended. One regiment killed the bull by twisting its neck; no weapons might be used. Its flesh was roasted at a special fire and consumed by boys who had not yet attained puberty. The 'inedible parts' were burned and the ashes secreted carefully.

The king was prepared for his part by the application of 'black' medicines. These contained, besides sea water, the foreign matters above-mentioned. On a sacred potsherd they were burned to cinders which the king sucked off his fingers while the regiments sang: "The king has eaten 'the clod'!" The warriors stayed to till the king's fields and to plant his crops. Both fields and seed were magically treated.

2. Entering the New Year

The second ceremony, Entering the New Year *(ukuNyathela uNyaka)*, is also known as *umKhosi omncane* (The Small Royal Ceremony). This ceremony lasted several days. A fierce bull was again slaughtered and eaten by immature boys. In addition, a number of selected oxen were sacrificed to the royal ancestors. This was combined with a visit by the various regiments and the king to the graves of the ancient Zulu kings. Each approached within respectful distance and shouted repeatedly: "Come forth, come hither!" During this ceremony the king was treated to prevent his being 'overshadowed' by rival chiefs.

3. The Great Royal Ceremony

The third ceremony is the *umKhosi omkhulu* (The Great Royal Ceremony). The regiments, having gone to their homes after the Entering the New Year, had prepared themselves for the occasion and the general populace in their finery gathered in their thousands. The medicines needed had been secretly collected by trusted people and worked upon by the magic doctors in the Great Hut of the Royal Homestead, i.e., in the hut of the king's mother. They consisted of samples of all crops, but also other plants of which the *uSelwa*, a wild melon with pungent taste, was the most important, and water from the sea and all the great rivers of Zululand.

The king had to undergo treatment with 'black' medicines to make him 'strong', the details of which are not recorded by Lugg. He was kept in seclusion. The black bull sacrifice was repeated: again it had to be killed without shedding its blood. Certain parts of it were worked into the medicines with which the king was treated. The flesh was roasted on a fire made with fire-sticks used on this occasion only. It had been cut into long strips which were thrown to the regiments (as described for the Strengthening of the Army). At last, at sunrise, the king emerged from the seclusion of the Great Hut to the shouts of the warriors: "Come forth, come hither!" He was painted in various colours, dressed in animal skins and wore a girdle of maize and sorghum leaves. He carried a 'rod of authority' called by Lugg 'a sacred stick'.

Accompanied by his principal councillors and Wis(!), he advanced to the gate of the village. There he dashed the *uSelwa* gourds to pieces, crushing them into the ground with his heels. At this the warriors raised a shout, denouncing the king's enemies. The king sucked medicines off his fingers and spurted others at the sun. While the warriors went to a ritual bathe in the river, the king was treated with 'white' medicines to remove the effect of the 'black' treatment which had made him into the terrifying being who had emerged from the Great Hut.

Lugg's account suffers from one serious omission: he does not mention the Biting of the First Fruits, which formed one of the essential features of the ceremony. The omission may be due to the fact that the Zulu kings stressed the military and political aspects of the First Fruits. When its celebration was discontinued at the court, the ceremony survived or emerged in the smaller chieftainships where the agricultural or vegetative aspect became more emphasized. It is possible that this was its original function before the building up of the Zulu power system enriched and contaminated it. Admittedly the sequence of rites can be reconstructed with difficulty only. The informants of today are descendants only of eye-witnesses. Tribal and family first fruit rites differed from the national First Fruits. Part of the treatment the king received is still considered a national secret by members of his family. To many Zulu the ceremony is a thing that has died long ago and is of no significance today. Chief Siphoso Mpungose's council refused to discuss the First Fruits by saying: "How can we tell? Our customs have been broken!" These facts must be kept in mind in assessing the value of the subjoined analysis.

4. A Note on Terminology

A note on terminology is called for. The distinction between the Licking of the Hoe and the Entering upon the New Year is not made everywhere. In the two tribal examples which Lugg gives it is insignificant. Yet it may well have been important once, when the Licking of the Hoes was the appropriate rite for the planting season (Bryant: 1949: 509f) and celebrated in the *uMfumfu* month (September/October). The Entering upon the New Year was the ritual for weeding in midsummer (December) and the Great Royal Ceremony that for harvesting in the *uNgulazibuya* month (March/April). Nor is the recorded terminology without its contradictions. The planting ceremony is also known as the Taking-up-of-the-Hoes *(ukuThath' amaGeja)*. The interpretation of the term *umKhosi* as referring to the king's authority is implicitly refuted by Bryant (1905) when he stresses the etymology linking *umKhosi* with the ancestors *(amaKhosi:* the masters) rather than *inKosi* (chief). Yet Bryant held two opinions about this, for in 1949 (p. 511) he calls the ceremony the Royal Celebration. The term *ukuNyathela* is interpreted by R.C. Samuelson as a reference to the ritual "trampling on or treading of the ground" (S: 381) which the king performs during the ceremony and not as signifying "entering upon the new year" which for the Zulu began with the harvest. *ukwEshwama*, another term used for the third ceremony, is often made to refer to the treatment king and army underwent at this time. Lugg calls the ceremonies collectively by this term, whereas Asmus applies it only to the private First Fruits celebrations which follow the national ceremony. Bryant (1949: 511) clubs *ukuNyathela* and *ukwEshwama* together as referring to the Harvest Celebrations. Samuelson alone calls the Small Ceremony the Royal Feast of the Clod *(umKhosi weGade)* and the final stage of the Great Ceremony the *umKhosi wemiThetho* (Festival of the Laws).

For our purpose it is possible to disregard the planting rite which is no more than a very faint memory. The two main ceremonies reviewed here are (a) The Weeding rite: *uNyathelo* or *umKhosi omncane*: Entering upon the New Year, or Small Royalty Rite and (b)*umKhosi omkhulu* or *ukwEshwama:* The Great Royal Ceremony or First Fruits. The latter tended to associate with the Assembly of the Army and the promulgation of new laws; the former as easily combined with intercession for rain. The permutations are indeed many. Asmus distinguishes two essentials of the minor rite: the king's squirting of medicines and the killing of ancestral cattle and four essentials of the major rite: the preparation and squirting out of the gourd *(uSelwa)* medicine; the killing of the black bull, - Asmus (p. 264) identifies the bull with the king who must be replaced if he loses his virility. Bryant (1949: 512, 518), on the other hand, making much of the contrast between the bloody killing of a bull of the royal herds in the small

rite and the bloodless killing of a stolen bull during the Great Rite, conceives of the latter as a symbol of a hated neighbouring monarch – the tasting of the first fruits and the purification rites. A fifth element, the announcement of new laws, does according to Asmus not fit into the magical tenor of the rest. Three stages can be distinguished in each rite: the preparatory imposition of taboos (including strengthening of the king); the ritual (the vicarious eating of the first fruits by the king which makes possible the family first fruits rites) and the politico-social: the reaffirmation of the king's power and release from the taboo period.

C. THE MAIN FEATURES

of the two ceremonies were as follows

1. Small Royal Rite

To undergo the necessary magical treatment the king was isolated for a few days either in the Great Hut of the royal homestead or in a special shelter built near the calves' pen. The hut was inaccessible to anyone except his doctors (and M?) (Bryant: 1949: 516-9). The magical treatment had two parts: strengthening *(ukuQinisa)* with 'black' medicines and cleansing with 'white' ones. The first process was also called Setting Up the king *(ukuMisa inKosi)*. This was achieved by making the king eat an earth clod stolen from a foreign territory. The medicines were prepared on the sacred potsherd in the Great Hut. As a result 'the king was black!'

According to Asmus (p. 254-6) it was in this state that the king stood a whole day over the Royal Hoop till sunset. The process of making the king stand physically and metaphorically in his realm involved several steps. The king was first strengthened by means of washing him in 'black' medicines in the isolation hut, by smearing him with the fat of animals of prey to which were added powdered cinders of certain plants and the body-dirt of the king's subjects and enemies, and by painting his face and chest with variegated colours. Secondly the external application of 'black' medicines was accompanied by their internal administration. The king dipped his finger tips into 'black' powders heated on special sherds and sucked them off. The king, thirdly, had to leap over pots filled with 'black' magical substances and over the carcase of the black bull. By these actions, strictly interdicted to commoners, he gained ascendancy over his subjects, his enemies and their ancestors.

At the sunrise of each day the king pointed with the ancestral spear (from which he had sucked the medicines) at the sun. He thrust it at the sun, squirted medicines at it and uttered a shooing sound. The warriors roared like lions and shouted: "It (= he) stabs it with the red tail (the sun)!" By the squirting rite distant effects are achieved: evil is driven out from the king's people, his enemies are confounded. Lugg and Asmus agree that the stabbing at the sun is done to absorb power or strength from him. Krige (p. 251) confirms this: he gets strength from the sun or produces rain by the *ukuKhonza* rite. (The stabbing of the sun as a rain rite is attested by Krige: 250-2, 255-6; Bryant: 1949: 520, Dube: 259n, Fuze, and Raum: 1953).

Certain purification rites followed. The king performed ritual intercourse with a woman set apart for 'taking away his gloom'. After cohabitation he washed himself in certain medicines, the washed-off grease being caught on the Royal Hoop or in the calves' pen. The slaughter of a white beast (or goat) is another purification rite. Certain organs were burnt to cinders with 'white' medicines and incense in the apse of the Great Hut. The king then sucked these medicines from his fingertips. He also painted the forefinger of each hand with the bile *(ukuSusa umMnyama)*. The effect of the 'black medicines' was thus removed. The regiments washed in the river while the king disrobed.

The killing of the *imiZimu* cattle (the national cattle which belong to the ancestors common to king and subjects) took place while the oldest member of the royal lineage

addressed *(ukuThetha)* the ancestors, calling them by name, reciting their deeds and dedicating the beasts to them. During this oration the king stood inside his isolation hut. The cattle were slaughtered, skinned and cut up by members of the king's lineage. All gall-bladders were taken by him and counted; the bile was poured over him; he put the bladders on his arm. Feasting followed and leap dances. Shares of the meat were given to the bard and the magic doctor. The Thanking of the Ancestors was combined with a visit to the graves of the royal ancestors at *emaKhosini* (Lugg: 1948: 123). The Great Ceremony could not be held without their permission having been obtained. The visit was a requirement in supplication for rain. Beasts could also be slaughtered at the ancient kraals of the dead kings (Asmus: 257, Krige: 252).

2. The Great Royal Rite

The Great Ceremony followed from two to more weeks after the Small Ceremony. The isolation of the king resembled that of the first celebration. His magical treatment was similar and conducted by the tribal doctors in the isolation shelter *(inHlambelo)* in the calves' pen near the royal bath *(emaPhotheni)*. The king's isolation was made necessary by the 'black' treatment which he had to undergo to make him 'fierce and dark' for the ascendancy rites. Apart from being besmeared with 'black' medicines (and sucking and vomiting them?) he jumped over symbols of authority and stood over the Royal Hoop. The king's separation from tribe and mankind was symbolized in the dress he had on at the beginning of the Great Ceremony, when he wore the *imiQubula* in the dances. It consisted of tiers of rushes and leaves and completely covered his face and body. Another sign of his tabooed state was the interdict on sexual relations with his Wis. (He was however attended by 'the woman-in-the-ashes' in a special hut).

The black bull, the sacrificial victim, was, according to Bryant (1949: 510), stolen from another chief. It was magically mollified and kept in the royal herd for some time. It could also be taken from the king's sacred herd *(izinKomo zemiZimu, izinKomo zenKatha)*. (Some say no strange bull was suffered to run with the herd). The animal had to be virile and in the prime of life. The bull was medicated first and made fierce thereby, as some assert, or else 'softened' so that no injuries would be caused when it was thrown. Probably the Sprinkling *(ukuThambisa)* dedicated the animal to the ancestors. An unmarried regiment, i.e., pure or uncontaminated by sexual stain, had to kill it. They pummelled it to death, taking care not to shed its blood or to break a bone. Or the bull was thrown. The doctor opened its side and while the animal was still alive removed certain organs needed for the treatment of the king and killed it with a blow of the sacred axe. The importance for ritual purposes of obtaining parts of a living victim in rain murders and chieftainship murders is fundamental (Cf. Wanger: Collector p. 108). The king then leaped over the animal, performing a rite of ascendancy. Carrier boys, who had not yet reached maturity, or young warriors not yet married, roasted some of the flesh and ate it. They had to burn the rest of the carcase and were not allowed to leave the fire until everything had been consumed by the flames. The stomach contents and bones were buried in a pit in the cattle pen. The ashes were used in the washing rites of the king and his warriors. No women or Chn were allowed to watch this killing. Concerning the Baso rite Lugg mentions that grain seed was thrown over the black bull and over the people, and Krige (p. 257) says that the seed thrown over the people was mixed with the bull's blood. (If the bull is a symbol of the king himself, this rite represents his power of fertilizing field and pasture).

The collection of the substances required for the First Fruits was carefully planned. Special men or spies were treated with medicines so powerful that they would blind anyone they met. They were thus enabled to lead the black bull from foreign territory without trouble, and their magic wands made him gentle. Sea water was required for washing off the 'black medicines' applied in the initial stages of the ceremony. That the fetching was entrusted on at least one occasion to young women may be explained as a method of fixing a condition which was likely to be interfered with. The obtaining of soil from the fields of the enemy, the collection of samples of herbs and crops, like wild spinach associated with spring, and the wild melon *(uSelwa)*, were subject to caution and secrecy.

The concoction of First Fruits, which the king had to bite or nibble, consisted of a representative collection of the crops ripening in the fields of his country, viz., melons, pumpkins, sweet cane, *umThambana*, *iThethe*, and *umHlala*. The most important item was the small *uSelwa* gourd, although it is inedible, odoriferous and bitter. It had to be brought from the sea shore of the country south of the Tugela. To these ingredients were added medicines: the bile and special organs of the sacrificial beasts and of wild animals, and also human remains. The mess was boiled in a pot on the sacred hearth stones over a fire kindled with sacred fire-sticks. No other fire was allowed to burn anywhere in the country at this time, and the sacred fire was extinguished as soon as it had served its purpose. When the time for the Biting had come the king picked out from the pot a specimen of each kind. Putting them gingerly to his mouth, he took a bite from each and spat it in all directions. As he took fruit by fruit, he touched his knees, wrist and ankles in turn, saying every time: *Doloqina kithisonke* (Strengthen all the joints), while the councillors shouted: *Dlaleni!* (Eat you = plural!). The onlookers now went through the same performance and a general dance followed.

Towards the end of the celebrations, the warriors and the women of the royal household gathered before sunrise (in the pen or outside?) and commenced to call the king: "Come forth! Come hither!" The king emerged from the isolation hut, or the bush shelter, dressed "like a wild animal, an *isiLo*". "He appeared, (according to (251)'s inspired account), dressed in skins of wild animals and painted in various colours. The skins were those of *imFene*, *iNgwe*, *iNgonyama*, *inDlozi* (which heals epilepsy), *inDlovu*, *inKomo*, *imPisi*, *iNkentshane* and *uChakide* *78*. He was greeted by a thrice repeated shout of *Bayede*. The king approached the onlookers slowly like a prowling beast of prey. He is an *isiLo*, an angry wild animal today. The people bend low before him to pay their respects. Then they run away and stop again, acting like hunters who face a ferocious animal of prey. The king leaps and stabs at the retreating warriors with his ancestral spear and axe. The warriors then begin to dance, while the king stands in the shade of a specially selected tree which has been set up at the top of the royal cattle-pen on that day."

For the Crushing of the Gourd the councillors appeared in the cattle pen. The senior officials wore, according to (251), the *iNgxotha* armlets, made of gold. They had been boiled in medicine so that they would remain always hot; that is why they must be worn over cloth protectors: it was an *umLingo* of theirs. They wore special dress for the occasion, *imiQubula* of *iNsimba* skin. The king too must change into a different dress. Such a change of dress presumably signified a change of role. It was first noted by Colenso in Pakade's First Fruits. Bryant (1949: 517, 519) describes the dress for the Dances after the Biting of the First Fruits as consisting of three girdles of rushes and leaves which masked the king completely.

The time had now arrived when the king must touch the gourd. He could not have done so before. If he had, the assembly would hold him responsible for any national misfortune. The gourd was brought by some councillors and a kind of play began at the gate of the kraal, in which the king and the councillors bandied the gourd about *(ukuShaya uSelwa)* (Bryant mentions another gourd, the *uThangazana)*. At last the gathering of men shouted "Come here -i-ishi i-ishi!" The king hurled several gourds at the spears of warriors where they broke. After the last was broken he crushed the pieces into the ground with his heels. This scene is thus described by Isaacs: "Standing at the head of the kraal (the king) runs backward and forward three times towards the warriors, followed by the boys whistling as loudly as possible, each time throwing a calabash as indicative of his command for them to garner the new food." Isaacs saw only the ludicrous side of this action *79*.

The king now disrobed himself and got rid of his magical fierceness by the sucking of 'white' medicines, by washing in them and taking 'white' emetics in the enclosure for calves. His 'blackness' was washed on to the skin of the Black Bull so that it could be added to the Royal Hoop. He was assisted in the cleansing by immature boys. His 'blackness' might also be trodden into the ground of the calf enclosure to strengthen the calves and make them grow. The warriors went off to wash themselves at the river.

Feasting and drinking and a general dance followed. A special part of the ceremony was taken up with announcements, the promulgation of new laws, a review of the regiments, the formation of new ones and the granting of the marriage licence to old regiments about to be disbanded. Sometimes active preparations for raids and campaigns commenced at this stage.

On their return home the warriors spread the news that the king had Nibbled the First Fruits. Every family head now carried out his individual First Fruits, releasing in this way the inmates of his homestead from the interdict on eating the new crops. As far as possible he would use the same crops as the king. "In some tribes the people are allowed to eat the first fruits after the Little Royal Ceremony, in others they had to wait till after the Great Royal Ceremony." The decision also depended on individual factors: "Mpande allowed the Zulu to eat their maize after the Small Royal Ceremony, Cetshwayo made them wait till the Great Royal Ceremony was over" (Krige: 252).

D. THE TABOO REGIMEN

1. Companionship Taboos

In describing the taboo regimen of the First Fruits it is appropriate that the companionship taboos be set out first. There was a preparatory period of abstentions obligatory on all Zulu (Bryant: 1949: 511, 522). It followed an announcement at the Small Royal Ceremony at weeding time: *KungaDliwa ukuDla okusha ungakaDlali umKhosi!* The warriors returning from the ceremony, officials and special messengers spread the command. The following crops, viz., maize(?), pumpkins, melons, sweet cane, could not be eaten on pain of death. It was prohibited to point at the growing crops, lest they would not ripen (Samuelson, L.H.: 168). A menstruating woman must not pass through the ripening fields for fear of making the crops rot. The names of the crops had to be avoided (H1). (More interdicts are enumerated by Krige p. 194/5). The collectors of the magical substances, viz., the hunters of royal game, the robbers of the black bull, the gatherers of the gourds and sea water, the scrapers of body-dirt from doorways and cross-roads must not allow anyone to see their takings. These would lose their potency. Nor should they themselves be seen. So they travelled by night and entered the royal village by an unfrequented side-gate. The bull-robbers had it enjoined upon them that the abduction of the animal had to be noiseless. All the magical substances, with the exception of the bull, were deposited in the Great Hut with other sacred national objects (Lugg: 1929: 364).

While the Small Ceremony was attended by a few regiments only, nobody was allowed to absent himself from the Great Ceremony (Bryant: 1949: 515-6 discusses how the many visitors were accommodated). Councillors and headmen were called formally. All absentees were considered disloyal: they might be smelt out or killed. This insistence on full attendance is linked with the other proviso, that the rites had to take place before rival kings celebrated their ceremonies. The rites thus fell into the pattern of contests between magicians. Like them kings fought with magical means for ascendancy over one another. Power could be obtained through collection of body-dirt from the enemy, but also through the procedural advantage of being the first in performing the rites.

The king's magical treatment was to ensure that he was not 'overshadowed' by another ruler. For this reason all unhealthy or wounded persons were excluded from attending. Sick or senile courtiers were sent home for the occasion, because they would counteract the beneficial effect of the ceremonies.

Arms were not carried at the royal ceremonies on pain of punishment. It was a national occasion, and men were not expected to settle their private quarrels there. Even if provoked, men were urged to desist from aggressive counteraction. The ceremonies in fact established a time of peace, a taboo period. The interdict was amplified by the provision that all state

punishment was suspended during the month of the First Fruits, making the period approach in nature a Sacred Period (Meinhof: 1912: 101; Lugg: 1929: 361; Samuelson, L.H.: 141f).

The bull could be killed only by members of an unmarried regiment. Its meat was roasted and its remains burned by boys not yet sexually mature. The king was washed by young boys. Men in their prime could not enter the king's isolation shelter.

The king's women were not allowed to leave their huts or loiter about the royal village during the king's strengthening. The prohibition was issued by the king himself before the commencement of the ceremony. "It needed only a reminder." The interdict excluded the women from the great national ceremony as they are excluded to this day from the family sacrifices. But Leslie, in Mpande's time, reports the attendance of women. In fact women participated in the rites on two occasions: the seraglio girls helped to shout for the king to emerge as a wild beast, and the old women accompanied him to the Crushing of the Gourd. Of special ritual significance was the woman, secluded in a special hut, with whom the king had ritual intercourse (as part of cleansing himself from the 'black' medicines).

Nobody could enter the king's shelter in the calf pen or the Great Hut where his medicines were prepared and the national symbols kept. Exempted from this prohibition was the king's mother, his body attendants and his doctors. Nobody dared to come near the king or to touch him. Pika Zulu observed: "Nobody would get a chance," but Shaka was once stabbed during dances. It was only natural that a dancer might brush up against the king without any notice being taken. (Since the king shook hands during these ceremonies with white visitors, his tabooed state did not isolate him completely).

The visitors attending the Royal Ceremonies were forced to bring their own food with them and had to select such as could be easily carried and would not rot quickly. At the feasting some meat might be added from the king's meat. During the ceremony no commoner could eat of the prohibited crops. Strictly speaking no subject could eat of the new crops (especially maize and sweet cane) unless he had attended the First Fruits. This interlocking of conditioned actions was supported by a mystic sanction: the king would suffer harm if he came into contact with a person who had absented himself wilfully, or the absentee would die (Grout: 161). The required presence of all units of the Zulu power structure was enforced by legal sanctions as well, including the execution of an absentee. Chief Mqiniseni Zungu hesitated to call the rule against absenteeism a taboo (Za) and preferred the neutral term custom *(iSiko)*. But he added that all Zulu would observe it out of respect (Hl) to the king (Carbutt; Lugg: 1929: 360; Krige: 191, 253).

2. The King's Taboos

The king's taboo regimen during the First Fruits was the most elaborate in Zulu culture. He had to live in isolation in preparation for the ritual. A special shelter of green branches *(inHlambelo)* was built for him near the royal bath in the calf enclosure. (In the tribal First Fruits the chief was isolated in the Great Hut). The king could not leave this shelter during the ceremonies except for ritual occasions. Pika Zulu thought this was not a prohibition (Za); it was left to the king's discretion to obey the rule or not. But Pika's remark reveals the cultural erosion that has set in in the royal family after the various disasters that have come upon it. For the old records state that at the First Fruits the king, having been "strengthened with black medicines" could enter no hut of the royal sector or sergalio until after a ritual bath (Shooter: 26; Krige: 255-8).

Three seclusion huts existed: (a) the Great Hut where the ritual objects were kept: the Royal Hoop, the sacred fire-sticks and hearth stones, the sherds, divining pot, tribal spear, royal penis-cover, and the king's special robes. Nobody was allowed to see these objects in the Great Hut; only the king's doctors could handle them. (b) The shelter built for the Royal Ceremony and referred to above. In it the strengthening medicines and magical substances were kept, perhaps so as not to affect the royal symbols in the Great Hut. (c) In a third hut, the *eya-*

semSizini, the scapegoat woman was quartered. It was not specially built for the ceremony but was normally occupied by an old woman. The king had ritual intercourse with the *owa-semSizini* (she-of-the-hut-of-the-mystic-ash) on the eve of the Crushing of the Gourd (Lugg: 1929: 358, 379; Krige: 243).

The king's isolation was accentuated by the special dress he wore, the smearing of his body with variegated paints or salves and his special ornaments or amulets. The dancing dress was a three-tiered robe of rushes *(imiQubula)*. The dress worn at the Crushing of the Gourd was different. It consisted of animal skins with some plant elements, e.g., maize leaves. The isolation was heightened by the great distance between the calf enclosure and the fence round the tremendous cattle enclosure to which the regiments only had access. The ordinary spectator outside the fence of the cattle enclosure had little chance to see the king at all (168).

The king's isolation facilitated his observance of the taboo regimen. It also assisted in the Strengthening treatment he received, for it made it possible for him 'to hide', when the 'black' medicines had rendered him fierce and dark. (168) thought that the prohibition against spectators trying to see the king at this time helped him to perform his ritual role later. But "nothing would have happened" to curious onlookers.

The king did not sleep with his Wis during, and for some time prior to the ceremonies. A differentiation of this interdict according to status is suggested by statements that commoners avoided their spouses for two months before the Royal Ceremony, whereas the king did so only for one month or perhaps six days only. One informant thought that the king abstained from intercourse only on the eve of the ceremony and a sceptic added: "It is not known whether the king in fact observed the taboos himself." The king was kept from contact with boys in their puberty and menstruating girls. The reason for the sex taboo was serious enough: he could not touch his Wis, for he would be weakened if he tasted the first fruits in a condition of sexual stain.

Definite speech restrictions were observed during the Ceremonies. The king could not talk loudly to his people. The ancestral praises recited were special to this occasion and could not be used at other times. While he was being treated with 'black' medicines the king could not sit or lie down. He had to stand in his hut during the killing of the black bull. The Fuze and Baso chiefs now stand throughout the night at the Weeding Ceremony. It was taboo for the king to throw away water in the cattle pen: it was part of his ritual role to handle medicated water, for he sprinkled the shields of a new regiment with water placed on the Royal Hoop for a night. This would happen where the First Fruits was combined with the formation of a new regiment (Lugg: 1929: 360, 368, 380).

The king observed certain food interdicts during the Royal Ceremonies. In fact he fasted at intervals to keep himself in the right ritual condition. Like a diviner the king permanently abstained from cowpeas and pork (168). He did not eat any eggs thus sharing a taboo with women. Some informants list SM among the foods which the king abstained from. As Gatsha Buthelezi's case shows, the interdict only referred to milk from the king's private cattle. He was obliged to drink milk from the ancestral herd *(izinKomo zemiZimu)*.

During the ceremonies the king's food had to be prepared by immature girls or boys (or by his body attendant). It was served by a girl who had not yet menstruated. If the food had been handled by an adult, who might possibly have had contact with the other sex, the king would be "weakened", he would be rendered ritually unfit, and he might be endangered thereby. The king did not drink beer in the isolation hut. If he wanted a draught he had, like the diviner, to drink it by himself elsewhere (Krige: 238, 255, 257).

The sanctions enforcing the observance by the king of the interdicts of the taboo period at the Royal Ceremonies are mainly mystical. If he should disregard them his property would be destroyed, his subjects would become disobedient and disloyal; his ancestors would cause

difficulties, e.g., a quarrel with his principal Wi; no heir would be born to him; and if one should be born he would die young; close relatives would die and he himself be supplanted as chief! Pika Zulu, arguing from the royal point of view, maintained that these interdicts were not Za in the true sense of the word. They were rather customs of almost legal force *(imiThetho, imiLayo)*. Presumably it was an inconceivable thought to him to consider the king's behaviour circumscribed in any way. If Pika Zulu's opinion is accepted, two corollaries follow: Either the king accepted the interdicts voluntarily bowing to tradition and public opinion. Such a view would not be acceptable to Zulu nobles at all. Or the king pretended to obey the prohibitions. Then we would have to find reasons for his doing so. This thought experiment brings out the strength of feeling with which Pika Zulu reacted to the idea that the king's sphere of action might possibly be delimited by prohibitions, even if these derived from tradition and not from a rival source of authority.

The necessity for the magical treatment of the king during the First Fruits is considered by a number of informants to be derived from the desire to protect the king against the effects of taboo breaches of his subjects which might recoil on him. The possibility of vicarious suffering by the king must in fact orientate the attention and concern of all his subjects to his welfare. It is thus a social mechanism to ensure their loyalty and conformity.

E. ZULU EXPLANATIONS

In Zulu theory the washing, smearing and sucking of 'black medicines' gave the king 'blackness', *umMnyama*, 'darkness', a mystical kind of fierceness which made him fit to perform the various ritual acts, in particular the Biting of the First Fruits and the Crushing of the Gourd. The treatment (= Strengthening) did not only invigorate the king, his blood, body, heart, his 'dignity' *(isiThunzi)*. It worked a complete change in him, it "stirred up his occult powers, so that he now became dark, fierce, sinister." The "black treatment" put his body into a 'grimy', 'forbidding' state *(ukuQunga)*. His 'blackness by nature' was rendered 'really black' *(umMnyama impela)*. If a commoner were exposed to 'black medicines' he would immediately die. If the black medicines were left too long on the king's body the country would suffer for it. In his condition the king resembles a savage beast of prey; he is called an *isiLo*, a wild animal. The treatment with the fat and other magically effective parts of wild animals, the king's wearing of a cloak of animal skins confirm this explanation.

But it is not an ordinary wild animal, a lion or buffalo, into which he has been turned. The treatment charged the king with a magical fierceness: he was in a state of anger, of red-hot flaming rage and the people were afraid of him *(ukwEsaba)*; people say he got the black treatment so that he would be feared. The explanation that the king has been turned into a wild animal is a symbolic expression for the fact that he has been turned into an ancestor. He has become a living (or revived) ancestor who must eat the crops first so that his descendants can eat them with impunity. The 'black' treatment empowers the king to emerge from the isolation hut as the being responsible for the growth of the crops who exercises his right of first consumption.

There are many pointers in this direction: The term *isiLwane* applied to the raging king is a term by which the ancestors are addressed in prayers *(ukuThetha)*. The term may refer to the fact that the dead were thought to live, at least for a time, in the wilds. The early morning shouts of warriors and women: "Come forth, come hither!" are the same as those uttered in the rites of intercession at the royal graves. Like an ancestor the king emerges at sunrise. The transformation of the king into an ancestor is symbolized in the use of ancestral animal substances (lion, snake, etc.) as 'black' medicines; it is suggested in the reputed visit of the king to the Snakes during the First Fruits. The king dresses up like an *isiLo*, being covered in animal skins and rushes. He "nibbles" at a bitter fruit, an inedible symbol of the

crops, as the ancestors lick the bitter bile of the SAC. The concoction which he tastes contains human remains (of which he as ancestor can partake). Lucas (p. 127), not a very reliable informant otherwise, notes "The king dances and sings..... (he) invokes the ancestors, pretends to see their spectral faces, reports their messages and benedictions to the assembled. He calls upon the *iThongo*..... to give a plentiful harvest." In short, dressed like an ancestor and acting in their unaccountable manner, he was empowered to see them! Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's testimony is decisive: during his 'black treatment' he dressed in the clothes of his royal ancestors; he ate with their spoons and pots, his food being the SM of the *izinKomo zomiZimu*, the ancestral cattle (which is otherwise eaten by his attendants). The First Fruits is a Bringing Home on a national scale, repeated annually, and resulting in the annual return of the king as beneficent ancestor of his own patriliny. The sexual intercourse with the scapegoat woman can now be viewed as ancestral embrace fertilizing the whole land.

Not all Zulu agree with this interpretation of the First Fruits. Some maintain that it is futile to search for deep reasons of the ceremony: It is just a custom! Others, like Findo Zulu (125), strenuously deny that the king even acquired *umMnyama* during the *umKhosi*, since this to them suggests the contagion of death. Others again, like (204), say the fear of the people before the king was a law of nature. Some will admit that the king after the black treatment resembles a lightning doctor charged with mystic power or a warrior who has killed an enemy and whom it is unsafe to approach. They will point out that the fear of the king turned into hate and contempt at the end of the ceremony when the regiments intoned a hate-song. (But the military aspect must be kept strictly separate from the ceremonial and has been discussed in a different context). What Zulu and white observers find difficult to realize is that the main concern is not in any magical danger lurking in the new crops, but in the person of the first eater of them. The ceremony symbolizes the first eating of the crops by their creators, the ancestors.

Meinhof (1912: 71) supplies an explanation which tallies with the author's. Quoting South African evidence, according to which some tribes make the chiefs, and others, the Chn, eat the First Fruits, he states: "The ancestors, dwelling in the earth, and being buried with the seed, cause the growth of the crops, and must also give the permission for eating them. Natives do not dare to eat of the first fruits because of their belief in the close association between the crops in the fields and the ancestors." Leaving the connotation of the term 'association' undefined Meinhof comes very close to present day Zulu belief. But by introducing the psychic element of fear (in "dare not") he goes beyond Zulu evidence, which insists that the ceremonies are just age-old custom.

The first explanation that comes to a white man's mind concerning the First Fruits and the Strengthening of the king is that certain dangers are assumed to be lurking in the new fruits. But the idea that the mystical force of the new crops must be neutralized by the king's *umMnyama* is rejected by African informants. Much more acceptable is another rational explanation. The ritual release from the first fruit interdict is accompanied by medication against stomach trouble. Experience teaches that such trouble is frequent at the transition from winter to summer diet. To prevent the over-eating of young maize and sweet cane bitter herbs are added when they are being cooked. Or a special transition diet of a mixture of a little of each of the new crops (melon, gourd, sweet cane) to which the roots of the *úZankleni* plant are added, is used. This mixture goes by the name of Knee-strengthener *(uDoloqina)*. The First Fruits, seen from this angle, is a ritual elaboration of an erstwhile dietary adjustment to an abrupt change in the available food supplies.

Sir James Frazer (1929: 483) suggests that the eating of medicated new crops, of which, according to him, a sample was placed into each man's mouth by the Zulu king himself, is a dedication of the people. This is so because the fruit that is ritually eaten has been sanctified. It has been cooked in a pot used for this purpose only, over a new fire kindled with sacred friction sticks (called man and wife) by a magician. Having thus been sanctified each man can enter his own fields and remains in this condition for a whole year. The explanation sounds

reasonable, especially since it disposes of the psychic element of fear as a motive. But I have been unable to find any evidence that the king really feeds the people with sanctified bits of his crops. As we have seen, each kraalhead carries out his own First Fruits. Binde (p. 62), however, revives Frazer's theory in a new form, saying the crops are dedicated to the ancestors through the taboo period and their representative, the king, eats them on their behalf.

F. SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Contradictory ideological explanations should be tested by an analysis of the sociological concomitants of the First Fruits. These show that the rite occurs in a great number of human relationships and that it implements authority in them. The betrothed may not eat of the first fruits (Za/H1) without having obtained permission from his female partner. This he can obtain only by giving her a present *80*. In a homestead the taboo period before the First Fruits and the release of the inmates from the restraints through the rite performed by the kraalhead must be a powerful means of invigorating his authority in the kraal. The same is m u t a t i s m u t a n d i s true of the tribal chiefs. Moreover the national limits are precisely defined by the observance of the taboo on the eating of first fruits. Wherever it is observed the king obviously has loyal subjects. The common abstention from the new crops is an expression of solidarity, which is repeated in the simultaneous performance of the family rites throughout the country (Raum: 1967).

That such a ritual expression of the unity of social groups of varying range and complexity is necessary is shown by the fact that the period of the new crops often reveals fissiparous tendencies. Bryant gives three examples of such separation in their mythical garb: The Zulu chief was once celebrating the First Fruits, when one of his Sos, Sikaka by name, usurped the royal medicine-potsherd *(uDengezi lokuNcinda)*. For this presumption he was banished and crossed the Mfule river. The Nyuswa chief (perhaps Mapoloba) selected a beautiful bull for the *umKhosi*. But the people, from whose herd it had been chosen, considered this robbery and arranged for the bull to "go astray" at the right moment. Hence the people of the kraal were nick-named "Those of the Big Bull", and split off as *Mkunzinkulu*, (or *abakwaWudihulu* in Lala). The Khuzwayo lived at the banks of the Tugela. Once those south of the river were held back by the flooded river when they were on their way to the First Fruits. They held their hands above their eyes to protect them from the sun in looking across, and consequently hived off as *abakwaMakhanya* (the eye-shaders) (Bryant: 1929: 229, 485, 187). These rifts occur not only between lineages; the example we quoted of Müden district shows that arguments over the crops tend to break up families too.

Emulatory dancing and the contests of bravado between the regiments occasionally flared up into fighting, and ritual competition became bloody battle - as happens at a wedding between bride's and groom's party even today. Vijn in Colenso (1880: 79 n.33, 181, 186) reports the battle between the young Ngobamakhosi and the old Thulwane regiment at Cetshwayo's kraal during the peace period of a Great Royal Ceremony. 50 men were killed in the fray. As a result a quarrel arose between the king and his brother Hamu for the latter was accused of having ordered the older regiment to attack the Ngobamakhosi with assegais. Hamu in turn wanted to know why the youngsters had dared to provoke and fight the veterans and he demanded that the leader of the Ngobamakhosi, a man called Sigcwelegcwele, should be killed. As the majority of Zulu sided with Hamu, Cetshwayo bade Sigcwelegcwele flee to the Ngoye forest with the Ngobamakhosi regiment until all who fought had been fined. Sigcwelegcwele himself was fined 100 head of cattle. So, runs the statement of Mgabugabu of the Nokhenke regiment, the quarrel ended and Sigcwelegcwele returned home.

The conflict of the regiments at the First Fruits revealed a rift between the royal brothers, which as time went on became, as we know, unbridgable. It also highlighted the seeds of conflict between King Cetshwayo and the Natal Government. In a communication he pointed out to the Natal Government the necessity of his retaining the authority to kill. "Although I warned them I would severely punish any regiment that caused any disturbance at the *umKhosi*... my people will not listen unless they (i.e., the culprits) are killed. They know they can run away to Natal (scil. to escape punishment). By accepting any laws from Natal, I shall throw the large kraal which I govern into the water."

The event throws light on the incomplete submission of the Zulu to the taboo regimen at the First Fruits at a time when their customs had not yet broken down. For Miss Colenso noted with reference to the Royal Ceremony in Mpande's time, that no weapons were carried at the *umKhosi* for fear of accidents: the men had sticks only. This was more than an order, for a mystical sanction concerning this prohibition emerged after the sanguinary incident in question. "A fire took place subsequent to the fight and burned over Panda's grave. The doctors commented: Dingane's and Shaka's spirits express their surprise and disgust at such fighting before the king; that is the reason why Panda's grave was burned; and such (awful) things will continue until the Zulus learn to be peaceful!" (scil. on such occasion) (Colenso-Durnford: 1880: I, 168).

G. RELEASE RITES

A sequence of release rites restored king (who had been boosted up into an ancestor or wild animal) and commoners (who had to share his taboo regimen with him) to normal conditions. The process of de-sacralization, if we wish to call it so, consisted of washing rites *(ukuPhothula, ukuGeza)*. These removed the grimy paint and with it the magical fierceness of the king. (It was after all an externally applied condition!) The use of carefully chosen 'white' medicines *(imiThi emHlophe)* forced back the 'black' medicines. They were ejected by white emetics and combated by white sucking medicines. The squirting of white medicines further cleared the royal system. Ritual taboo breaches were performed to cancel certain interdicts. The king's intercourse with the scapegoat woman may be viewed as such a cancellation rite. It removed the gloom from the king which might become dangerous to his legal (or senior) Wis unless he passed it on to his ritual partner *(lapha inKosi yeSulela umSizi)*. The king also piled his ritual robes and the mat on which the ritual intercourse was performed on his body-attendant. These articles were burned.

There is a suggestion that the kind of woman chosen rendered the ritual intercourse an intensified taboo breach rather than a gradual relaxation. Some Zulu say, she was an extremely ugly seraglio girl, others that she was a virgin not married to the king. These instances agree in one quality: normally the king would not have intercourse with them. (There are some who say that the 'woman-in-the ashes' was a junior Wi). The view that the woman's opinion as to the virility of the king was sought is significant in connection with the motives which point to the First Fruits being a rejuvenation rite. The presumption is that at one time the king was removed when his reproductive powers grew weak. Asmus (p. 263) suggests in this connection that the black bull pummelled to death in the Ceremony is a sacrificial substitute for a king of the divine type. To present-day Zulu such an idea is difficult to grasp. (204) was questioned as follows: Members of the royal family could not be killed by stabbing; they had to be throttled so that their blood would not be spilled. He agrees. The bull in the First Fruits had to be killed in exactly the same way. Yes. Does this suggest that he is treated like the king, that in fact he represents the king? "No, this is impossible!" The king might give his life for the gift of new growth in nature? No. Is it possible that the bull is a thanksgiving to the ancestors for bountiful crops? Perhaps. Might the king not be a more adequate counter-gift? He agrees hesitatingly. The idea that the king had to suffer ritual death is not for the Zulu.

The king's release from his taboo regimen was followed by that of his subjects. Sexual intercourse having been permitted at the court, commoners resumed it after their return home. The interdict on food was raised in the family First Fruits or the private Strengthening of the knees. After the ceremony herdboys were free to play their syrinxes *(umTshingo* reed flute, *iliGekle* or *iVenge:* double piece reed flute) on the pastures. This had been prohibited to them during the taboo period. Isaacs' reference (II: 242) to whistling boys rushing behind the king as he was about to Crush the Gourd points to this taboo release element in the final stages of the ceremony: the restoration of freedom to make a (musical) noise. The imposition of a rule of silence in a ritual situation indicates that the ancestors are thought to be present. By an understandable association shift, the sound of the flutes becomes an expression of rejoicing at the permission to use the new crops.

In the individual release rites a doctor may be invited to cut up the samples of garden crops and mix them with his medicines. Each Wi contributes a share from her fields. The head of the homestead takes the first bite after he has given the bull of his herd a blow with a sweet cane stalk. As he eats the medicated fruits, he says: *"Doloqina"* (Strengthen the knees!) All the inmates of his kraal follow him in this act.

H. THE FIRST FRUITS AS REMEMBERED BY (286)

(286)'s memories were aroused by the following questions: "Can a chief get *umMnyama?"* When he has stabbed a man in war; we call it *iQungo;* the chief becomes a little insane and has to be treated by *Ncinda*'ing so as to avoid the consequences. "Were there occasions when the king was treated to get *umMnyama?"*. When he is installed he is subjected to 'black' treatment; it gives him *isiThunzi,* so that his subjects fear him *(ukuShaywa uValo, ukumEsaba).* This treatment is also meant to counter rival chiefs: it lowers, or lightens their *isiThunzi* as well as that of their subjects. "Is the chief treated with 'black' medicines prior to the First Fruits?" We don't do it to chiefs, only to the King! It's the time when we give the royal salute at the ceremonies of *ukwEshwama* or *ukuShaya uSelwa.* The king is treated with 'black', 'red', even 'green' medicines, so that when he appears you don't recognize him: he looks like 'a beast'. It was still observed by Dinizulu (sic)!

About the killing of the black bull, (286) remembered that it had to be killed without spears by the warriors. Nobody ate of it (Za). Strips of flesh were cut off (and dipped into medicines); the warriors sucked them and then threw them away (on to the next warrior). The medicines made the warriors brave, so that they could do all things. He admitted that they could not sleep with their Wis, a prohibition he called **ukuShuba,* a synonym for *ukuZila.* While undergoing the *ukuShuba* the warriors came to look 'ugly' or 'bad' *(baBi):* they were now fully prepared to face death.

(286) gives a full account of the emergence of the king from his seclusion hut. "We, the warriors and the people, in attendance at the First Fruits, stood a long way off. The warriors called out" - he intones: *"Woza inKosi!* We are installing you!", and is overwhelmed with emotion as he does so. "The king came out of his shelter, he carried a spear in his left hand and a battle-axe in his right, and was dressed 'in all his things', the *amaShoba,* the loin skin: *umuTsha wenKosi,* and the chiefs present wore the skin robes given them by the king *(imiQubula).* The king's robe contained the skin of many animals: lion, leopard, blue monkey and weasel *(iNyengelezi,* it has stripes on its back, and plays 'games of war'), python, etc." He mentioned hyena at first, then denied it, for: "Hyenas were afraid of the king!" "The king looked ugly; he came out with a fearful face with a fierce expression, he was an *isiLo,* and the warriors shouted: *Bayede!* He was fearful because he had *umMnyama* and he could cause *umMnyama;* hence nobody looked at his face -they looked away. The king had been treated all

over with medicines, and looked 'ugly' because they were 'bad' medicines used specially on this occasion only. They were 'bad' because they were used on a bad day: They killed a man without reason that day (volunteered) and the women lifted their kilts above the stomach (note the ritual provocation), for they knew it was a 'bloody day'." "The king had been treated in the shelter. Only a few selected men were with him there and no woman came near the king for 2-3 days. The magician of the king was an *iNyanga enKulu ePhethe inKosi*. Such *umMnyama*, while a 'good' thing for the king, is 'bad' for commoners. I see no reason why he should acquire *umMnyama*, since he should be loved by his people." Q: Is it because the king has to do things which a commoner cannot do: he must have criminals killed; wage war causing bloodshed, enter into an 'incestuous' marriage, eat the First Fruits? And is it for this reason that commoners behave in a most unusual manner before him? Men had to approach and sit before him like women with legs bent at an angle? (286) does not reply.

"After the king 'came forth' he threw the *uSelwa* gourd. It had been looked for at the coast, in Thongaland. It was mixed with Strengthening medicines." (286) does not remember whether it was cooked with the First Fruits. "Afterwards tribal dances took place and many beasts were killed for the feasting. The king did not take part in the dance, for he dances only when there is peace everywhere. The king did not eat in front of the assembly, but retired to the hut for a meal before which he *Neinda*'d. I cannot confirm the hearsay story, that the king wore a dress of rushes at this stage!" But the tribal doctors made a Royal Coil *(inKatha)*, a symbol of peace and harmony in the tribe, on which the king stood when 'black' medicines were poured over him. Later the 'black' medicines were removed with 'white' medicines.

IV. THE ESSENCE OF UKUZILA

A. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN H1 AND Za.

The ease with which Zulu informants outline the sociological configuration of H1 contrasts strongly with their uncertainty concerning the nature and social background of Za. Some informants start with a general denial of any difference or identify Hl and Za outright, e.g., (291): "I don't see where the difference comes in!" Others say there is little difference between them, e.g., (110) and (333): "Actually there is no great difference, because to respect customs (H1) is to abstain from what you would otherwise do (Za). A widow has no sex relations with men (Za) because her H is dead, so she avoids (H1) contacts with men and many other things." (291) however senses a difference between H1 and Za situations: "If you Za you avoid something because an obligatory rite has been omitted. H1 on the other hand is to respect a person!" And (406) pushes the distinction further: "You do not abstain (Za) unless you respect (H1). H1 is to respect old or young persons. Za is to avoid a bad thing, i.e., to respect yourself by not doing a bad thing!" When asked to illustrate this bold generalization the informant fumbles: "A young person H1's an old one by speaking with him in a respectful manner. An old person H1's a young one by speaking to him in a manner which does not annoy him, by giving him good advice. If he does not conduct himself accordingly, he loses his self-respect *(akaziPhathikahle, akaziHloniphi."* Sociological implications of Za are sometimes mentioned. (282): "Men do not Za at all; it applies to women only; it is the brides who must walk behind the huts!" When asked to classify this action, he called it an *inHlonipho!* I suggest that a proper Za custom is observed at mourning. He denies that there are other instances. I suggest conduct after a hail storm. He admits this and adds conduct in a kraal after lightning. (332) also defines Za in comparison with H1: "Za applies more to women: the young Wi, for instance does not partake of SM in her H kraal." And he continues to cite other bridal avoidances as Za. A kraal-head *(umNumzane)* rarely admits that he abstains from anything. (355): "I never abstain from SM. I eat SM when I have a wound, an emission, a bad dream. No doctor ever instructed me to abstain from SM, although doctors are known to issue other food interdicts." A young man

readily admits sexual abstentions: "I abstain from mv sweetheart, when someone has died in my kraal; my parents tell me she would bring(sic) *umMnyama.*" I protest, and he reformulates his statement: "She would call forth misfortune for the bereaved kraal." He also abstains from intercourse, when his girl is having her period and "when a doctor gives me love medicine to make another girl love me! When challenged to a fight by a boy, I excuse myself if I am not magically prepared. I go home to take medicine, abstain from my girl and am now ready to fight. If I did not act like this, I would be likely to get hurt. But I am not physically weakened by contact with a girl, rather the contrary." (355) thus subsumes abstentions from *Hlobonga* under Za.

Some informants penetrate further. (359): "Hl is a lasting relation; it ends only with death. Za is observed for a short period only." Here is some inkling of attitude expression (Hl) and crisis conduct (Za). This correct observation is then rigidly applied: "Since Br and Si, M and So, H and HM may never sleep together, the incest prohibition is a Hl!" By the criterion of duration a young Wi's avoidances of her HF's cattle pen and SM are classed as Za, whereas normally they are classed as Hl. The most satisfactory statement was made by (336): "Hl applies to persons of lower rank in their relations with those of higher rank." Here is a recognition of Hl as ordering dyadic relationships. Hl, according to (336), also refers to serving beer in a generous and refined manner (etiquette). It finally applies to a man's respect towards his Wis, and Chn (the reciprocal factor). But he cannot summarize Za customs in a similarly compact manner, and offers to give illustrations: (a) The king's announcement of Wednesday as a day of abstention, as the day on which he meditates on his F *(ukuZindla ngoYise,* also *ukuCabanga).* This is *umThetho wenKosi* (the king's law); trespassers are fined one beast which goes to the king. (b) The abstentions from sexual intercourse when a relative dies: "You ought really to abstain for a neighbour too. Such abstention is not due to the bereaved thinking about the deceased, but a sign of sorrow to those most closely concerned." (c) "I do not abstain if I have a wound" is later amended to: "Yes, I do, if the wound is a gash; then I abstain (from sex) till the scar comes off. This abstention is a regular custom and need not be imposed by doctors. In the past a white powder *(uShwawu)* was pounded, mixed with water and strewn on the wound to make it heal. If it suppurated the ancestors wanted some meat! The ancestors cause the wound to heal: they bring life back to you!" (d) (366)'s fourth example for Za is the bridal avoidance regimen. "She cannot eat her H's SM until she has given birth to a Ch!". He later admits that this is an avoidance rather than an abstention.

Thus Zulu find it difficult to define the differences between Hl and Za. In classifying Hl and Za items there is always a minority which places an item in a group to which by definition it does not belong. E.g., abstentions from sexual intercourse which occur in an avoidance situation are not infrequently viewed as interdicts (Za). One such is the parental avoidance of sex while their Ch passes through a diachronic rite (ear piercing/puberty rite). Critical avoidances in bi-polar relations acquire the characteristic of Za, e.g., not to leave a spoon upright in porridge. This rule is said by some to be accompanied by great fear *(ukwEsaba).* The avoidances between H and Wi become Za during the latter's menstrual period. The Wi's stepping over her H's legs, touching his sex organs, sleeping on the male side of the hut (without being called there) are critical avoidances and Za. ('To step over her H's legs causes a big quarrel, it darkens the H's eyes'). The rule against impregnating an unmarried girl is merely viewed as Hl (Hl of the girl's F, his homestead, the king's order). The interdict against sexual intercourse between in-laws of proximate generations (Da-in-l + F-in-l; So-in-l + M-in-l) is classed as both Hl and Za and by some as *umThetho* (law). The avoidances concerning food left-overs are so strict that they are classed as Hl/Za; eating has, as was shown, both sexual and power implications. The contact and sex restraints in relations between chief and subjects are Hl/Za for the latter. The stranger is subject to many critical avoidances viewed as both Hl and Za, viz., approaching the hut post and the apse, the eating of curds in his host's kraal. In the relation of the living to the ancestors, the avoidances concerning fields, the prohibition not to hold important events, e.g., a wedding, on 'luckless' days, are so incisive that they are classed as Za although they occur in a Hl context.

Interdict situations likewise show instances which unexpectedly are viewed by some informants as Hl. This happens when the interdict is imposed upon a person of authority, e.g., the abstentions of a kraalhead at a SAC are described as Hl of the ancestors. The same modification occurs in relation to interdicts which can be referred to a personal agent or a social group by an imaginary extension. For instance, a woman must not give birth to a Ch in a strange homestead (to Hl her H); a H refrains from marrying an additional Wi for some time out of respect for the deceased Wi. The companionship taboos (Za) in mourning may also be seen as Hl, since they are observed out of respect for relatives and neighbours. The interdicts on a menstruating woman (as regards preparing food and beer) are described as Hl'ing her H. Conduct restrictions on the diviner in training (ensuring his isolation and controlling his diet) are sometimes described as Hl. The referent may be the master diviner or the 'spirit' in the shoulder. Since lightning is personified, several of the contact interdicts imposed on the lightning doctor may be described as both Za and Hl, and so are the name avoidances concerning lightning. The kraalhead's speech and sex abstentions at a SAC are at times interpreted as directed at the ancestors and then classed as Hl. The companionship taboos of the subjects before the First Fruits are also viewed as a Hl'ing of the king, and those of hunters' and warriors' Wis as respect avoidances of their Hs.

The differentiation between Hl and Za is complicated by the fact that it is not only a matter of classification. The transition from the one to the other may represent an historical shift. The avoidance by a Wi of her H's personal name was once a continually observed status avoidance. Nowadays, some informants say, women disregard it except for the critical periods of menstruation and pregnancy. Where iterative status avoidances become rare role interdicts, their emotional significance is, of course, heightened and so is the tendency to associate magical notions with them.

B. CHARACTERISTICS OF TABOOS

1. Purpose

The Zulu are ready to admit that diachronic as well as occupational taboo regimens seem to be p u r p o s i v e. We can distinguish two purposes: protective and productive. The protective taboo regimens appear to be observed in times of physical, magical or religious dangers and occur at puberty, at a wedding, at the birth of a Ch, at the reconstruction of the family after a death. The apparent reason underlying such taboo regimens is that abstention from normal enjoyments preserves the taboo observer from such dangers. Productive taboo regimens are represented in the taboos observed in the occupations and leadership tasks. Although dangers seem to be envisaged here too, the purpose of the taboo regimens appears to be to call forth the capacities and gifts required for the fulfilment of the tasks. Such gifts are occupational skill on the one hand and ritual effectiveness on the other. The non-observance of taboos prevents the physical achievement or reduces the ritual power of the performer.

A proof that taboos are associated with such magical purposive thinking is seen in the fact that when the objective has been attained, i.e., when the danger has passed or when the task is accomplished, a ritual release from the taboo state is undertaken. (365): "A diviner abstains from sexual intercourse when she is a novice only. At the conclusion of her training a sort of second wedding is held and she resumes marital life with her H. Her abstentions from mutton and yams (*amaDumbe*) are observed through life. If she ate these forbidden foods, she could not divine properly; the spirit in her would not work. Probably our ancestors noticed that a diviner who had consumed mutton and yams had her powers weakened: she becomes an *isiThutha* (fool). The informant proceeded to tell the story of the testing of the diviners by Shaka implying that all of them but one had become useless by some transgression of their taboo regimen. (375): "If a diviner's powers are declining, he returns to his master and undergoes treatment, mainly of *umHlanzo* medicines, to get rid of the impurities within him. At this time he must not sleep with his Wis (Za)." Of the objectives in mind during a taboo regimen there may, of

course, be many. (333) is asked why the First Fruits is associated with a sex interdict: "A girl did not sleep with her lover; a H not with his Wi. This is because women are unlucky; they bring bad luck! A man who sleeps with his Wi before his departure will be killed in war, swept away by a flooded river, or lose his law case! Before a difficult law case a man might avoid his Wi as long as seven days!" On the whole this purposive quality of taboos is not much stressed by informants.

The average Zulu's difficulty in characterizing Za customs may be linked with the fact that social implications are recondite, that the structural factors involved are accepted without reflection. Thus the diviner must divine well, not only because her personal reputation is at stake but because she performs an essential function in the social body: the elimination of evil-doers, the discovery of cleavages between the living and dead of a family.

2. *Isolation*

It is certainly because of their social implications that taboo regimens show a clear tendency to isolate the taboo observer from the community. Such isolation has been described for mourners (from non-agnates and neighbours), for diviners (from their family), for the king at the First Fruits (from his Wis and the tribe as a whole), for warriors (from their families), etc. It was noted that such isolation measures are entirely absent with avoidance regimens in dyadic relations. The ritual isolation of the observer of a taboo regimen, which is always defined with reference to particular groups, is thus an index of group involvement in the situation concerned. This comes out in the following statements:

(414): "Widows must be separated from other family members since they are under suspicion of having caused their H's death. They have to remain in the deceased's kraal as his Wis until the release rite. Their relations with other men are subject to two rules: They may talk to a Br of the deceased; if they talk to an outsider, they will be chased away." In short, the widows' taboo regimen is defined by their association with the deceased's agnatic group. The same informant stated that a warrior who had killed an enemy must be separated from his family for, if he mixed with it, he would go mad and commit evil things, e.g., he might kill some of his own people. This applies also to a person who has killed someone in a city riot. He must be treated or he will kill more! His isolation secures thus the safety, ritual and actual, of himself and of the community to which he belongs. "The hunter separates from his Wi nor can he drink any beer before a hunt. He does not take food the morning he leaves for he goes to the pen to lay down his arms and ask his ancestors for luck." Here separation from Wis, their food and beer, ensures the hunter's contact with his agnates, the ancestors.

Chief Phumanyova and his councillors (414-421) agreed that the restraints of a family SAC separate the agnates from the affines, both spatially (the men are in the pen, the women in the Great Hut) and in their occupations (the men act as butchers, the women do only light domestic work; the men perform a significant ritual, the women observe silence). "The kraal-head's M's position is unique. As a 'responsible' person she goes into the pen, and makes suggestions as to how the meat is to be distributed; she keeps the bile safe and the meat is deposited in her hut. Wis and Das, being irresponsible, are kept separate from the men: the SAC brings out their tutelary status. The old M, on the other hand, is like one of the ancestors: she is as 'pure' as anything! My Wis may have done a wrong, and my Das a similar wrong (scil. indulged in sexual intercourse). Hence my Wis cannot go near where meat is. And when the meat is in the house, they may not go near the fire (H1). The fundamental reason is that Wis haven't any 'word' (authority) in the reception of ancestors; they are outsiders. At the eating stage men and women are brought together again. For although they eat in different huts, this no longer has ritual significance but only social, and mutual visits are now possible and exchange of communications." The separation regimen at a SAC performs thus a diacritic function and emphasizes the structural inferiority of Wis.

3. *Companionship*

The group reference of taboo regimens is further illustrated by the companionship taboos:

They positively define the social group involved in the taboo situation. In the diachronic rites the parents of the person in transition are involved, in a woman's confinement and menstruation her H, in the case of death the whole family. In short, in diachronic situations the superior statuses in the family of orientation and of procreation participate in the taboo regimen of correlated inferior statuses. The position is reversed with regard to occupational taboo regimens. Those of leeches, weather-makers, hunters, warriors and diviners are supported by the companionship taboos of their Wis and Chn, while the regimens of ritual leaders, i.e., family head and tribal chief, involve their dependants in ancillary taboos as far as their authority reaches. The restraints in the communion of SM, meat and First Fruits have, as we have seen, a twofold social effect, viz., that of unifying the observing group (syncretic function) and that of differentiating it at the same time (diacritic function). By achieving in this manner diversity-in-union a higher degree of social solidarity and harmony is achieved.

The isolation of the observer of a taboo regimen is thus compensated for by the companionship taboos of his close associates. A further mechanism assists in this interlocking of social positions. Taboo regimens differ with regard to the number of taboo items. Risky tasks and such whose outcome cannot be easily foreseen tend to be represented in a complex network of taboos. E.g., the weather-maker has to fulfill a collection of the most varied interdicts. In a similar manner the food taboos of a pregnant woman are more numerous than those of a menstruating woman. They increase in number and complexity if it is a first pregnancy. The deadly business of a warrior is enmeshed in so many taboos that an informant said: "There are so many Don'ts that not all can be remembered". Whereas in dyadic relationships the great number of a v o i d a n c e s serves the iterative re-affirmation of subordination, the crowding of t a b o o s seems to indicate suspense about the outcome of certain situations and the anxiety of the groups concerned. With the increase in the number of taboos the likelihood that they are violated does of course increase as well. On the other hand the greater the number of taboos the easier it will be to find a violator if misfortune results. The existence of companionship taboos tends to heighten this effect. The weather-maker, who makes a homestead firm against lightning, observes a taboo regimen together with his family and so does the owner of the kraal with his Wis and Chn. All participants in this situation are vitally concerned in preventing any taboo breach and in being not caught as violators themselves. The interlocking of the taboos of role performer and his companions reinforces the conviction of the necessity and purposiveness of the taboo order. The assertion that in taboo regimens the observer is 'confronted' by a social group is thus true in two respects: the taboo observer is iolated and the group involved participates in his taboo regimen.

C. TABOOS CONNECTED WITH THE CREATION OF LIFE

1. While taboo regimens, unlike avoidance regimens, are not characterized by reciprocity in dyadic relations, the support which the isolated taboo observer receives from a defined group observing similar taboos creates the impression that he obtains powerful assistance. This occurs in extraordinary diachronic stages and in situations where the taboo observer requires extraordinary abilities. Some Zulu informants clearly recognize that persons observing taboo regimens appear to be in need of, or to share in, superhuman powers. For this reason taboo observers are a danger to ordinary humans or can harm the profane by their extraordinary powers. Quite clearly the humans who pass through transition rites (in birth, puberty, wedding and death) participate in the process of creating life and in its mysterious temporal limitation. The occupational or priestly taboo observer participates in superhuman powers which provide him with those special abilities which he needs to maintain life in its physical or social aspects. Any violation of the isolation of the taboo observer results in the interruption of the contact between him and the mysterious powers which create life in its changing forms and which, as we shall see, maintain it creatively through human tools.

(453) states in this connection: "Woman seems to be mainly concerned in the creation of life, in the propagation of the family, at menstruation, in pregnancy, and confinement. And it is at these times that she Za's most. Man does not Za in this respect, except when a youth has his first emission. He then eats medicated millet porridge (*inQwaningi*). He cannot touch this food with his hands but must use two sticks! He eats in the pen and abstains from SM for one day. The medicine gives him 'vigour', virility. A woman has to observe more abstentions because the power to engender life is centred in the H's family, and it is the H who implants the seed that will grow in the woman's womb. Males, then, do not Za much, because they are 'the owners of life! In my opinion the woman should really be more respected, because she bears a great responsibility in creating life. If two Brs quarrel they can separate if they are married, i.e., have Wis." In other words a Wi makes possible an independent establishment for her H. She not only bears individual Chn; she also helps to found separate families and is thus a social creator. (453) continues: "Life is ordered so that it must end in death. As there is Za in birth there should also be Za in death. Hence mourning is characterized by taboos."

2. A woman's conduct as formulated in her taboos concerning her H's cattle is a measure of her responsibility towards her H's agnatic group. By contrast a man's easy attitude towards cattle should be noted. (330): "As Chn we got pebbles and arranged them in a circle: this was our pen. We made clay cattle to place inside and huts of cowdung or grass. We married off our 'Das' for cattle and if the toy cattle offered were not well made we would reject them. Being now a kraalhead I dream about looking at my cattle, admiring their colour, or about getting more cattle. I dream about my cattle for they are my *inSila* (i.e., an essential part of me)." (333): "The few cattle taboos which a man has to observe are associated with his being the caretaker of cattle. People are afraid that a woman who violates a SM taboo will cause the cattle do die. A man does not observe this special taboo, except that after a death in his kraal he Za's SM for a few days. The reason is that in mourning he cannot milk or look after cattle."

(330 and others): "A Br is orientated not to expect sexual pleasures from his Si but to expect cattle through her which will then be his own or used to obtain a Wi for him." (333): "A Br tells his Si that if she attends to her appearance and is well-behaved she might be chosen by the So of an important man and thus secure more bride-price than is normal. A girl's F tells her: If you get spoiled before marriage, and you are married by another man than your seducer, I must pay the *imVimbi* beast (an *inHlawulo* or fine, which cleanses). Girls consequently dream sometimes about large herds of cattle (no girls consulted admit this). It is quite normal for girls to boast about the bride-cattle received for them. No girl is warned against such boasting, as a pregnant woman is who boasts about her expected Ch because she is like someone boiling water who has no fowl to cook, whereas the girl boasts about something tangible."

Because Fs and Brs expect to obtain cattle through their Das/Sis, girls are held responsible for obtaining them. If they fail to obtain them, the socially inferior girls have to bear the blame. In consequence conditions are imposed upon their behaviour in the form of avoidances and taboos. (358), a woman: "The transgressions of women affect cattle; they are made responsible for their well-being. When girls approach puberty they are taught: Be careful; you must not go amongst cattle, you must not eat SM - when menstruation comes! Girls do not question these rules, since they have seen their Ms observe them and they accept them as part of woman's behaviour." The imposition does not create a feeling of dislike towards cattle but heightens a girl's liking for them. Not only does she by her good behaviour promote the welfare of her F's cattle, but her abstentions even benefit the cattle of the neighbourhood. Hence a girl who is fond of SM is watched by her age-mates and warned when the time comes. Her SM (if there is plenty) is thrown to the dogs or mixed with the dung in the pen or if there is little in the home, given to the small Chn whom it cannot harm. (320) discusses the proposition that a person is magically linked with the cow whose milk he takes: "A bride may not pass between her H's cattle because they represent his ancestors!" To the question how an animal can represent a human and how a living thing the dead, he answers: "Cattle are different from wild animals. It is natural that cattle represent ancestors, since people talk about the latter when

a beast is being killed. Only by killing a beast for a deceased (in the Bringing Home) can he be made to return to the homestead and to guard henceforth everything 'that can be eaten', i.e., all cattle. That is our law!" (377): "A menstruating woman doesn't eat SM, doesn't walk through a herd of cattle, doesn't enter the pen. If she ate SM, the calves would get diarrhoea." (The calves are considered more vulnerable to taboo breaches than grown-up cattle in accordance with their greater mortality and with the greater concern felt about their survival). To the question, whether there is any connection between cattle, SM and H, since she avoids all three, she at first answers: "No, I avoid them for separate reasons." She withdrew her objection after being told: "Cattle are the H's *inSila;* SM is the H's *inSila;* the semen too is the H's *inSila.* Thus the menstruating woman avoids her H in these three forms: cattle, milk, semen which at the same time represent his agnatic group and its vitality."

3. The sensitiveness of cattle to human behaviour does not only symbolize or accentuate the social dependence of women. There is also an ideational element in the link which makes it possible to extend it to unmarried women and even to men. (374): "A girl abstains from SM even at her F's homestead when she is in her changes, for the calves would die! In fact she avoids SM at times throughout life whether at her F's or her H's!" (363, 364 and 359) assert that a woman is responsible for the welfare of her H's cattle in particular and of the homestead in general; "she is in a sense 'the owner of the homestead' *(umNinimuzi)*, for she has to keep it up (i.e., through bearing Chn and through catering activites as well as through bringing luck to it). Girls are to some extent already responsible for their F's herd. Their ritual responsibility is shown when they take it to pasture in the rain provoking (*ukuBhina*) rite; they are also responsible for increasing the herd through the bride-cattle. Hence they abstain from SM when they menstruate."

The ideational factor explains that taboo breaches of men also affect cattle. Boys may not eat SM at their puberty rite. A man who sleeps with a menstruating woman becomes vulnerable like a calf! A hunter must abstain from SM before his departure; he mingles with the herd in the pen when he appeals to the ancestors. Smiths must not walk through a herd. Warriors were subject to the taboo on SM; when wounded, as Isaacs reports, they could not eat SM unless ritually treated, lest the cattle be harmed. Executioners are believed to have abstained from SM lest the king, or their own cattle should fall ill! (139). However, these indications are so rarely recorded that they may be considered reflections of the special relation between cattle and women or at least particular expressions of a general sensitivity of the ancestral agnates to the conduct of their descendants.

D. TABOO REGIMENS CONNECTED WITH THE MAINTENANCE OF LIFE

1. To participate in the 'creation of life', in the propagation of the family, man and in particular woman has to remain on good terms with the source of life which rests in the agnatic group of her H (or F) and which is represented in cattle and ancestors. To maintain life, specialists carry out their occupational activities to provide the wherewithal. Thus the hunter, the doctors and the tool makers respectively obtain food, make crops prosper and support economic activities by means of the goods they produce. In like manner the kraalhead at a SAC and the king at the First Fruits help to maintain life by ritually re-establishing their authority over family or tribe through the announcement of laws and the imposition and cancellation of interdicts. To enable them to do so they must be in a ritually fit condition. This proposition can be tested with regard to the sexual abstention. The purposive element in the sex taboo is expressed by (376): "I abstain from sexual intercourse when my Wi menstruates and after she has given birth to a Ch. I wait till it can walk. If I cohabited earlier, the baby's walking would be delayed. Since the Ch's ability to walk acts as a sign, there is no r/r. When my Wi is ill, I do not sleep with her. The doctor tells H and Wi of the interdict: 'Your Wi will not recover under my treat-

ment unless she does not sleep with you!'" Surprisingly (376) states this interdict is not (Za) but a way of strengthening the medicines! The taboo helps thus to promote life. The agnatic determination of the sex taboo is recorded by (338): "I abstain from sleeping with my Wis when my Br, or my Ch, dies. I do not Za when a maternal relative dies; I just call on the maternal homestead to condole. Since I do not reside with them, I do not Za with them. I do live with my agnates and I co-operate with my Brs in the management of the homestead, in working-bees, and in the payment and distribution of bride-price. I do not co-operate thus with my M's people." Here the sex taboo is an index of agnatic, residential and economic unity.

However, since the sex taboo helps to maintain the social order, it is not surprising to hear of the relativity of the taboo as expressed by Princess Magogo: "No sexual abstentions were observed at the royal homestead at the First Fruits, etc. The business of procreation must go on!" And according to (374) a F tells his Sos about the taboo regimen on ritual occasions, but if he is negligent he might himself forget, and being a virile man might sleep with his Wi in spite of the prohibition. If this is found out, nothing would be done to him, except that the family meeting might reprimand him and say that his action will bring trouble. His agnates would not consider it an *iHlazo* (disgrace) but merely an *iHlazwana* (a small disgrace)! The 'normal' result of a breach of the sex taboo, however, is the loss of personality, of authority so essential in keeping social groupings going. (338): "If I do not observe the sex interdict, I lose 'dignity', I empty myself of *isiThunzi*. I feel this when I am attending a dance or a wedding. I shall not be listened to and I am likely to be attacked, for the loss of *isiThunzi* results in my being disliked. Through the taboo breach I have lost the sympathetic unity with my ancestors *(ngoba akaHloniphi abaNtu bakubo abaFileyo)*. "The violation of the sex taboo does not weaken a man physically but mystically. The fact that something leaves the body in coitus assumes then an ominous significance. It is because 'his blood leaves him' *(iGazi liyaHamba, liyamShiya)* that a kraalhead who sleeps with his Wi when it is taboo acquires *umMnyama*, the contagious gloom of misfortune, which will also affect his family.

2. Another social aspect of the sex taboo is represented in the belief that the ancestors are considered responsible for conception. (338): "The ancestors are present when I sleep with my Wi *(akhona)*. We ascertain this because we get a Ch! A girl who is rude to her F, who does not Hl him, is unlikely to conceive. Her own ancestors will prevent it at her H's kraal. They accompany her only if she is obedient." He adds: "Another reason for a woman's barrenness is that the families are remiss, the groom's in paying bride-price, the bride's in supplying a wedding beast." However mystical the explanations concerning the sexual abstentions may sound, most of them can be subsumed under the general rule: Do not have sex intercourse in a ritual situation because the parental generation is then present! (352, 353, 356): "A man does not sleep with his Wi before a SAC. If he did he is as good as 'dirty' for the ancestors are about to be invited. He becomes 'dirty' if he sleeps with a woman and then stabs (the victim). The doing of the two things together (i.e., their incompatibility) makes the meat turn 'bad'. It is just as if a young man slept with his Wi in the presence of his F (Hl)! He feels terribly ashamed (*una'maHloni kakhulu*) because it is the F who produced him in like manner!" Chief Gatsha Buthelezi cannot move into his F's residence for that very reason. He cannot sleep with his Wi where his F once slept with his M. (405) explains: "They cannot have intercourse before me, their F, because neither my So nor my Da-in-l may touch my blanket or sleep under it, nor sleep on my mat. A So should not perform the sex act before his F nor vice versa. It would spoil the country, it would cause the people not to respect themselves. It makes them resemble cattle. It isn't right! It would not arouse passion in the onlooker, it is just a bad thing! It would make both parties feel disgraced *(iChilo, iHlazo)*. Parents exclude Chn from their hut, when they are 4-5 years old, for at that age Chn become 'clever', listen to conversations, observe the sex act. The sex act should be 'secret'; this is natural, from the very beginning it was so; you feel it in the heart that it should be so."

(352, 353, 356) are faced with the following contradiction: You gave me two rules: Ancestors are present during sex intercourse and an heir may not sleep in his F's Residence, or in

his presence (Za). (405) could not solve this apparent contradiction except to confirm that ancestors are responsible for conception. He then accepted my suggestion that people in the reproductive age *(abaNtu abasaHamba ngeziNdlela zobusha)* may perform the sex act in their own dwllings where they'll be blessed with Chn. But in the Great Hut, where the widow of the most recent ancestor resides, or in his forme Residence, it must be avoided, also when sacrificial meat is offered, i.e., when an ancestor of the proximate anterior generation (=father) is present, for he was the HF of the Wi concerned! (352, 353, 356) had found this solution by themselves and put it thus; "The Residence is the kraalhead's property and the young Wi may not go in, not to mention sleep in it, since she would have to go with her H on to her F-in-1's side (and use his mats and blankets)." The prohibition against sex relations in the paternal hut is thus a corollary of the in-law taboos. Sex relations in the presence of people other than parents and parents-in-law are not much opposed. Ritter (p. 202) notes that Shaka had sex relations with one Wi while others were present, and Reyher (p. 67) describes a similar situation for Solomon. (405) thinks that married couples normally do not perform the sex act in the presence of other people; if they did it would not be considered a very bad thing. It certainly happens that two or more couples of lovers sleep in the same hut, one pair on one side, the other on the other side. They perform only intrafemoral congress, a mere sample of the real thing and this makes the presence of other people less objectionable.

3. The Incompatibility of performing certain actions or bringing certain agents together underlines a number of taboos. This can be interpreted as an expression of the urge to maintain life in its social order. One of the reasons repeatedly given why all cooking utensils have to be removed from the apse of the Great Hut before a SAC, and especially all milking vessels, is that SM and meat are never placed side by side. The sexual division of labour is the important element in the situation: women handle milk, men meat; women could not approach the milk vessels if they were left beside the meat; likewise vegetables, served by women, and meat, served by young men, are never eaten together.

Three Ceza patients 'explain' the abstentions of the whole kraal after a death by this very principle. Through the death of one of its important members the family has been struck 'from outside'. This subjects it to strain; it must be reset to adjust it to life without the deceased. Since all are in this position and sad about their loss, the kraalhead cannot wish for pleasures. Everyone must abstain from sexual intercourse to express his sadness. If you meet pleasure in spite of it, the result for you will be death! For sadness and pleasure do not agree; they are incompatible. Whoever breaks this rule is an *umThakathi*. The basic division that is brought about is that between mourners and outsiders whose normal life must not be disturbed by the death in one group. (371) argues that the interdict on sexual intercourse in the case of a menstruating woman and in the case of a man who has received a bleeding wound must be ascribed to the fact that flowing blood subjects a person to a taboo regimen not consonant with sexual indulgence.

Incompatibility has also a time-space aspect. Things which may not be done in a hut may be done outside it; things which are taboo in a homestead may be done in the veld; things done during the day may not be done at night and vice versa. E.g., married people should have sexual intercourse only at night and in a hut; at other times and in another place it would be decidedly suspect. This rule explains how the basic in-law taboos can be circumvented. (373): "If a girl were offered her lover's SM, she would leave his kraal at once. What is sometimes done for practical reasons, however, is that she is given the tabooed food of her lover's kraal at a neighbouring homestead where she is awaiting an opportunity to move to her lover's kraal unnoticed. The food comes from the latter but is prepared at the neighbour's and the girl should not know about it." This sort of subterfuge is more usual with a young man. He cannot eat the meat of the home of his in-laws until a beast is slaughtered for him. But if he visits his girl in the veld, she may bring him meat from her kraal and he then eats it. The taboo is valid only in the presence of his senior in-laws; in a locality where their authority does not hold, it is not valid. (*Uma ngingaphandle komuZi ngiyayiDla iNyama la ngiyiNikwa yinTombi, kodwa uma ngiseKhaya kubo wenTombi ngeke ngiyiDle ngoba ukuZila kuQondene nabaDala*

abangasekho bakubo nTombi) A similar modification is made with regard to a woman who visits her married Da. Her DaH's meat is taboo to her in his kraal, but her Da may take a piece to the veld for her M to eat there!

Fundamentally then incompatibility rests on the opposition between contrasted social groupings, the sexes or affines or clans. This comes out also in the taboo on the king's body-attendant reported by (386). When he has been at home and eaten SM there, he must abstain from eating SM at court for a day and a night, for SM from different provenance may not be mixed. Likewise a stranger visiting the king avoided SM for a night H1'ing the king's milk! The same group principle underlies the idea that a trespasser can be rooted to a special spot. (461): "If any stranger walks by night across my smithy, the *amaKhubalo* medicines sprinkled there (with the ancestors' approval) will hold him tight till morning." A bride may not go to the side of the hut where her HF sleeps; the H's ancestors will catch her and hold her there till the in-laws come. The question whether a HF would likewise be caught if he trespassed on his SoWi's side is denied. 'He never goes there!' But he is naturally in no danger, since he moves still within the authority sphere of his own agnatic unit.

4. Responsibility: Another social factor associated with the maintenance of life becomes apparent when we analyse the taboo regimen of the family head. While a woman's responsibility is towards her F's agnatic group which receives cattle for her or to her H's which will pay these cattle, a family head's responsibility is directly linked with his family. The kraalhead's abstentions are seen by a number of informants as signs that he is aware of his duties towards his dependants. (359, 363 and 364): "The kraalhead abstains from sex intercourse before a SAC 'to ensure the sweetness of the meat'. Nor may he sleep with his Wi when she is brewing beer; it would turn bad. He abstains therefore because he is answerable for the proper entertainment of his family and their neighbours. "Since the kraalhead often appoints a 'stabber' and the Wis are involved in this sex abstention, this responsibility can be both delegated and shared. (359) elaborates this point: "When the kraalhead wishes to have a SAC he wants the inmates of his homestead to be at peace *(ukuThula)*. There should be no noise; co-operation and sympathy should prevail *(ukuZwana eKhaya kokuThandana)*. He himself should not get angry. This is part of the taboo regimen at a SAC. The people conform because they are aware that the family head wishes to speak to the ancestors. To ensure that he can meet them in the right condition, he sleeps in his M's hut before the SAC. By doing so he sleeps where his ancestors are (i.e., he identifies himself with them). His Brs may sleep with their Wis, for it is only the *umNumzane* who has authority to speak with the ancestors; it is he alone who is in charge! If he were to meet his Wi he would have a 'black shadow' *(isiThunzi esiMnyama)*; his people would whisper: 'Why did he spoil our food? Has he not other days in which to meet his Wi?' They would look down upon him, since it is he who is expected to provide for them and no one else. They would notice the 'bad' taste of the meat. And his Chn would show undesirable qualities. The diviner would point to the kraalhead as the cause of the *ubuPhukuphuku* (foolishness) that will come to the kraal." (360) sums up: "The kraalhead will be in disgrace!" This statement brings out that through observing a special taboo regimen the kraalhead asserts and implements his authority in his family. A special angle is given to this by the additional remark, that he does not skin the slaughtered beast, for he wants to show that he has enough people at his command to do it.

The second variety of leadership taboo regimens are those that are observed in a vicarious manner by a leader for his followers. This has been described for the king at the First Fruits, but the hunters' taboo regimen is particularly instructive. When an individual hunts alone he trusts to his skill and the sex taboo is usually not observed. Medium-sized neighbourhood groups often have only their leader observe the sex taboo. In a royal hunt none of the hunters sleeps with his Wi the night before. According to (359, 363, 364) the master of a neighbourhood hunt resembles the kraalhead at a SAC: he is responsible for everyone getting satisfaction. Because he abstains for his followers vicariously, they normally agree to share their game with him, if they should have luck and he not. In the royal hunt all are held responsible individually and mutually: all must take medicines, all observe the appropriate taboos. Any violation creates a loophole for the animals; it disorganizes the strategy of the hunters. In a way, according to

the three informants, the members of a royal hunt are in the same condition as mourners, a condition which disagrees with the enjoyment of normal pleasures of food and sex. In a hunt where the king participates, his exalted position makes him as we have seen vicariously responsible for its success. Any trespass of the hunting taboos on his part will be reflected in fatal accidents or bad luck among the hunters.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

I. THE TECHNIQUES OF ADMINISTERING RESTRAINTS

A. GENERAL LACK OF SANCTIONS

When Zulu are asked what sanctions support restraints the most frequent answer is: "It is *umThetho*" (law, customary law); less frequently, *iSiko* and rarely *umKhuba* are mentioned, both terms meaning 'custom'. *umThetho* and *iSiko* are almost synonymous: (139) called certain prohibitions *umThetho* in the morning and as consistently *iSiko* in the afternoon. A corollary of the view that restraints share the nature of customary law is that they are never broken: "It just doesn't happen." "A breach is an impossibility." "I know of no single instance when this prohibition was broken;" "I never heard of a breach;" "I never met a person who suffered the misfortune that befalls a taboo breaker;" "I cannot mention a person in my neighbourhood or family who broke a taboo and therefore suffers." Often such statements are accompanied by avowals that sanctions strike an offender inevitably. An extension of this reply is: "All Zulu obey their customs and laws;" "They are traditionalists and famed for their conformity to social norms." The challenge that, for instance, the ban on intermarriage between persons bearing the same clan/n was broken sometimes was never accepted unless precise details were given.

A few informants asserted that sanctions were not necessary at all, that the sanction of all custom and law is, as it were, immanent in the moral order. The normal Zulu is not found breaking custom or law, and the abnormal Zulu can be ignored. Many Zulu indeed feel that the search for sanctions is unnecessary and smacks of irreverence: "It is *umThetho*, I told you so (testily)." "It is our rule; I won't say a lie and pretend there is a sanction when there is none!" A missionary inadvertently sat down behind the house post. The old woman refused to speak to him. Her So remained equally taciturn. At last the visitor realized his breach of avoidance and, shifting his position, expressed a wish to be enlightened why strangers cannot sit near the house post. The man replied fiercely: "You white people must always ask for the why and the wherefore; you have not the same respect for these matters as we Zulu. We are satisfied with the facts as we find them!"

The scarcity of sanctions does not mean that the Zulu consider the rules less compulsive on that account. On the contrary, the opposite may hold. Suspicions against magical sanctions have existed as long as the Zulu have been under observation by whites. Magical punishment smacks too much of the miraculous to satisfy the rationalist and legalist Zulu. It is significant in this connection that an examination of the dreams of about ten Zulu failed to unearth any worries about the violation of restraints. Even where a breach is admitted, the quietism of Zulu personal relations shuns the open discussion of the guilt. (112): "The result of a taboo breach is *isiSila*, a condition attracting ill-fortune on the offender. A beast must be slaughtered for the ancestors to remove it. If all goes well with him afterwards the suspicion that he had violated a taboo is seen to have been well founded. But no effort is made by his kinsmen to find out what rule he had broken and when! Nor is there any belated discussion of the matter or an enforced confession. The culprit is not even informed by the kraalhead about the suspicion and why the SAC had become necessary." The general disinclination both to admit breaches and to list sanctions makes it of interest to count the restraints without sanction. Of over 2,000 prohibitions listed in the Tables only 200, or roughly 10%, are associated with explicit sanctions.

The informants who relied on 'law' as an explanation are mostly middle-aged men. On the whole, women are more inclined to admit violations and observable consequences. Young

teachers tend to stress the educational sanctions which their professional training has made them aware of. Old informants refer to magical sanctions more frequently than younger persons; they also cite cases where legal redress was taken to repair the results of a taboo breach. Each group presumably adopts its point of view because of the position its members hold in the kinship and tribal structure of the Zulu.

B. MAGICAL SANCTIONS

1. Their Nature

Of the sanctions attached to a prohibition one of the most frequent is what Marett (1914: 79) calls 'sanction by a p o s i o p e s i s ': e.g., "Do not meddle, if you do ..." (the threat is left incomplete) or more precisely: "You will suffer for it"! (the nature of the suffering is left to the imagination). Colenso (1905) mentions *umNqobthi* (a complete settler); other expressions are: "You will see!" "I will not punish, another will!" ,the reference being to a more powerful than the human agency. Samuelson (1923) lists the following phrases: *SiSulu saSendle* (You will regret it one day!); *WoPhotha inTambo ende eyiFike eZulwini* (Beware, you cannot escape!); *UngaFa* (Don't even imagine it: you will never!); *Dlana uBeke eThala* (Keep in mind what you have said: Don't forget!) - to a person who has spoken evil about you. Some of the threats are more precise: *UnoBaleka beLandela* (Nemesis will catch you!); *Kakho oBulala aGogode* (Vengeance will come! Someone will remain to take vengeance!). In some threats death is referred to: *WaFa* (Look out!);*Phinde uwaDle amaBele* (You will surely die! You have no chance to escape!); *LiBhek' uliGcine* (You will surely die! - a deadly threat); *iKhanjana lakhe lingaKhela iziNgoso ngeLanga* (He will very soon meet with his death); *uluNama wena, uLukhuni ngabe sewePhukile* (You should by right have died by now on account of your deeds); also *iKhanda lakhe lingaKhela iziNgoso linga kashoni* (His head will be a dormouse's nest before the sun sets! - a deadly threat). Some threats imply magical actions on the part of the person uttering them; *Thambo leNyoka, Hlab' engimZondayo!* (Bone of snake, stab him I hate!) and *LiBuk' uliGcine!* (Look at him, s c i l. the sun, for the last time, i.e., I will kill you!). Samuelson omits to refer to the speakers who use these threats and in what situations they do so.

The analysis of the magical sanctions enumerated in the Tables can be much more detailed. In the C h n ' s a v o i d a n c e conduct towards their parents a common threat is that a transgression of the rules is followed by a cutting short of life, be it by accident, war or a voracious monster. Other threats foretell a failure to realize ambitions: bodily growth will stop, boys will change into (culturally and legally) inferior girls; normal Chn will turn into cripples. Or the Ch's adult career will be disastrous: his marriage, his time in the regiment, his offspring will be blighted! A third group of sanctions revolves round the perpetrator's family: The violation of avoidances by a Ch are a threat to his M's life; the rank and wealth of the F are adversely affected; the ancestors will be disturbed. The above list does not bear out the assumption that the nature of taboos involves direct or immediate sanctions. The consequences are rather delayed so much that the parents' trespass will only be punished on their Chn. The telescoping of the consequences into the distant future cannot be due to educational consideration which insists on immediate punishment. Its r a i s o n d ' ê t r e must lie in their association with youthful ambitions which are decidedly anticipatory. The sanctions also show a pronounced spread to persons to whom the Ch has obligations and with whom he stands in close emotional contact: the parents, and the M foremost, are affected by irregularities. Being referred to various reference points in society and time the sanctions become effective.

This finding is confirmed when we examine the magical sanctions regulating H1 behaviour between H and Wi. It is possible to classify them as follows: (a) Avoidance violations result in the curtailment of life by magically produced misfortune, including diseases of body and mind,

or by legal processes, e.g., execution. (b) They lead to a shattering of ambitions, such as loss of the power of procreation or early death of offspring, forfeiture of privileged positions in the political set-up and failure to achieve fame in council or on the battlefield. (c) Harmful effects in the family circle are likewise threatened: the anger of the ancestors is aroused; in-laws and co-Wis will be affronted; frequently it is the Chn who will be magically affected by their parents' lapses. (d) A fourth group of sanctions predominates in this relationship: the adverse comments of society at large, public accusations, loss of reputation, disgrace and contempt. This last group strikingly illustrates how sanctions reflect the social position of the potential offender. Unless the absence of social comment on the actions of Chn is due to a fallacy of non-observation, it seems to indicate that public opinion is not effective in their case but is a reliable motive with married people. With the African Ch as with the European its faults are blamed by society on its parents. Public opinion affects man in his family of procreation rather than in his family of orientation. This last group seems to indicate that magical sanctions by themselves are inadequate to achieve the conformity of adult men and women and that they have to be supplemented by social and other pressures. Of this below.

In the magical sanctions (or conditional curses) attached to diachronic and occupational taboos we find (a) the threat that the offender will lose his life is more or less absent; (b) the sanction, referring to lack of success, is represented, especially in the taboos of diviner, weather-maker, hunter, and chief. But contrary to expectation it is not very elaborate. (c) The third group, the detrimental effect of taboo breaches on society is greatly enlarged. We are here dealing with a control mechanism of undoubted effectiveness. The violator of a taboo will not suffer himself but widening ranges of his social environment will. A person who touches the shoulders of a diviner will not suffer but the diviner will be hurt; persons who eat first fruits before the king weaken him magically. The taboo breaches of a diviner will produce misfortunes for his family; his tribe will be struck with national calamities; if a woman violates the taboos of her r i t e s d e p a s s a g e, including menstruation, her acts will affect her H's ancestors through the cattle which represent them: they will grow lean and die. (d) A vital element in the sanctions associated with taboos proper are the companionship observances, whose function it is to spread responsibility to the relatives of the agent and even to a wider social circle. This mechanism strengthens the social pressure, since the violation of a taboo by the 'companion' of an agent has similar magical effects to those of a violation by the agent himself. What is often described as the contagion of taboo is in fact the participation of defined groups in taboo observance.

Several points can be made concerning the sanctions in diachronic and occupational taboos. (a) The sanctions supporting the avoidances demonstrate the fundamental assumptions of what Zulu consider a worthwhile l i f e. It is a realistic appraisal of life's chances: Life itself is a basic value. But life in the abstract is meaningless. To enjoy it certain ambitions must be realized: adulthood, marriage, parenthood, on the one hand, health, wealth (in cattle, Wis and Chn) and renown in council and in war, on the other. These are virile values! The role taboo sanctions decidedly lead beyond these individualistic goals: they centre round the solidarity and welfare of kinship, tribe and the mystic groupings of the ancestors. The sanctions are thus telic in orientation and present final causes rather than immediate, automatic punitive reactions. They purport the maintenance of the social order through the realization of individual ideals. (b) The survey of magical sanctions reveals clearly that they are at least unconsciously admitted to be of no avail. They must be supplemented by public comment (in the shape of scoldings and praises by neighbours), by corporal punishment (the Wi is beaten by her H), and legal enforcements (compensation or 'fines'). Such supplementary support of magical sanctions acknowledged by many authors. Marett (1914: 80): "The social consequences are not secondary in nature, but form part of the intrinsic nature of taboo, since religion is a product of corporate life", and Hartland (1924: 141-4) "Ritual prohibitions are sometimes enforced by the public"; and Durkheim (1939: 301) "Religious interdicts are accompanied by real (i.e., human) punishment." 'Primitive' man himself realizes that the magical sanction is insufficient. A Zulu woman told me: "I haven't died because of such an avoidance", and a Tallensi elder asked: "Who is made to do a thing because of the fear of death?" (Meyer Fortes: 1945: 256). Consequent-

ly the Tallensi, like the Zulu, bring the social pressures of their lineages into play.

(c) The white man's assumption that in the conduct sphere sanctions follow breaches of prohibitions like cause and effect is not the Zulu way. The Zulu mental orientation does not proceed forward from causal nexus to painful consequences. It mainly travels backward. A misfortune has occurred to N.N. or to a family. Only now the question is asked: Who committed the ritual fault which made the individual, the family concerned, 'accident-prone'? The formulation: 'Don't . . . lest.! is comparatively little used but rather: 'Bad luck has struck you . . . Who can be blamed?' 'You may have broken a rule. How can the condition causing bad luck for you be removed?' Bad luck, it is realized, may be due to many factors, e.g., a congenital quality, the influence of witchcraft. Individual guilt due to a person committing a breach or omitting a ritual act is not invariably present.

An instructive historical example is contained in the Ngwane saga. Ngazana, the So of a chief, murdered a white man. Unfortunately, from the Zulu point of view, he did it soon after his F's death, when, so argues the Ngwane historian retrospectively, it was sure to come out. Thus Magonono, when confronted with the murderer after his apprehension, cried: "O son of my chief! What did I say to you, that you must not play in the road so soon after the death of your father and kill the white man, especially as you were still in mourning!" In like manner the Ngwane saga assimilates the white magistrate's remark to the tenor of the restrained behaviour observed after death; for he asks: "But why did you do this evil trick so soon after the death of your father?" suggesting that it might have remained undiscovered if it had been committed at a more propitious moment (van Warmelo: 1938: 180, 196, 194). The informant Mabanga, who before the story thought that mourning would make no difference to the risk of discovery, commented at the end of it: "Ngazana was not free of *umMnyama*, that's why he was discovered."

(d) In the Zulu family it is the M's (and elder siblings') task to teach Chn the extent and complexity of avoidance and taboo regimens. It is also their responsibility to correct any breaches and to do so with a minimum of physical force. Ms are therefore on the look-out for violations, and their testimony that trespasses do occur is more realistic than that of the men. Their tendency is to say: "The many misfortunes, the wide-spread diseases of the present are indications that violations are legion!" They will also give detailed examples. The women's sensitivity is heightened by the competition among co-Wis for the H's favours: the most effective means to obtain and maintain favours is to have many Chn and to bring them up in the Zulu ethos. This situation explains why Ms (and elder siblings) frequently invent magical sanctions to strengthen their injunctions. (364 and others): Ms frequently use magical threats. They refer to huge birds and the *isiThwalambizane* monster carrying a basket on its head, in which disobedient Chn are carried to a distant land to die. Other magical punishers of Chn are the *amaGenyane* and *amaZimuzimu* (hyenas and cannibals) who catch Chn playing or loitering outside hut or home in the evening. (The men laugh at the mention of these bogeys.) Men who deal with occasional avoidance and taboo violations in lineage assembly or in court are more inclined to view the system of prohibitions from the jural point of view.

2. *The Emergence of Magical Sanctions*

a. *The Guarding of the Kraalhead's (Father's) Symbols*

The severest and most plentiful magical sanctions are found in association with the F's sphere of activities. A F has the male side of his residence reserved to himself (and shares it only with his agnates and political superiors). When F is eating the whole hut is out of bounds for Chn, and also when he sleeps there (with his Wi). None of a F's belongings should be touched by a Ch; sleeping mat and head-rest are particularly charged with the F's essence and so are his eating utensils, especially the SM spoon. In these objects the F's authority seems to be concentrated. None of these avoidances are absolute not even that against touching the SM calabash and the SM spoon. A F may call a Ch over to his half, he may order a Ch to fetch him any article. Infants may crawl about in his half without let or hindrance. Touching the

symbols of authority (calabash/spoon) is in fact considered heinous only if the heir is the culprit. A F has also areas outside the hut reserved to him: his own granary, the place where he urinates and defecates, and after his death the stone-covered grave.

Some of these avoidances are conditionally imposed. If a Ch enters the paternal hut half, he must do so on his knees; if he eats the remainder of his F's SM he must ladle it out in a circumspect manner; a Ch may not handle his F's belongings without his explicit order. In the more important avoidances reference is quite distinctly to the F's virility. Concerning the sleeping mat, (139)'s evidence suggests that it reminds of parental sexual congress; a So's use of it would suggest his wish to share the F's marital privileges, to exercise his authority over Wis. The calabash is as we said a symbol of the U's life. It is broken when he dies; the cow reserved to him is milked first; all milk passes through the pail representing the unifying nature of his authority over the kraal; his calabash cannot be handled by anyone except his M, or the Wi he has appointed to look after his food. The U's spoon is kept in a special container on the hut pillar; it may not be handled by any person except the caretaker Wi; it is the symbol of his authority over the milk-supplying herd; with it he eats SM, the daily food obtained from the ancestors. The heir cannot eat SM with his F's spoon, he may not sleep on his F's head-rest and mat. "He should rather sell them than use them" (343). Hut, head-rest, mat and spoon are signs of the F's power *(isiBonakaliso sobuYise*), of his authority, his *amAndla*. If his heir touched them he is suspected to do so with evil intentions and must be killed. When I told (343) that these signs not only indicated a F's authority but also his virility and manhood and the F's exclusive rights over his Wis, he accepted this and suggested that it was for that reason that the heir had to abstain from them (Za). Because the two meanings coalesce in the same sign, or in other words two life interests are combined in them, they are extremely important in the Zulu family order and conditional curses (or mystical sanctions) are attached to them *81*.

b. Magical Sanctions securing the Wi's functions

One of the most characteristic objectives of taboos with magical sanctions is the securing for the H of exclusive sexual rights over his Wi. Already the lover secures his girl to himself with certain charms. An interloper is trapped by them, for the *ukuCupha* method acts like a snare. A married woman is made secure by various treatments which make her transmit awful diseases to the adulterer unbeknown to herself: *iZembe* results in bleeding from a number of organs and culminates in insanity; *uJovela* consists of internal haemorrhage and gradual wasting away. *umSizi, uGola* and *umMnyama* are similar conditions. Black powders, often named like the disease they are to convey, may even be swallowed by or painted on the skin of the H who suspects his Wi. (112): "They fix her against interference from other men." The disease conveyed through 'misconduct' with a widow is *inSila*. Adultery thus establishes a harmful relation between adulterer and cuckold to the disadvantage of the former.

The *uFuzo* taboos with their magical sanctions aid in securing motherhood for a woman. The underlying assumption is that certain, mostly physical, qualities as exemplified in various animals, can be kept away from an expected Ch, if its M abstains from eating the animals concerned, and by anticipation also if a girl abstains before her marriage. The sanctions are made plausible by false analogies, e.g., "Do not eat a certain bird; your Ch will have scraggy legs like it." These cannot always be reduced to the formula: Like begets like. The logical obverse also occurs: If you wish to have a Ch you must avoid eggs (the symbol of reproduction). Such superficial categorization of events provides sufficient plausible first causes for the woman's circumspect behaviour during pregnancy. It will not surprise us to hear that the animals which must be avoided by a woman may be eaten by hunters, herdboys, and men in general, for the sexes are not only differentiated by contrasted behaviour patterns but inversion of behaviour has, as we have seen repeatedly, ritual effectiveness. Taboos and their inversion are thus not logical absurdities but reflections of status differences.

The third main function of a woman is her function in segmenting her H's stock. In the normal course of events the presiding Wi of a House becomes UM in an independent kraal when she moves out of her deceased H's kraal with her eSo. When a woman has reached this stage,

she has of course become released from almost all those restraints which characterized her early married years. Being restraint free she is no longer a stranger in her H's family. As nucleus of a family segment her social position is naturally important. This is recognized in her relationship with cattle since this reveals whether the exchange was worthwhile. Because a woman is exchanged for cattle, the cattle-receiving unit (her F's family and herd) is sensitive to her Za behaviour (in diachronic stages) since on it the quality and the number of cattle paid depend. Similarly the cattle-deprived family (her H's) becomes sensitive to her Hl behaviour as bride, since it may justify or invalidate the bargain.

c. Royalty Symbols

Magical sanctions are specially striking concerning the power symbols of Zulu kings. The king used to have a special link with the elephant. He is called 'The Great Elephant', and the epithet 'Elephant' occurs in the praises of many chiefs. The queen is known as 'The Female Elephant' and Nandi, Shaka's M, was called 'The Great-Female-Elephant-with-the-small-Breasts.' Elephants are said to embody the spirit of a chief. The king's position in the tribe is compared to that of the elephant as the most powerful among animals. The medicines with which the king was treated contained elephant substances. Consequently commoners and in particular warriors were expected to avoid elephant flesh to Hl the king (119, 127). The Zulu king's monopoly of ivory was an outcome of such symbolic identification. (European hunters had to obtain the king's permission to shoot elephants). A complicating factor should not be overlooked. A young woman too is prohibited from eating elephant, according to some because her Ch would become an elephant, according to others because the animal's dugs resemble a woman's breasts. This taboo is obviously an example of the transfer of taboos from one dyadic relation to another. Consequently we are not astonished to hear that the spirit of a deceased kraalhead may be embodied in an elephant. The elephant represents thus the authority figure in general, viz., Chief, Father and Husband's Father *82*.

Lion and Leopard too are counted as royal animals. Their carcases had to be carried to court by hunters; their skin was made into royal cloaks, ears and tails into royal head-dress. Certain internal organs were used 'to strengthen' the chief, the bile was smeared on him only; he anointed himself with their fat on ritual occasions; the hearts were used for war medicine. Warriors of the Mandlakazi 'strengthened' themselves by eating lion meat (125). The king is identified with the lion in praises. Lions, especially those which do no harm, (according to present day informants) embody the spirit of a king. The assumption by a commoner of a leopard's skin was punished with death. Yet commoners were not so loyal that they allowed a leopard to attack their herds. Sondhlovu, Sithole's So, killed a raiding leopard on the plea that 'even a leopard may not prey on the king's cattle', making use of the legal fiction that all cattle were the king's *83*.

The association between chief and Snake is likewise expressed in restraints. The king is described in praises as a deadly mamba, also as a python and leguan. The National Hoop of Power is wrapped over with a python skin to make use of its all-encompassing strength. The main pillar in Chief Manyala Biyela's Residence has a python skin nailed to it. Chiefs claim to be snakes themselves. When Shaka was once told that one of his warriors had been bitten by a mamba, he shouted: "Bitten by a mamba? Not he, I am the only mamba who is to bite!" Royal ancestors return in the shape of poisonous snakes. At the unveiling of Shaka's memorial at Stanger the presiding chief announced that nobody should interfere with Shaka's snake (Hl). Senzangakhona's praises state that commoners fear to be bitten by a mamba which is envious that the king spends his cattle on them rather than on SACs to the ancestors. The snake however is not exclusively a royal symbol. A commoner respects certain snakes because they represent his own ancestors *84*. When a 'spirit' snake enters the kraal, it is considered a sign of luck, and it is not harmed but treated to milk. The Zulu are upset when such a snake is killed by Europeans. A warrior would appeal to his ancestral snake 'to stand up' for him and favour him in his exploits. Sick persons are cured by looking at a 'spirit snake'; offerings are made to it. It must not be killed for fear of a sudden death to the killer. If a person is bitten by a snake covering phrases are used as long as the limb is swollen, e.g., 'I have been

pierced by a thorn' or 'noosed by the grass!' Women respectfully avoid a spirit snake and go round a hut in which a spirit snake resides, as if it were the HF's hut.

In contrast to this avoidance behaviour the king possessed the authority to kill even an ancestral snake! On two occasions when two snakes of the *umHlwazi* kind were seen fighting, Mpande ordered the snake imagined to be Shaka to be succoured and its fraternal adversary (in one case Dingane, in the other Sigwebane) to be killed, burnt and the ashes to be thrown into the river. The man, however, who obeyed this order was later suspected of having been disloyal and executed. The enormity of killing 'royalty' remained even though the act had been performed in obedience to a royal command *85*.

The understandable ascription of certain animals to the king, the kraalhead and ancestors, the bearers of authority, is complicated by the fact that the same connections are claimed by the magicians (the socially accepted diviners, herbalists, and weather-makers) as well as by wizards. This extends from mere signs to privileged 'possessions'. E.g., only king and councillors wear otter skin as headband and belt (122), and commoners were killed if they did; yet weather-makers wear it to ward off lightning, and wind a snake skin round their Hoop of Power (368), or wear a python skin like a train. In their outfits bone-diviners use the bones of royal animals, such as elephant, leopard, hyena, snakes, cranes, in addition to 'all the buck that are eaten', also the gall-stones of a crocodile *(iTshe leNgwenya)*. The medicines used in the purification rite of a murderer must contain parts of the chief royal animals. Leopards, civet cats, cats and baboons are said to be kept by wizards as their familiars and fed on SM and beer dregs.

Especially instructive is the relation of magician to snake. Leslie's warrior, whose ancestral snake gave him power to act against the king, is no individual phenomenon. Snake skin was used as headband and sign on the chest of the *iNyanga*; the wizard could send a snake to kill his enemy, and sent it off with this order: 'Bone of the snake, stab him I hate!' *(Thambo leNyoka, hlab'engimZondayo)* *86*.

The taboos concerning eland are an instructive example of this three-fold aspect. The eland was a royal animal. Junior branches of the royal family were prohibited from partaking of its meat. When such a junior branch split off it signalized its intention by breaking the taboo on eating eland (125 denied both statements). The association of eland and certain chiefly families was supplemented by the interdict on women concerning eland. Women were not to touch, or even see, eland or eat its flesh (Za), lest they give birth to a 'monster'. The *umKhondo* disease (sunk fontanelle) is caused by a Ch's M crossing the track of an ill-omened animal, e.g., an eland. Protection is found by tying a twig of the *umKhondo* shrub round the ankle. The word for eland (*imPofu*) is avoided by women. Wizards violate all eland taboos. They steal the parts of the eland which 'good hunters' throw away, e.g., the *isiKhwehlela* part, in order to cause asthma and death to their enemies with it. They smear eland fat on a Ch and cause hydrocephalus or the sinking of the fontanelle *87*.

T o s u m u p: The hypothesis, on which traditional explanations are placed, that certain animals are associated with the king, because he is in need of their qualities, is not exhaustive since other authorities than the king share in these animals, and not only commoners, but other inferior statuses (e.g., women, junior royal branches) likewise avoid them. An alternative hypothesis is: the royal animals serve as symbols of authority, and they support first of all the chief's status. Potential rivals are excluded from sharing in the association with those animals. To approach them, to use them is interdicted and interpreted as a presumption against the king, as an illegitimate wish to usurp the qualities of the royal animals. Where interdicts respecting these animals occur in the realm of kinship relations, they support the authority of the H and kraalhead and underpin the agnatic principle on which Zulu kinship structure is based. Doctors use parts of royal animals with the tacit or explicit consent of the chief or king. They can do this only on the assumption that the exercise of their craft supports the legitimate tribal structure. Undoubtedly the use of royal animals in healing, divining,

protecting against lightning enhances their magical and symbolical value and thereby increases the chief's prestige. The illegitimate employment of these objects by wizards places the evil-doer beyond the pale: he not only commits a serious breach of status taboo; he also undermines the cohesion of the tribe, because the use of royal symbols to the detriment of subjects of the tribe must seriously impair the chief's authority.

3. Symbolical Gestures or Actions

The findings with regard to royal attributes, or symbols, may be applied to symbolical actions prohibited in many-Hl or Za situations.

a. Pointing at a person is interdicted in many dyadic relationships (Hl). The structural implications are obvious. When chief or king wanted a person to be executed he merely pointed at him. In certain situations, however, e.g., at an army review the king pointed at warriors or white visitors whom he wished to honour. Pointing is thus a privileged action and for a commoner 'to point' is tantamount to presuming on a royal prerogative. But a H may point at his Wi with impunity. In fact when a woman consents to become a man's Wi, he points at her with his index finger, and if he omits this ritual appropriation he has to pay the seventh beast of the bride-price over again. A woman cannot point at her H but bows her head in his presence. Pointing also plays a role in the relations between the generations. A F may point at his Chn and so may a M, but for a Ch to point at his parents is an avoidance breach. Young persons may not point with their sticks at their seniors; an offender is beaten if young and 'fined' if older. When dancing in age-groups the spatial arrangements are always such that the juniors dance at the side of or behind their seniors, for Zulu dances abound with pointing movements. Also the ancestors are conceived as exercising their authority over their living descendants by pointing and stabbing at them causing them pains in the chest as a reminder of their claims on them.

The prohibition against pointing also refers to objects closely associated with the ancestors. The pointing at other people's fields is prohibited (Hl), especially if these have been treated with medicines. The crops indeed represent the ancestors as is revealed in the custom of burying seeds with a deceased kraalhead. Gathering clouds, falling hail, the sky in general must not be pointed at especially in families closely associated with weather magic. Pointing at certain hills is interdicted, since chiefs are buried there (e.g., Matiwane near umGungundlovu). An inmate of Nobamba kraal pointed out royal graves to me with closed fist. The sanctions do not 'explain' the prohibitions; they merely enforce them. Crops which are pointed at do not ripen; the arm of the pointer becomes diseased. Pointing at certain hills results in violent storms. Shepstone reports an historical instance. Frazer argues that pointing is believed to injure a hidden spirit.

There is indeed a ritual use of pointing. The lineage head has authority to point at the ripening crop to ensure a rich harvest. Chiefs stab or point at the sun during the First Fruits and thus bring about a plentiful season. (125) denies that this rite is performed by the Zulu king. Weather-makers point at clouds and thus drive them away. A legitimate pointing at the sky occurs when taking an oath by it. Pointing and stabbing rites abound also in marriage. A young Zulu hurls his spear into the ground outside the hut where his sweetheart is secluded during her first menstruation 'to make her fertile'. The bride hurls a spear into the cattle pen of her H-to-be (a case of inversion). A young F stabs his stick through the thatch of his Wi's confinement hut. He thus acknowledges the Ch, ritually opens the hut to outside visitors and releases himself from the taboo on eating food cooked by his Wi. (These rites, culled from literature, and presented in Film, were unknown to 125 and 131).

Pointing is illegitimately performed by evil-doers. Any person 'pointing his finger' at another was thought to be a wizard who by dipping his finger into 'poison' beforehand tried to contrive his victim's death (Cf. DV: *inJumbane*). To counteract the 'poisonous' pointing the victim closes his hand and points back with the knuckle of his index finger, i.e., he uses an 'inverted act'. An evil-doer directs lightning and hail at his victim by illicitly pointing at a gathering storm. Zulu Christians are deeply offended on being pointed at by a missonary in a sermon; Zulu preachers avoid the gesture. Here the old taboo may well be strengthened by

a dislike to being singled out as a 'sinner' in an anonymous congregation. (127) in commenting said: "Christians should not really feel offended, since the missionary is something like 'a king' to them!"

T o s u m u p: The triangle of referents: king-commoners, kraalhead-wives, evil-doer-victims can thus be traced also as regards the pointing prohibition. The general significance of it is that the superior status exercises its superiority through the action prohibited to his inferiors. The ideological explanations remain on the surface and do not probe the sociological background. Evil-doers do not respect the prohibition, as they do not support the social order which it helps to maintain *88*.

b. The situations in which the taboo against standing is enforced reveal its character as a medium of differentiating superior and inferior statuses. Chn should not stand when their parents are sitting. Women should not stand in the presence of their Hs. Dingane's Wis moved about on their knees, when the king entered the hut. If a man is seated, his Wis should not go near him, but 'beyond him', i.e., away from him (118). Young Wis are expected to kneel in the Residence of their F-in-l. A commoner must not stand before his chief; he must approach him crouching or sit down. The suppliant should not stand when being given snuff by his supplier. A stranger (inferior status) should not stand before his host (superior). An examination of the consequences attending the violation of the prohibition yields conflicting evidence as to its 'function' or origin. In the majority of cases no sanction is known at all. In some cases a sudden cessation of life is threatened. If it is a pregnant woman who is the offender, her Ch will stand in her womb and appear breach foremost. The conditional curse is here conceived on the basis of an analogy. If we apply the status hypothesis, the taboo becomes intelligible. It is the king's privilege to stand in front of commoners. Prisoners of the servant class sat before King Dingane who heard their case standing. Minor chiefs had to be seated before the supreme chief. When Moshesh had been rescued by Matiwane, he expressed his gratitude through presents and a personal visit to the Ngwane Chief. The latter's councillors took exception to the Sotho leader: "Why does he always stand over you for a long time - whilst you are seated - before he sits down?" Today (118) sees in it less the magical gaining of ascendancy over another person but the etiquette aspect: the visiting chief should show his respect by avoiding standing before his host. Important is the rule (Hl/Za) that nobody may eat or drink standing, when the ancestors are felt to be near. When a beast is slaughtered for the ancestors those present, with the exception of U and stabber, are told to sit down, according to (330) in order to Hl the ancestors. (But according to others the stabber crouches down to make the animal fall by way of sympathy).

Zulu theory centres round the *ukuQonela* concept. Callaway (1868:159) notes that the sensitive part of a diviner is his shoulders. There the spirits are felt. If a man stands behind him, the doctor makes him go away directly, saying: "Get away, you are hurting me. It is as if you sat upon me." Furthermore the belief concerning a man's 'soul' is involved. According to Callaway (i b i d.:91, 126) a man has two shadows, a long one which contracts as death approaches and a little shadow which is buried with the corpse and escapes into the veld and is ultimately 'brought home' (in the case of a kraalhead). A person who allows his shadow to fall over that of another, thus blotting it out, causes the extinction of his life-essence, and without it a man is dead. Thus in wartime a Zulu Wi puts her H's sleeping mat in front of her hut. If it threw a long shadow, he was alive; if a short one, he was presumed to be dead *89*. These beliefs do, of course, reflect closely the social structure of the tribe, for powerful chiefs are thought to throw a long shadow, and the royal clan is said to overshadow all other clans. Their shadow resembles the shadows cast by the departing sun on mountain slopes, i.e., it is endless. To this claim refers the ancient name of the Zulu royal lineage of *Mageba* , from *ukuGeba* 'to incline on the sides of a hill like the shadows of evening.' In fact, the word 'shadow' is an epithet of the king, a praise-name like Thou-Black-One, etc., and in the Zulu praises the kings are called: 'The long shadow of the setting sun' (s c i l., which surpasses all others). The long royal shadow is a metaphor for the king's ascendancy. In other words, the supreme political authority has 'the longest shadow', very much as we might say 'the Law has the

longest arm'. The link between the *ukuQonela* concept and ascendancy rites was noted in the past in connection with the First Fruits and the Royal Hoop. A.Smith reports: "To wash upon an elephant (s c i l., with medicines and scrapings from its skin) is a great crime as it makes the washer able to stand against his chief, it is death by their law. Also to wash the skins which are the tribute paid to the king with roots is death. The chief lately put to death (by Mr. Fynn) was stated by Dingane to have done so!" This identification of king and shadow is extended to the ancestors who are also known as 'shadows.' Thence comes the belief that a 'spirit snake' is not afraid of the shadow of man. In fact a spirit snake cannot be destroyed by killing it; it always revives. Because it has this very strong *isiThunzi* it is called *iHlonishiwe* (a thing honoured and avoided) (118). The shadow cast by the body does not become the spirit. The latter becomes of significance "only for your children when you are dead" (Callaway 1868: 126) *89*.

c. The taboo against j u m p i n g o v e r a p e r s o n o r s t e p p i n g over his legs yields similar results. A So should not jump over his F; a woman must not cross her H's legs or step over his sticks; it is unheard of that a commoner ever stepped over the king's legs. While the action is prohibited to the inferior status it is the privilege of the correlated superior status, in fact it asserts its authority through it. A Zulu chief who had overcome another in battle jumped over him before he killed him. The king leaps over a lion killed in his territory. The witchfinder, acting in the tribal interest, ends his smelling-out dance by touching the suspected 'evil-doer' with his gnu tail and immediately jumps over his head.

The beliefs embodied in the sanctions are of questionable explanatory value. If the king should jump over his rival to acquire his attributes, there is the logical difficulty that he has already proved himself more powerful than his victim. The same holds with regard to the leap over the dead lion. Rather the jumping is a ritual expression of the power attained over a foe. The transfer of qualities of the victims is a mere corollary. Because the right of leaping over foes resides in the ruler, it is for that very reason prohibited to the commoner. Because it characterizes the king in a unique manner a rebellious heir will try to perform it on his F, so as to symbolize his claim to ascendancy over him. Shaka jumped over the doting Senzangakhona. He also climbed on the roof of his F's hut, thus signalizing his complete control over him. A rising king like Shaka may do with impunity what is strictly prohibited to 'normal' heirs (Hl). The weather-maker has the right to climb on the roofs of a kraal he makes fast against lightning, and a kraalhead may climb the roofs of the huts in his homestead. He may, however, delegate the task of planting 'lightning pegs' to old women and immature Chn. This ritually and structurally significant roof-climbing stands in contrast to the division of labour in profane work: it is the women's task to thatch the framework of a hut, and only brides and menstruating women are excluded. "Once Shaka was told that a dog had been made to climb the house in which he slept. He sent for the kraal head to ask him who had made it run and later condemned one of the latter's dependants to death for it" (Smith, A.: 77).

(330)'s evidence is quoted because it denies by implication the theory we have expounded, but to do so he has to deny the possibility of breaking the stepping-over taboo altogether: "A man doesn't step over his Chn's legs, nor over his Wi's legs. The chief doesn't step over his subjects' legs. Since the king stays in a reserved area, nobody can approach him so near as to be able to step over his legs. And since nobody is allowed to sit with outstretched legs, 'stepping over' is an impossibility." And then he adds: "Girls are not allowed to step over a chain. It applies to boys too." At first he does not know the reason, then suddenly: "They'll get into difficulty during childbirth." Nor may the kraalhead step over a chain, since "he gives birth through his Wis", i.e., they would have difficult labour next time. Princess Magogo Zulu, who calls this interdict Za, says she never felt obliged to observe it. It applies to young women (and men) who are reproductive; people beyond the menopause are exempt. It is an avoidance in respect of an object which belongs to the cattle complex and by which the inferiority of the affined Wis and Das-to-be-married-away is defined. Yet there is an obvious tendency to generalize the taboo, perhaps because the object is of iron, an erstwhile 'new' metal. The Princess also knows sanctions which mark it definitely as a taboo imposed on women: The Ch will be 'chained' to the M's womb at birth for the links resemble the uterus in shape. *90*. Smith A. (p. 83) reports a variant and its link with holding back behaviour. When

a girl observes the regimen at her menarche, her age-mates attempt to trap a young man in her isolation hut. If they succeed the girl throws herself across the doorway. As the Zulu may not step over any person, even the legs, he cannot leave until he has paid a forfeit. The stepping over taboo is thus not restricted to females.

To sum up: Avoidances of and abstentions from royal symbols and certain gestures show as common feature the scarcity of ideational sanctions; those associations which are given by the Zulu are contradictory, often irrational and cannot be combined for that reason into an overall explanation. We are thus forced back to the view that the respect avoidances concerning the symbols and gestures are status-linked and form mechanisms in differentiating statuses from one another. Possibly an intimate relationship exists between the structural basis of these avoidances and the occasional ideological comment. The ideational element may have been primary and its explanatory value served to support the claim of certain statuses to certain acts as their prerogative. Or the structural hierarchy looked for 'rationalizations' to explain their existence and found such in the quality theory, the analogy theory or the contrast theory. It is important to note that the gestures examined form the vocabulary of a language of indices of attitudes. This language, although it has a multiplicity of expressions (gestures, actions, avoidances, supplemented by speech etiquette) expresses mainly one thing, viz., the relation of statuses in their sub- and superordination. Like other languages it allows of expressing degrees of respect; the expressions towards the king, the HF, the WiM are more elaborate. It also allows of expressing opposition: the omission of avoidances is interpreted as the absence of respect. Psychologically it is important that respect is acted out, not only spoken about.

4. The Presence of Fear in Hl and Za situations

The presence of fear in taboo and avoidance conduct is assumed by many authors. Mensch wrote a thesis to prove this. Nilsson devotes a long chapter on fear in the abstract producing religious customs. Preuss is also convinced of the importance of fear in prohibitions. Meinhof (1912: 61, 67) makes it clear that fear differs according to the object of reference. He separates 'general' fear of spirits from fear of ancestors which is qualified by awe, or respect, for a kinsman. Evans-Pritchard (1951: 44-7) warns us against making too extensive use of psychological explanations when we are dealing with social facts, structures, functions. The warning in itself is not very helpful, for there are culturally imposed expressions of fear which may be completely different from individual fear experiences. To study the former must be a concern of the anthropologist. The psychologist defines fear as a primitive, violent and usually crippling emotion marked by extensive bodily changes (in the person experiencing it) and by behaviour of the flight and concealment character (Drever). From a sociological point of view it is important to determine the structural positions in which fear is expected and what function it serves.

The Zulu term for 'to fear' is *ukwEsaba*. It is derived from Urbantu *γitava*, and is recorded in Doke-Vilakazi to mean (a) to fear, be afraid and (b) to have awe, respect, dread. Bryant has made a suspect attempt to couple *ukwEsaba* with Nilsson's, Marett's and Söderblom's religious awe theory. In Bryant (1905) *ukwEsaba* is merely defined as 'fear of Chn before their F. Later (1949:218ff) he states:'Taboo is a universal, natural issue of superstitious awe ... it enters largely into Zulu daily life ... it is a survival ... preserved by childlike races of ... bogey fears ... peculiar to mankind in its infancy." And he explains *ukwEsaba* rather belatedly as implying more than 'fear', viz., a compound sentiment of dread and reverence to which the English 'superstitious awe' is said to be equivalent. The outcome of such awe is a large number of abstentions or must-nots which Europeans call 'taboo' and Zulu *ukuZila* (to refrain from out of awe). They take the form of restraints from certain actions and from certain speech customs and may be referable to persons, places or things *91*.

Bryant weakens his argument by proceeding as follows: When the awesomeness reposes in a person and the abstentions are in regard to that person then the taboo (whether action or speech) is distinguished as *ukuHlonipha* (to do out of reverence or respect to). Such forms of taboo affect chiefly the female sex, he says. Principally at marriage, war and death Zulu

women observe a system of respectfulness! As we have shown men are equally involved, either directly or as companions in a taboo situation. Moreover Bryant does not state why and how women preserve the bogey fears of the infancy of mankind better than the menfolk. Nor does he point out that there is a great difference between *ukuHlonipha* restraints in which fear might characterize the relationship between an inferior and a superior status, and *ukuZila* where (in diachronic, occupational and leadership taboos) a superior referent seems to be absent altogether. In addition he would have clarified the issue if he had outlined the relationship of *ukwEsaba* to *ukuNyanta* (to feel uneasy, to have a creepy sensation) and *uValo* (shudder, trepidation). Finally his neglect of the social background of taboos makes him overlook the fact that fear is often induced by the prohibitions rather than originating them. The Zulu are aware of the experience of fear varying with the object of fear. (249) distinguishes fear of the night, of the storm, of certain persons, of having certain of your possessions appropriated by an 'evil-doer' so that he can bewitch you. He thinks that people are more afraid of thunder than of lightning although the latter kills. He agrees that fear of the night and of storms may be placed together as fear of natural phenomena; but he objects to subsuming fear of theft under fear of persons. (124): "People are terrified, struck with awe at natural catastrophes, such as an earthquake, a landslide, a veld fire, a thunderstorm. They may be so overcome that they are unable to move, that they involuntarily defecate." With regard to restrained conduct during and after storms (139) says: "We respect hail, but not lightning or the new moon!" Restraints at the time of hail are due to a 'natural' fear (*ukwEsaba*). Work is stopped. But with regard to the rule demanding silence, there are people who react in a contrary manner: they pinch a Ch during the storm, so that its cries keep the storm away; others sharpen their knives on a stone outside, and others again shout at the lightning to keep it off, saying: 'It (i.e., lightning) is at home here' (*KuseKhaya lapha*). If there is fear it thus does not invariably paralyse or induce flight or concealment. It sometimes produces even aggressive behaviour, and this is culturally approved. (139) agrees that the avoidance of the names for thunder and lightning expresses respect and that most people are averse to going outside the hut during a storm. (244 and 250) add that people have fear with shudder *(uValo)*, during a storm and they can think of only one other occasion where it shows itself, in forebodings before a fight to the death.

(124), continuing to characterize restraint situations with reference to the presence of fear, states that persons observing Za prohibitions are not frightened. "A hunter does not visit his Wi; a man abstains from intercourse with his menstruating spouse; a widow observes her conduct restrictions. I have never heard that such people feel horror, awe or trembling, although a widow may feel grief." (110): "A girl undergoing puberty and the taboo regimen of her condition knows that she is entering upon a new stage (of development). She is naturally anxious about whether she will perform the new tasks expected of her well. The taboo regimen removes her 'grief' (i.e., worry) and, in this sense, the regimen resembles that of mourning. The girl's mind is set at rest by the gifts which her age-mates present to her, by their keeping company with her. With normal menstruation it is different. Then the taboos observed are rules of the woman's 'unclean condition', there are no fears or worries on her part."

If any fear arises it is not due to the occasion for a taboo regimen but because of the consequences of a taboo breach. (148): "A menstruating woman is not afraid of her blood, since it comes out of her body. Her H would be afraid of it." (244/250) deny this. "A H is not afraid of his Wi's menstrual blood. Today some men even sleep with a woman in her period." Generally, however, menstrual blood means ill-luck, and a man who comes into contact with it acquires *umMnyama*. (148): "The woman too is afraid of eating SM in her condition, because her H's cattle would die if she did. If she were to eat milk then she would feel a shudder, a palpitation in her stomach." Such violent trembling fear accompanies other taboo breaches as well. "A woman in childbirth, for instance, is in a similar condition. She would not be afraid of her own blood and water (amniotic fluid). It is natural for them to appear. Nor is she *Ngcolile* (unclean) but just affected with *ubuZele* (afterbirth). The H is (momentarily) afraid of the afterbirth. But the abstention from sex intercourse between him and his Wi is observed without any feeling of fear. It is observed because it is done by everyone; conformity to Zulu

law is imitative; and no association with the bloodiness of birth exists, since the taboo is observed for many months after the birth." (244 and 250) confirm this: "The H does not enter the confinement hut. It is not fear; he is not allowed to do so!" (148): But the confined woman abstains from SM lest the cattle die. In this taboo there is an element of fear.

(148): "At the death of a person people are somewhat afraid of the corpse, because it no longer talks and resembles a speechless animal. But few people would experience a 'shudder' unless the death was sudden. The mourning taboos are observed because of fear of ill-luck, the consequence of a taboo breach. But this fear is a 'natural' fear. The terror at lightning would be quite different: it would not be 'natural' but 'mystical'" (sic). (110) thinks that the contracting of *iNyama-emBi* as the result of a taboo breach by a widow would not be accompanied by *uValo* as would be the case with a person suddenly faced by a lion. Men are, however, afraid of the *inSila* disease following upon intercourse with an unreleased widow and of the *isiNyama* resulting therefrom.

(249), who had stated that the normal observance of Za is not accompanied by fear, admits the presence of fear in the case of taboo breakers. "Although taboo breakers show no agitation and no anxiety when breaking a particular taboo - in fact a person who violates a taboo must have courage above the ordinary - they suffer from after-effects! For instance, Mbovela Shongweni ate SM during mourning. Later he went about naked, after three years he was completely mad." (110) reports from experience that, when he has broken a taboo, he feels unhappy in the presence of others. He is "not fit for company" then. This feeling may be accompanied by a shudder. But though such a shudder may attend the first violation, it is known that the breaking of an interdict may become a habit. A habitual taboo-breaker is known as one who has *isiBindi* (a bold and forward person). Such a man is quite distinct from a hero *(iQhawe)*. Mnyayiza could not remember ever having heard of the death of a commoner who ate the king's left-overs as reported by Tylor and Frazer of other African tribes. This however does not prove the absence of debilitating fear after a taboo breach, since fear may effectively prevent the commission of a breach.

Questions to establish whether there is a difference between fear in Hl and in Za situations were answered as follows: (225) was non-committal: "There is no difference between (a) respect for a F's residence and fear of touching a beast killed by lightning; between (b) a Ch's fear of his F's spoon and the diviner's fear of cohabiting with his Wi before a séance; between (c) a woman's fear of her H's left-overs and the warrior's fear of SM and of intercourse with his Wi when he has killed an enemy." The informant, a woman, expresses some doubt whether the last two experiences are alike, but she cannot define the difference. Comparing (d) a HF's fear of his SoWi's food, from which he abstains, with that of the king who abstains from 'soft foods' during the First Fruits, she says that the F-in-l is afraid of something although it is not 'poison'. If it were that fear he would abstain from his Da-in-l's food as long as he was alive, whereas in fact he may be released from this avoidance some time after the wedding of his So. As for the king in the First Fruits (225) refuses to accept that the king feared anything. He abstained from the crops in order 'to strengthen his knees!' (244 and 250) discussing the same four pairs of instances came to different conclusions: They called the first instance in each pair an avoidance due to respect (Hl); the second instances were thought by them to be accompanied by fear including shudder with the exception of the king's case: "The king's only fear was to go against custom. He was not afraid of the black treatment!"

There is a large body of informants who support the alternative theory. Zulu men, they say, are not afraid of women. But a woman becomes afraid of her H through the respectful avoidances. By avoiding his name, hiding her face, not eating in his presence, actions she never considered when she first loved him, she actually becomes afraid of him. "This is, in fact, the Law of our Fathers."

Princess Magogo's evidence strongly supports the view that the element of fear enters with greater intensity into Hl, bipolar respect situations, than into Za situations. A So would not

eat his F's SM except after elaborate ritual preparations because of fear of consequences. Princess Magogo, although she is senior in rank to her FBr according to our notions, is afraid when her uncle, Mnyayiza Zulu, invites her to eat SM with him from his pot, which he could do to honour her, and as a sign of friendship. She is so afraid of him that she cannot greet him, and she would eat the SM offered only after ladling it from the pot into her palm as the So does with his F's SM. Princess Magogo is also afraid to eat anything in front of her Brs-in-l. If they were to urge her to eat with them, she would reply: "I fear (to do so)." In discussing the hypothetical case of a woman in her menses being urged by her H to eat SM, Princess Magogo invented the following reply: "I'm afraid (to eat it), the old people might see it!" Fear is thus contingent on the presence of persons in authority and for this reason is pre-eminently an accompaniment of Hl situations.

(427), headman and leech, contradicts this conclusion. He first distinguished between Hl and Za situations: Hl means 'pleasing others', Za concerns death. Fear is greater in Za, for it is an old custom which must be observed lest something happens to a whole family. Something comes from outside and hits the whole kraal. To test his argument I enumerated instances in which great fear was shown in Hl situations: Magogo's fear of Mnyayiza, the lightning avoidances in Ntombela's homestead during the storm, and the bride of Chief Phumanyova's Br who was invited to be present as the only woman in a discussion between the chief, his councillors and me. She hid her face, did not reply to greetings, visibly perspired and thus showed signs of *uValo* and *ukwEsaba*. (427)'s reply was: "Mnyayiza is Princess Magogo's 'F'; hers was thus a Ch's fear. Lightning causes death, and death is brought on by violations of the rules of action during storms; the fear is natural in the circumstances." With regard to the betrothed's fear, he said: "There is fear in anyone's veins if you meet your superiors. It is not as if anything awful might happen, as in the case of lightning. The girl was alone among men, and showed them respect because she is engaged to one of that family." He agrees that fear is present in some Hl situations. In Hl we have an individual's fear in the presence of a superior who has power over him. In Za we have joint anxiety about the fate or fortunes of the group (lineage, kraal, hunter's party, army). This depends on the conformity of the members to the norms of behaviour in such situations. The fear of the individual in Za situations is that he is being watched by all members of the group as to his correct behaviour. (427) who accepts this exposition, gives a good example: When a person goes to hoe after a fall of hail, he will be challenged at once for all are on the watch to prevent a fresh violation of the taboo order and further suffering in the community. The fear in the Za situations is greater because the sanction against a breach is death. (427) thinks that ancestors are not involved; he belongs to the believers in an impersonal supernatural force: "A person who lifts the hoe after hail causes another storm (automatically); it will cause harm to all, and he can thus be 'fined!'"

T o s u m u p: There is no evidence that the fear factor plays a decisive role in the actual observance of either Hl or Za regimens. Prolonged observation of Zulu behaviour rather indicates that the conventional observance of avoidances and abstentions goes on without any emotional demonstrations. It may be argued with justification that, especially in the case of a bride, the Hl behaviour expected of her creates fear in her of her HF, since it does not exist at first but is initiated as a physical concomitant of in-law respect behaviour. It may, however, also be argued that the restraints help to control, to cushion an incipient fear. Both Za and Hl are a means of communication; Hl makes possible ordered interaction between statuses, Za conduct diffuses solidarity in groups; they are not institutionalized expressions of an amorphous fear. Fear is not limited to taboos or avoidances with magical sanctions, although possibly the irrationality of magical consequences may give to certain restraints a special quality, a pungent intensity which is absent in others.

C. EDUCATIONAL SANCTIONS

1. Their Nature

Within the family educational sanctions frequently enforce the observance of prohibitions. Many informants report that corporal punishment is used to maintain avoidances (Hl). About 50 out of 100 teachers-in-training remembered having been beaten in this connection. A girl received a blow in her face when she beat her younger siblings while her F was in the homestead. Such punishment may be elaborated to make it more effective. A boy who had touched his F's stick was called to the hut as if nothing had happened. He was given food; while eating and off his guard, his F beat him. Sometimes concrete representations are used to make threats effective. To prevent Chn from loitering on an errand, some saliva is spat into the palm of their hand: they must be back before it is dried up.

The most important mechanism is the imaginary elaboration of the consequences. The interdict against touching the mantis is reinforced by the tale, that the mantis, when angered tears off the heads of Chn and drops them into the sea. There are stories about girls who ate elephant flesh and gave birth to elephants. The prohibition is not bluntly expressed in negative form, but is subtly and positively implied. The taboo against touching a crab, lest its bite change your sex, is illustrated in the story of girls who were in danger of being made the chief's mistresses against their will. Their F sent them to the pond to be bitten by crabs. They became boys who were ready to serve their chief as warriors. In one story about a 'virtuous' woman (i.e., one who had not broken an interdict) malicious persons wishing to alienate her H's affection accuse her of having given birth to an animal. Her reply, that giving birth to animals is better than remaining sterile, seems to us to undermine the moral of the story. But the point is that a person, accepting this statement, must also believe in the rule and the magical association is strengthened by it *92*.

Prohibitions are reinforced by proverbs of which we note *KuHlonishwana kaBili* (Respect begets respect). It sums up the moral ideal inherent in the reciprocity of avoidances. The idea is repeated in *WoHlonipha nxa uFuna ukuHlonishwa* (You must show respect if you desire respect). Self-restraint beyond the measure of reciprocity is desirable, for *iHlonipha laph' ingayikuGana khona* (She respects even where she will not marry). Other proverbs refer to particular interdicts. The temptation to incest is checked in the elliptical *uSende limb'umGodi kwabo* (The testicle that makes a hole at home). A person who does not observe the abstentions at diachronic rituals is reprimanded: *"uDlala ngeGeja kuZiliwe"* (He plays with a hoe at the time of abstinence). A person inconsiderate in speech and action is upbraided with *uDlel' emKhombeni weMpaka* (He eats out of the wild cat's dish); an insolent person is described as *Weq' iziNyawo zenKosi* (He jumps over the king's feet). An unreliable person is referred to in *WaBik' iMbiba, waBik' iBuzi* (He reports a field mouse and then a field rat). Since both are killed, but only the former eaten, unreliability consists in disregarding a customary interdict. An omission is referred to in *WaDlula ngeNdlu isAkhiwa kayiBeka qaza* (He passed by a hut under construction and did not tie a knot, i.e., he did not help) *93*.

Many so-called sanctions are in fact educational mechanisms, such as threats and promises. Their nature necessarily changes with the educational situation. In the training of Chn certain mystical sanctions appear transferred from a major to a minor interdict. This is facilitated by the transfer of patterns of prohibitions. The great variety of consequences for one and the same crucial prohibition, and the obvious divergence in the nature and severity of the sanctions is in no small measure due to their having been 'invented' by members of the ascending generations as need arose. Precedents are not always recalled. But even in extempore sanctions the 'teacher' tries to reproduce the traditional effect by casting his invented sanction in the mould of Zulu 'values'. Thus the threat that a monster carries away a Ch that breaks an avoidance rule becomes today a warning that the white man will jail the Ch; the emotional shock is the same: the Ch is wrenched out of his family.

While this versatility exemplifies the educational ability of the 'teachers' of prohibitions,

the wholesale and indiscriminate application to Chn of the values of adult life cannot be justified if we assume with Rousseau that the Ch is an entity of its own with a psychic organization which profoundly differs from that of adults. It is doubtful whether sanctions which threaten a Ch with failure in his marriage and disappointment in parenthood can be effective since such failure cannot possibly be felt as an impending disaster. Such threats are certainly detrimental to the Ch's 'innocence of mind': they obtrude adult interests upon him prematurely and telescope his attention too early upon activities for which, biologically speaking, he is not yet ripe. It may however be argued that the precocious acquaintance of the Zulu Ch with adult values is inevitable in a primitive culture, and that it eliminates the gap between Ch and adult interests which complicates life in modern society.

The fact that Zulu in all walks of life take education in avoidances and interdicts seriously makes us doubt the truth of those Personality and Culture theories which assume that early educational practices and measures in infant rearing determine personality for life *94*. If these hypotheses were true it would be difficult to explain why in all societies the necessity of continued educational effort is accepted, and why to achieve the acceptance of norms of conduct a system of structural ideals and anxieties is developed and fostered in all cultures (Cf. Hallowel in Haring). Personality and Culture theorists conceive of education in a facile manner as a process of moulding. The techniques of inculcating avoidances and abstentions among the Zulu show that to them education consists (a) in the creation of an awareness of norms in reference to different stages of individual growth and the changing social situations brought about by such growth, viz., changes in dyadic relations and changes in ethos relations (individual and group); and (b) in the creation of inducements to act in conformity with the norms, e.g., by sufficiently effective rewards and punishments which will 'function' under the changing conditions of individual growth and resulting status changes and role requirements *95*.

2. *Teaching of Avoidances*

a. The avoidances of speech and action are considered by Zulu to be 'natural', to be known from 'the beginning', to belong to the 'origin of things'. These expressions must be understood figuratively, i.e., to refer to a person's individual origin. In fact throughout childhood an individual receives continuous but informal comment, advice, reprimand and coaxing in the right conduct. Imitation of older siblings, association with age- and sex-groups of similar behaviour patterns result in unconscious conformity. Where such conformity is absent, educational corrections are resorted to: scolding, beating, deprivation of food and of honours, fines etc. A different situation is faced at marriage. A definite process of teaching is felt to be necessary, and it is formal in nature. Although unsystematic according to our standards and conducted at moments of high tension, when their effect is rather questionable, these lessons *(ukuLaya)* summarize the knowledge collected by the young man and the young woman over the years.

The lessons for the groom are perfunctory and not infrequently omitted altogether. The reason is obvious: he changes neither domicile nor social environment and is not felt to be in need of much instruction. The tenor of the lessons he receives from his Fs (and Ms) is that he is to treat his Wi with consideration and respect (Hl). (102): He is advised to warn his Wi against conduct which displeases him. If her behaviour continues to be 'trying', he should report her to her parents. Only if she does not mend her ways should she be sent home for further lessons. Her people dislike the public exposure of their Da as uncouth and untrained and will then make sure that she learns her wifely duties.

According to (102) the most important lesson for the groom is that he should not give vent to his anger by beating his Wi. "A man who beats his Wi is a 'fool!'" Whatever the provocation he should remain cool and use peaceful methods which if necessary may lead to divorce. (149): "Take care of the young woman because you are the older of the two. Don't quarrel over a trifle. Don't beat her. Give her dresses, look after her when she is ill. Don't allow your Wi to be maligned without cause." (102): "Do not use vulgar language towards your Wi or in her

presence. Do not take grain from her store if she is in the homestead. (You may remove some in her absence but should report it to her afterwards). A well-behaved H does not drink beer at his Wi's beer kitchen, although he may fetch beer from there. He should not dispose of cattle apportioned to her House without her knowledge, and after the public establishment of the Houses of the homestead her approval must be obtained."

(105), a woman, bears out (102): "A groom is taught by his F(s) in the presence of his M(s): 'You are now grown up, you should no longer be seen in the company of young people. Regard yourself as a man of standing. Have self-respect henceforth! You are a married man from now on. As such you must work for your Wi. You must not stay too long with her. Do not shirk work away from her. It is necessary that you leave her on behalf of your family. You must respect (Hl) your Wi. Talk gently to her, give her due consideration. Do not beat her! For she is not your Wi alone, but the Wi of us all'!" (sic). When challenged on this point (105) justified this phrase: "It is not because bride-price has been paid for the Wi in a combined effort of the groom's family, but because in old age the H's parents will have to be fed by his Wi and will have to suffer for any quarrels between her and their So. Nor do they fancy the prospect of having to settle differences between them, although they will not shirk their responsibility." (105): There is frequently no direct reference to the rule that a man should not beat his Wi. He is told: "Don't play about with your Wi" *(ungaDlali)*, meaning: Don't treat her without consideration. Commenting on Mnyayiza's lessons, she said that grooms are rarely specifically told not to use bad language towards a Wi. It is a general rule that this be not done, and the comments of neighbours and the court cases to which young men listen reinforce it. She challenged the rule, that a man should not touch his Wi's belongings, with the equally general rule that a woman's belongings are his. When I asked whether he might cut up his Wi's skin cloak, she and her listeners laughed: "He can't do that; he must ask her permission. He cannot use her clothes unless for definite reasons. He is not instructed about it; he uses his common sense." With regard to the grain-store it would be 'awkward' for a man to remove grain from it. He must respectfully avoid (Hl) his Wi's belongings! Even when a man uses grain from his private store, the Wi who is in charge of it (i.e., cooks for him) has to be informed and give her consent. Nor is the husband allowed to dispose of cattle belonging to the various Houses without the knowledge and approval of the presiding Wi. (The man in Hl'ing the woman respects the segment established through her within his lineage!) No kraalhead takes a male visitor to one of his Wis' family huts. Only her Chn and to some extent her co-Wis have access to it. (One woman informant maintained that this is not Hl but mere custom). The groom should know that in a polygynous homestead each Wi controls her own family hut, food kitchen, beer kitchen, and grain store. Co-Wis respectfully avoid one another's establishment, and the H follows the same pattern (Hl). (188) sums up the teaching to the groom: "Take care of the bride!" All other rules he knows already as customs, laws. For already at his puberty rite, he was told: "You are now old, you can now marry!"

b. The incidence of marriage teaching lies more heavily on the bride. There are various reasons. She is a stranger in her H's kraal. The way of life, manners and cultural peculiarities of her H's family, lineage and clan have to be mastered. She passes from her F's tutelage to her H's: she thus remains in a legally subordinate position. Her status is defined by a great number of restrictive limits. These are already known in general, but are now impressed on her in their particular formulation at her H's home.

A further reason is that the behaviour pattern of girls at their F's home is much freer than that of young Wis at their H's. (130): "At her F's homestead a girl can go into almost every hut. She may enter her F's residence when sent or called. She can enter the Great Hut when she has some business there, the huts of her M's co-Wis (when told to do so) and her Br's Residence. She is often in charge of it and keeps it clean and smears it regularly. She can go into any kitchen to help with brewing or do any other woman's work. She might go to the grain-store of a woman with whom her M is friendly and grind and cook grain food dishes. She only shrinks from the establishments of Wis with whom her M does not get on. When a beast is slaughtered for the ancestors and while the Wis of the kraal remain in the Great Hut or move behind the

huts, girls can view all the goings on in the pen and may be called upon to help!" A girl has also disciplinary latitude in her F's home. If she does wrong, she is beaten - and the matter blows over. She may even indulge in outbursts of vulgarity and use such swear words as *umSunu kaNyoko* (reference to M's sex organs) without people taking much notice.

At her H's kraal things are quite different. Her movements are greatly restricted. During the 'honeymoon' she is confined to her H's private hut and later to her own hut. Because her H was born there entry to her HM's hut is impossible for her until a beast has been given to her M-in-l and 2/- to each of the H's other Ms. Visits to the other Wis are out of the question until friendly relations have been ritually established with them. She has to observe strict standards in her speech. One of (130)'s co-Wis once swore at their common H. She had difficulty in childbirth afterwards. A beast had to be brought from her home kraal to 'cleanse' the H's homestead. The tensions within her H's kraal may centre round her and distinguish a Wi's life from that lived in carefree fashion by a girl at her F's. (130) says one of her co-Wis became fond of killing Chn by witchcraft. The H informed her parents and claimed a fine. But her F refused payment saying 'she was not worth it'. Abandoned by H and F, the woman ran away to town and died a prostitute.

The bride frequently receives two lessons, one at her home, the other at her H's. (105): "I sat in my M's hut on the day of leaving for the wedding. My old people, especially Ms, told me: 'You see, Da, you are now going to marry and have a new home. Do not think you are marrying your H alone. You must consider his F and M, his Brs and Sis and respect (Hl) them. If you only look after your H, you will not be a proper Wi, you will have ill-luck *(iNhlanhla-emBi)*. As you have been a good girl, you will not find life at your H's kraal too difficult. Just behave with considerateness. Be specially kind to the Chn of the other Wis (HWisChn/ HBrsWisChn) and give them food." (If she had been a bad girl, she would now be warned to leave her bad ways and begin a new life. Otherwise she would get into trouble, go astray and spoil altogether). (177) reports similar lessons: "Take care of yourself; respect (Hl) everyone in your H's kraal; cook for everyone." (187): "Consider, obey your H's words. Hl your H's family. Persevere, lest you be called a thief, a witch, an adulteress, a swearer (*umThuki*). Be kind and generous. Don't backbite the H's *uZalo*. Don't wander about. Don't become a drunkard (Drink beer only at home)." (151) had instructions in her M's hut where FM, F, FBrs and FBrWis were present, also young women and Chn. Her FM said: "If you are scolded by H or HM respect (Hl) them by silence. When your H beats you, don't fight but go outside the kraal for some time. If you find trouble at your H's kraal - persevere! If they speak lies about you there, persevere - don't run away. If perseverance is of no avail, report at home to get advice. Do not use vulgar language, do not swear at your H. Keep quiet even when angry. Be generous with food; don't be stingy!" (The SM regulations had already been learned at home).

On arriving at her H's kraal, the bride is further instructed by her HMs about the avoidances in vogue there. Many of the rules, e.g., the rule of moving behind the huts, she already knows from home, since they are in fact generally observed. Stress is laid on the demure behaviour expected of a bride in the first weeks and months of married life. She must be able to fit herself into her H's complex extended family (with a possible range of three generations). (105) reports she was taught: "After your girl companions have left, you get up early in the mornings to fetch water. Get a young girl of ours to accompany and guide you to the river. First go to your M-in-l's hut and kneel outside the door. She will give you a water pot. When you return to the kraal you must stop at the gate and kneel down there. Somebody will come and fetch the pot. On no account walk across the homestead with the water. Return to your H's residence walking behind the huts. The same procedure is to be followed when fetching firewood. When you have fulfilled these duties satisfactorily for some time, your Ms-in-l will give you beads as a token that henceforth you may walk in front of the huts." (105) also stated that much of the teaching at her H's she had acquired previously by observation and experience. Her M had observed similar Hl customs. Her M's young co-Wis and her own co-Wis at her H's place showed her what to avoid. The young bride is told not to touch ashes from the H's kraal, as they may contain remains of beasts slaughtered for the ancestors. (A young Ch removes them). The grinding of

maize is the peculiar work of brides. She also does the cooking but cannot yet 'dish' it. This is the M-in-l's duty; she even serves her So, the groom. When serving food to her in-laws, respectful behaviour requires that the bride take water there for washing first. She then places spoons ready in their containers and, having brought the food in on her knees, she withdraws kneeling.

3. *Cultural Orientations*

a. *True Man*

The apparent inadequacy of the sanctions apparatus in ensuring the observance of restraints is compensated for by the educative pressures of the Zulu ethos, the ideals of action which are current in language and public opinion. They are crystallized in the qualities which an ideal Zulu man and woman are expected to possess. There is wide agreement in this matter as a chance sample of informants shows. (311): "The Zulu consider that an *iNgane imPela* (i.e., a real Ch, an ideal Ch) has the following characteristics: (a) Obedience: the Ch implicitly obeys an order of his parents, and accepts a reprimand without arguing, *uyaThumeka,* he goes messages. This is called *ukuHlonipha* , also *ukuLalela.* (b) Respect for his elders, or seniors. The Ch shows this in *ukuHlonipha* of action, positive respectful acts. (c) Submissiveness: A Ch keeps quiet, does not express his opinion in the presence of his parents; he does not answer back, *akaPhenduli* ; in short he observes respectful restraints."

The corresponding categories for adolescents are *iNsizwa* (youth) and *inTombi* (maiden). From infancy Chn have their behaviour measured by the norms of conduct signalized in these terms and parents delight in anticipating them in their Chn. When a boy is born, his F is greeted: *uZel' iNsizwa,* 'you begot a young man!'; if the Ch is a girl, the greeting runs: *'uThole inTombi',* 'You've got a young woman!' Correspondingly Chn are greeted as *iNsizwa* and *inTombi* respectively, when still quite young, and called this by their parents too. No wonder the Chn strain to grow into such. (311) lists the qualities of an *inTombi imPela* as follows: (a) Efficiency: especially in preparing food and tending the clothes of her Br, M(s) and F; (b) Restraint in love-making; she should have only one lover *(iSoka),* otherwise she is considered an *isiGebengu* (scoundrel). This quality is in conflict with another which helps a girl to play safe and have "three on the hook", viz., the *iSoka* (open lover), the *isiGqiki* (the "pillow") and the *isiSibekelo* (the "lid"). (c) Generosity: mainly as regards beer. When she brews for a wedding, she offers beer to passers-by from her lover's kraal and neighbourhood, to Hl her lover (who need not be in the party that is being entertained). A girl with a lover is allowed her own beer supply, she "need not steal it." The beer deal is kept secret from her F, who must not interfere; rather should he Hl his Da in this matter.

The quality of respectful restraint is strongly reflected in the personality norms for Zulu women. (341 and 342) describe the *uMakoti imPela* (ideal bride) as follows: (a) She *Hlonipha's* the elder generation in her H's home, especially her parents-in-law. She cooks food, brews beer for them, complies with their instructions, supplies the HBrs with food too.
(b) *ukuSebenza:* she works hard, thatching, weeding, hoeing when necessary; she fetches water, makes mats and pots, and keeps the kraal clean. If she can't work she is looked down upon; if she can work, she will earn the affection of her in-laws. (c) Kindness: She is kind to the Chn of the home, whether they belong to HBrs, HSis, are legitimate or illegitimate. She feeds them, plays with them, tells them stories and laughs with them. (d) She must please her H, have warm water for him at any time, wash and iron his clothes, abide by his orders; wrap up his sleeping mat in the morning, spread it in the evening (listeners laugh at this suggestion of sexual intercourse) - but she may not do so in his absence (Za). (e) She must conceive and bear Chn: this stands to reason!, and she will do so, if she observes the in-law avoidances! (f) She should remember her F and M at her home: No bride forgets this.

(311) offers these expectations from the ideal Zulu woman: (a) Generosity *(ukuPhana)* towards H's family and outsiders. (b) Hospitality *(ukuThembeka,* according to S and DV: 'trustworthiness'). She offers strangers food unfailingly! - even in her H's absence is implied. (c) Efficiency, diligence

in work in the fields *(ukuSebenza amaSimu)*, cooking skill, domestic work including ability to lay in sufficient supplies of water, fuel, etc. (d) Neatness *(ubuNono, ubuGcokama)* in home, dress, body. (e) Ability to bear Chn and to be a good M to them. (f) Demureness *(ukuHlonipha)*. she looks down when the H addresses her, and moves on her knees in his presence. In a subsequent review (311) placed Hospitality lowest of the six qualities, but could not make up his mind which to place on top. In the end he grouped the qualities in two categories: those refering to the woman's personality (neatness, efficiency, and ability to be a M) and social graces (generosity, hospitality and demureness). He judged that the first group would be of greater use to her H and his family.

(318) gives the following list of qualities of an ideal Zulu woman: (a) Ability to work: she cooks, hoes, fetches water and firewood; she weeds, sweeps, and thatches huts. (b) Ability to bear Chn and to be a M who brings them up well. (c) Respect for in-laws (Hl): she gives food and beer to her H's relations. (d) She gives her H the comforts of life: mats, blankets, 'pillows', well-cooked food in clean vessels - in this way she shows her respect (Hl) for her H. (e) Self-respect: She is worthy of being Hl'd by her H in return; of having a beast killed for herself and her people by him, the *inKomo yamaDlozi*, or at least of being given meat when he slaughters. If she is starving, she may expect her H to seek work to maintain her and her Chn. (f) Awareness of her legal status: If she is ill-treated she deserts her H, she insists on her rights. This, (318) concludes, is a new thing, although he admits that even in the past a woman ran away from her H, when he neglected her.

The same informant sums up the characteristics of a 'real man' in this order: (a) *oziPhethe kahle, oHloniphayo abanye abaNtu* (he respects the law, he respects other people). (b) Generosity *(ukuPhana)*: a chief invites his equals to feasts; (c) Good manners: He receives and seats his guests in style; (d) Fighting loyalty: If any person criticizes or ridicules his superiors, he stops such signs of disloyalty; (e) Knowledge of laws; (f) Oratory, power of swaying assembly by good argument. In looking over this list (318), as he readily conceded, had given the outlines of a 'good' chief. These qualities were slightly modified and placed before other informants for their comment. (311), a chief, agreed that hospitality, dignity, authoritativeness, knowledge of law and fighting skill are characteristics expected in Zulu men. He placed knowledge of law highest, perhaps with an eye to a man's usefulness in assembly; and fighting skill lowest; perhaps persons with such skill tend to disobey chiefs. (312), a humble man, who belittled himself, accepted the six qualities as characteristic of Zulu men. He placed generosity at the top and pride (which he used for authoritativeness) at the bottom of the list. This revealed him to be a Christian. (317), slightly opinionated about the Zulu kingdom, accepted the six qualities, placed authoritativeness highest together with knowledge of law. He could not say which was the least important quality and stated as reason, that a personality is a unity: it cannot display one characteristic and hide another!

(318)'s list was divided by (311) into two groups: The positive qualities: hospitality (almost affability), generosity (mainly measured as regards beer!) and good manners, can be contrasted with the negative qualities: conceit or superciliousness (*ukuziQhenya, ukuziDla*), meanness or lack of social graces (*ubuNcishana, ubuNja*) and dirtiness (*iNuku, iVamba*). Where these latter qualities are found, the Zulu say: He is not human, not an *umuNtu*. It is the three positive qualities, shot through with positive expressions of the *Hlonipha* ideal, which earn a person the praise: he has *ubuNtu* (humanity), he has a moral nature. (Although a Ch is addressed as Youth or Maiden, he would never be addressed by his F as *umuNtu* or *inDoda*, for fear of arousing the jealousy of his siblings and their Ms. However, outsiders might say it by way of flattery and in a non-committal way).

The "real (ideal) Zulu" is, of course, an *inDoda*, a man. He acts in a manly way, is virile, loyal, full of fighting spirit. (311), assisted by (301) draws up the following character sketch of an *inDoda*: He is a cattle-tender: he supervises the herding, milking, dipping and health of his herd. He shows thriftiness: he brings money home for Wis and Chn, and sends money to his parents, to *Hlonipha* his family. He is thirdly law-abiding, keeps out of trouble with the police,

pays his taxes regularly: he drinks but knows his limits. (317) states an *inDoda* acts according to rules, the law: *uGcina umThetho wemVelo* ; he does not keep company with rascals: *akaHambesani neziGagu* ; he owns his own property, eats his own food and is not dependent. In short a proper Zulu is a person who has self-respect and is respected by others (*aziHloniphe yena ukuba naye aHlonishwe*). It stands to reason that the *inDoda* ideal, or any of the others, is subject to modifications. (323), an old man who has two unmarried Sos away at work, produces these characteristics: An *inDoda* supports his parents with food; he possesses cattle; he brings money home from work: he supports his siblings and the dependent minors of the family. These qualities can be summed up: He must maintain the kraal (*ukuGcina umuZi*). "To such a So" (323) says, "I would show gratitude by giving him cattle - as long as he is helpful: I would call him *inDoda yamaDoda* ".

T o s u m u p: The concepts determining conduct among the Zulu exemplify certain categories of actions. All of these reflect some aspect of Hl (respectful restraints) and to a lesser extent Za. The reason for this seems to be that since Hl conduct expresses a lasting attitude, it can enter the connotation of personality, whereas Za refers to temporary observances only and is thus less symptomatic. In Zulu educational practice a good character *(isiMilo esiHle)* is procurable through the diligent implementation of ritual avoidance actions.

b. Shame

As in other primitive cultures, the Zulu exemplify certain aspects of a "shame culture", in which the driving motive of individuals is fear of ridicule and exposure in society rather than a sense of guilt or sin which the individual experiences in reference to an absolute moral law or a divine revenger, as is the case in a "guilt culture" (Haring: 426). The Zulu word for 'shame' *amaHloni* is etymologically connected with *ukuHlonipha*; it is mainly exemplified in the bashfulness or demureness of the bride. (336): A bride feels 'shame', she feels 'very soft'; she has not done a bad thing, but she is not used to her in-laws. She does not feel shame because she now sleeps with her H. (The Zulu have a natural attitude towards sex. There may be a little embarrassment at the first external intercourse between a girl and a boy, but it is considered an indication of the love between the two). The bride feels *izinHloni* because she is afraid of her in-laws and is treated as a stranger by them. It is true that before the engagement and payment of the bride-price she was even a greater stranger and felt then no shame before the parents of a potential lover. But now cattle have passed; she bows before her HF, avoids his hut side, and is subjected to a long test of conduct and fertility. It is as a subject of such a test that she feels shame.

(345): a young Wi, who is demureness personified, enumerates the behaviour typical of a 'bride's' shame: "I don't look at my HF, I don't speak to him. I walk behind the huts. I don't shout. I don't enter my HF's hut, unless ordered to do so. When I enter to take in food (she has been released from the cooking prohibition) I kneel down at the door. I don't mention the HF's name. When I am sent on an errand I obey unquestioningly." She adds: "My HBrs and HSis are not entitled to send me; they may not beat me; in fact I expect them to Hl me." Not to look at the in-laws, not to speak with them is, in her opinion, not a prohibition but a positive expression of respect. Her 'softness' (demureness) she would rather call 'respectful restraint' (Hl) than 'shame'. "There is a great difference between a girl's behaviour and a bride's. A girl shouts in her F's kraal, she talks freely with her F (but she must look down), she walks in front of the huts, and laughs aloud, but not in her H's home. I felt happy in my F's home, and feel happy at my H's, but with a difference: the loud, gay happiness at the first is replaced by reflective, responsible happiness at the latter. It is customary for a young Wi to be less gay at her H's; it is a difference in mood, emphasized in actions." When asked whether the H changes his mood through marriage, (345) laughs freely. She will get used to her H's homestead *(ukuJwayela)* through the efforts of the kind people there and through ritual releases; e.g., her HF will give her a beast (*isiMbatho* or *imBuzi yokwEmbula*) to remove the bead fringe she wears over her eyes. The beast is the sign that she may take it off. (Since he insisted first on her wearing it, it seems fair that he should pay for its removal).

(260) "*InHloni* I connect with *ukuHlonipha;* it is the same. *Hlonipha* gets its meaning from *inHloni*. Because a yoWi *Hlonipha's* she has no *iHlazo* (shame, disgrace). She would have *iHlazo* (brazenness) if she stared at her HF, if she did not care about him. When a bride hides from her HF she shows *amaHloni*, because she avoids him. We say of a woman who has become pregnant illicitly that she has *amaHloni*, because she would avoid everyone who might say something to her about it. This correlates with the *amaHloni* of the bride, since she too does not look at any of her in-laws. At her wedding she wears a veil (*isiThwalo*), so that she does not see and is not seen by the in-laws. She wears it until her HF gives her a goat or 10/- *(ukuNgenisa inHlonipho eKhaya)*. The removal of the veil is followed by the release from other avoidances. But the bride has *amaHloni* before her HF until her own death. Even when the HF has died, there are people left whom she has 'to avoid', e.g., a HFBr. She lowers her eyes before him, for he resembles the HF."

(341 and 342) describe the *amaHloni* of the bride: "She bows her head, covers her face before HF and HeBr, but not before HM or HyoBr. She thus expresses respect for her H's senior agnate rather than for a mere man. She avoids her HeBr, since he may take her HF's place in the future. Avoidance, respect and fear of HF shade into one another *(ukuHlonipha, amaHloni, ekwEsaba)*." Some informants point out that the bride, the hedgehog and the mole *(iVukuzi)* express respectful restraint in the same manner, viz., they bow their heads (*ukuKhothama*). (260) calls the hedgehog *iHloli*, not *iHloni*, and reports that people kill it to get its fat for medicine: it 'strengthens' a man for a long journey so that he is not attacked; the quills are worn in the hair by a person who faces a serious court case to give him courage *96*. (260 rejects the suggestion that the bride's demureness has anything to do with the hedgehog's behaviour). While the etymological link shows the concrete basis of the idea of avoidance, it can also be applied abstractly, as in the proverb: *Ukuf'akuna-maHloni* : Death is no respector of persons (Nyembezi: 154).

The demureness of the bride has another aspect. A girl shows *amaHloni* when she pays love visits to her betrothed's kraal, because she wants his family to admire her and accept her as his Wi. She puts the *amaHloni* on, as it were, as a signal that she is prepared to become her lover's Wi. This (superficial) *amaHloni* consists of a number of avoidances which are removed in release rites. But there is a more fundamental *amaHloni*, i.e., respect for the H's family which cannot be removed except through old age. During the testing period an error in the use of Hl terms is corrected, since the bride is not expected to know all from the start. If the young woman commits a wrong after the release rites, it is considered intentional and as revealing a contrary disposition. She is fined, so that her F's attention is drawn to the fact, for the 'bridal bashfulness' signalized an obedient woman. A similar distinction can be made in other relationships. The So's *amaHloni* of respect towards his F is permanent; the *amaHloni* felt when the So has committed a wrong accompanies the fear of correction and disappears with the punishment. A commoner has likewise *amaHloni* before the chief, a permanent attitude of deference before authority. Besides there is the *amaHloni* of disgrace, when a commoner has committed a fault and is in fear of being found out.

T o s u m u p : *amaHloni* is an acquired attitude of deference as expressed in learned avoidances. It shades over into *iHlazo* (disgrace), a feeling which emerges after committing an offence. The most striking 'shame' behaviour is that of the bride, a long lasting demureness initiated and removed by ritual. The ritual bashfulness is accompanied by an emotional restrained attitude which is removed by habituation of the bride to her H's home, by the birth of Chn and by old age. Ladd's attempt to associate 'shame' with 'violation of etiquette' only does not appear justified when considering Zulu behaviour (Ladd: 248).

c. Disgrace

In other diachronic or occupational situations or in avoidance relationships the feeling of 'shame' results from a violation of the order of prohibitions. It is then better described as 'disgrace', an intermediate condition between 'shame' and 'guilt'. 'Disgrace' differs from 'guilt' in four respects: In 'disgrace' confession has little ritual significance (a 'cleansing' is all that may be required); 'disgrace' is collective, i.e., it involves the agent's family, age-

mates, associates (whereas guilt is individualized); disgrace emerges only when a wrong has become public knowledge: in disgrace public comments are feared rather than legal measures; disgrace often involves the injured party more than the offender.

These features of Zulu 'disgrace' *(amaHloni, iHlazo, iChilo)* come out in the statements of several informants ... (327): "A person who does something unseemly *(engaFanele)* has 'shame' *(amaHloni)*, e.g., an adulterer, because when caught he gets into trouble: he must pay two beasts as 'fine'; he might even be killed. Because of this he already feels 'shame' when he surmises that people suspect him. The adulteress feels less shame, since she doesn't pay; it is true her F has to pay a beast, the Cleanser *(inGeza)*, if she is sent home by her H. But the beast cleanses her H's home, not the woman. The fine must be slaughtered, it cannot be kept; the meat cannot be placed in the apse for the ancestors, but is eaten straight away by the men of the H's homestead; it is taboo (Za) for the adulteress and the woman's co-Wis and Sis, since it is assumed that all of them have trespassed *(waPhingile)*. One is caught, but all suffer! If the woman is not caught, she just lets the 'shame' wear off." (326): "I once made love to a married woman. I was so 'ashamed' that I held my *iBheshu* in my hand, so that I could escape if necessary." Adultery is brought before the headman's court, it is an *iCala lenDuna* (headman's case). The fine in cattle is high and includes a beast 'to cleanse' the cuckold. The adultery has to be reported to the ancestors *(ukuThetha)* since the HF's cattle were used in the bride-price for the adulteress. The woman is warned that if she is caught again she will be driven from the kraal. (330): "If a boy gets a girl into trouble and is unable to pay the bride-price, he just pays the *imVimba* fine (a beast). It is the girl who has *amaHloni:* she doesn't walk about, but hides at home. In the past she no longer mixed with her age-mates, and they were beaten severely for not watching her better. The girl can no longer cook food for her Brs, for her hands are 'unclean'. The girl and her age-mates used to go to the young man's place, and demand a goat: they tore it to pieces and washed their hands in its stomach contents *(umSwani)*. The girl could now cook food again. The goat (called *amaNyala*, i.e., filth) was not eaten by the girls, to whom it was Za, but by an old woman from the offender's kraal who could eat 'the dirt' for she was no longer capable of bearing Chn (the girls would lose this capacity!) and had no need of cleansing her hands."

(326): "A girl feels *amaHloni* when a man has raped her, when she has had to submit to relations without her consent. She is given a fowl by the man, so that she does not tell her people. She cooks it in the veld and eats it alone. It removes 'the shame'." (The girl breaks two taboos in doing so: against eating fowl and against eating alone). (337) expresses views closer to the European way of thinking:" A young man feels 'shame' when he has raped a girl (*ukuDlwangula*); when questioned about it, he denies the act, he is afraid of the public disgrace. The girl feels no shame, especially if she is bold enough to disclose his identity to her parents. They will then fine the boy. The 'fine' is not heavy if he has not spoiled her, perhaps 10/- or £1. The 'fine' cleanses the girl and removes the boy's disgrace."

I n c e s t is another occasion for 'shame'. (327): "When a young man has relations with his Si (or M) without her consent, it is a serious thing, since they were born of one F and M. He cannot cleanse himself from incest; he must allow 'the shame' to wear off. If discovered, he is chased away from the kraal." (336): "When a kraalhead has relations with his SoWi he has 'disgrace'. The man can be sued before the chief by his own So. In one case, I know, he had to pay a fine to the chief, and six head of cattle to his So 'to cleanse' him. Everybody ate of the meat except the wrong-doer, to whom it was Za. The ancestors were not addressed. We Zulu do not report a shameful thing to them. It is not necessary to cleanse the kraal, since the ancestors have nothing to do with the offence."

Compared with adultery, incest or rape, other occasions of shame or disgrace are of lesser intensity. A Ch who kills a fowl doesn't feel at ease; its face grows long. It knows that, if it is found out, its F will thrash it. It feels *amaHloni*, but there is nothing for the Ch to cleanse itself with; it owns nothing. An old person who steals a goat or clothing, etc. has his good name spoiled, when it becomes known. An old person has nothing to cleanse himself with, nor is there

anybody who must be cleansed. If a middle-aged man steals a beast he feels 'shame', for everyone will call him *iSela* (thief). The owners of the stolen animal have the matter reported to their ancestors (*kwa-Nyanya*); it might cause the thief pangs of conscience. If after an ear-piercing operation all the Chn get sore ears, the operator feels 'shame'. All the parents will come and accuse him: "Why did you pierce our Chn when you had *uSuku* (sexual stain)?" If a communal hunt was unproductive, its leader would feel 'shame' (*amaHloni*). People might not accuse him to his face, but everyone knows the teachings of the old that he must not lie with his Wi before setting out *(uma uLetha iBhadi kubaNtu abaningi ubanamaHloni)*. A murderer feels 'shame', if he feels that everyone suspects him. He cannot remove the 'shame' and must allow it to wear off. (327): "It is possible that he might 'cleanse' himself by killing a goat or a beast. It is nobody's business to ask why, nor has he any obligation to divulge his reasons. He would draw the attention of the ancestors to the slaughtered beast; he would not confess the murder to them." Although the informants had been asked to give examples of *amaHloni* (shame), they had in fact supplied instances of *iHlazo* (disgrace). The distinction is not clear-cut in Zulu. (336) cannot give the difference between *amaHloni* and *iHlazo*. He hesitatingly concedes: *iHlazo* and *iChilo* refer to the badness of a deed, its depravity, *amaHloni* to the feelings of an offender caught out and his reputation. (326): *iHlazo* means the same as *amaHloni* and almost the same as *iChilo*. A man with *amaHloni* feels dejected, depressed. When people find out what he did, he at first pretends to know nothing. The hunt leader who slept with his Wi might confess if his companions bantered about it. (260): "*iHlazo* is synonymous with *iChilo:* it refers to an action which angers and upsets others. *inHloni* is applied to persons who must *Hlonipha*. The person who Hl most is the Wi." (Protest from 260's Wi!) (Another informant at this stage volunteers: When you have had intercourse with a 'deceased's' woman, you have *amaHloni*, a disease!). "When I am found to have done a bad thing I have *iHlazo* because now everyone knows what I did. When a woman has been impregnated by her lover and cannot explain her pregnancy to her H she has *amaHloni*." In these last examples *iHlazo* and *amaHloni* are used as if they were synonymous. (332): "A man has *iHlazo* when he has committed rape; he feels shy when walking in the neighbourhood of the woman; he feels disgraced when discovered. There is no way of 'cleansing' himself, except a man kill himself. Many men commit suicide in such a situation. The raped girl is unlikely to hang herself; she would commit suicide when she has jilted a young man and he tries to win her back!"

4. Taboo Breakers

The breakers of prohibitions, whether avoidances or taboos, are also categorized. Naturally violations occur which can be justified and do not meet disapproval. Callaway (1866) tells the story of a man who insisted on seeing his Da in the seclusion hut during her first menstruation; he was afraid that she had been carried off by a monster. The girl's age-mates remarked: 'Your love for her is evident, for you would see her, when she has the signs of puberty on her.' People are thus prepared to recognize reputable motives for a taboo breach. They are also ready to accept that 'circumstances alter cases.' During a famine a taboo may be broken openly and a convenient reason found. For instance a girl argued: "It is (now) no matter, if I give birth to an elephant and live (by eating the tabooed elephant flesh); that is better than not to give birth (to an elephant) and die (of hunger)". The group of men to whom I told this myth from Callaway responded with a great laugh: "She was quite right! When a person is hungry, he eats everything he comes across!" The warrior who decided to break a prohibition imposed at the commencement of a campaign has been mentioned: he besought the help of his ancestors to do so!

Frequently when informants are asked to classify taboo breakers, they commence with the Christians! "In the old society there were none, hence there was less trouble" (251, a very intelligent Zulu). Often this links up with a general condemnation of the 'modern generation.' (331): "In our time we did nothing but observe restraints; the trouble with our youth today is: they no longer respect us. Instead of kneeling before their elders, they stand; instead of avoiding the F's side in the hut, they go there with impertinence and even touch his head-rest. They omit to slaughter a beast when their F dies." One of the most striking modern taboo violations is that various sects allow men and women to eat SM in one room and at the

same time from one vessel. This is a sacramental violation of the old order, and is only condoned because it is a Zulu-invented violation. (331): "Some Xian women abstain from SM in their changes, others do not. A Christian hunter would not abstain from sexual intercourse before the hunt; he could call the interdict 'satanic'. It is men like this who stab their fellow hunters (as a result of the taboo breach)."

Traditionally taboo violators were grouped as follows (according to 251, 323, 331, 315, 316):- A r b i t r a r y, s t u b b o r n p e r s o n s: Under this heading we can distinguish (a) *isiDeleli*, a person 'who doesn't care'; he breaks prohibitions out of stubbornness, bellicosity. He is an *uMuntu oweyiSayo*, who thinks of himself only, he hits those who are weak, not those who might be stronger than himself. 'Nothing softens an *isiDeleli* but blows with a stick to crack his skull'. He doesn't observe the most stringent avoidances and taboos, e.g., he would eat SM with his F's spoon. People say about him: "Watch out, what his end will be!" *isiXhwala* is a synonym; he is thus described *Khanda limTshela okwakhe:* (His) head tells his own, or *iSala kuTshelwa siBonwa ngomOpho*, i.e., he is a person who, when told, doesn't listen. Soon he'll meet a person who won't talk - and he'll bleed! (b) *iBukazana:* appears to be a fool, but is in fact very clever, he says and does many different things at the same time. He is a shifty person but knows what he is doing; he would step over people's legs, point at them (i.e., break Hl). "Would he eat SM after his Ch's death?" That he couldn't do (Za). He is wrong-headed; he always acts contrary to Zulu custom; he cannot be corrected anymore, even if imprisoned: *uyiseDeleli* . The term applies to an adult, a Ch can still be reformed, he only *akaHloniphi* (does not Hl). (c) *inZondo, umuNtu oZondayo* : A person who hates, with hatred. He is worse than *isiDeleli*. Hatred is expressed in his 'bad' eyes; he doesn't smile, doesn't greet, looks at you without speaking. He wants to come close to you, so that he can provoke you to a fight. Chn are warned against becoming such persons. A woman who takes her H's penis-box would be worse than any of the three types mentioned; a man who stepped over the king's legs would be like all three together!

umFokozana: this is a beggarly person or one who ignores Hl rules out of stinginess. He has no cattle or goats; he has nothing to offer you; he can't Hl you or enter into an in-law exchange and alliance with you. When beer has been brewed at his kraal and the men gather to enjoy it, he 'vanishes'. It is the woman who brews the beer, but her H must offer it to guests. She can do it only when he is known to be away. If he has not taken leave, the beer cannot be served! (Hl). When a girl *Baleka's* an *umFokozana* he will not 'report' to her parents *(ukuMemeza)* announcing what beast he will offer. He just sits quiet, until her F gives up hope and fetches her back. An *umFokazana* does not honour the members of his own family, he stints them in food; he leaves for work but does not send money for Wi and Chn; he has no 'honour' *(akaSizi)* for them. When an *umFokazana* receives the bride-price for his Si, he does not inform his Brs of the transaction. They hear that he has killed a beast, but if they are not invited in such circumstances they will not attend the feast. Such a person is despised as a person who *uyaNcishana* (stints); he is called an *iNja* (dog) who eats his bones alone, an *iGovu leNja*, a dog born by itself; a selfish, greedy person *97*.

A madman, *isiDakwa*, (lit. drunkard), violates the taboo order. He drinks beer without moderation, fights with everybody, goes about naked without knowing what he does; he beats his F, uses his F's SM spoon, touches his mat. A female *isiDakwa* goes up close to her HF; she enters on his side of the hut, even if he is present. Such people need looking after, although their violations of the prohibitions are not taken as seriously as if committed by a normal person. A woman will be watched by her co-Wis; she might eat SM in her changes, and although she does it unwittingly, the cattle will be affected, e.g., they might break their legs. A mad boy needs looking after; he might sleep with his Si, or set fire to the hut or climb it.

R i t u a l v i o l a t o r s : Few Zulu recognize that certain ritual acts are taboo breaches. They acknowledge this, however, when it is pointed out to them. (a) The girls going to the rain rite *(ukuBhina)* violate several rules: they put on the boys' clothes, take cattle to pasture, they perform leap dances there; roll stones from kranzes; they use vulgar language. The boys observe a taboo day: they sit at home and do nothing. (b) The chief performs many

actions which reverse the normal order: SM is eaten at his kraal by men of many clan/ns. He may have his subjects killed. He can marry a clan-Si by changing the name of her lineage. He is the first at the First Fruits to eat the hitherto tabooed fruits and vegetables. (251) agrees that the effect of the taboo breach rests in the reversal of the normal rules of behaviour. He had at first argued that in the past there were no taboo violations.

While Zulu culture makes its members "blind" to ritual taboo breaches, they are so indignant about witchcraft that they fail to recognize that its evil ways are illicit violations of prohibitions. When a wizard points at you *(inJumbane)* he violates an avoidance; he does not do so in public, but picks a quarrel with you in the course of which he gets a chance to point unnoticed. Arriving at your kraal at night, completely naked and painted over with ash of his own kraal, he performs a number of breaches which are a sure way to convey death to a strange home. For instance he takes soil from the top of the grave, which is Za to anyone. For that reason graves were watched for days after the burial. By feeding his familiar, a baboon, with SM, he violates the Hl on sharing SM with clan strangers.

To sum up: One gets the impression that the fact that taboo breakers can be charged with being unreasonable, stubborn, foolish, stingy or quite mad contributes more to conformity than the sanctions - a proposition which of course it is difficult to prove statistically.

D. SETTLEMENT OF AVOIDANCE AND ABSTENTION BREACHES BY COMPOSITION

1. *Settlement within Kindred*

In certain situations educational measures are considered no longer sufficient. A bride must not call her H by his pers/n. The importance of this avoidance is underlined by magical sanctions. But presumably because such sanctions do not come off the H and his kinsmen insist, in case of a breach, that the young woman pay an *inHlawulo* (fine or damages: S:173). Such damages are also claimed if the magical sanction came off, e.g., if her Ch is stillborn she must pay 'for killing the Ch in the womb.' A bride is 'fined' for violating the cattle, pen, yard and hut avoidances of her status and for punishing a Ch of the homestead, even for running after it in anger! Her H may demand as much as 10/- from her for violating his educational prerogative. Since a bride has no cattle she must 'confess' her fault to her F and obtain a beast or goat which she renders to her H's people 'as a sign that she is sorry.' The two families in affinal relationship are involved, the one by contributing, the other by consuming the 'fine'. Such a fine cannot be kept; it must be slaughtered and eaten by the H's agnates; it is taboo, Za, to the offending woman.

The typical damages case arises between F-in-l and Da-in-l. If a woman uses her H's pers/n (say 103, 213, 215) "it is immaterial", "it just happens." It is quite different if she uses her HF's pers/n, and very serious indeed, if she approaches him too closely. She is told to collect a 'fine' from her F. The woman reports to him through a go-between, and the beast must be driven by a youth to her H's kraal, since she cannot do this herself (Hl). Her F calls a meeting of his agnates (Brs, grown-up Sos, FBrs); they normally accept the claim, but may decide, if the woman insists that she has been accused wrongly, to send two or three men of good repute to investigate and report on the accusation. This is said to be just a matter of form and incapable of affecting the issue. In the circumstances a rascally F-in-l might squeeze his in-laws for damages.

In severe or repeated breaches of Hl the HF refuses to eat his Da-in-l's food and her H may join in the abstention: "We now Za your food!" This makes a settlement urgent and gives verisimilitude to the accusation. The self-imposed abstention refers the conflict in a dyadic relation to the arbitrament of the families involved. When the woman returns with the beast, it is

driven into the H's pen, the woman shouting: 'I've brought the damages for what I did!' It is cooked and consumed by the inmates, the patriarch announcing: "This is the fine brought by the bride for leaping over the prohibition. You may hurt her now no longer!" No derogatory reference to her lapse is henceforth permitted.

If a man uses his M-in-l's pers/n in vain, she reports the matter to her H or So. (184) stated that the So-in-l is sent for to attend a meeting of his in-laws' lineage together with his Brs and told to pay damages. (214), a chief's messenger, vigorously denied that a woman may claim damages from her So-in-l. All that happens is that he is called a 'senseless' person. (184)'s information seems in fact suspect, and reveals that even in a culture so male-orientated as Zulu culture, women maintain the ideal of sex equality. Even a F-in-l is liable for 'damages'. If he enters his Da-in-l's hut before being ritually released from the avoidance, if he touches or beats her, his actions are condemned by his own family. They insist on his paying a fine. According to some the fine, a goat, goes to the Da-in-l's people, according to others it is rendered to an old woman in his own homestead; it is killed and eaten by all. If a WiM enters her DaH's homestead without permission, this is 'something unusual' and 'unheard of'. She may be made to pay a 'fine' (a goat).

Even a H is subject to this proto-legal sanction. (130) admits that if her H used her pers/n in anger she would have no redress; she would also have to bear without complaint his 'swearing' at her. But if he committed a grave offence, e.g., beat her excessively, she could report him to her parents, and he would be 'fined'. (129): A H may not use his Wi's pers/n in a loud and offensive manner in public or shout his Wi's tek/n if her F is present. He would be asked by the woman's family to pay a fine, "since their differences can be made up: they have just quarrelled, they have not run short of love, they have not rejected each other!" (214) is more realistic: "If a H beats his Wi badly, there are no damages, for there are no damages in connection with a Wi.". If there are wounds, damages must be paid. The Wi retires to her F's kraal, and he sends a message to her H: 'Our Da is here!' The man must call on his F-in-l to claim his Wi back, and when she has returned to him, his lineage is called together. The case is argued, the woman being allowed to call witnesses, mainly her co-Wis who may have seen her bruises and wounds. If her H is found in the wrong, he is 'fined' a goat, nowadays also money to the conventional equivalent of a goat. Nominally the fine goes to the woman, in practice it is killed for the H's kraal and eaten by all. Such a result is, of course, only likely if the kraalhead, the woman's HF, sides with her.

If an unmarried girl calls her SiH by his pers/n her F will admit that she was uncivil and deserves to be 'fined'. The goat is then rendered by him. In this case the offending party may take up the case and arrive at 'the sentence' in order to retain the goodwill of the offended party. If a married woman abuses her SiH, the matter may be taken up in the kraal in which she is married. Her SiHF reports the offence to her F as well as to her H.

Since a young woman's trespass in general avoidance customs reveals a defect in her education, her family is made responsible for it. However, since her knowledge of the name and action avoidances in her H's homestead should have been acquired from her co-Wis, these may also be made to pay 'damages' jointly from their 'private' (or House) property in cattle.

Even in the group of age-mates *(iNtanga)* such semi-legal procedures occur. Girls are told not to eat too much, or not to eat sitting while under the control of the girls' Queen of a district. Besides there are the many rules concerning the responses towards approaches from lovers. Transgressing girls are 'fined' in beads, brass articles, etc., the 'fines' going to the Queen.

Occasions for settlement by composition of breaches of avoidances occur also among agnates. If a Br beats his Si and - in case her F is dead - she reports the matter to the chief, he refers it back to the lineage assembly. A So is 'fined' for using his F's personal property and especially for infringements of his symbols of authority. All kraal inmates, also neighbours,

exclaim that he deserves punishment. Such punishment may be in two forms: a beating by his Brs, and a 'fine' to go to his F. The 'fine' may be a goat, if he owns a herd, and a beast if his F is a man of substance or authority (e.g., a headman). Such an assembly, according to (364), is only called, if the So has reached puberty; before that event 'the son hasn't seen anything of the world' and is, socially speaking, 'blind'.

The *uDaba*, the family or lineage assembly, which discusses an avoidance breach and arrives at a verdict and sentence, distinguishes legal from educational sanction. In the latter a parent, or a person acting in loco parentis corrects the Ch, applying sanctions on the spur of the moment; in proto-legal processes a case is argued before a kinship assembly. It is obvious that the Zulu employ the term *inHlawulo* with a very wide connotation: a legal fine in the tribal court and composition in intra-familial settlements are both covered by it. The extended connotation is analogous to that for *umThetho* (law) which also covers proto-legal custom. Gifts, e.g., beads, which are 'paid' on entering a hut where a Ch was born, are called *inHlawulo* as well as the beast offered in propitiating ancestors, when the birth was delayed. Where breaches of avoidances occur the matter is settled within the family or between the two families concerned. As far as possible such matters are kept outside the headman's or chief's court. Only in cases of repeated and malicious breaches of avoidance conduct, or a persistent refusal to acknowledge a breach by settling the 'fine' incurred, is the dispute taken there. The activities of the family courts, (103) asserts, are partly unsuspected and partly ignored by the white man, including magistrates and judges.

The Zulu term for a family affair of this nature is *inDaba yomNdeni* or *inDaba yo'Zalo* (*umNdeni* = extended family, kindred; *uZalo:* descendants in their totality). Family cases are discussed informally among male agnates at the top of the homestead on a site which women and strangers may not approach without permission. The senior member of the lineage sums up the discussions. The lineage elder may thus be plaintiff (offended party) and judge, or arbiter at the same time. This state of affairs is not objected to, since the Zulu accept patriarchal privileges. (As we have seen, a complaint by a Wi against her HF may be dealt with by the family assembly, and so may a case by a So against his F, e.g., if he takes it upon himself to punish his SoChn at the So's homestead). Judgment is pronounced after the dispute has been fully aired. Yet the patriarch has no power to enforce the sentence. Damages within the family are 'voluntarily' paid by the party at fault. Cases between families linked through marriage (*qbaNtu basemZini*) are arranged through go-betweens; there seems to be no provision for a joint meeting of the two lineages. The 'senior' family takes the initiative, i.e., either the H over against the Wi, or the F-in-l's family over against the DaH. The 'junior' family must accept the verdict of the 'senior' family assembly. In theory the right to examine the charges brought against a member of a 'junior' family is conceded, but not the right to challenge or reverse its findings.

Since a lineage assembly performs jural functions in avoidance breaches it is not surprising that the nomenclature used is the same as that in tribal courts. The judgment rendered by the lineage patriarch is an *isiNqumo* (S: 330: resolution); e.g., a F-in-l may wind up a discussion about the offensive behaviour of his DaH towards his M-in-l by saying: *NgiKhipha isiNqumo* (I pronounce judgment). The damages or fines fixed in these settlements are *inHlawulo*. A person dissatisfied with the decision of a family assembly may appeal to the headman's court by the *Dlulisa* procedure as a dissatisfied client does from headman's to chief's court. (In olden times, as Pika Zulu maintains, no appeal from the king's verdict was possible).

There is, however, an important difference with regard to the disposal of damages. In family cases the 'fine' is slaughtered and consumed in the family or among affines, i.e., among the persons directly concerned in the offence. In court cases, a fine in animals is consumed by the councillors. In consequence the family killing is considered a correction of the fault, a healing of the rift, and the idea of cleansing is closely associated with the process. The term *isiGezo* (S:128), purification beast, amende honorable, is thus a synonym of the family *inHlawulo* both among agnates and between agnates and affines.

T o s u m u p : A breach of avoidances (Hl) within the kindred group challenges the maintenance of effective relationships. A 'fine' settles the breach, and because it is transmitted within a closely knit kinship unit, it acquires a ritual, a 'cleansing' function. The procedure for settlement is initiated by the 'senior' kinship member, who may not necessarily be the injured party. Compensation among the Zulu is possible not only between two affinal groups but also within an agnatic lineage although such a procedure is thought insufficient in some offences, e.g., incest.

2. Settlement before Courts

Breaches of avoidance and taboo norms also come before the minor and tribal courts. This happens if the kinship assembly fails, e.g., if the patriarch's verdict is not accepted by the offender; if the offender continues to violate Hl norms; if the aggrieved party is not satisfied with the settlement and if the two families (in-laws) do not agree. The difference between cases which are dealt with in the lineage assembly and cases which are taken to court may turn on the nature of the offence including the distinction between Hl and Za. E.g., the taboo on work in the fields after a severe storm is occasionally broken. Anyone seen going out to the fields is warned by ever-observant kraal-mates or neighbours: "Didn't you see what happened yesterday?" He will turn back. He may need a special reminder by a messenger or an explicit warning: *uNkulunkuluangaBuye alethe olunye uLaka olungaphezulu kwalolo abelwenzile* (God will return, and send further troubles, so that the community will suffer again). If a person goes to work, in spite of a general taboo day, or after a death in his kraal, he is reported to the headman (*inDuna*), and the men of the district will meet at h i s place to deal with the matter. It is not a proper court case, but the trespasser will be asked by the headman, what his intention was, and statements will be heard on whether he had been warned or not. There is no verdict or judgment, only an admonition by the headman and a public reproval (*inDaba lapho eLaywa khona*.) If the offender has no satisfactory explanation, or if he proves obstreperous, he is sent to the chief's court. There he might be fined 10/- or £1 for 'breaking the law of the nation.' This is then a proper *iCala* (court case). He could appeal to the Native Commisioner's court, but public opinion would be against such a procedure as 'spoiling Zulu customary law', for the N.C. could not fairly judge the p r o s and c o n s of such a case. The type of people subject to a 'public reproval' are thoughtless, stubborn, sometimes even evil-intentioned. The thoughtless can be checked by advice, the stubborn would act contrary to a warning, the last would not easily expose themselves (362).

Whether a taboo breach is dealt with in the family assembly or at court depends also on the kind of status relationship involved. Adultery between a Wi and her HBr is often settled by the payment of damages within the lineage. A chief objects to the private settlement on the ground that such cases lead to bloodshed. He is of course interested in the fine which goes to him. Cases of seduction used to be dealt with by the two families concerned and the settlement was highly ritualized; they are now taken up by the chief's court on the claim that 'the chief's grass has been spoilt.' The fine for a pre-marital pregnancy has a special name, viz., *imVimba* (beast) *98*. It should be noted that in the course of history the taboo on pre-marital pregnancy has been re-defined again and again. Before Shaka it was: Do not beget a Ch while yet uncircumcised; after Shaka: Do not beget a Ch while not yet released from the marriage prohibition imposed on a regiment on active service. A definition holding in all circumstances is 'Do not have a Ch while still in your F's kraal' (mainly for girls).

In certain cases the killing of a violator of a family avoidance or a taboo is reported. (364): A F will beat his So with a stick on his calves if he eats from his SM pot without proper etiquette. He would kill him straightway, if he ate with his F's SM spoon. (The informant only reluctantly admits that the offence should be reported to the king who would authorize an executioner to act). (110): The man who has had sexual intercourse with a widow contracts *inSila* (magical dirt disease) from her womb. He will necessarily and inevitably die and nobody will worry about him. But if the adulterer is a So of the homestead, he would be done away with without the matter being brought before court. The new family head carries out 'the execution' secretly, strangling the youth himself! (The case is specially heinous, since the youth violates

three taboos: intercourse with one of his classificatory Ms; intercourse with an uncleansed widow; interference with the new kraalhead's authority.)

A woman who touches her H's clothes without being authorized is scolded and thrashed by him. If the offence is repeated, she is sent home to collect a 'fine'. If the article is the man's cloak worn at SACs, the offence cannot be compounded. The woman is sent back to her F for good, and the H claims the bride-price back, i.e., the marriage is terminated. If the woman concerned is the Wi of a chief neither composition nor divorce can be resorted to. In the past such an offence was punished by death.

The Za prohibition against commoners' contacting royal women had not only a monopoly aspect. It created moral demands and helped to maintain them. A similar intertwining of egoistic and moral motives is apparent in the traditional Zulu method of 'eating up', i.e., of confiscating the property of men of substance and killing them. The occasions were alleged disloyalty of the men concerned, their refusal to surrender desirable girls to the king, accumulation of wealth in cattle, increase in influence so as to impair the king's prestige. When in such a situation some 'inconvenience' occured, such as a cattle epidemic, a drought, or a disastrous hailstorm, a witch-smeller who knew whom he had to point out, would charge the man with having 'bewitched' the king's cattle, family or crops. The chief would thereupon dispatch a regiment to surround the kraal, kill its inhabitants, destroy the huts and confiscate the cattle. Such 'eating up' was not 'legalized robbery', since it was carried out in the interests of orderly rule and the internal peace of the tribe. For, since the chief's real authority rested, apart from fictitious mythical claims, on his possessions in cattle and grain, it could be easily undermined by a commoner who had more than the king. Hence being richer than the king was to be avoided (Hl). Consequently, too, there was the avoidance (Hl) of fighting the king's troops that came 'to eat up' a kraal. The appropriate ideal of non-resistance is expressed in the phrase: 'It is our fate' (*iDlozi*, lit. a matter of our ancestor) (Leslie: 86; Hartley: 13; Shooter: 119-34).

Of the many interdicts which regulate a commoner's conduct at court, my informants mentioned mainly the prohibition on coughing and sneezing while the king is eating as being sanctioned by 'a fine'. The fine increases with the importance of the offender. If he is wealthy, he must offer a substantial 'peace-offering.' All other avoidances are unanimously declared by my informants to be sanctioned by the threat of execution, although they are aware that the king has lost the right to kill even murderers. This fact surely testifies to the horror with which a violation of the Hl rules at court was viewed and to the awe in which the king is still held today. In the past, certainly, an execution was ordered upon the most trivial violation of the king's sphere. The taboo on conversation with the royal women, on touching their belongings, even accidentally, is a case in point. It is hardly likely that the violation of a royal avoidance was ever made the occasion of a court sitting. In this sense, the reaction of the powers-that-be was automatic and inevitable.

In the king's court the personnel is specialized and procedure formal. The two parties are present with their witnesses, the chief (king) and his councillors conduct the case, and all form a properly constituted legal institution, the *inKundla yamaCala*, or court. Such a court has regular sessions and a well-regulated procedure controlled by the presiding chief. Minor court officials, such as messengers and bailiffs function. A number of spectators represent the general public. Women may not sue and are not sued: they are invariably represented by their guardians, viz., F, H, or Br. The objective of the legal process is the *isiNqumo* (judgment), and this often results in the imposition of a 'fine' (*inHlawulo*). But contrary to the fine in a family case, it does not serve as 'a meal of pacification' between offender and offended, but serves as a court emolument, and benefits the tribal head who is not involved in the initial offence. On the whole, the settlement of breaches of avoidances and taboos is a matter of lineage assemblies rather than formally constituted courts.

It may be because of the legal thinking of the Zulu that most avoidances and taboos, although

always stated in an absolute form, are in practice modified in an altogether casuistic manner. Exemptions, modifications, conditions, and exonerations abound. Old age exempts a woman from the avoidance of uttering her H's pers/n; old people may sleep in the Great Hut where sacrificial meat is 'dedicated' for a night. Practical considerations are taken into account. A young M's confinement may be curtailed if her duties in home and field so demand. Modern conditions make it possible for a pubescent girl, forbidden to touch any of her Br's belongings during her isolation, to use his greatcoat when answering calls of nature. Special conditions exist for smith and lightning doctor who abstain from the SM of a cow only if its calf is very young. The nature of the motive allows exemptions, e.g., a F may enter his Da's puberty hut if her age-mates are persuaded that he does it out of concern for his Da. A woman who shouts her HF's pers/n to draw attention to her plight (e.g., maltreatment) will not be fined. The distinction between a private and a public violation makes it possible to connive at the former while still condemning the latter, e.g., the M-in-l who rejected the gift of a cow from her S-in-l but ate his SM secretly. The practice of ritually evading a taboo is well known. E.g., a pregnant woman who must not cross a river can make her passage safe by pressing a clod of earth against her buttocks and then throwing it into the water. Ritual inversion due to rank also introduces a modifying factor. A commoner must go like a young woman behind the huts to reach his girl's Residence on his visit to her kraal. As suppliant he adopts the behaviour of females. His royal rival would boldly walk in front of the huts and show no fear of being interfered with by his lover's Brs.

II. ZULU CATEGORIES

In examining Zulu moral notions we face the difficulty of applying such terms as 'sacred' or 'sin' in a 'primitive' culture. These terms have to us become so imbued with the complex theology of modern Christianity, and in the case of 'pollution' with the philosophy of Hinduism, that it would be futile for us to expect equivalents for them in African thought. Yet unless we wish to deny corresponding notions to the Zulu altogether, it becomes necessary to find terms which cover the common ground. Callaway (1868: 34, 56, 438) has extremely little to say about 'pure' or 'polluted' and, since we can hardly charge him with an oversight in this respect, the fact should he noted. The word for 'sin' occurs in his texts but twice, and in each case in connection with the violation of a special taboo regimen, viz., that observed during a thunderstorm and the other in preparing warriors for a raid. When the people ask: "How have we transgressed?" they have not in mind the divine order but the conditions of action imposed upon them by the doctors concerned. It should also be noted that while the behaviour patterns of Hl and Za conduct are to a large extent analogous, the moral categories attached to, or associated with them, show greater elaboration in the latter case. Ritual fitness is mainly required in role taboo situations, in diachronic passage rites and in occupational or group leader 'functions'. Discrimination between groups on the basis of differential ritual fitness or unfitness such as exists between clans of different rank in East Africa, or between castes in India, is however unknown among the Zulu.

A. MISFORTUNE; GOOD AND BAD LUCK

1. *umMnyama* : Condition of attracting misfortune

The meanings which the term conveys can be grouped under three headings, but it is important to note that in all three meanings *umMnyama* has the quality of contagion.

a. In its concrete meaning it implies physical darkness, the darkness of night (Bryant: 1905), as in the phrase *kumMnyama* ; the darkening of the skin at puberty (DV); the threatening clouds prior to a storm (DV); but (255), (256) object to this; occasions for abstentions: *oluMnyama*(= *uSuku lwenZilo*): a dark, black day, a dismal day of abstentions from work, visits, pleasures; such days were observed also at *ngoluMnyama*: the day following the moon's disappearance; the third day is 'white' and 'favourable'; all restrictions are lifted, although technically

it is still moonless; grief and sorrow at a death, the *umMnyama-wo-muNtu-oFileyo*, the gloom concerning the dead, a synonym being *iNkongolwana*, the state of distress of persons attending a dying relative. b. *umMnyama* is the condition which a person acquires who is observing a regimen of taboos, e.g., widows who are socially isolated, abstain from all sexual adventures and observe speech and food restrictions. Likewise the lightning doctor observing his summer abstentions acquires *umMnyama* and a chief who, through abstentions and magical treatment, prepares himself for the First Fruits. In consequence he is greeted as "The Black-One". *umMnyama* in this sense does imply magical potency but its nature and intensity differ with the person concerned *99*. c. The third meaning of *umMnyama* has two aspects. It may mean a quality inborn in animals, plants and persons which causes ill-fortune (*isiNyama*) to others, e.g., the otter (*umThini*) through its rain-bow like fat (!) and the sheep, which for this reason is not used in SACs to the ancestors by the average Zulu. (The use of sheep in SACs by smiths or rain doctors is a case of inversion). The nature of a woman imbues her with *umMnyama* , so that she may bring it to her H's kraal as is recognized when she does not bear Chn! "Certainly a woman in her changes and even in childbirth has *umMnyama* , for does not her H refrain from visiting her?" Even an ancestral spirit, an *iThongo* , may be 'black' with a disposition to ill-favour (Callaway: 1868: 133, 148, 175). The second aspect of this third meaning of *umMnyama* is a condition attracting misfortune or evil on oneself which is acquired through the omission of a ritual obligation or the transgression of ritual prohibitions. 'Adultery', several informants stated, 'does not bring on *umMnyama*, it is the result of it!'

(244) states decisively that it is not the corpse which possesses *umMnyama* but the bereaved. (245) confirms this and adds, it is mainly a stranger touching the corpse who acquires the *umMnyama*, and he is afraid of this, for it means ill-luck. Consequently cleansing rites are held first for those outsiders who touched the corpse and those who dug the grave (*abaHlali* = who must be of a different clan from that of the deceased). The *inKomo-yokuDla-imiThi* is slaughtered for the family of the dead man so that they are freed of *umMnyama* , can eat and move about. They rub their hands (*e-yoka-Hlamb'izAndla*) in the chyme (*umSwani*) of the beast. This serves the double objective of washing off the dead man (*ukumHlamba*) and washing away all evil consequences of handling the corpse (*ukuSus' umMnyama womuNtu oFileyo*) (Bryant: 1949: 469, 705).

The Washing (*iHlambo*), held to 'wash the weapons' (*ukuGeza iziKhali*), to get rid of any *umMnyama* attaching to them because of the death, follows. The process is one of ritually using the weapons again for the first time. When a Ch has died its M calls the Chn of the homestead a few days later and makes them rub their hands in ash or wash in *iNtolwane* water to remove the *umMnyama* from them. It is difficult to say whether the *umMnyama* in these ritual acts is more than 'the signs of mourning' or the restrained actions of mourning. Since a widow's mourning regimen is most severe, she must ritually wash every day at sunrise at the river! (325): She has *umMnyama* because her H is dead. She sits near the corpse for a night so as 'to absorb' the *umMnyama* . She is not affected thereby, but a man who has intercourse with her acquires it, and it brings him a painful disease. She is cleansed of transmittable *umMnyama* when a beast from her home and another from her H's place are killed for her. A widow is for an old man. If a young man proposes to a widow, it is an *iChilo* (disgrace). She has *umMnyama* for him, even though she be cleansed! Here *umMnyama* is clearly misfortune-bringing quality, but it is 'selective' and the carrier herself is not affected.

Chn normally do not acquire *umMnyama* . But they can be born with it. A herdboy who is always attacked by his mates has it, since he has no friend. *umMnyama* , with its implication of unsatisfactory 'human relations', reveals its full implications only at puberty. A youth who always receives a 'no' to his proposals has *umMnyama* , likewise the girl who has no lover. The parents call a doctor, a white goat is slaughtered for the ancestors, the essential thing is the emetic obtained. The girl is then frequently sent out to fetch water and wood and watched on these outings, for they are the occasions when she can show her new attraction to men. Women, as was noted before, may bring *umMnyama* to the kraal into which they marry.

umMnyama varies thus in intensity with age, sex, and rank. It also varies in its transmissibility. When a Ch dies, the defilement settles on its M until the 'medicine beast' is slaughtered. Without such cleansing F and M cannot have Chn together again. When a married woman dies, the defilement attaches to her H and her Chn, but not to her co-Wis since "they have different clan/ns!"; it is cleared when the medicines are sucked and the meat is eaten as for the Ch. When a kraalhead dies the defilement settles on his widows, his Chn, his Brs and his M. It would only slightly affect the BrsWis. It is ritually removed from all agnates pretty soon, but remains for a long time with "the owners of the corpse", the *abaFelokazi* , i.e., the kraalhead's M and widows. These must at the end of mourning bring a beast from their respective homes to 'cleanse' the homestead of the deceased, "to cleanse the dead man from their blood." This is necessary since 'they created Chn' with him, and without it the widows could not have Chn with a successor H, *umMnyama* thus spreads among close relatives. For this reason the buriers in the case of a family head must be two men not of his clan; in the case of a Ch two classificatory Ms, not its own M; in the case of a woman two co-Wis; in the case of a chief two headmen who do not belong to his clan!

The majority of *umMnyama* cases fall into the third group. There are cases where *umMnyama* is contracted as a result of the omission of ritual duties. When nothing is slaughtered after a death, *umMnyama* settles on that homestead. Something 'will happen', the inmates run into trouble. If the *isiDlo* beast is not slaughtered, the *umMnyama* remains for ever! Your ancestors are against you! If a kinsman dies at home while you are away, and you do not return for the rites (Washing), you acquire *umMnyama*, i.e., have misfortune. When a kraalhead is not ritually 'brought home', and in general, when the ancestors are neglected, *umMnyama* comes to you.

These cases shade into others, which bring *umMnyama* as the consequence of a violation of a ritual prohibition. A person who visits another homestead while he is still 'in mourning' gets hurt on the way. If the interdict against loud talk is disregarded after a death, misfortune shows its head. Persons who indulge in sex intercourse in the mourning period become 'lustful'. The man who sleeps with a woman in her menses gets involved in a fight; his Ch will become a weakling. Normal intercourse results in *uSuku* only; intercourse before a communal hunt affects the hunter with *umMnyama*: the buck will not rise; if it does, it will attack and gore him, or he will be injured by his companions. *umMnyama* spreads by contagion to the whole company; the transgressor's heart will tell him that he is at fault, his friends will come to the same conclusion! *umMnyama* finds him out, and reveals him through his misfortunes.

The killer, whether murderer or warrior, is in a condition of *umMnyama* unless he takes ritual precautions: he abstains from SM, from sexual intercourse. He must place himself in charge of a specialist who treats him with emetics. Some say he must also slaughter an animal. If not, he becomes an idiot, a lunatic, a person suffering from *ubuLuphungusa* : nobody can understand him when he speaks.

The moral element is not strictly defined. (106): Executioners are *Ngcolile* (unclean), they are called 'hyenas' (*izimPisi*), they can't approach the king closely for fear of transmitting *umMnyama*. (106) adds as an afterthought: since they did their work as a life-job, they may have undergone a cleansing when they gave it up. A hunter who killed a crocodile or hyena has *umMnyama* and must be cleansed. A diviner apprentice has *umMnyama* since he has no beast to cleanse himself with, to slaughter when necessary. (179) distinguishes between intercourse with an 'unreleased' widow, a woman with the signs of the black clothes on her, which brings *umMnyama*, and ordinary adultery which does not result in *umMnyama* but in a magical disease (*uJovela* or *iQondo* , also syphilis!) Consciousness of guilt is not required. Some informants plead that no normal person would commit adultery unless he is under the influence of *umMnyama*. At most they admit that the adulterer had done a wrong previous to and causing his marital lapse. The king's *umMnyama* has also a double aspect. If his regiments are always beaten in battle he has *umMnyama* (of misfortune). An old Zulu, when we talked about the present Paramount's monogamous marriage, whispered, he must have *umMnyama* (bad luck with girls).

A doctor can remove such an ill-producing condition. From this *umMnyama* differs the magically produced *umMnyama*, the result of the 'black treatment' which gives the king overshadowing ascendancy: this *umMnyama* cannot be shared with commoners nor with brother-chiefs either. There is also some uncertainty whether a fall of hail brings *umMnyama*, or whether it is *umMnyama* which attracts the hail! Hail should be respected (Hl) even before it appears. The same is true of lightning. The non-respector of the fiery bolt brings it down on his homestead: it then has *umMnyama* and a doctor must come to treat it. But the owner must have had *umMnyama* first to bring such a calamity to pass.

2. Untoward events *isiNyama, iNyama-embi, isEhlelo, isiSila, iShwa, umSwazi:* *umMnyama* is, as we have seen, a general condition resulting from the intentional breach of ritual prohibitions or the omission of a ritual requirement (e.g., SAC). It may also be due to an involuntary cause: an inborn quality which can be remedied with difficulty only; or to ancestral influence and can then be rectified by a SAC; it is also transmitted to a person through witchcraft. It may be best described as a condition resulting in bad luck.

A person may not be conscious of having this condition; if so he has his attention drawn to it by a succession of misfortunes which go by various names, all more or less meaning the same, viz., *isiNyama, iNyama-embi, isEhlelo, isiSila, iShwa* and *umSwazi*. With *umMnyama* you had best not embark on an important undertaking: misfortune will dog you, you will suffer many setbacks. The greater liability of men in this respect is illustrated in the cases discussed. Even when a man sleeps with an 'uncleansed' widow it is he who suffers the *isiNyama*, not the woman with the condition of *umMnyama*. *UmMnyama* is a general condition also in so far as its baneful influence is not restricted to one person but is diffused according to the agnatic power lines. Even the absentee from an afflicted family unit is not exempt. The mourner in town who is remiss is hit as well as the stay-at-home. The cure for *umMnyama* and *isiNyama*, for condition and ill effects flowing from it, is the same. The slaughter of a white goat, ordered by a doctor who has made the correct diagnosis, removes the gloomy condition from the afflicted person, the contagion from his agnates, and prevents ill-luck.

isiNyama shares to some extent with *umMnyama* the connotation of a quality bringing about ill-luck, attracting accidents, which can be removed by 'cleansing' *(ukuGeza)*. However the main meaning is that of untoward events resulting from the misfortune-carrying condition. The same conceptual shifts can be observed with the other terms investigated. One informant, for instance, says: A woman who has lost her Ch is *onuSuku* (sic)! It is a condition where *isiNyama* will follow if she cohabited with her H. *isiNyama* afflicts a H also when his Wi, with sex stain on her, cooks for him!

Responsibility for *umMnyama* and exposure to *isiNyama* is not distributed with equity. I put it to (255) and (256) that since *umMnyama* frequently results from the omission of rites for whose performance the kraalhead is responsible, one would expect that he should suffer more actual strokes of misfortune than any member of his family. They counter by saying that mishaps and accidents do not happen to him alone; responsibility is shared and accidents befall the family head, his Wis and Chn indiscriminately. By striking members of his family the accidents hit him too! As *umMnyama* extends its contagious influence in an agnatic unit, so *isiNyama* does not single out its head alone! Admittedly the disregarding of some respect rule by Ch or Wi may not affect the homestead very much; it is a minor case. And the responsibility for the common weal or woe of the kraalhead and his princWi is accepted in the expressions *uKvPhatha Kahle*, he or she is a benefactor, and *uziPhethe Kabi*, he or she is an evil-doer, whose deeds have a far-reaching effect. Greater power quite plainly involves greater responsibility. (260 and 261): Where a kraalhead has died and his Brs do not perform the rites the widows will experience *isiNyama*. If the kraalhead omits the rites after his So's death, the SoChn will have *isiNyama*. The 'gloom of death' will not pass him by, he may have bad luck and also the widows and the Chn. But the bad happenings will not affect especially the one who was remiss; they do not fall according to individual desert, but affect families as a unit.

(255) and (256) describe a magical cleansing from bad accidents of this nature. The doctor mixes certain roots and makes an emetic with which he treats the family; the slaughtering of a beast ensures the attendance of all. The doctor receives a fee to the value of a beast, i.e., £5 plus £1 extra for the "spade" *(uGxa)*. (They do not know of any abstentions in the manufacture, storing and handling of "the spade").

izEhlelo are such events as "the death of my Ch, or my failure to obtain work, as well as other astonishing and upsetting happenings. They are called *izEhlelo buHlungu*. There is a little difference between them and *umMnyama;* it is this: You suffer these occurrences and they indicate that you have *ubuMnyama*, that you have done what you ought not to have done. For instance a girl in her first menses must sit on her GM's mat. If she does not, *izEhlelo* will happen to her or the whole kraal. It might also be *iziSila*."

iNyama-emBi refers to accidents, to cases of ill-luck, to an unexpected death at your home, of which you may hear on your return after a journey. Unreasonable accusations, unmerited hate show that the sufferer has *iNyama-emBi*. (260): "People cause you to become an *iNyama-emBi;* an envious person brings this about by witchcraft; you may not be guilty of an offence at all. Such *iNyama-emBi* can only be cured by a doctor! Guilt is present when a taboo breach results in disease, when the omission of a rite results in disorder at home." Some informants make *iNyama-emBi* the direct result of a taboo breach without referring to a condition predisposing to misfortune. Others suggest that such a condition is present. The stabber who sleeps with his Wi before a SAC must already have *iNyama-emBi;* in consequence the meat will turn bad, and there will be no light *(akukho ukuKhanya)* in whatever he does. Lugg suggested that *iNyama-emBi* is a condition in which meat turns bad, but the matter is more complex. As a stranger does not eat your SM because he abhors it and you treat him as a stranger, so *iNyama-emBi* has a double effect: 'having bad flesh' *100* and 'causing bad flesh' as exemplified in the unclean stabber at a SAC. If a lightning doctor sleeps with his Wi while a storm is approaching this brings him bad luck *(iNyama-emBi)* and he has to throw away his medicines. The family head must not have sexual intercourse before a SAC or he will have a bad accident. The SAC requires a meditative mood and the thought of woman should be excluded. *iNyama-emBi* afflicts also persons who have not transgressed: the Wis and the Chn of a family head who died have evil things *(iNyama-emBi)* come to them. The matter is, of course, aggravated by a taboo breach, e.g., if they meet and talk with other people, if they mix with a crowd in the first period of mourning. (110): "All mourners are 'under the shadow', the cloud of *umMnyama*. But only if a widow breaks her mourning abstentions does she bring *iNyama-emBi* to the kraal, and it would be the men, the deceased's agnates, who would suffer!" (105): "A warrior who has killed an enemy is 'unclean', has *umMnyama*, since he has to undergo a cleansing. But it cannot be said that he will be afflicted with *iNyama-emBi*, *isiNyama*, *isiSila* or *umSwazi*. For he is a hero! He leaves his *umMnyama* with a strange woman!" The self-propagating nature of *iNyama-emBi* can be checked, or removed, by a SAC. This should be accompanied with magical treatment by a doctor who applies 'white medicines'. For *iNyama-emBi* is in the last resort due to an angered or neglected ancestor *(iDlozi)* who takes his revenge in sending *iNyama-emBi*.

umSwazi omuBi is a synonym of the above terms and so is *iShwa*. *umKhokha* is a train of evil consequences following violations of Za and Hl.

Certain unfavourable events are called *isiSila*. The term has three chief meanings: events of misfortune, ill-luck; condition of being in disfavour, stigma; and agents producing disfavour. (a) The first meaning makes *isiSila* synonymous with words like *umSwazi*, *isiNyama*, *iNyama-emBi* and *iNtshidi*. But whereas *isiSila* stresses ill-favour received from persons, the other terms imply an impersonal element. (b) The condition producing *isiSila* can be congenital, and then resembles *umMnyama* in one of its meanings. It is the unfortunate quality causing a person to be disliked by his companions, by members of the opposite sex, by the chief. Being inborn, a person's fate or destiny is determined by it and there is no remedy (112). Other informants assert that *isiSila* may be brought on by a breach of restraints (Za/Hl). If the SAC of a beast results in *isiSila* disappearing this is proof positive that the diagnosis was correct. The basic

condition resulting in *isiSila* may also be brought on by a wizard bewitching a person so as to bring him into disfavour. (c) *isiSila* also shades over into *umHlola* which means awe-inspiring occurrence, portent or bad omen, as for instance, a ground hornbill, a dog on a hut, the birth of twins and anything causing doubts and uncertainty, e.g., objections to a campaign. The origin of some personal disfavour is traced to contact with certain animals and plants. Among them are *imPunzi* duiker, also known as *uHlaza* which refers to its blueish-grey colour, *isAmbane*, ant-eater or ant-bear, and *inHloni*, hedgehog. A warning against them is: *Musa ukuyiDla inesiSila* (Don't eat it, it will bring disfavour) (Za). The bird *imBucu* shows that a person is going to be disliked.

If a youth though handsome is not loved by the girls, this is 'unreasonable' in (146)'s view. *isiGwadi* and its synonym *isiShimane* refer to the disfavour caused by a man's physical ugliness but *isiSila* results either from a taboo breach which produces *umMnyama* or from the action of a wizard. (257) gives three instances: the lack of favour a boy finds with girls, the rebuff a job-seeker gets from employers, and the dislike between a married couple which ends in divorce. The distinction between accidental neglect and inexplicable disfavour comes out in the contrast between the following phrases: *ngibe neSulubezi* ('I have had a miss', s c i l . when the chief distributed gifts he did not see me) and *nginesiSila enKosini:* (I am in disfavour with the chief, that is why I was passed over). The fault does not so much lie with the chief as with the potential recipient, and Colenso (1905) from whom these examples are quoted, notes: *umuNtu onesiSila:* a man disliked by others, and identifies him with an evil-doer, a wizard.

It is mainly in the sphere of love-making that mystical disfavour is encountered. (247): A young man who has no luck with the girls is an *isiGwadi*. To remove his bad luck *(isiSila* or *umMnyama)* he is given medicated water to wash his face. With those who are under the influence of witchcraft this treatment is effective. With others it fails, since they are born fools *(isiThutha)*, and congenitally afraid *(ukwEsaba)* of girls. Similarly a girl who does not get a man has *isiSila*. If inborn it is incurable. If caused by a taboo-breach a SAC will put it right. *ukuSileka* is to make or cause to be disliked, whether a girl with her lover, a commoner with his chief, or a calf with its mother *(ukuSwaza* is the synonym). *isiSila* is a condition which magical practitioners attempt to convey to others. A rejected lover mixes the body-dirt of his successful rival with certain medicines *(ubuThi)* to produce the *uGib'isiSila* concoction (lit. 'to take out the disfavour'). This mixture he applies to his own body for it will make the hitherto favoured lover disagreeable to the girl, so that she will say to him: *"Suka, angiThandi unesiSila"* (Get away, I don't love you, you are offensive).

Ultimately, of course, the ancestors control a person's favour and disfavour with lovers and authorities. Colenso notes of an unsuccessful hunter: *iThongo ling-Alile namhlanje ang'Azi nkuba nginesiSila sani* (The spirit has been unkind to me today; I don't know what offence I have). My informants concurred in considering the interpretation Leslie (p. 170) puts on *unesiSila:* as meaning "defiled, radical moral corruption", as too strong. In particular they rejected the term as referring to a bride who eats SM at her H's before she is released. The younger generation is not sure about the connotation of *isiSila*. (254), a girl of about 18, was asked to talk about *isiSila* and replied: I only know *inSila* (body-dirt) and *umSila weHashi* (tail of horse). Body-dirt has, of course, magical implications, but it differs from those of *umMnyama*, and will be discussed below.

3. Good and Bad Luck

The opposite of *umMnyama* and *iShwa* (misfortune), of *isiSila*, and *isiNyama* (misfortunes), is *iNhlanhla* (unexpected gift, luck). Like bad luck, good luck is acquired in a variety of ways.

(a) Luck may be inborn, and then appears to be unalterable and irremovable. A woman's blood may convey good fortune to her H's homestead and do so permanently. Often luck is said to be due to the blood, the lap of a recently married woman. The hereditary quality of luck may account for or shade into the self-propagating quality of luck. *ukuHlahlamela*, to have a run of luck, expresses this idea. *iChe* is habitual good luck (Colenso). One piece of luck engenders

another, e.g., one beer drink leads to another in the next kraal. *(YiLokhu beVele bangiHlaba iNhlanhla:* they have right along been making me lucky). Luck, however, has an inherent quality of being limited: you can't always have luck; luck in one activity may involve misfortune in another.

(b) Luck is preeminently a matter of 'doctoring'. It can be produced by the proper medicine, the proper doctor, the proper ritual. *iNhlanhla* is not only luck, it is also the plant used to obtain it, and in particular a love-charm. Other medicines are: *inDabula-luValo:* medicine to give power or favour; *umDaka-wenDlovu:* the accumulation between the teeth of elephants used to gain popularity; *imiThi yeNhlanhla* are luck medicines in general, used as emetics or inoculations; *ubuLawu* is an emetic taken before a courting expedition. Many medicines serve as protection, and help to maintain an existing state of satisfaction. Most Zulu busy themselves in obtaining luck. *oKuhle* is the charm word uttered by hunters eating game, and patting the hearth stones they say: *okuhle okukhulu okwangomuso!* May the good luck of another day be still better! Young men prepare themselves with luck medicines for love-making. It is usually a mixture of herbs. Old men looking back on their successes and failures come to the conclusion that the mixture may not always have been the correct one. Some persons have the *iNhlanhla enkulu* to obtain a good and beautiful Wi. But many have been disappointed: they had luck with the Wi, but she bore no Chn; or they were lucky with the cattle and not in the family. There are medicines which work against getting Chn, for instance *uMamlambo* and *uTokoloshe* fat. Thus it is important to know luck bringing animals, stones (and persons): *isiBunge* is for good luck, *imPunzi* for bad; *iliSitha* is a stone used by girls to outdo others in competition for lovers; *umKhokha* is a sort of lucky bean (S:438; Wanger: Collector: p.82).

(c) Luck, thirdly, can be earned by respectful conduct (Hl), by obedience to custom. (112): A person who Hl's and Za's according to the tribal norms will attract *iNhlanhla*. The omission of ritual obligations, the commission of ritual breaches chases luck away (Cf. *umPhandazewula)*. One custom which secures luck under any circumstances is a SAC to the ancestors. "If a girl rejects you, you kill a beast for the ancestors and you'll get another!" (210). Leslie's hero said: If my ancestor snake stands up, I'll have luck and be able to acquire cattle and a woman against the king's orders even! The word for ancestor *(iDlozi)* is thus equivalent to luck: *Lo-'muNtu uneDlozi:* this person has luck; *lowaya uFulathelwe yiDlozi:* that person has the back of his ancestors turned on him (i.e., bad luck). At the SAC ancestors, referred to as *imiLwane* then, are spoken to as the dispensers of luck, but more often scolded for the bad luck they sent. Summing up, there is a belief in the multiple causation of luck, and this must necessarily be so, since good and bad luck are arbitrary in their nature, and no two persons agree on what is good and what is bad luck.

(d) Luck, it should not be forgotten, is also obtained when a member of the royal family, or the king himself, visits your kraal. The Chn rejoice because a beast will be slaughtered for him (of which the king takes away one half). He will later promote you for *ukuKhonza*'ing him, and this means luck. If, however, you interfere with royal symbols, i.e., get hold of parts of crocodile, lion, leopard, hyena, vulture, etc., you incur bad luck.

The conditions for obtaining luck reviewed so far have validity for the kraalhead, a man. (317 and 318) are asked whether a woman can have luck, and in what it consists. "A girl thinks she has luck, if she finds a man who wants to marry her, to pay bride-price for her, and nothing else is luck to her. She does not thank the ancestors for it, but her F will thank on her behalf. And a good F will see to it that his Da has this luck, e.g., by being lenient with the young man concerning the payment; he would thus help on luck. When a woman is loved by all people at her H's home, she has luck *(uneNhlanhla);* also when she cooks good food for her H and in-laws, presents it nicely and this is acceptable to them, in short if she Hl's correctly. When a woman becomes pregnant at the first possible chance, H and Wi say: she has luck; it is my luck! When she gives birth to a beautiful Ch it is luck. (This too depends on her Hl'ing her in-laws and her H). A woman does not get her luck from her own ancestors. They would not give it to her at her H's home. *AwaFanele ukuSiza umLobokazi* (It is not fitting for them to help a bride, s c i l . away from home). Her ancestors, although appealed to before her departure from home, only 'accompany' her (to the wedding). Hence a woman does not ask her

H (or her F) to thank the ancestors by means of a SAC. She hasn't the right to ask; it would be *ukungaHloniphi*, a breach of respect avoidances if she did. Since the above-mentioned instances of luck are also her H's he may notice them himself, of course. It happens, however, that a woman has luck according to her view (e.g., she may find a paramour) and this is bad luck for her H."

A Ch can also have *iNhlanhla*. For instance when a toddler goes up laughing to a stranger, people say: "it has luck" and the same is said about the stranger. When a Ch passes water in somebody's lap, that person says: 'I am a lucky man!' apparently arguing from opposites. Only relatives would take an infant up, i.e., siblings, FBr, MSi, FSi and MBr and its cousins. If a Ch is healthy, they say: *iNgane ineNhlanhla iPhilile*. While these achievements are unconscious, Chn between 5 and 13 years of age 'have luck' in the following ways: The Ch who 'respects' his parents and elders has *iNhlanhla* (luck as disposition). An obedient Ch who can be sent messages *ineNhlanhla*. If a Ch is not bitten by a snake which is quite near, it has luck. Since it is the snake's nature to bite, people ask themselves who is responsible for the child's escape, and they agree that the ancestors protected it. (Listeners agree). When a Ch receives a gift, a pumpkin perhaps or half-a-crown, it has luck; sometimes a hen is given to the Ch and when it breeds, it has luck. Or the sweetheart of the Ch's elder Br presents it with a sleeping mat. A Ch does not thank the ancestors for his luck, nor do his parents. Only a Ch's lucky escape makes his F feel that a goat should be killed to thank the ancestors. The Ch would not be told anything at the time, but when grown up, he is reminded of how he escaped and how the ancestors were thanked for it. Luck, like misfortune, uncleanness, etc. has thus structural implications.

B. THE SOCIAL DEFINITION OF MORAL RESPONSIBILITIES

1. *InSila (Body-dirt, Family unity)*

The connotation of this term, which is closely connected with the practices of Za and Hl, is complex. There are four meanings of the term: (a) Body-dirt in a neutral sense; dirt on a face, in unwashed clothes; a synonym is *iNgxi*. (b) Synonym for *iNceku*, body-attendant at court. He removes the king's dirt from his body, dresses his hair and eats his left-overs. (c) *inSilanye:* nest-dirt tying members of a family together, family unity. (The term cannot be used for associations of unrelated individuals, such as an age-group). (d) A person's left-overs, including a surprising range of things from private belongings, to a man's Wis, cattle, Chn and food. A particular case of this is the *inSila emBi*, lit. the disease which a man contracts from intercourse with an unreleased widow, the 'bad left-over' of the deceased!

(242) enumerates the following possessions of a family-head as having body-dirt: (a) The man's clothes: his *iBheshu, isiNene, umChilo, umNcwado, isiCoco* (loincover, front-tails, ornamental skin strip, penis-cover, head-ring). Beadwork, he says, has little body-dirt, to assume that it has is a new-fangled notion! In women *isiDwaba* and *inHloko* or *isiCholo* (kilt and top-knot) acquire body-dirt, i.e., fewer articles of dress by far than in the man's case. Body-dirt also accumulates on the 'bedding': the sleeping mats, the blankets and the headrest. The eating vessels are full of body-dirt: SM calabashes, mixing pot, SM spoon, soup spoon, also the meat trays.

He adds: Certain parts of a hut have *inSila* (body-dirt): the men's side in the F-in-l's hut, in which he sleeps, has *inSila*. Hence the Das-in-l may not enter there, and no beast can ever release her from this avoidance! Even when she has been given permission to enter this hut, a small girl has to do the smearing of the men's side. On the other hand the HF may enter his Da-in-l's hut for purposes of conversation only, but although he respects it and does not use it for anything else (Hl), it has no 'body-dirt' for him!

Without noticing it (242) has shifted from meaning (a) body-dirt to meaning (c), the principle of unity and authority which centres in the kraalhead (H or HF). The body-dirt appears like an invisible presence of this authority. (242) goes on to make a further suggestion: *inSila* in this sense is the principle on which wizards and witches work! Food, he says, has *inSila:* SM has it, and meat too. If a wizard gets hold of these, he bewitches you with them. Everything edible in fact has *inSila:* a wizard bewitches you with a pumpkin!

(247) states that a better term for neutral body-dirt is *iNgxi*. He applies *iNgxi* consistently to our (above listed) examples of clothes and bedding, adding that beadwork does have *iNgxi*. But he shrinks from ascribing *iNgxi* to food vessels and utensils; he calls them *Ngcolile* (unclean), whether under the influence of the theory that objects used by witches are 'unclean' or on other grounds does not become clear. In his further argument, he makes unconsciously the same transition which we observed in (242)'s case. *iNgxi* is the body-dirt, the sweat which can be rubbed off from a utensil. A wizard tries to get hold of it and work destruction on you by means of it. That is why a person's clothes hang in the apse and no stranger may touch them or the mats and head-rests of the owner. They have body-dirt *(iNgxi)* and a wizard could kill both their owner and his close relatives with it.

The transition from concrete to abstract meaning also occurs in the evidence given by (231 and 238). Body-dirt means first of all skin rubbings *(ukuBhucunga:* to rub off). This is used in love philtres given to a girl to gain her favour and by a hostile person in evil magic against you! Clothes have body-dirt only in this 'figurative', i.e. magical sense. (323) however draws a distinction between what is washed or rinsed off and *inSila* such as is found on spoon, door-thatch and hut post. (231, 238) say that food vessels, especially milk calabash and spoon have 'body-dirt indeed'. Food left over by a living person has no body-dirt. But the SM and any meat left over at a person's death has *'inSila* indeed'. For that reason the milk is poured into the pen and the meat flung outside the kraal. The two men agree that things which have body-dirt are used by witches, that they are "the most virulent, the most explosive essences" used in witchcraft. In this sense even a person's dog is his *inSila*, for if a wizard makes medicines of it, he can kill its owner. If anyone is suspected of such practices, it is said: N.N. has taken such and such things: he has taken my *inSila!* Or, I am missing my spoon, I am anxious about my *inSila* having been taken!

Magogo (230) supplies an example of good magic. The text of a song mentions that a girl sends her 'petticoat' to her lover. She explains this: in olden times it was an *uCu*, a string of tubular beads. The girl would wear the string on her body for a few days, so that it would have her *inSila*, her 'body-smell' on it. This she sends to her lover to attach him to her. (She entrusts her body-dirt to him, as the deepest expression of her love, for by it he gains complete control over her).

(323 and 310): Cattle, too, are the *inSila* of the family head and through him of all agnates of the lineage inhabiting the homestead: they are the *inSila yabaNtu*. (When the cattle are apportioned to the Houses, they become the special *inSila* of their new owners, the Great Heir and the Left Heir, etc.). (310) adds a detail: it is the personal cattle of the dead man, which he thought of eating while alive, which are his *inSila;* they are killed one after another after his demise, hence they also go by the name *izinKomo eziPhelekezelayo*. The entailed ancestral cattle and those apportioned to the Houses are not touched. Of the *inSila* cattle the bull is killed first, as it is taken as the deceased himself since like him it has been ruling over females and offspring. The last beasts to be killed of the dead man's cattle are the *izinKomo ezimBuzayo*.

A woman's *inSila* is not worth talking about. It is restricted to her private belongings. A cow that is milked for her may be counted as part of it, because she ate its milk; even when dry it would remain her *inSila*. But basically all (sic) cattle are her H's *inSila*.

The structural significance of the *inSila* concept becomes patent, when we are told that

inSila can be traced back in the patriline to the FFF at least and in the descending generations to the third and more! A man's Das are not included, since at their marriage they will become another man's *inSila*. (323) agrees that a Wi is her H's *inSila*. (238, 231) concede that the family head's *inSila* is much larger than that of his Wis. Although meat is flung out of the homestead even at a Wi's death, yet her calabash is not destroyed. In consequence, a wizard can destroy a whole homestead if he gets hold of the kraalhead's *inSila*, in fact his whole lineage. With a woman's body-dirt the evil-doer can kill only her. The limited effect of a woman's mystical body-dirt thus corresponds to her social handicap in a patrilineal society with patrilocal domicile and strangely contrasts with the large amount of physiological efflux produced by her in menstruation and confinement. (247) adds however that a woman increases her *inSila* with the number of her Chn!

Chn before puberty have no *inSila* (body-dirt in mystic sense). A witch can kill them by means of their F's or M's *inSila*.

(244 and 250) explain the phrases: *ubani lo? inSila yethu naye* (Who is that? One of ours, lit. of our dirt). Those with the same body-dirt live together, belong to one family *(sonke thina 'baNtu sinSila 'nye:* We are all people of one dirt). People of one *inSila* are *abaNtu abaZalanayo* (people of one stock). They have one F, one blood. Chn are a F's *inSila: iNgane kaYise* is synonymous with *inSila kaYise*. The relationship is traceable through the clan/n! All persons of the same clan/n have the same *inSila*. All people of one *inSila* may eat the same SM.

Chn are to some extent their M's *inSila;* it may be said they are *inSila kaNina;* but this is less so than in the F's case. The question why it is necessary for a man to take a Wi who is not his *inSila* is not answered at once. Then (244) says: *isiHlobo sakho usEnze umFazi wakho* (You don't take a relative for Wi) and *ungaGanwa umuNtu oyinSila yakho* (You don't take for Wi a person of your body-dirt). (254), a young girl speaking on *inSila-nye* says: We often hear we are of one *inSila*. It means *baZalwa umuNtu oyedwa* (born of one person). But she thinks it may be applied to F and M and is not unilaterally biassed.

inSila emBi (bad body-dirt) is the disease a widow gives to her lover if they cohabit before she is ritually released. (247): After a man's death a doctor is called to treat his widows with *imiThi;* they must dress in widow's weeds (and have to abstain from SM). After some time the first Washing is celebrated to remove the *inZilo* (signs of mourning) from the Chn. Then comes the second Washing at which as many as two beasts are killed: it is the Bringing Home. At the third Washing the mourning *(inZilo)* is removed from the widows. If a widow makes love before this rite, her lover gets the *inSila* disease. (244) adds: The disease is the *inSila* left by the first H; it is the dead man's *umMnyama* which enters the lover as *inSila* (what was good for the first H is bad for an illicit lover). The widow transmits it, for she has been magically treated *(ukuCupha)*, but she is not affected herself. What does not affect the legitimate 'owner' makes the illegitimate user sick! The idea that the woman is the carrier of the *inSila* is sometimes more refined. According to (228) the widow transmits the *inSila* only when she has intercourse without previous cleansing.

inSila in this connection is the same as *isiThunzi*, the dignity left behind by the first H, the shadow cast by him over the widow. (146): The disease comes from the dead man. The lover of the widow knows what he has coming to him, since the widow by her signs of mourning (dress, absence of hair-do, lack of ornaments, abstention from SM) looks 'clumsy' and 'awkward'. The disease has various symptoms. (146) and (323) have indeed seen 'many' men become thin and weak through intercourse with an 'uncleansed' widow; their complexion turns quite black *(uyaQunga)*.

The widow does not get ill, yet she is, according to some accounts, afflicted. The first H's ancestors are displeased at her conduct and the woman is bound to be troubled by her new sex partner: he will begin to scold and beat her! But undoubtedly the disease of the man strikes

agnates (Brs, Sos) of the deceased more viciously than the woman, a clan-stranger. For the taboo is mainly directed against premature intercourse between a widow and her deceased H's Br. The idea may be lurking here that kinsmen are more likely to have wished and brought about the deceased's death in order to benefit by it. They are thus defeated by their own design.

For the legitimate re-marriage of widows appropriate release rites exist. The widow has to fetch a beast from her F's home to cleanse the deceased's homestead; a magic doctor strengthens her and her new H (her former H's Br) and a beast is slaughtered to inform the deceased.

What are the methods used by an evil-doer *(umThakathi)* to obtain body-dirt? (254), a marriageable girl: When the wizard sees me bathing, he scoops up water a little below where I wash (the body-dirt off). Even when a person washes in the hut he must be careful. The water must not be thrown away through the door: our parents told us. Lightning would strike the hut. This is nòt Hl or Za but an old prohibition *(isiLayo)*. (251) says: A wizard takes the grave soil of a person, also clothes; he scratches dirt from the hut post, the backpost having most body-dirt, since the Chn of the family head gather there. He also gets hold of spoons and scrapes out the bowls. This explains why it is Hl/Za for strangers to use or touch them. Bryant (1929: 163): Zwide sent his Si Ntombazane to Dingiswayo to obtain, while sleeping with him, his semen so that magic could be worked on it. (323): The evil-doer enters also the cattle-pen at night and cuts off the tail of a beast. He mixes the blood which he collects and the hairs of the tail tassel with 'bad' medicines and calls out the personal name of the owner, cursing him all the while. The tail is cut off, because through the open wound the strength of the owner *(amAndla)* passes out. *101*.

Zulu, whose attention is drawn to the distinction between concrete and mystic (abstract) *inSila*, hesitate to identify the two. (244) remarks that *inSila* (body-dirt) and *inSila* (widow's disease) are two different things. The difference is like that between pumpkin and lap or thigh, both of which go by the name of *iThanga*. (244 and 250) want to keep *inSila* (body-dirt) as gathered by the evil-doer apart from *inSila* (kinship principle). "The body-dirt is easily washed away and got rid of. Kinship is difficult to remove, it requires the services of a very powerful doctor, since it is an immanent characteristic of the persons concerned, like their *isiThunzi* (dignity). In a way all human beings have *inSila* in the second sense, since they all are members of kinship groupings, but not in the former."

The following argument developed with (244, 250) and (251): "Is there not a similarity between the two *inSila* after all, since both refer to a kind of ownership: You own body-dirt and kinship very intimately?." (251) rejects this, although he accepts that through the dirt of the hut post a man's family may be killed, even his Chn who are his *inSila:* "Yes, if I were not, they would not exist!" Likewise, if a family head's calabash is broken at his death, it is his *inSila* that is destroyed. Here I suggest *inSila* almost means as much as life, since it is life that is taken away when they get hold of a man's SM, a man's *inSila*. (251) accepts this proposition and further: A person's Chn, being his *inSila*, are also his life. Hence what is common to *inSila* (body-dirt/left-over) and *inSila* (kinship) is that both refer to a man's most intimate possession, viz., life. (At this the men express astonishment and indeed joy at the argument).

Most Zulu agree to the generalization that "What a wizard gets hold of is your *inSila* (body-dirt) in order to kill your *inSila* (family/descendants)." (310): When a wizard gets hold of your body-dirt it is with the intention of killing you through killing your stock *(inSila): ukuQotha imBokodo nesiSekelo*. It is a sign that he is an *umThakathi*, that he is not satisfied with killing (s c i l . one person in anger), he must needs finish off your whole family! (It should be noted that the king does the same legitimately in the 'Eating Up'). (423) confirms this: *inSila* comprises clothes, blankets, food vessels, cattle and goats - even Wis are an Ú's *inSila yakhe*. The disease which a widow's paramour gets can be called *inSila emBi* of the dead man. His

possessions are *inSila enHle* (good) as long as he is alive; he cannot live without them. Things are good when used by their proper owner, they are bad when used by someone else. Hence, the following rule can be stated: My *inSila*, my *umMnyama* are beneficial to me. A stranger's *inSila*, his *umMnyama* are detrimental to me. However, if through war, ascendancy magic or love (which leads to intermarriage) I obtain an opponent's or outsider's *inSila* or *umMnyama* this will be to my advantage. If I lose my *inSila* or *umMnyama* to my enemy I shall suffer for it.

2. *iGazi:* B l o o d

A similar theory exists with the term *iGazi:* There is g o o d blood (mine, really ours), and b a d blood (of others, outsiders): *iGazi eliBi = iNyama emBi, inSila emBi.*

An important step, I felt, was made in the analysis of Zulu categories linked with the Za/Hl complex, when I received from some informants the answer that *inSila* was *ubuMnyama eGazini:* darkness, gloom in the blood. *inSila* is thus not only a dirty film on the outside of the skin, it may be a 'corruption' (or 'blessing') within the blood, the stuff of life, for this makes plausible the underlying assumption that its contagion spreads in the agnatic unit.

Both males and females can have 'darkness in the blood'. E.g., a girl who is in disfavour with young men has *ubuMnyama* in her blood, *inesiSila*, runs into *iziSila* (troubles). If she is not treated with certain medicines, she will not get work, her desire to have offspring will not be satisfied, she will die. *ubuMnyama* is put into a person's blood by wizard or witch. They use the body-dirt from his clothes, mix it with water and bewitch the mixture. *ubuMnyama eGazini* is also produced by the omission of a ritual obligation and the transgression of a restraint or interdict. An enemy's magic has thus the same effect as Ego's omissions or commissions.

(257): When a family head dies there is an excess of SM. It is eaten by the Chn, because the milk is his *inSila* (or blood). The widow does not eat SM, because it is the *inSila* of her H and his blood: *UmFelokazi akawaDli amaSi ngoba amaSi inSila yenDoda yakhe, futhi amaSi iGazi lenDoda yakhe!* Nor has she intercourse since her H no longer has semen. In this sense, a woman has no blood, because she owns no cattle; she does not share fully in agnatic membership in either her F's or H's family. That is the reason why she cannot eat from the same milch cow as her H; she is essentially of a different blood from her H's. Br and Si may eat milk of the same cow for they are of one blood.

(260) agrees that *ubuMnyama* is *eGazini* (in the blood). He adds that *iGazi eliBi* (lit. bad blood) is equivalent to *iNyama-emBi*, i.e., unfortunate happenings striking you because of the *umMnyama* you have. *ubuMnyama* gets into your blood when a wizard renders it bad so that you are not liked or appreciated by others. Blood has *umMnyama* also when you have done something you ought not to have done. There is no light in whatever you do now. You have *isiNyama* coming to you. (261) agrees: The *umMnyama* of a widower differs from the *umMnyama* of a widow, because the latter has to submit to a long taboo regimen and the former not. *ubuMnyama* has entered the widow's blood and remains in it until she is cleansed *(ukuGeza)*. If she made love to a man in this condition he would not survive: the *ubuMnyama* in her blood kills him. It remains there because the two beasts have not yet been slaughtered to cleanse her.

I ask: Is the blood of a widow, which is affected for two whole years by 'the gloom of death', the same as a widower's blood which is affected only a short time? The first answer is Yes. I express doubts: does not his blood drive out the *ubuMnyama* much sooner than the widow's? Is the man's blood not stronger and does it not react more quickly? Does the widow's blood not require two beasts for its cleansing, while the man's can be cleansed after a few months at the Washing? (260 and 261) are not induced to shift their stand: If a man lives without a Wi for a considerable time he becomes incapable of living with one. So after the Washing it is desirable that he should make love to a woman again. He must found a new home - especially if the Wi that died was his first (and only) Wi, since all his necessary comforts, cooking, brewing of beer, serving food are done by women.

(422) suggests how 'the gloom' is made to enter the blood (although she says widows also wear it on their clothes as their external signs show). When a kraalhead dies, the widows are treated with medicines. They are given emetics, they are smeared with medicines and scarified with them. Some medicine *(umLulama)* is mixed with fresh milk and the widows have to spray it from their mouths round the cattle-pen. For this ritual a doctor has to attend the widows a few days after the burial. A similar rite is repeated shortly before they are released. The rite is held in the afternoon on both occasions; the cattle and calves must have returned to the pen.

The range of meanings of *iGazi* almost coincides with that of *inSila:* (a) Blood "distributively": in killing a person his blood is shed *(baChithe iGazi:* they shed blood). A kraalhead adds a beast's blood to the foreleg he has cooked. The stew is called *ubuBende*, also *iGazi*. A woman's menstrual blood is also *iGazi*. It is *Ngcolile*, since it appears without a wound, nobody knows how - the Creator created it so! (b) The lineage is called *iGazi*, both individuals and the group as a whole. If your relative is killed: it is your *iGazi* that has been spilled. The group referred to by this term comprises F, FF, Br, So, SoSo, Da but not her Chn, also a HWis, but not his FWis (except his 'real' M), and not his SosWis: they are of the *iGazi* of my Sos! (301): An illegitimate Ch of my Da is my *iGazi* if it stays with me, although it is not really mine. It can be 'redeemed' by cattle payment for the illegitimate M, and then belongs to the 'purchaser'. Even a woman may use *iGazi* in this sense about her Chn and she can even describe her H as her *iGazi*. (c) Qualities inherited from parents, in particular the F, are *iGazi: uFuze uYise, uFanana noYise*. (d) Good behaviour, good name, good appearance, influence, prestige, e.g., (301)said to a Ch that took to him at once: *unoGazi* - you are a lovable one. (e) A wizard, evildoer tries as much to get hold of someone's blood as of his body-dirt. By getting hold of it he can destroy the whole family, viz., *iGazi* relations.

To summarize the above:

(a) There is a condition of gloom, darkness which settles on a person who omits a ritual obligation or commits a taboo-breach. This is called *umMnyama, ubuMnyama*. It may also be contracted through witchcraft or be a congenital defect. It is removed by magical treatment and SAC to ancestors. Not only an individual but his unit with him is subject to *umMnyama*.

(b) From such a condition result accidents, ill-starred-events, strokes of misfortune, unexpected and unaccountable incidents of ill-luck. They are named *isiNyama* (omission of a SAC), *isiSila* (bad luck, ill-favour in love matters), *iNyama-emBi, isEhlelo, iShwa, umHlola* (bad omen). They affect foremost the offender but also his agnates, including marriage partners.

(c) *inSila* (external body-dirt) and *iGazi* (internal life stuff) engraft the affliction in the responsible individual. Through the associating effect of *inSila* and the conveyance of qualities within the kinship unit through blood, *umMnyama* affects the whole agnatic unit. Evil striking a family indiscriminately reveals that a responsible member has been at fault. This setting tends to heighten, rather than lower, the moral tone of the Zulu family.

(d) *umMnyama, isiNyama* with their synonyms are less frequently used in connection with violations of the avoidance (Hl) rules. A young Wi who eats the SM of her H's homestead before she is ritually released is 'senseless', 'insane', but not 'disfavoured' *(isiSila)* or unclean *(Ngcolile)*. A woman who utters the pers/n of her HF is fined a beast to 'cleanse' all members of her H's family from the insult *(inHlamba)*, but has no *umMnyama*, nor will she have *isiNyama* or *isiSila* befall her. A H who treats his Wi badly, is a 'fool', a 'senseless fellow', an *isiThutha* or *isiPhukuphuku*, a dog and a person of mean habits. But he is not affected by *umMnyama* or *iNyama-emBi*.

C. PURE AND IMPURE

1. uSuku: Sexual Stain

The term *uSuku* in the sense here recorded is not found in the dictionaries. Professor C. L. S. Nyembezi did not find evidence of it in Natal. But it was used spontaneously by many of my informants in Zululand, including chiefs with a consciousness of the importance of etymology and semantics. T, DV and S note *uSuku* as a time measure, i. e., a day of twenty-four hours, and *ubuSuku:* night as distinct from day-time *(iMini). UnoSuku* means' he or she has a special day', and in particular, 'stain resulting from sexual congress' which normally is performed only at night *102*. With such stain on him a person cannot do certain things, as it incapacitates him from performing ritual actions. *uSuku* is contracted by lovers performing external intercourse. Both man and woman have sexual stain after coitus. The ritual consequences for the H are as follows: He must not walk through tobacco or groundnut fields, nor drive birds from a sorghum crop. He cannot discuss a dangerous enterprise, such as a campaign, nor can he take tapeworm medicine! (215). He cannot stab beast or goat for SAC or pleasure: the meat would taste 'bad'. A man with *uSuku* cannot enter a hut in which there is a newborn Ch, it would die. He cannot pierce ears: they will fester; he must not castrate bull-calves: they would die. He must not attend a man with a fresh wound, especially a gash in his head. He could go on a private hunt but would not attend a communal hunt. Two situations seem to be avoided by a person with *uSuku*: undertakings for which luck is needed and in which bleeding wounds may occur.

A woman after coitus abstains from some of her work. She does not walk through a field of groundnuts; she does not treat a Ch with ears pierced nor a woman in childbirth; she does not thatch, but she may cook for her H. (213) is an exception. With *uSuku* she does not prepare food for her H, for it would bring misfortune to him on a hunt, in a campaign. Two activities regularly avoided are the brewing of beer and the making of pots. (180) would exempt women with *uSuku* from the interdict on brewing, but most informants do not know of an exemption ritual in this connection. Such is known for pot-making: the woman bites into a lump of clay and mixes it into the pot she is forming so that her pots will not break, and before firing them she licks one of them and spits at the others, or asks another woman to attend to the firing.

The exemption ritual concerning sex stain is a general practice. The ear piercer with *uSuku* spits on the ears of the Chn, and so does the doctor on an open wound. Some persons wash after coitus. But most informants (e. g., 106) think that sex stain cannot be removed by washing or spitting but only by the chewing of roots or herbs, e. g., *isiBhaha* or *umHlazi.* (106): Before he slaughters, the stabber nibbles some *ukuQunga* root, and so does the kraalhead with *uSuku,* lest it be said: *iHlatshwe umuNtu oNgulele:* an *umuNtu oNgulele* has *iNyama-emBi* and attracts bad luck. (325) is the most circumspect: Before entering a hut where there is an infant a person chews the *iNdaluwatha* leaf, or the *isiQunga* (tamboetie) and spits on the Ch. The spittle does not take *uSuku* away, but protects the Ch against death. A person with sex stain reports his condition to a flooded river he wishes to cross. He does so by taking up some water and spitting it back into the river. Others take up soil and rub it against their abdomen so that they are not carried away. Many people with sex stain refuse to perform an action which might be affected by their condition. "I've *uSuku*" is a legitimate excuse.

uSuku, sexual stain, is said to disappear of itself, to wear off after a day or two. (256): "A man to recover his stainless condition must skip sleeping with his Wis for one day. It depends on his 'blood' and may require two to three days. A woman needs three days before she can make another assignation with H (or lover)." The corollary that a polygynist who is sexually more active than his Wis separately, must have more sex stain than they, has not occurred to my informants. They accept the proposition in theory, but reject the inference that for that reason he is more liable to misfortune than his Wis.

Associations with other categories occur readily. To (178) *uSuku* is like misfortune *(umMnyama),* but the latter is much stronger. Some informants consider *uSuku* and *Ngcolile* to

be synonyms. (215, 256, 262) apply both terms to a woman in her changes. But (215) shrinks from using them of a woman who has given birth for the reason that she is *uBelethe*, i.e., "she comes out" (s c i l . from confinement). *uSuku* and *Ngcolile* are certainly not equivalent in the case of men. A man who has cohabited with his Wi, "has done his duty" and can't be "filthy" nor can the woman really.

(215) doubts that a person who has committed adultery has *uSuku*, since his deed is not known nor would he make it public if asked to perform certain rites. (325) supports (215): Nobody knows a person has *uSuku* until he chooses to betray himself! This condition certainly has no sign. The people who suspect the adulterer say *unoSinda*, he steals, but not that he has *uSuku!* (215) doubts even whether an adulterer commits a sin, whereas (244, 245) do not, but (215) accepts that the adulteress defiles her H's homestead *(ukuNgcolisa, ukuDamusa umuZi)*. She may thus herself be considered "filthy" *(Ngcolile)*. (183) sharply differentiates *uSuku* (which in his view refers to sex activity, puberty, menstruation), and *Ngcolile:* filth in its physical and moral aspects, as exemplified in the adulterer, the wizard, a person using insulting language and a person who commits incest and thus defiles his homestead. (262)'s opinion that a woman has *uSuku*, is *onuSuku*, when she has lost her Ch by death, tallies with general usage in so far as "the gloom of death" is lighter in respect of a Ch than a grown-up.

T o s u m u p : Persons having legitimate intercourse, i.e., lovers who *Hlobonga* and married people, have *uSuku*. It is a normal thing and implies a minor ritual disability. To explain that a 'natural thing' like sex intercourse leaves a ritual stain the Zulu offer or agree to the following propositions: (325), asked how the *uSuku* of a male visitor to a confinement hut kills the baby, gives a 'rational' answer: It must have happened many times in the past. The rule was invented to prevent a recurrence! Sex activity weakens the body, say some, and renders the partners liable to misfortune. Others refer to the sexual excretions which render the sex partners physically unclean. A medicine man reports to a river like a person with *uSuku*, and so does a wizard. They Hl the river, because they have on them medicines, the one good, the other bad. *uSuku* thus exercises the same effect on a person as the carrying of magically potent things. Informants assert that the king with sexual stain cannot conduct affairs of state, he must 'stay at home'. The First Fruits would fail, if he attended in such a condition. In fact, we know that the king performed ritual intercourse on this occasion. By acting against the general expectation his breach is ritually effective or otherwise ritual intercourse does not convey *uSuku*.

2. *Ngcolile:* Unclean

The adjective *Ngcolile*, unclean, has three meanings, viz., (a) physical dirt, as a dirty pot, filthy clothes, foul water, a person with dirty clothes, unwashed face, a Ch smeared with mud, - the connotation passes over into slovenly person; (b) physiological condition requiring cleansing, i.e., menstruation, confinement; (c) ritual unfitness as a result of a moral lapse, e.g., a widow who eats SM, an adulterer, a thief. The rendering 'moral filth' or 'corruption' seems too strong.

(146) and (179) call the following p e r s o n s *Ngcolile:* (a) A person wearing dirty clothes or one who does not wash habitually; (b) a woman in her changes, in confinement, also a person with a bleeding wound (physiological condition); (c) a person who abstains from SM, who fasts altogether (ritual condition); (d) a man who insults another, who steals, commits adultery or lies (criminal action); and (e) an evil-doer *(umThakathi)* (moral depravity). (225 and 226) commenting on this list reject (e) and say: A person who misbehaves is *uziPhethe kaBi;* a person who steals and kills, and calls names is an *isiGebengu*, not *Ngcolile!*

The meaning most widely accepted is that which refers to a woman's physiological conditions. Because a menstruating woman is dirty 'nobody' likes her, it is said. By 'nobody' is meant her H, for women do not take much notice of it. (127): A menstruating woman has *umMnyama* (mystical gloom), but (105) objects: it is not the woman who has *umMnyama*, *isiSila* (ill-luck) or *umSwazi:* these afflictions fall on the man who cohabits with her. (115) enumerates

as such ill-luck: an accident, a wound - the reference is to flesh wounds, through stabbing or goring by an animal. (178) advances the view that a woman in her menses cannot be 'unclean': it is a natural thing that she should bleed. (146) supports him: she becomes 'unclean' only when she cohabits in that condition. Admittedly she does not eat SM, nor enter the cattle pen nor sleep with her H; she must also perform ritual ablutions and when the flow stops she washes thoroughly without a rite; it is thus a case of *ubuBi*.

This 'naturalist' view is strongly urged concerning a girl in her first changes. She is not 'unclean' in spite of her severe isolation regimen. The reason, presumably, is partly linguistic: special terms exist to describe pubescence in boy and girl, viz., *uThombile* (sexually mature), *uKhulile* (grown up) and *uGoyile* (to be secluded for the girl only). It is only at her menarche, not at subsequent periods, that a girl 'broods' *(ukuGoba, ukuGoya)* in the Great Hut. The objection to classing her as 'unclean' rests on two arguments: it is a natural growth stage and the menstrual blood of a Da, an agnate, is different from that of a Wi, an affine.

A woman in confinement is described as 'unclean'. She is kept indoors and must 'hatch' in her hut *(ukuFukama)*. In her condition with lochia coming from her she has *umMnyama* (mystic gloom). She must not eat SM nor enter the cattle pen. Her unclean state lasts, according to some, as long as she suckles her Ch (i.e., weaning is equivalent to cleansing), and according to others as long as her H does not visit her, i.e., for six months, after which date the Ch is no longer weakened by the intercourse of its parents. As in the case of menstruation there is a strong 'naturalist' school with regard to confinement. (109): A parturient woman is not unclean. Only after an abortion or miscarriage, or when the Ch is stillborn, can *Ngcolile* be used, i.e., only abnormal events render the woman mystically unclean.

Pregnancy, if normal, does not fall within the connotation of *Ngcolile* in its physiological aspect, perhaps because the monthly issue of blood is stopped and sex intercourse is not interrupted. Linguistically, too, there is an alternative term even for the early stage, viz., 'she is suspected'. In the late stage of pregnancy intercourse is prohibited in quite a number of families. In consequence a woman may then be called 'unclean' - from her H's semen. While severe sanctions threaten intercourse with a pregnant woman - her Ch will be born with a peculiar skin, showing streaks (of semen), and the midwives will refuse to handle it - the Zulu tend to be rather casuistic concerning this transgression. It will only show if the H treats his Wi badly; if he treats her lovingly as pertains to a bride, it cannot show!

An illegitimate pregnancy, however, renders the wronged girl 'unclean' *(Ngcolile)*, for she has to cleanse her F's homestead with a beast from her seducer. This *inKomo yemVimba* (also *iNgquthu* in law cases) is eaten by all the inmates of the kraal except the girl and her age-mates (Za). The moral element in the connotation of *Ngcolile* in these and similar circumstances is brought out in two comments. (180) asserts that while the F's homestead can be cleansed nothing can really be done to cleanse the girl and her age-mates even though she washes in the chyme of the *imVimba* beast (because she is spoiled for good). And the same puritan asserts that a pregnant woman is 'unclean' only if the Ch is conceived from another man than her (prospective) H.

A person committing adultery may thus be called 'unclean' *(Ngcolile)* since he does something morally reprehensible. The man and the woman concerned are unclean and have contracted *umMnyama* (mystical gloom resulting in misfortune) and they cannot but transmit it - the woman to her H, the paramour to his Wis proper.

From this survey it might appear that with few exceptions only women can become *Ngcolile*. This impression needs correction. (178) declares that a boy who has had his first emission must be considered 'unclean' since he has to eat medicines 'to strengthen' him. He has also *umMnyama* since he must sit outside the gate of the homestead till his F brings him sucking medicine. (121) states that male mourners are 'unclean' since they have to undergo cleansing, but (109) considers this an unwarranted generalization, for all are engaged in mourning. (146) adds

that only those persons are 'unclean' who touched the corpse and they must cleanse themselves in the chyme of a goat. Even the widows who mourn from two to three years are not 'unclean' unless they eat SM or have intercourse, i.e., commit a breach of their taboo regimen.

The term 'unclean' cannot be used of a hunter who slept with his Wi before a hunt; he just attracts misfortune (through his *uSuku)*. Nor may a diviner in training be considered 'unclean' because he is fasting and termed *uZilele* for this reason. Lightning doctors who refrain from washing are physically dirty and on that account may be called 'unclean', but they are not magically or morally 'unclean'. They are *Ngcolile* and not *Ngcolile!* They abstain from certain foods and do not wash, but they visit their Wis. They can never be cleansed, never! Yet they do not admit a bad deed. This double nature is their characteristic, their 'custom'. They have *umMnyama*, but it is *umMnyama wokuZila*.

It is different with a warrior, who having killed an enemy, is a killer. He is 'unclean' because he cannot eat with 'clean' persons. He must abstain from SM, cannot sleep with his Wis, must not attend meetings or weddings; he cannot eat the organs of a beast and must eat all meat inside a hut: he has *umMnyama* (gloom of misfortune). A doctor must treat him; he must suck medicines to remove 'the dirt'. A person who insults another is also 'unclean'. He must give the insulted person a 'cleansing' fee of £2-3, *iMali yakuGeza*, before witnesses and at the chief's court. The insults which necessitate 'cleansing' are accusations of sorcery, of adultery, of theft without proof, and using swear words referring to the private parts of the insulted person's M and to his ancestors. Thieves and robbers too are 'unclean'. They have done bad things, they have contracted *umMnyama* (gloom of misfortune). They cannot get rid of it, their hearts are spoiled, and they pass their condition on to those with whom they stay or hide.

Women's 'uncleanness' refers thus more frequently to female physiological states accompanied by efflux, and men's uncleanness, if admitted at all, is moral and refers to transgressions of norms of conduct. This finding can be analysed in psychological terms. (325) "A person is unclean if he harbours jealousy. It is dirt in his mind. There is something fundamentally wrong with that man. For instance, my neighbour covets my cattle, or he sees that I have a beautiful Wi and he wants to take her away from me. The result is that I will be made 'dirty' (unclean), for I'll surely stab him, when I find him having intercourse with her. I am made 'unclean' *(Ngcolile)* through his blood. This dirt differs from the dirt in clothes for which *Ngcolile* is likewise used, since it comes from within and is transferred to others. His 'unclean' wish makes me act in an uncontrolled manner and renders me 'unclean' too: I become a manslayer." This profound observation can be summed up: Unclean is what begets 'unclean' things!

"Another case: My beast eats maize plants in a neighbour's garden. He may settle the case between us as an *inDaba yabAkhelwane* (neighbour's settlement) where damages are low, and this is good Zulu law. If he takes the case to the chief's court, where in addition to damages court fees have to be paid, his heart is 'unclean'; it is an expression of 'unclean' hate." (325) sums up the characteristics of the 'unclean' action as *ukuNgcola umuNtu akwEnza ngamabomu* (a dirty thing done by a man deliberately).

A person so engrossed as (325) in the moral implications of 'uncleanness' - he has a court case over cattle trespass pending with a neighbour - must of necessity distinguish it from the natural 'uncleanness' of physiological processes. He adds: "A woman in her menses is not 'unclean'. This is quite a different matter. Her H voluntarily abstains from such a woman; she is avoided because of her natural condition. But the evil minded neighbour is 'unclean' because he wants to spoil you."

Zulu thought orientation differs from ours in that it 'sees' uncleanness in the actions done by rather than in conditions existing in a person. A woman in her changes is 'unclean' because her H does not visit her (179). A woman who has given birth to a Ch is 'unclean' since she cannot leave her hut (177). A person who touched a corpse is 'unclean' because he ritually cleanses

himself. A striking illustration of this approach, which interprets certain types of action as signals of a physiological condition or a certain state of mind, was given by (143), an intelligent woman. Asked to say what *Ngcolile* meant, she replied: "A person is 'unclean' who does not eat SM!" This, of course, implies that he cannot have sexual intercourse.

I decided to test this definition in detail. We found: A woman is 'unclean' *(Ngcolile)* when she is menstruating, because the calves would die if she ate SM. A girl who has her first menses is 'unclean' as she abstains from SM for seven days. A pregnant woman is not 'unclean' since she continues to eat SM. But an illegitimate pregnancy makes a girl 'unclean': she has broken the law of the nation. (There is no certainty about SM). A woman who gives birth to a Ch abstains from SM for a month. This is a clear exception: she is not 'unclean' although her H may not visit her. But an illegitimate M is called 'unclean'. A woman who has had an abortion is 'unclean'. She abstains from SM for two reasons: she has given birth and her Ch is dead. Mourners do not eat SM for about a day, during which time they are 'unclean'. The grave-diggers eat SM, yet they are considered unclean. The persons who lower the corpse into the grave must abstain from SM, they are 'unclean' for a short time. The widows of a family head, who abstain from SM for 2-3 years, are 'unclean' the whole time: they shave their heads and show their condition in the dress they wear. A very old woman, who no longer abstains from milk, is not 'unclean', unless she becomes slovenly of habit. This is 'unclean' in the sense of (physical) dirt.

The family head does not abstain from SM at the time of SAC, but the stabber does: he abstains from Wi and milk, otherwise the meat would turn bad and he would be known as 'unclean'. The diviner in training does not abstain from SM as a rule, but from personal dislike, and is thus not 'unclean'. Nor is the full-fledged diviner, since he does not abstain from SM. The herbalist eats SM and is not considered 'unclean'. But the weather-maker is, for he abstains from SM when a storm is brewing. A man-slayer (warrior, executioner, murderer) is 'unclean' since he abstains from SM till doctored. (105) adds: a wounded person, a dreamer, are not considered 'unclean', nor is a Ch whose ears have been pierced.

Apart from one or two exceptions (143)'s generalization holds! Several inferences can be drawn from her exposition. First, Zulu men and women reveal certain physiological, ritual and moral conditions by certain actions which act as a signal to all who are concerned, i.e., persons in a dyadic relationship to the actor. Secondly, as actions are frequently repeated and unambiguous they give a precise definition to attitudes and expectations. Thus when I talked in the abstract about the differences between *uSuku*, *Ngcolile* and *umMnyama* my informants tended to become confused, or to treat them as synonyms (177). When I defined the terms by their associated actions, each acquired its own meaning to them. Thirdly, a person who has done anything out of the ordinary shows this by easily recognizable actions, even without a lot of verbal explanations. Presumably this is convenient in an embarrassing situation but makes it difficult to hide a murder. Fourthly, the ultimate appeal of European morality lies outside individual conscience and outside society: moral law is superior to both, being transcendent. Among the Zulu, where a moral state must be acted out, where a conduct pattern reveals the actor's moral condition, suppression of the appropriate behaviour produces a strain, which may be more effective than our verbalized inner conflicts, in urging at least a ritual removal of the condition. Fifthly, the bride's behaviour is illumined in a new light. She observes many abstentions and avoidances, including the not eating of SM, and yet she is not considered *Ngcolile* in any of the senses described. The observance of a taboo regimen is not necessarily coterminous with 'uncleanness'!

3. The Zulu Ideal of Purity

As the state of uncleanness is indicated by a signal-action, e.g., the avoidance of SM, the opposite quality, viz., that of purity, or ritual fitness, should be characterized by the opposite action. (105): "There is no general term to cover all cases of a 'cleansed condition'. It is possible to define it as a state in which you may eat SM." However this is not entirely acceptable, since a man in his best years does not abstain from SM, yet he is not always a ritually

fit person. Neither is the word for 'cool' used for ritual fitness, nor 'hot' for ritual unfitness as in other Bantu languages. "To be hot" *(ukuShisa)* refers to a passionate person; *ukuPhola* is 'to cool down, become agreeable, gentle', i.e., these words refer to emotional states. For this reason we must approach the problem via the rites which are meant to 'cleanse' and 'purify'.

a. Cleansing Rites

Ritual cleansing is often described as 'washing', yet the actual rite is frequently not a washing process at all. An important Washing is enacted after a death, the *ukuHlamba*. It is customary on the day following the burial 'to wash' the hands of the buriers *(ukuHlamba izAndla)* by slaughtering a beast for them, in whose *umSwani* (stomach contents) they rub their hands. This is done 'to wash the dead man off' (his memory) and to remove the gloom (contagion) among themselves which the death occasioned (Bryant:1905). After one to three months the Washing proper follows, which has two parts, the Washing of the Spears and the Washing of the Hoes. No washing of the articles referred to takes place, not even where people call the rite *ukuGeza iziKhali* (to wash the weapons) *103*. All that is done is to use them again for the first time. It is this ritual use which 'cleanses' hoes and weapons from death. The term washing is also extended to the slaughtering of a beast and the drinking of beer which is part of the ceremony. Sometimes the Bringing Home is also called a Washing. Presumably Washing originally referred to the removal from face and body of signs of mourning painted on them. The expression would then be a survival; and the rite itself became complex and diversified, so that the washing off of the signs moved into the background.

The physiological states of a woman are occasions of cleansing rites. Curiously, the blood flow which makes a menstruating woman 'unclean' is called *ukuGeza* (to wash); *ukuGeqa*, to clear out with an enema the 'warm things' which prevent a woman from conceiving *(ukuFudumala)* is also a sort of 'cleansing'. *ukuPhipha* is the ritual cleansing of a woman who has given birth to a Ch. (The same term is used for 'to wipe the Ch's bottom'). *ukuCola* is to cleanse a woman after the death of one of her agnatic kinsmen at her F's when the bile of the beast killed on this occasion is poured over her. *ukuPhothula* is the process of emerging from a taboo-regimen, e.g., of a girl coming out of the isolation hut at her first menstruation, but also of a group of people who for some specific reason were placed by their doctor under a taboo regimen and a 'strengthening' course. On being discharged they ritually do again all the things which were forbidden: they shave their heads, rub and anoint their bodies, wash in medicated water, take doses of white medicine. *ukwEmula* is the emergence of a woman after her menstruation, i.e., her first eating of SM after a period of abstention.

Zulu culture does not ascribe to confession a purifying function. Among the Eskimo public confession is thought to be necessary to check the infectious consequences of a breach of norms. This has gradually led to the idea that a transgression can be atoned for by confession (Hoebel: 73, quoting Rasmussen and Boas). Among the Zulu it is only when a confinement runs into difficulties that a confession is thought to clear the parturient from a sexual lapse.

b. Ritual Fitness

Thus the methods of 'purification', as this survey showed, do not make a person ritually fit. They make an 'impure' person, i.e., a person who has been in a marginal state, normal again, i.e., capable of participating in everyday activities. Who then are the persons who are considered 'ritually fit' to perform a ritual role? In many ritual situations men and women in their reproductive years are excluded and either Chn or old women are engaged without undergoing special preparation. Bryant (1949:475-6) gives several instances: (a) A young girl, not yet nubile, was the keeper of the king's personal medicines *(iNtombazana yokuPhatha iziHlazi zenKosi)*. She was one of the *umNdlunkulu* girls and ate and slept with other immature girls in a special hut *(iNdlu zamaNzi zenKosi)*, from which she was removed, and from her task, on reaching puberty. (b) One of the elder queens was entrusted with the keeping of the Great National Hoop of Power (in which the private hoop was incorporated on the king's death); the Hoop was an heirloom of the *iNdlunkulu*, the Great House, i.e., the ruling branch of the royal fa-

mily. (c) A specially selected old woman *(isAlukazi)* of the royal establishment looked after the king's private Hoop of Power in the royal seraglio and no menstruating woman could enter her hut. In the apse of her hut was also kept the tribal spear (the assegai of the ancestral cattle), in form an ordinary hurling spear *(isiJula)*. It was solely used for the slaughter of beasts offered to the king's ancestors. Cetshwayo saved it from Ulundi and when dying handed it to Dabulamanzi with the injunction: 'Here is the spear of the nation; hand it to him who shall be appointed successor!" (My informants at Nobamba maintained that tribal Spear and ancestral Spear were not the same).

The women entrusted with these important tasks have in common that they do not menstruate and that presumably they do not have sexual intercourse. (244 and 250) comment on why menstruation makes a woman ritually unfit. "Normally a woman goes to the apse of the hut to place food there, attend to milk calabashes, etc. A stranger may not approach the apse, for he is not the owner, the stores there are not his. The woman cannot go there either when she is in her menses. For then she is just like a stranger *(uFana nesiHambi)*. It is because of her blood. The blood takes her back to her home *(UsengoweGazi elinye)*. She is as it were rendered into a stranger, of the same status as before her wedding. When she has her menses her blood shows her to be of another family. A man has only one blood; a woman has two (s c i l . allegiances, loyalties)." Consequently a Da is ritually fit only as long as she is not nubile. A mature girl could not act as keeper of medicines for she might have lovers, which would give an opening to the influence of strangers. And her (menstrual) blood would weaken the medicines. Menstrual blood shows that women do not belong to either agnatic group, that of their F's or that of their H's. Men's blood has kinship significance: it is blood and kinship; menstrual blood has mainly physiological significance (and is thus 'dirty'). Females who do not yet or do no longer menstruate can be viewed as completely 'neutral' as 'ritually fit'.

(262) is asked whether there is a term for sexually inactive persons, such as immature Chn and old women. Apart from a descriptive expression, such as *abangas-Enzi-lutho*, there is none. But they are recognized by their 'ritual' employment: The young boys sleep in the hut with the sacrificial meat; the young girls fetch cowdung and grain from the cattle-pen for bride and menstruating 'mother'; the Das of a home walk about in the yard during a SAC like the kraalhead and his men; they also, together with the males, cook and roast the meat. Nobody wants menstrual blood (and to a lesser extent an emission of semen) to appear on such occasions, and it is for that reason that it is called *Ngcolile* (unclean, dirty). In short, menstrual blood places women outside the agnatic unit.

(282) gives explanations why Chn are ritually fit. A bride does not enter the pen, for she would not get Chn if she did. Nothing happens to Chn. It is also easier for Chn to 'converse' with the ancestors. For instance, a small Ch is capable of seeing an *uTokoloshe* (a water sprite, with whom Chn are said to play, also a phallic symbol), and he points at it! Chn are not only friends with *uTokoloshe* but also with ancestors. When the informant's attention is drawn to the fact that *uTokoloshe* may be an 'evil being', he adds: Chn do not yet distinguish between good and bad; that is why they eat SM in the kraals of neighbours. Small boys can for that reason sleep with the sacrificial meat: they can do no evil; their quarrels are slight; they are pure in mind and heart *(baNgcwele)*, and they are like the ancestors in this. Once they reach puberty, they have grudges and fights, they no longer resemble the ancestors (s c i l . who are sexually inactive); they can't sleep in the meat hut any more; their heart refuses to do so; they no longer obey their parents unquestioningly. Hence the ancestors don't like their sleeping there any more for they no longer possess purity *(ubuNgcwele)*. If they did sleep there the affairs of the family would be affected adversely. (The question why this is so since at no other time in life than at the love-making stage is a person so dependent on the help of his ancestors, is not answered).

The old woman who sometimes sleeps with the sacrificial meat is 'pure', in the sense that she has no longer 'evil' desires; all she is waiting for now is death: she is already an *iDlozi*. Old men and women are not addressed as 'ancestors', but they are told from time to time: 'You

are now *amaDlozi*!' A young person dislikes being called an ancestor; the old like it! Their dreams must be carried out, otherwise ill-luck will befall the family. An old person says to a Ch: "Do this. I am your *iDlozi*!" If you go against their word you have bad luck, e.g., you break your leg, and you must apologize, i.e. you must slaughter a beast for them. It is not a SAC, but a fine *(inHlawulo)* of which everyone in the kraal partakes. But if the old person doesn't accept it, it will go ill with you. If the living ancestor becomes angry, all the departed ancestors are roused as well (s c i l. as if by contagion). The connection is this: The departed ancestors had been living with the old people years ago, when they were parents and Chn together. So when the living ancestors are angry the departed are too. It is a sign of their solidarity when the departed ancestors punish a Ch on behalf of a living ancestor. They are much more powerful than the living ancestor; they can make his curse come true. Of course, the living ancestor can also soothe the departed. (But this apparently is a matter not worth elaborating).

(405) confirms (282)'s statement: "Old women may sleep with sacrificial meat, because the beast has been killed for the ancestors; they are likened to them, young parents not. Chn are also near the ancestors, for it is they who made them exist, to be there at all. If a woman doesn't conceive, you ask the ancestors why she doesn't, you offer a SAC to them in meat and beer. They don't reply directly, but indirectly, for the woman becomes pregnant. It is the ancestors who are responsible for Chn; we knew nothing about God. Some African peoples say the ancestors mould the Ch in the womb. That seems to be a general impression, but my opinion is that the ancestors can't enter the womb. But they produce life in the woman's womb."

"Chn and old women have this in common: they do not do things which are done by married men and women; and they do things which are prohibited to women, especially if in their menses. They handle milk calabashes, sleep with sacrificial meat, and young boys sleep with the bull ritually killed at the First Fruits. (It appears as if the young and the very old do the things connected with the ancestors, with religion). The reason the very young are classed with the very old is that they know nothing and the old are in the afternoon of life; they are out of the mill, they've lost the track. They share a common condition: they have nothing which they need to avoid: *akukho lutho abakuZilayo;* they do no 'bad' acts. The old women no longer menstruate, they are as good as men (s i c). Both Chn and old people are *abaNtu abaNgenasiCi* (pure people). If I place my stick on the floor there is no objection if an old woman steps over it. An old woman is like a man and may step into her F-in-l's hut side. My Da-in-l may not come over to the men's side of my hut now; but when she is old, she is like my Br and may do so. When young we want her to bear Chn and the shadow of an ancestor should not fall on her, for I am like an ancestor to her. If she doesn't bear Chn, it is because she has been in places where she ought not to have been. (Implied is, that is where 'my shadow' would fall on her!) Old people do not only resemble the ancestors, they are also like Chn. The Chn are considered my *iNtanga* (age-mates): I do not object to their coming to me. Although they call me *mKhulu*, I do not object to their eating with me."

Old people and Chn are nearer to the ancestors. Men and women in reproductive years do not enter the hut with the sacrificial meat until it is smeared (i.e., got ready for normal use again). The kraalhead should enter, because he is mainly concerned with the ancestors (some sources say he too must avoid the hut), but he may not sleep in it. (It is his sleeping there which is prohibited). The ancestors would 'overshadow' him *(ukuThela, ukuMeleka ngesiThunzi esiBi)*. His well-being would be disturbed. It happens, for if misfortune strikes a kraal it is said: the shadows have returned, and a beast, or more rarely a white goat, is slaughtered to remove the bad spirit *(siSusa isiThunzi esiBi)*. The kraalhead's (mature) Sos may enter the hut (and bring in the meat), but they may not sleep there either. They Za the hut. This is no Hl, because normally the hut is an approachable place! (s c i l., Hl refers to a permanent attitude).

4. Like Kierkegaard then the Zulu register life stages by the inner debate an individual has with his sexual factor. Purity is to him determined by developmental stages, i.e., by sex and

age of the individual concerned and by his social position within the family and lineage. Because these criteria single out structurally disparate units (Chn and old people, for instance) there is no objective basis for the formation of a clear-cut concept of 'purity', and the Zulu connotation of words which approach it seems to lack in our eyes some of the preciseness and unambiguity of the Western notion. One possible term for purity is *ubuHle*. However its connotation is wide and 'spongy'. This is pointed out by Miss Colenso (1884:II,392n): "The adjective *-Hle* signifies to the Zulu all that is kind, desirable, pleasant, acceptable, proper, etc. When headman Vumandaba addressed Cetshwayo on his return from exile, he asked him to let bygones be bygones, to face the new time with *ubuHle*. This should have been rendered: without prejudice, with an unburdened mind. Unfortunately some newspapers rendered it: 'Begin the new reign with c l e a n hands, i.e., don't act as you did in the past."

(262) offered the following possibilities for using *ubuHle:* When I have won the favours of a girl who loves me, I am in a state of *ubuHle*, and so am I when I am living at peace with the world. *ubuHle* is another term for beauty (in a woman). A woman not in her menses has *ubuHle:* you can make an assignation with her. An immature girl is *muHle* ('pure') and so are boys who have not yet physically matured *(Khulile)*. An old woman *(isAlukazi)* who is past bearing is *muHle*, but so is the bridegroom! The bride is not *muHle*, or only to some extent: Before the *ukuQoma* (engagement) she was in the state of *ubuTshitshi;* between betrothal and wedding in that of *ubuQhikiza;* at her wedding she enters on that of *ukuChanguza*. Because she passed through these stages her third state is no longer that of complete *ubuHle!*

Similar findings could be recorded concerning the term *ubuMhlope*. It is offered in Lugg (1929:375) for 'purity' in a prayer at the First Fruits: *'okuHle, okuMhlope siyaCela. SiCela ukuPhila, uMoya omuHle'* ("Goodness and purity, for these we ask: we ask for health and happiness"!) The third term, mentioned in the above text, viz., *ubuNgcwele* is a term used by missionaries to render their idea of 'purity', or *ukuCweba kwenHliziyo*, or more recently *ubuSulwa*.

T o s u m u p : Ritually fit, or 'pure' in Zulu culture is thus identical with 'sexually inactive' as exemplified in Chn, old people and the dead ancestors, or in persons who observe the sex taboo.

III. THE INDIVIDUAL FACTOR

A. THE SELF-IMPOSITION OF RESTRAINTS

Firth (in JRAI, 1954) argues that the arrangements by which a society is kept in being rest ultimately upon individual choice and decision. The great problem is: what is the connection between the regularities of the social process and the acts of individuals. Such acts involve (a) r e c o g n i t i o n by individuals of their 'categorization' and that of others (with whom they share a situation); (b) a c t i v e r e s p o n s e to duties and obligations involved. Where responses occur we have conformity, where they are absent deviance. (c) Certain decisions can be singled out as c r i t i c a l d e c i s i o n s ; they are affairs not of leaders alone, they involve a debate with followers, their acquiescence and the consensus of the group. The decision of a leader to remove or impose a taboo will affect his followers as to their labour, their resources, their personal relations (e.g., work in the fields, time available, sex intercourse). (d) We may add to this: Leaders do not usually act arbitrarily but according to norms and expectations current in their culture. It depends on their insight in an emergent situation whether they apply the right principles, and on their persuasive ability whether they obtain a willing and integrated response from their followers.

Concerning our topic the process of recognition - response - critical decision - application of principles is complicated by the occurrence of situations, in which, owing to psychological factors such as excitement or sorrow, individuals impose restraints on themselves. The murderer Matsheni was visited in his hide-out by two men whom he suspected of being police. When these noticed that Matsheni did not eat of the food he had provided for them they proposed to handcuff him forthwith to set his mind at rest and enable him 'to enjoy' his food (van Warmelo: 1938:208). In this case the abstention was probably involuntary. The following instance shows a voluntary abstention. Two girls of a kraal that had been 'eaten up' were told by the king's men to prepare themselves a good meal as they had two days' march before them to the royal kraal. They replied: "You invite us to eat while our parents' blood is still fresh on the ground. We will not eat. Would that we could die too" (Samuelson, L.H.:120). Asked whether he fasts in this manner, Mabande answered: 'Hau - I abstain from food, when I am seriously worried, when my heart is not clear'. And (453) said: "When I turn away from a person in anger, I call that *ukuZila*, i.e., turning away from a bad thing." An abstention from food, sex, speech may thus express an individual mood and be acknowledged as such by others.

There is a wide range of situations in which self-imposition of taboos occurs and a wide range of persons who make the requisite decision. Once Gardiner returned to Dingane a group of refugees, viz., Nonha, second *inKosikazi* of the Inja-nduna kraal, her three Das, her manservant, a female servant, and a man who had deserted on a previous occasion. On their way to the king's kraal, the group stopped at the homestead from which they had fled. There the female prisoners would not taste the curds, asserting that "since they were in disgrace, it was not proper for them to partake of SM among their friends." The two men were not so sensitive, nor apparently did the women raise the same objection at other kraals (Gardiner:159).

The practice is taken up early in life. If a boy has been scolded by his M, he may abstain from her food. This makes her take notice and she will discuss the situation with him. If the M has irritated her So unduly, she may ask his pardon *(ukuThethelela)*. If the boy is in the wrong he must apologize before he can resume eating her food. A So would never thus abstain from his F's food, for he has more respect for him than for his M. If he did abstain, however, his F might insist on his So paying 'a fine' before he gives him a share again (225). (343) sums up the occasions when he Za's food thus: "When I am not interested in food; when I am ungraciously reminded by my host that it is his food I am eating; when I have been insulted. In the last case I would resume commensality only when 'the offender pays a fine' in the shape of a goat which is slaughtered and eaten by both of us and our agnates." In these instances abstention from food is a response to an action which is disapproved of and serves as a c a v e a t inducing the person concerned to modify his behaviour.

The self-imposition of abstentions is called *ukuDuba (ukuDubile)* or *ukuDikila*. A girl resorts to it when she objects to the man her F wishes her to marry. She might abstain from all food, stop all work and refuse to speak to her parents. She stays in her M's hut and talks to her siblings only. Her family, especially her M and Sis, would eat in front of her to induce her to eat. They may have to wait till she has 'cooled off' *(ukuPhola)*. At last the girl might say to her F: "If your intention is to have me married, I'd rather marry N.N.." By such tactics she may succeed in turning her F's mind. If not, she may decide to run away or try to enlist the help of her FeSi who has influence with him. A girl may also force her F to announce her nubile condition by abstaining from SM till he takes notice and slaughters a beast for her at the *ukuKhehla* ceremony. According to Wanger (1913) two classes of spinsters (called virgins by him) are distinguished among the Zulu: Das of the king who before being told to marry declare their intention to remain permanently unmarried, and those who decline to go to the man of their F's choice (the implication being that they would marry a man of their own choice). In the first instance we are apparently dealing with physiological horror of married life. In both instances the 'privilege of celibacy' is limited to the king's Das and thus linked with high status.

A F-in-l Za's the food, both 'hard' and 'soft', of a 'cheeky' Da-in-l. This results in the woman's co-Wis scolding and abusing her: 'Go home and fetch a beast to cleanse yourself!.

Otherwise the ancestors will turn their back on you!; bad luck will befall you' (225). A widow committing adultery with an outsider refuses her leviratic mate. A woman refuses her H until he has paid a doctor a beast so that she can train as a diviner. A H refuses to have intercourse with his Wi if she interferes with his penis-box (217, 229). The abstentions obviously aim at forcing the will of a social partner. Such an intention may assume political significance. Gardiner reports two instances: "So determined was Umthlella (i.e., Ndlela, Dingane's first councillor) to effect his (i.e., Goujana, Dingane's Br's) death that, because his recommendations ... were not attended to, he had for some time refrained from visiting the king, except on matters of business, and ... plainly told him, that it was impossible that they should ever go to war while the prisoner lived." The other instance concerns Manandaza, the 'great woman' of Ncapai's Place. "Tpai had assembled his army and was on the eve of going to war, a project she opposed. Finding that all her dissuasions were ineffectual, she suddenly quitted the place and, accompanied only by a little girl, entirely concealed herself ... After three or four days she as mysteriously returned, her side ... bleeding from a wound received from the spirit of her late H. (She was the widow of Ncapai's Br). Tpai countermanded the army, and the wound immediately healed!" (Gardiner:45, 284).

The self-imposition of taboos is thus frequent in relations between proximate generations and becomes intensified when the persons concerned differ in sex (F-Da; F-in-l - Da-in-l). Furthermore this self-imposition is a means of behaviour control which can become a powerful political weapon in the chief's lineage or at court. When an informant heard Tpai's story, he volunteered: "It is typical of Africans to pretend that they have done something, e.g., inflicted pain on themselves, to induce another person to an action, they wish him to do!" Self-abnegation is not always pretence; it may go so far as to lead to suicide as in the case of Mkabai kaJama, "Cetshwayo's GM, once the great Wi or Si of Senzangakhona." When the English came to Ulundi in 1879 "the Zulu begged her to quit her home, but she refused, and when they urged it, she said Mpande left her to Cetshwayo, and Cetshwayo, without having done any wrong, (was) being killed by the white man. Thereupon the Queen took a knife and cut her throat" (Colenso:1880:37). Here suicide was a method of casting aspersion on a hostile superior power.

B. AUTHORITIES IMPOSING TABOO REGIMENS

1. Kraalhead

Certain persons exercise the power of imposing avoidances and taboos. (330): "Kraalheads issue interdicts: one doesn't want boys to whistle, another objects to his Chn being beaten before him by his So. On the eve of a SAC a kraalhead reminds the inmates of his homestead of the abstentions observed in connection with it. When he receives news of the *ukuNyathela* (Trampling) Ceremony he imposes on his people the interdict on eating crops. During his So's puberty rite he interdicts sexual intercourse in his kraal." The social order of a homestead is felt to be established by the kraalhead and death is experienced as a moral catastrophe because rules and inhibitions are associated with the personal authority of the deceased.

Power to impose interdicts is also exercised by the kraalhead's M or his princ-Wi. She announces a general interdict against sexual intercourse when a girl has her first menstruation. Ms examine the pudenda of their Das when these are actively engaged in love visits. They have thus not only the power to impose prohibitions but also to check on the observance of them. The UM exercises the right by dint of her position in the lineage (she represents the fission point) as well as by her age, her wisdom and prestige. A boy reported to his GM that he had killed a rough little lizard in the pen. She rebuked him: 'These lizards are the chiefs of the homestead. They are not killed; they are reverenced!' *(Azi-Bulawa, zi-y'Esatshwa)*. The informant did not remember any evil consequence resulting from the deed. (Callaway:1868: 218).

2. Doctors

The doctors in their various specialities impose avoidances and abstentions as a necessary part of their efforts. Healing doctors tell their patients not to cross a river. If a girl is ailing she may be ordered not to sleep with her boy friend for a time. An expert in treating cattle might impose an interdict that they should not drink water for one day except such as contained his medicines *(azingawaPhuzi amaNzi, zizoPhuza inTelezi kube ukuPhela)* (330). Magicians dealing with 'poisons' impose prohibitions: uNdayeni one day warned herdboys who were in the habit of looking into a pool as into a mirror: "Never go to that place again. Someone has put poison into the pool!" (Callaway:1868:235). When a piece of the *umDlebe* tree is thrown into a homestead by an evil-doer, this results in high fever and severe pains for all inmates. The doctor treats them i n t e r a l i a with the request not to drink water or curds until cured. The *umDlebe* is an uncanny tree. "We do not take its name in vain *(eSabekeyo)* for it is an awful tree." The Hl term for it is * *iMbo*, the real name is Hl'd (Callaway:1868:421-6). An interdict seems d e r i g u e u r in treating barrenness. In a Nkandla law case (46/30) a constable reported that a leech had placed a restriction on his hut, that no other woman but his Wi should sleep there until she conceived. Doctors also secure their fees by means of an interdict. In one case a doctor claimed a beast from a patient, because he had called in another doctor without informing him. 'This cannot be done' (Hl). A doctor who is called to fight an invasion of birds in the sorghum fields may issue the following order: 'Let no man go to his house'! (i.e., Do not visit your Wis). 'Do not eat anything from the gardens which are being treated, until everyone has washed in my medicines!' (Callaway 1868: 448 seq.).

Specialist doctors, e.g., lightning doctors who make fast a homestead issue their 'copyright' interdicts (Za). One doctor tells them not to bring any water in at the side entries but through the main gate; another not to take firebrands out of the huts. A third would order: Do not sharpen grinding stones in the hut; a fourth: Do not sharpen them anywhere but in the hut! Transgression of any of these rules would result in lightning striking the kraal. Some doctors are satisfied with a single taboo, others demand the observance of a whole regimen (330). War doctors used to publish special interdicts at the commencement of a campaign. The interdict (Za) on going home after the sprinkling was general; but special prohibitions were also issued, e.g., not to eat SM, or any other food, in the districts the warriors had to traverse. Some prohibitions were 'legal' in the sense that they derived from the king (Do not appropriate cattle or girls from the booty). But they were broken by reliance on (a) the spirit of war: 'We shall not observe the King's law but do just as we like and set ourselves our own limit!' *(Siya 'kuZenzela nje, siDiya ngeFusi lethu*); and (b) the assistance of a warrior's ancestors who were appealed to to aid against the order of the king and war doctors. The imposition of an interdict resembles the imposition of a condition which has to be observed so that a charm works. A Fort Hare student recently obtained a charm to help him win a Durban July racing bet. At the race many Zulu spat on similar charms or passed them across the face. But the student's charm failed.
When he challenged the doctor (who had received £5 as fee and a goat 'for his ancestors') he replied: You broke one of the conditions in going to the bioscope with the charm before the race! (The condition is a means of placing the responsibility for failure on the client. It also acts as a means of strengthening the magical belief: 'If the condition had been observed ...' The condition can be worded as a taboo: Don't take ...).

When Laduma Madela, lightning doctor and philosopher, introduced my companion and me to The Tree of Creation and The Grove of Revelation, he imposed certain taboos apparently on the spur of the moment. He prohibited his assistant from twirling the fire-stick, told us that we could not write in the kraal, that we had to speak gently and not to tell any traveller where we were going. He himself did not accompany us, since he had a rash *104*. Reviewing the manner in which doctors impose interdicts, the following points stand out: (a) They single out certain taboos as critical (attaching to them definite sanctions); (b) they impose them without consulting experts or fellow diviners and derive their prestige partly by the peculiarity of their interdicts; (c) the doctor announces taboos without consulting his clients; by approaching him they accept his conditions.

3. Chief or King

The foremost person to impose taboos is the chief or king. In a number of law cases in the twenties chiefs at Nkandla i n t e r a l i a fined their subjects for employing doctors from another district or calling preachers from outside, or for "going round graves!" In case 69/26 a chief imposed a fine of £2 on a woman because she invited her lover to her kraal for a drink after she had been jilted by him! (The defence was that they were in love). Case 40/30 concerned a fine imposed on a man because his Da had become pregnant in his home before her marriage. In a 1926 case of adultery between a woman and her HBr, which resulted in pregnancy, the adulterer had settled privately with his Br for compensation of £1 or a beast; the chief disallowed this, claiming that this was not a kraal matter since such cases lead to bloodshed. He fined the H for not reporting to him. In case 106/26 a chief fined a man £3 . 3. 0. for living with a woman from another district without reporting her arrival; in 109/26 a chief fined a man £4 for living with another man's Wi. In all these cases chiefs had imposed prohibitions which assumed their control over the private life of their subjects.

The Zulu king likewise controlled the sex life of his subjects, especially the pre-marital one. The king could bring a case against a man whose Da had become pregnant while in her father's home on the ground that "the king's grass had been defiled" (P.J. Schoeman). The term *imVokwe* (Colenso) refers to the restriction placed by the king on the girls of an age-class not to have sexual relations at all. An analogous interdict prohibited any warrior from marrying until his regiment was publicly allowed to marry by proclamation (Bryant:1929:127). This control of the sexual life of the rising generation was not only exercised in a negative way; it included the right to allow marriage: - *iCena*, (Colenso:1905), is the age-class of young women allowed to have external intercourse, - and to restrict the choice of partners. The best known example is the age-class of girls who refused to be married to men of an older regiment in 1878. They were killed, in Cetshwayo's words "by people who took the law into their own hands." The postponement of the marriage of soldiers was a device introduced by Shaka and lifted by Mpande (Bryant:1949:575). According to P.J. Schoeman (1942: 120) Shaka set up the rule that nobody might see the watersnake (Za) which was thought to guard the intactness of Zulu girls. He threatened to gouge out the eyes of the trespassers himself.

On the death of Shaka's mother Nandi some traditional mourning taboos were spontaneously observed by the great crowds; others were the result of deliberations between the king and his council; a third set of taboos were directly imposed by the king. When the death of the old lady became known, the king ordered his councillors to put on war-dress; all others stripped off all their ornaments. During the lamentations which lasted the whole night, no one dared to sleep or to take water. Those who went too near a river were massacred! Forty oxen were slaughtered. Their flesh could not be touched by the mourners; it was left to be devoured by dogs, vultures and flies. The king only gave permission for refreshments to be taken on the morning of the second day. Otherwise no food was taken. A grave guard composed of men present at the burial was set up and isolated for twelve months; no contact with relatives or tribe was allowed; a large herd of cattle was set apart for their use. Nobody was allowed to put a stick on the ground near Nandi's kraal and barracks (where she might be underground).

Further mourning interdicts were the result of deliberations. Ngomane, Shaka's foster-guardian, proposed to the full assembly the following interdicts (Za): No cultivation was to be allowed for one year; no milk was to be used: the cows were to be milked on to the ground; all women found pregnant were to be executed with theirs Hs - an implied taboo on sexual intercourse. The word *uNandi* (sweet) was henceforth to be replaced by *umToti* (Hl). These proposals were unanimously agreed to with acclamation and closely observed during the following three months.

After a few months a bold man, Gala kaNodade Biyela, challenged the first two rules at court, charging that they were destructive of the country. Although man-imposed they were then redeemed by large offerings of oxen to the tribal ancestors by Shaka as well as by his chiefs. The third interdict was enforced for a whole year. During the year of mourning the peo-

ple were called together three times for public lamentations. At the last lamentation the ritual purification of Shaka was carried out. Each cattle-owner took the gall-bladder out of a live calf and sprinkled the king with bile; the calves were left to die slowly; no human being could eat the flesh. Shaka was washed with decoctions; he then proceeded with his tribe to a distant forest where they threw away their mourning dress, after which they washed in the river. Ngomane proposed a raid on a neighbouring tribe 'to deprive them of their cattle, as a substitute for the tears they had not shed, and because they had allowed weddings in spite of the prohibition!'

Fynn (p. 139), to whom we owe this information, suggests that reasons of state policy accounted for the mourning regimen as much as real grief. According to him, Shaka wished his people to infer how terrific h i s burial would have to be. This seems unlikely as is Fynn's suggestion that Shaka wanted to keep the mind of his people filled with wonder since the taboos observed fit into the general taboo regimen of Zulu mourning. It is true Ngomane gave a mystical justification for the taboo regimen, viz., as the Great Female Elephant, the ruling spirit of vegetation, had died, it could be expected that heaven and earth would come together. To avert such a calamity the taboos had to be observed by all. But the piecemeal release from the interdicts is also a feature of other release rites. This example shows that king and council could propose a taboo regimen to the assembly. It became 'law' after it had been accepted there. The initiative was taken by political leaders, the approval came from the assembly; enforcement became the concern of every tribesman.

The Zulu king has retained the power to impose taboos. At the celebrations for the re-establishment of Mpande's Ulundi kraal in 1952, Paramount Cyprian Bhekezulu announced that henceforth Wednesday was to be observed as taboo day, on which people were not to plough, hoe or weed in the fields. Wednesday, he announced, was the day on which his father Solomon had been buried, and on which he, Cyprian, prayed to his ancestors. (330): "The king has the power *(amAndla)* to impose such an interdict. We call it a day of prohibition (Za). We obey, for are we not his subjects? The enforcement is made comparatively easy, for anyone going to the fields with his tools is spotted at once and reminded." The taboo day is thus an effective check on the loyalty of the Usuthu tribe, and a means to intensify this loyalty. (I met no one who deliberately broke the taboo-day).

Taboos and avoidances are thus, like customary law, re-created in every generation and remodelled to suit new circumstances. For name avoidances we have historical proof that this is so. Leslie (p. 177-179) quotes one of Mpande's aged Sis who was well versed in Hl: "Some might propose one name (to replace the avoided word), the others might object, saying that it was not a nice one; at last they would agree to call him so and so." They tried to find a word as near as possible to the meaning of that which they had laid aside, e.g., *imPisi* (hyena) might be called *inGadule* (night wanderer) or *umDela'buThongo* (one who does not desire sleep). There is thus initiative by some, acceptance and rejection by others and final agreement concerning a preferred choice. The procedure was not rigid. "The *Hlonipha* of Cetshwayo's name began among his female 'relations', the *umNdlunkulu* girls at his own kraal and spread to the king's (Mpande's) kraal afterwards and so became known all over the country." Even then non-conformists had to be reminded. "One man talking to another would innocently use the word *amaCebo* (slander); the other would stop him, saying: 'Don't you know, they Hl him now?' 'No', the other would reply: 'What do they say?'. 'They say: *amaKhwatha*' ... Thus the chosen word gradually spreads till all use it."

If necessary the authority for imposing prohibitions on kinship units and tribe is derived from the ancestors, occasionally from other 'deities'. For instance, *inKosazana*, the Princess of Heaven, gives out orders through a man she loves. She does this on two conditions, the violation of which is disastrous to the man. First, he must receive the orders without looking at her: 'Turn your back; do not look at me, for I am naked!' Secondly, he must pass on her orders to everyone. She might order all Chn to be weaned, and no woman would disobey, lest her Ch die. The Princess is known to be fanciful and arbitrary in her commands. E.g., one year 'her man' ordered: Let the maidens marry young men and reject the old! while the follow-

ing year he gave out the very opposite order: Let the maidens reject the young! Apparently with sufficient authorization from the Princess even a commoner might impose conditions on the choice of marriage partners, a right otherwise only exercised by the king (Callaway:1868: 253 ff).

C. CHANGES IN RESTRAINTS

1. Fashion

Certain variations in avoidances and abstentions are due to amorphous social processes. Certain avoidances and taboos can be shown to have been subject to fashion. This led to fluctuations in the intensity, the duration and the range of a Hl or Za pattern. E.g., in the heyday of Zulu militarism, the warriors deemed everything but domestic animals unfit for use as food (Isaacs:I, 194). Later they were less squeamish.

The avoidances concerning beads are subject to fashion. Leslie (p. 179) reported: "If a certain blanket or bead is adopted by the king or his Sos or Das, it is immediately in request by those who are of sufficient rank to risk wearing them." Colenso on his visit to Natal in 1855 had already noted that different kinds of beads were distinguished and that Mpande would not allow his people to buy any, until the traders had submitted them to him for approval. A large one like a pigeon's egg could be worn by him and his councillors only (Colenso:1855:30). Ludlow, thirty years later, recorded that "the taste concerning beads was varied, except for the very large red beads, which were so desired that only Cetshwayo's Wis and Das were allowed to wear them." Bryant(1949:158) adds that these beads, "sacred to royalty, became so revered by the Zulu, that they swore by them: I would slip off from their string the imFibinga beads of Mpande - if I be not speaking the truth!"

2. Education

Families differ as to their standard of conduct and the elaborateness of their avoidance and abstention pattern. The M's attitude, her lenience or strictness is important. Some Ms allow Chn to play in the 'forbidden' male half of the hut during their F's absence. A M who wants to beat her Chn may find that they escape to this area to be safe from her. It makes a lot of difference if the F's reserved area is experienced as a play room or a refuge. A considerate M does not break the news of the F's death to her Chn until she has given them a substantial meal to tide them over the mourning fast. To quench their thirst she may give them water into which she has dropped a pinch of ash (121,103,231). Of course other kin influence education. The paternal GM assists the M in teaching Chn avoidances and abstentions, and so do elder siblings. The F frequently tests the Ch in his practical knowledge of restrained behaviour.

The stricter a family is in the observance of Hl and Za, the earlier does the educational process begin and the more elaborate it is. Chief Ephraim Ndwandwe tells with pride that his GCh, two years of age, Hl's him nicely. The two year old Da of Chief Gatsha Butelezi responds to him with his courtesy name: Shenge! Their GM, Princess Magogo, teaches Gatsha's infant Chn the names of the royal family tree to enable them to swear an oath! King Cyprian's So, when about 3½ years, respectfully knelt before his FSi when reporting something to her. There are, however, families in which training does not start before the sixth year. In a destitute family I watched a Ch of 2-3 years strike a stranger in an outburst of anger without any interference from its parents. Family differences in Hl consciousness are well brought out in the prohibition that a Ch should not eat any food with his F's spoon. In lax families the interdict is whittled down so as to apply to food in the F's pot only or to his SM. In strict families the prohibition is also extended to the spoons of FSi, paternal collaterals and even the M, or the use of the Ch's own spoon is interdicted in the presence of his seniors.

3. Public and private standards

In 'primitive', as in 'civilised' conduct there is a tendency to lower standards in private, to

raise them when the ethical effort is facilitated by onlookers. Callaway relates: A man offered SM to his M-in-l and even a cow during a famine (Mabanda commented: 'I don't believe it. It doesn't happen! It is Za!') Both offers were rejected by the woman in accordance with the SM taboo among in-laws. (Mabanda is greatly pleased). Yet the woman helped herself to SM clandestinely (Mabanda is dumbfounded: What can be said now? I call that stealing!) All that happened was that the woman observed the taboo formally, but had no qualms, presumably with her So-in-l's connivance, about violating it in secret. M a b a n d a admits at this stage: There are cases of people going against the rules, especially poor people. A rich person, of good character, would not 'break the law.' Our conclusion is that people who are afraid of public comment might be bold enough to break a restraint if unobserved.

Drunkenness is a condition in which the norms of Hl conduct are often disregarded. At Nobamba, the famous royal kraal, I once met the following company: (409), 'Queen', youngest widow of Dinizulu, appointed as controller of the kraal by Solomon on Dinizulu's death; (410), a Br of Solomon, and classificatory So of (409), appointed as controller of the kraal by Cyprian after Solomon's death; the widows of 409's So, the former 'owner' of the kraal, and their Chn, the GSos and GDas of (409). At the first visit Hl custom and elaborate royal etiquette was strictly observed. The second visit was marred by (410)'s drunkenness, and the opposition to him by several of the widows, his classificatory Sis-in-l. (410) objected to the widows sitting in the hut listening to the interview. One widow fought back spiritedly. Finally, supported by another widow, she forced the issue by sitting down on the men's side, adding insult to injury. (410) angrily told them to Hl and move to the women's side. They did not obey. One of the Das of the kraal then walked up to the leading widow and slapped her. (410) demanded obedience again. The Da now pushed the widows out, taking the more obstreperous by the arm, calling out: *'Phumani'!* A second Da shouted: *'Phuma Phela'!* After a few minutes outside the widows re-entered the hut. Now the second Da heaved the first widow out, dipping her head under the archway. (Presumably the Das were not the real Chn of the widows they handled).

4. Class Standards

Concerning the effect of class upon avoidance and abstention regimen it may be said that a double tendency can be observed at the royal court: Greater elaboration of restraints resulting in the phenomenon best termed etiquette; but also greater relaxation of rules resulting in pronounced social ease. Etiquette is insisted on mainly in relations with outsiders and newcomers (e.g., brides); social ease is the outcome of the multiplicity and intensity of social contacts normal at court.

Since court etiquette has been described repeatedly, we shall turn our attention to the relaxation of rules. The unconventional procedure followed by a royal lover has been referred to already; he pays his love visits to his girl's kraal without avoidance customs towards his future F-in-l! Reyher (p.22-30) describes how Solomon accosted his future Wi by surprise, how he walked side by side with her and shook hands at parting. Princess Magogo denied that sex abstentions were observed at court during First Fruits rites, Installation, etc. "The business of propagation must go on!", an indication that the court had a laxer norm in this respect than commoners. At Christina's (his Wi's) first confinement, King Solomon demanded to see the Ch, although it is Za for a F to do so before the r/r. His Ms objected, but he brushed them aside: 'I need not wait for a day of your choice!' He talked to his Wi sitting in the doorway and viewed the Ch. Later he took the Ch in his arms at a time when this is normally prohibited (Za) to a F (Reyher:61-6).

The reminiscences of the widows of Dinizulu and Solomon at EmaHashini and Dlamadhladhla respectively reveal in how far the Hl avoidances of brides and Wis were whittled down at court. The walking behind the huts was not done at Dinizulu's kraal, nor did the Wis retire to their huts during a SAC. They were permitted to carry water and firewood across the homestead; there was no rule for them to place bucket and bundle down at the gate. Brides were not sent home to get the spoon beast. In short the critical avoidances of a young woman in her H's kraal were not observed. Two reasons were advanced by the widows: (a) Traditional: No SAC takes

place at a kraal from which the heir has moved out after his F's death. The necessity to go behind huts did not exist, since the HF (Cetshwayo) was already dead and the kraal never belonged to him but to Dinizulu. (b) Reasons in terms of culture change: After his return from exile Dinizulu was against 'customs', he never went to a diviner, he never slaughtered for the ancestors, no praises were recited at the kraal and the king disliked the traditional custom of yoWis going home for lengthy periods. Both reasons coincide in the fact that the ancestors are thought to be absent.

5. *Culture Contact*

has had a profound effect on the manner in which Hl and Za are observed. A number of informants denied that herbalists nowadays observe speech restraints or that weather-makers and hunters avoid their Wis or abstain from food unless perhaps the calamity of the weather or the size of the hunt make such austerity worthwhile. (103) was once on a whale cutter with 55 Zulu who were visibly taken aback when he told them that at one time the Zulu Za'd (did not touch) whales. It is said that women no longer observe the food taboos during pregnancy; "they eat what they like provided their Hs don't notice it." (130) said: "Christians give up these rules; heathens still observe them." There seems to be general disregard of the *uFuzo* taboos. But a cautious informant adds: "It is only the inquisitive modern woman who breaks the old taboos." Modern influences are also blamed for the disregard of the prohibition on begetting Chn before the marriage ceremony, of the rule against a quick succession of pregnancies, and against Chn born out of wedlock. Many girls 'run' to their lovers in an irregular manner; Chn are conceived before their predecessors are weaned; women form loose unions with men. The old order is still vigorously defended by many Zulu for reasons stated before. However there is also some support for the looser morals: The illegal unions circumvent troublesome Government regulations: (a) the payment of the hut tax can be evaded (only legally married men pay it); and (b) the tradition of paying the bride-price in instalments can be continued, whereas the Natal Code insists that the whole of it must be paid before a valid wedding can be held. The factor of incompatibility seems sometimes to play a decisive influence. (377) reports that the old rule of sleeping with head towards the apse is still observed in grass huts, whereas in rondavels with more space available the rule is abandoned.

In a team meeting held in 1950 at the Polela Health Centre some statistics were given by a Mrs. Shembe on the proportion of families which still observe the milk (and egg) taboo of 'brides'. 50 homes were investigated. In 8 of these, with 15 women in residence who could be described as 'educated', the women had abandoned the taboos. 26 homes with 39 women represented a mixed group with taboos partly broken down. 13 homes with 48 women still observed the taboos. Concerning release from the taboo the following methods were noted. 3 homes with 3 women had been provided with a milch cow by the HF. In the majority of homes (26) the taboo had been lifted by the slaughter of a goat. In five others the Hs had written from their place of work giving permission to drop the taboo (without slaughtering a goat). It was the elder 'brides' that were thus released. The Health Centre which had undertaken a campaign to stamp out the milk avoidance of 'brides' found the following reasons for the continued observance: People cling to custom. A bride who is released too soon from the SM avoidance is said to look down on her in-laws and is not blessed by the ancestors, i.e., she will not conceive. Where a bride did not make herself liked in her new home, or where H and Wi did not live in harmony the avoidance was continued. In a polygynous homestead the favourite Wi was given milk (and eggs) in preference to the others if there was not enough to go round. Presumably such conditions exist also in Zululand.

D. POWER OF INDIVIDUALS TO ALTER RESTRAINTS

The power of certain individuals to impose avoidances and taboos involves their power to alter them. Nowhere is this clearer than with regard to the prohibition to marry. Before

Shaka's time nobody could marry unless he was circumcised. After Shaka nobody could marry unless he and his whole regiment were given permission to marry by royal order. After Dingane's defeat by the Boers at Ingcome (1838), the king ordered the *uDlambedlu* regiment to put on the head-ring, although it consisted only of lads of about 20 years of age. He had reasons sufficient: (a) the Boers insisted on this promotion as a condition of peace; and (b) the boys had sprung from 'the bones' of their brave fathers since they had been conspicuous in trapping the Boers in a skirmish (Gibson:77).

The person who is authorized to impose a prohibition normally makes an announcement of it to all who are expected to observe it. The kraalhead reserves an object for his exclusive use by an announcement *(ukuTshela)* to all kraal inmates either in person or through a messenger. Or he may place the object in question on his side of the Great Hut or in a special section of his granary. It is custom that nothing edible is kept in a man's residence; tobacco and snuff are kept there for they cannot be kept in a Wi's hut (Hl). Such a reservation would, for instance, apply to a delicacy such as a luscious cob of green maize. (131 doubts this). If the Chn were to eat it, they would be punished, and if a Wi were guilty, her H would report her to her F *105*. A chief may also requisition certain objects by the process of *ukuMema*, to claim as tribute, for his own use and that of the court, e.g., a supply of mats, thatching grass, beer, goats, etc., and they would then become 'reserved property'. The term also means 'to call up for service at the royal court' and is under present conditions mainly confined to boys and girls. When the chief prohibits commoners from eating the crops before the First Fruits, the term used is *ukuNqumisela*. Usually the mere announcement is enough. According to some informants the chief may reserve to himself certain fruit trees, or a pasture, by announcing the fact or by attaching to the object a piece of the skin of a royal animal, e.g., leopard. This would resemble a taboo sign. A striking taboo sign was described to me by a member of the Majozi clan. His F used to tie an *umCimbithwa* locust to a reserved object, the Chn being generally forbidden to harm this insect on the pasture. Callaway (1866:99) and L.H. Samuelson (p. 42) relate stories in which the wagtail serves as protector of special food resources controlled by the family head, viz., SM. A woman may also reserve certain objects, or foods, to herself in a ritual manner. She may do so by spitting on the object, or by placing a piece of clay or squeezing a few drops of her own milk on it. (131) considers all these customs incorrect and especially the last one definitely wrong and says: the woman would be 'fined' for it and called a witch. This would certainly be the case if she thus secured to herself something which does not belong to her. A woman often hides a small pot of beer in her granary, and her H cannot drink of it without her consent (Hl).

The transition from taboo signs to property marks is gradual. One of the earliest records of property marks concerns Chief Zikhali's cattle. When all cattle belonged to the chief, they were not necessary, but when he began to distribute cattle to his Brs and successful warriors cattle marks became useful. Such ear marks *(uPhawu)* are taken as legal evidence today. No property marks are made on sticks, spears, vessels and utensils since "they do not move on their own." The function of taboo signs is also performed by the rather complicated property marks in hunting. They consist in the wounds inflicted by the first, second and finishing spear thrust and each may be advanced to support a claim. The (first) bite of a dog also gives a certain claim to its owner. Successful hunters reserve game by laying a leafed branch over it. Passions run high at the end of a hunt and violent arguments between hunters are common. The derisive account of the clan, whose members were cheated into accepting an animal's anus filled with red ochre as 'the first wound' inflicted by a rival, shows that taboo signs did not make the reserved object sacrosanct *106*. Taboo signs, on the whole, were prescribed for certain situations and certain types of property and could be affixed by persons having the requisite authority only at times determined by custom. Taboo signs helped to protect 'private property' where occasions for doubt might arise. Or they served as reminder of a claim which though generally acknowledged had to be reasserted at times when temptation arose to disregard it. In both circumstances the affixing of a taboo sign or property mark implements a right inherent in a superior status and defines, within limits, the extent of the sphere of action and of control pertaining to it. *107*

T o s u m u p: Within the general system of restraints individual implementation depends on the strictness or leniency of the person in authority. In strict homesteads or clans a multiplicity of restraints is enacted, in lenient families and clans a reduced number. Much depends on the interpretation by the person in authority concerned of the implications of the general norms of Hl and Za in a particular situation. The selection and justification of critical taboos are also subject to individual factors, viz., the ethos of a particular family, the strictness of its head. Modifications are made by individuals in authority and exceptions allowed by them. Conditions of exemptions are devised according to the merits of the case, the personality and the rank of the individuals involved.

E. RELEASE RITES FROM SINGLE RESTRAINTS AND REGIMENS OF RESTRAINTS

1. Introduction

The intervention of persons in authority is seen as clearly in the release from restraints as in their imposition. The simplest r/r is for the superordinate status to give the order for the discontinuance of the observance by the subordinate status. This is a very common procedure in the avoidances of the bride. The HM orders the bride some time after the wedding to start fetching water and fuel which so far she has not done (Hl) (319). In some homesteads the HM also tells the bride to walk in front of the huts. Such permission may be a general release, referring to several avoidances, or a particular release valid under special circumstances. E.g., a M may send her Ch to the F's side of the hut to fetch an object there; a F calls a So to eat SM from his pot; a H invites his Wi to share his mat on his side of the hut. As the chief imposes certain prohibitions by a plain announcement, so a cancellation may be by public order. A person of rank may request release from an irksome taboo. As was noted above the king obtained permission from his Ms to fondle his child at a time when it was really Za for him to do so.

In a number of cases a prohibition is circumvented by a simple release action. When women have uttered the name of their HF they spit into the air. The stabber with *uSuku* prevents any ill effect on the meat by chewing *isiQumba* root; a potmaker in the same circumstances bites into a lump of clay and works it into the mass of clay so that her pots do not crack. A person with *uSuku* who wishes to see a newborn chews a herb and spits at the Ch to protect it against any baneful influence. Persons who have abstained from eating SM take *iliKhubalo* medicine before resuming SM consumption, so that the cows are not affected! All these releases from prohibitions are performed on the individual's own initiative and presuppose his acquaintance with the pertinent 'theory'.

Frequently the release from a prohibition is preceded by the presentation of gifts. A spear is given to the boy who hides after his first emission to make him leave his place of concealment (reserved area). A bride does not eat in front of her HF until given a present by him, formerly a goat, nowadays perhaps a shilling. By accepting it 'the strangeness' between HF and Da-in-l is removed. Gifts are particularly common in the removal of isolating avoidances especially between in-laws. 'Entrance fees' may be subsumed under this heading, e.g., youths who wish to go into the seclusion hut of a pubescent girl give presents to her age-mates. If they wish to remain alone with the girl, they have to give a present to her 'keeper'. The holding-back behaviour of the bridal party at the wedding is removed at various stages by the giving of presents. M. Mauss in "The Gift" seems to have given little attention to gifts as a form of release from restraints. The use of gifts as release mechanism seems to indicate that certain taboos do not stigmatize the observer as inferior but characterize his social position in a positive manner.

Another method of release is for the person in authority to break the prohibition on behalf of the inferior status, i.e., to violate it vicariously. After the ear piercing the M introduces

her Ch to every food taboo to it by taking a mouthful from the pot, chewing it and breathing over the Ch's pierced ear afterwards. On the tribal scale we have the vicarious taboo breach in an elaborate form in the chief's consumption of the First Fruits. Thereafter each kraalhead performs a similar rite in his homestead. An inversion of this custom is the ritual eating of the crops by a betrothed maiden before her lover may eat them: it seems to stress the importance of woman in household economy. The violation of the clan endogamy taboo by chiefs is a further instance of this type of release. As in the other cases reviewed the people dependent upon the ritual taboo breaker follow him in the action hitherto interdicted. Vicarious taboo breaches are preceded by magical treatment which is said 'to strengthen' the taboo breaker. This is particularly well developed in the First Fruits. It is tempting to explain this treatment as a preparation for the encounter with the dangers coming from the new crops. But the converse may also be true, viz., that the period of abstentions preceding the First Fruits has been a ritual phase, a marginal period, from which people have to be adjusted again to the normal state of affairs.

So far we have mainly dealt with single taboos. When a taboo regimen is withdrawn, a more complicated procedure is followed. If our assumption is correct that taboos are part and parcel of either status-linked or role-linked patterns of behaviour, it should be possible to discover customs supporting this distinction in the release rites.

2. Puberty

The release rites following upon puberty can in fact be classed into (a) rites which remove status disabilities and (b) rites which cancel the temporary role taboos imposed for the seclusion period.

Thus the food taboos observed in the status of uninitiated youngsters are removed by the eating of strengthening medicines. They enable the boys to eat food fit for men. The prohibition of wearing the dress of adults is cancelled by the ceremonious assumption of the *umuTsha* loin-cover, indicative of the new status. The temporary puberty taboo on the drinking of SM is removed by adding clots of curdled milk to the strengthening medicines. The temporary speech taboo is lifted when the boys receive certain gifts from their relatives and seclusion is ceremoniously ended by feasting and dancing.

In the case of the puberty ceremony for girls the rites releasing from the temporary pattern of role taboos are distinct from those releasing from the status taboos of childhood. The former consist of purification rites including washing and shaving, the sacrifice of a beast called the 'mouth-opener', a meat and beer feast and a dance. For the removal of the status taboos additional steps are taken. Some time after her puberty celebrations a girl begins on purpose to abstain from eating SM and repeats this several times. By such action she brings pressure to bear on her F to make a public announcement that she has become nubile and thereby give her the right of 'eating SM every day!' The repeated self-imposition of the SM taboo urges the F to a binding acknowledgment of his Da's raised status. This is done by killing a beast for her *108*.

3. Wedding

In the protracted sequence of rites of the wedding ceremony it is difficult to arrive at satisfactory explanations of individual rites. It is however possible to classify the rites whose purpose is to release the bride from (a) the restrictions of her unmarried status, (b) the role taboos observed by her at the wedding, and (c) the new avoidances imposed on her with reference to her in-laws.

a. With regard to the first set of rites it must be remembered that the young Wi not only gives up her status as an unmarried girl; she also loses her status as a stranger in her H's clan. We therefore find a double release rite. On leaving her F's kraal a beast is slaughtered and she is 'strengthened' for her new status by having its gall poured over her and by the application of first 'black' and then 'white' medicines. At the groom's kraal also a beast is slaughtered

for the bride and its gall is poured over her. As no stranger is allowed to touch the gall of a homestead animal, the breach of taboo involved here does more than "change her into a woman;" she is thereby admitted (as a ward, as other arrangements show) into her H's clan. The bride's dance in the married women's skirt is the ritual assumption of the dress appropriate to her new status of married woman. It involves a breach of the dress taboo observed by her so far. The taboo on complete sexual intercourse which up to the wedding had controlled the relations between the betrothed is removed by the giving of presents, the *uMeke* goat, to the bride's age-mates *109*.

b. The rite releasing the bride from the temporary role taboos of the wedding is the Washing *(Hlambisa)* which authorizes the bride to leave the seclusion hut and the protective company of her age-mates. The bridal food taboos are removed in a piecemeal fashion. She may, for instance, eat mutton only after the fat has been smeared round her mouth and she has cut a lump of the stomach contents of the sheep. The right to eat SM at the kraal of her in-laws is granted after a somewhat involved exchange of gifts between the H's family and the woman's family *110*.

c. The avoidances demanded of the bride in her behaviour towards her in-laws are removed one by one. Some of them are, as we have seen, only imposed in the late 'covering-up-with-a-blanket' rite during the wedding. A present of a goat from the F-in-l to the bride in the *ukwAmbula umLobokazi* rite ('to uncover the young Wi') frees her from the obligation of covering her face and breasts and wearing a headband in his presence. Permission to enter her F-in-l's hut is signalized by the gift of a beast *(inKomo yokuNgenisa)* to her by her F-in-l. The taboo against running her own household is lifted either on having a beast killed for her or with the birth of her first Ch. The avoidance of eating in the presence of the H and his male relatives (Brs) is lifted by their giving to the woman a small present (a goat). The avoidance of entering the cattle pen of her H's kraal is observed till after a ritual beer party, or when she has become the 'great woman' of the homestead, or on the death of her H's parents. These stages indicate various degrees of strictness with respect to this avoidance. The avoidance on using the pers/n of her H and her in-laws is observed by a woman until she has grown past child-bearing and is then called 'a man' herself.

The important thing to note is that the initiative in these r/rs is always taken by the person towards whom the avoidances are directed. The cattle avoidances are cancelled one by one by the woman's H, or her HM. Unless the H offers her an *inKomo yoKhezo* and thus initiates the exchange with a beast from the woman's home, she cannot be released from the SM avoidance. Unless the woman's F-in-l presents her with the gifts which release her from various avoidances in his presence, her services to him will thereby remain curtailed. Unless the diviner provides his apprentice with a medicine which allows her to resume sexual relations with her H - interrupted during the apprenticeship - she cannot be said properly to have graduated. Unless the king *Juba's* the serving regiment, it cannot consider itself to be dismissed and it will insist on further martial employment. The king could in an exceptional case even cancel the exclusion from society of an executioner. Such exclusion customarily took place at the death of the king's predecessor. Hlati, who had executed a royal body-servant was banished into the wilderness after the death of Senzangakhona, his master. When he ambushed the enemy very successfully and single-handed, Shaka re-instated him in 'society' after the appropriate *ukuGeza* (Washing) (Bryant:1929: 68-9).

4. Mourning

The release rites concerning mourning taboos also show the tendency of splitting up the pattern of taboos into prohibitions observed for varying periods. The first release rite, a day or two after the burial, concerns the grave-diggers. It consists of a cleansing rite *(ukuGeza)*. The kraal inmates are also involved, since this feasting terminates their fasting. The taboo on the eating of the 'soft foods' (called by (121) Za in the true or narrow sense) may be observed till the next new moon or it is abandoned after a course of 'strengthening' medicines.

The second release rite *(Hlambisa)*, the Washing, consists in the ritual use of the hunting spear of the deceased by his heir and the garden hoe by his widow, symbols of the tools which have lain idle since the death. A beast is killed and beer brewed. Singing and dancing involve the ritual violation of the taboo on conviviality.

The third release rite, the *ukuBuyisa*, or Bringing Home, follows twelve months later and concerns the widows: it removes the taboo against their re-marriage. It consists of cleansing rites and the doffing of the widow's weeds. Each widow brings a beast: *inKomo yokuGeza* from her home-kraal to be slaughtered.

To sum up: The following items combine in the release rites of puberty, wedding and mourning: (a) The honouring of the person to be released from a taboo regimen by the slaughter of an animal (goat/beast); (b) the giving of presents to the person to be released; (c) the performance of washing or purification rites (burning of seclusion hut, change of clothes, washing of body, shaving of hair, ritual renewal of use of tools); (d) magical strengthening rites, such as eating medicines, 'steaming' the body, etc. (e) Ritual breaches of taboos hitherto observed as status prohibitions, or recently imposed as taboo pattern in a diachronic situation or occupational role. These breaches are usually split up over a course of time, but release rites from status and passage or role taboos can always be distinguished. (f) Most release rites are accompanied by educational measures to inculcate the rights and obligations, privileges and prohibitions of the new status. This is especially so at puberty and marriage. (g) The pattern of taboos hitherto observed is replaced by a new taboo pattern, belonging to the new status.

Concerning the individual factor we conclude that the recognition that a situation requires the observance of a taboo, or a taboo regimen, depends sometimes on objective factors: the onset of menstruation, the birth of a Ch, the death of a kraalhead. In such a situation the initiator of a taboo meets the expectations of the persons over whom he holds authority. Sometimes the situation has to be defined by an expert: an illness may have many causes, only some of which demand the imposition of a taboo regimen. Occasionally there may be doubt whether a taboo regimen is necessary or not, e.g., in a group of hunters who had used *umDlebe* as fuel some observed the directions (taboos) of the doctor, others did not, and there may be argument and quarrelling as shown in the case of King Solomon and his Ms. Of course there may also be situations where all the persons involved take up the observance of avoidances and taboos simultaneously as did the kraalhead and his Da in a thunderstorm. Vice versa the cancellation of taboos and regimens of prohibitions may follow several courses. The release is 'automatic', general, and without ritual, e.g., after hail abstentions. Or the release is signalled by objective factors: cessation of the menses. Occasionally an expert determines the proper time, e.g., a doctor releases his patients from sexual continence after a treatment with certain medicines. In most cases of the imposition and cancellation of a single taboo or a whole regimen some personal initiative is present, whether of a person in authority, an expert, or the individual involved.

IV. RESTRAINTS AND THEIR INVERSION

A. CONTRASTED BEHAVIOUR OF CORRELATED STATUSES

1. Family

Correlated statuses are differentiated by behaviour which may be described as contrasted. The reasons for this may be (a) the limited possibilities of human action and interaction; (b) the tendency for actions to repeat themselves at various social levels; (c) the tendency in 'primitive' culture to "polarize" fields of action (Cf. M. Fortes: 1945: under 'contraposition') and (d) the necessity of differentiation within comparatively simple patterns of action.

Within the family the restrictions on the Ch's freedom of action contrast with the comparatively unrestrained nature of parental behaviour. The Ch is limited in his movements to certain areas, the F not. The Ch's expressive behaviour in the presence of his parents is so circumscribed that it appears subdued to an observer, while its parents may run over the whole gamut of expressions. In the sphere of eating the Ch observes many avoidances from which his parents, and in particular the F, is free. The norm for the subordinate status is not infrequently the opposite of the norm for equals. For instance, a Ch should not look up when addressed by a senior, eBr, M, or F; women should not look at H, HF, even HM. But among equals it is said: 'Beware of him who does not look you straight in the face, but droops his eyelids!'

The behaviour of H and Wi are likewise built upon distinct and contrasted patterns. E.g., in speech women prefer one click in Hl words, while men use another. Pity or contempt for a person is expressed by men in the interjection *'we-Baba'*, by women in *'we-Mame'* or *'we-Tate'*. Callaway (1868:434) notes that men wash with water containing *inTelezi* (except when they 'have crossed the ford'), women in plain water. The sequence of the parts of the body washed also differs with the sexes, and so does the locality where they wash. The contrast is particularly striking in the *uFuzo* abstentions: A pregnant woman averts through *uFuzo* abstentions certain animal likenesses in the Ch about to be born. Her H, on the contrary, ritually ensures the same effect by eating *uFuzo* animals (Krige:63).

2. Chief and Commoners

The behaviour contrast between correlated statuses is especially pronounced between chief and commoners. The differences in naming have been noted (Hl of Speech). The king's dress differed greatly from that of the commoner: his *iBheshu* was made of *iMpungushe* or *iKhanka* skin, his *isiNene* of *iNsimba*, his *inJobo* of *iNsimango* skin. With commoners these articles had to be of ordinary buck skin, or they would have been killed. While commoners offer their visitors sitting mats, they had to sit on the bare floor in the king's presence (Hl). Here the possibility of gradation existed: the commoners sat on the ground, the officials on skins and the king on a pile of mats. If a commoner presumed to sit on skins (s c i l., in the king's presence), the king would spit at him, he would be told to get out and be beaten. With regard to leg-position men in their homes sit on their haunches with knees angled up. In the presence of the king, men must sit like girls, i.e., with legs placed together and turned to one side. Offenders would be killed! Here too a third possibility had been developed: the king's Brs could sit with legs crossed. In short, before the king, men sit like women: they assume the female 'gesture' of submission. In approaching the king men crawled, grovelled, but the king's Brs could come near with bent knees. The king never bathed in a river like commoners, but in a private pool at the top of his cattle pen. Barter (p. 219) mentions that Chief Zingeli smoked tobacco while his subjects had to smoke hemp!

In the marriage of royalty features occur which are the very opposite of those observed by commoners. There is no preliminary love-making for king's Das, no informal betrothal *(ukuQoma)*, nor can a king's Da trigger off marriage negotations by running to her lover. A king's So does not hide himself when he visits his girl in her F's homestead, but goes up openly to her hut. This is not considered a breach of Hl. If the girl became pregnant, the king could not be fined for seduction; her F kept quiet to Hl the king. On the other hand a king's Da had the right to refuse the hand of a H selected by her F (a right unknown among commoners). The bride-price for a royal Da is 100 head of cattle, that for a commoner's Da 11 head, for a headman's Da 16. In the past, part of the bride-price was paid as *umDaka* (armlets and necklaces): they were of silver in the case of royalty, of copper and lead in that of a headman's Das; commoners were killed if they presumed to have them. A king sent with his Da a girl, the *umShanelo* (broom), who got married to the princess' H as a subsidiary Wi. The king never married a woman who had been born as twin, nor could he marry his Br's widow: leviratic unions were avoided in the royal family. A chief does not visit his Wis in their huts (as a commoner does), but calls them to his Residence in turn.

Royalty and commoners differed also in their mourning customs. The widows and Chn of

a commoner shave their heads, those of the king do not. In the past corpses of royalty and important people - headmen, kraalheads - were buried and their Chn's thrust into ant-eater holes; commoners' bodies were thrown into the bush or veld. According to Bryant (1949:722) c o r p s e - d r y i n g was strictly confined to kings. The manner of killing royalty differed from that of commoners: a prince was strangled, a commoner was clubbed or speared to death or had his spine broken. "A king is not stabbed." If a king wanted to get rid of an agnatic rival he would employ an old woman, not an executioner, to place a thong round his neck from behind. Shaka's death by spearing does not contradict this rule, for it was a case of assassination rather than execution. "Gujana requested to be killed by strangling rather than be clubbed to death in consideration of his being a King's son" (Gardiner: 44).

3. Diachronic and Occupational Roles

Concerning behaviour in diachronic and occupational roles the possibility of contrasted behaviour does not at first appear to exist. However on closer examination of the behaviour patterns a decided tendency can be observed to making role behaviour distinct from normal behaviour. In the case of the diviner, for instance, the call to the profession comes through an extraordinary experience: illness, accident, frequent deaths in the family, loss of live stock, failure of crops. Such experiences endow the person concerned with that abnormal mental condition which makes him 'a soft head', a supersensitive nervous person. Through submitting himself to fasting, vigils, self-castigation, retirement into solitude, talks with non-human beings (wind, sun, moon, animals and birds), the full power of divination develops in him. He becomes subject to fits, visions, dreams which enable him to get into touch with the spirits of the dead. His very nature becomes so changed that the normal ambitions of a Zulu have no pull on him any longer. His love for cattle is turned into antipathy so that he kills his animals. His diet consists of wild herbs, beer dregs with boiled maize and he receives meat taboos in his dreams. Diviners set themselves apart by a peculiar dress: the male diviner never puts on a head-ring, the ambition of a normal Zulu; the female diviner does without top-knot. Both fancy the greased ringlets (to which bladders and charms are attached) otherwise worn by girls of about 15 years only. The diviner's sexual desires become smothered; he remains unmarried, she becomes barren, they lose affection for their offspring. In consequence of their contrary behaviour diviners were exempt from military service (except in the time of Mpande and Cetshwayo) *111*.

Another conduct pattern markedly distinct from normal Zulu conduct is that of the lightning doctor. My informants (127, 132, 231 and others) concur that he behaves like a juvenile. Dressed like a gadding herdboy or completely naked, he carries like him a small shield and sticks *(izinSwani)*. He shows a predilection for whistling and tends to turn his buttocks to the sky. He is in fact called a 'herdboy' (Wanger: Collector:No. 732).

B. INVERSIONS WITH RITUAL FUNCTION

Because of contrasted behaviour patterns actions become closely identified with statuses. The assumption by a person of behaviour inappropriate to his status is viewed as a breach which upsets the social order and assumes the colour of a revolutionary act. This happens especially with actions which have become symbolic of social positions and which are reinforced by severe sanctions. Under certain conditions, however, a person's assumption of behaviour associated with a status not his own is approved and has ritual significance. Such a reversal of the customary behaviour pattern with ritual function has been called inversion *112*.

A simple example of ritual inversion is t h e Z u l u o a t h : it is a verbal breach of a status interdict. If a person wishes to confirm the truth of a statement he implies that rather than speak a falsehood he would commit an act interdicted to him. For instance, the oath

Mamethu (lit. 'My mother') suggests: "What I say is true; if not, I could be guilty of intercourse with my mother (or M-in-l)", which was the F's (or F-in-l's) privilege. Women swear by their father, or they utter: 'May I become pregnant (to wit by incest, adultery or seduction)' *(Nginga-Mitha iQangane)*. A young man's oath is *'Dadewethu!'* which implies: "I would sleep with my Si rather than speak a lie!" The reference is to an action to which the member of another clan has a potential right. The Zulu swear thus by those relatives with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited and whom they reverence by avoidances. In like manner a commoner utters oaths with reference to the king's Wis and 'maidens' which imply actions prohibited to him such as "I could enter the king's private enclosure!", "I could break into the part reserved for the king's Wis!", "I could slip the beads from off the court maidens!"

The oral violation of the sex taboo shades over into oaths outraging authority. The Si referred to in a young man's oath is the eldest Da of a kraal. A commoner swears: "I could wear the royal ornaments!" assuming that he might violate a dress avoidance, an impossibility as great as incest apparently. "I swear by my F!" is equivalent to saying: "I could disinter or eat my own F" actions which are conceivable of a wizard only. Since the chief's pers/n is avoided (in his presence) by commoners, the uttering of his name serves as an oath, a breach of a status avoidance at least in words. The chief on his part swears by the names of his ancestors who ordinarily are not mentioned except in ritual situations. The royal oath: "I could scratch him up at such and such a place", i.e., his grave, shows that as descendant he is precluded from dealing with his ascendants as a wizard or cannibal. Other oaths refer to the heavens, or challenge lightning to strike down if the statement made is a lie. The oath assumes that certain actions are impossible, since everyone observes the status rules. For a person to be untruthful is as impossible for him as to break the status avoidances *113*.

A taboo breach is also involved when a person takes off his clothes in certain situations. Deliberate denuding is often resorted to by women who wish to press their point of view. Zwide's M, being opposed to a raid planned by her So, derobed herself before his councillors and warriors, uttering imprecations. The chief thereupon gave up his intention. When a woman sees a hated man approach she can cause him to run away by taking off her skirt and insulting him. Analogous violations occur with men. If a woman has a difficult labour her H enters her hut naked, takes off his penis box, pours water in and gives it to the woman to drink. Apparently this is a miming of the sex act which is strictly taboo on this occasion. A warrior setting out for a campaign enters the hut of his Wi who has recently given birth. This is not an act of indecency - the man comes in full war kit - but a ritual breach of a prohibition, and it fortifies the warrior against ill-luck *114*.

Many cases of inversion occur before the conclusion and after the cessation of a marriage. A nubile Si may be charged by her Br with the task of gaining him a girl. When wooing for her Br she puts on his *umuTsha* and the boy's beadwork (127). On the day of the burial of a kraal-head, his chief Wi puts on the deceased's dancing costume *(umQubula)*, takes up his dancing shield and stick, and sings his favourite wedding song *(iKhetho)* and his clan hymn. She thus acts as h e did as bridegroom. The night after the burial all the widows sleep in the Great Hut, the princWi on the right, the men's side. She thus ritually assumes the role of the deceased! Already on her wedding day, as we saw, a woman ritually behaves like a warrior, a course of action strictly avoided otherwise. The bride's conduct is a case of inversion, whose significance lies in its provocative aspect: it admits the strange woman to her H's clan *115*.

Inversion occurs in other rites of passage. At puberty the girls hold their dances in the cattle pen which a woman normally avoids during menstruation; they wear a married woman's kilt and avoid the Ceremonial Path, as if they were married women. If a girl is wrongly accused of loose morals, she and her age-mates repair to the slanderer's kraal, force an old woman to examine the accused physically and then destroy everything in the slanderer's hut. Finally they kill a beast and sprinkle the maligned girl with its bile. In every one of these acts they commit an inversion, i.e., perform acts normally reserved to superior statuses.

Inversion also occurs in the *umShopi* rite performed by adolescent girls, e.g., during the *ukuQubuka* epidemic (when Chn have sores all over) or when worms destroy the millet. The girls sleep naked and without mats in the veld, where they make themselves sedge kilts and 'boleros'. Dressed in them they go about the countryside, crying and singing, and resting only in the huts of women past child-bearing. They gather the Chn near the cattle-pen of a kraal and jump over them to take away their sores. Or they squirt medicated water over the land uttering imprecations and demanding *umShopi's* departure. The rite consists in the performance by persons without training of ritual with which the proper officiants, i.e., doctors, have previously failed. Similar inversions occur in the *ukwAlusa izinKomo* or *inGqatsha* rite performed by girls during a drought or a cattle disease. The maidens, who normally do not touch cattle, on this occasion take the herd to the pasture, they carry sticks and shields belonging to their Brs and wear the loin-cloths which the boys got at their puberty rite! The boys observe a taboo day; they keep away from cattle and girls and spend their time in the cattle pen. The Zulu expect from the one rite the disease to disappear and from the other copious rains *116*.

The rain rite proper, which also involves inversion and thus a great number of taboo breaches, is often called *ukuBhina*. Vijn in 1879 was the first to describe it. The previous years "had been unusually dry. The season was already half over; no rain would come; all the young crops ... were burnt through the heat ...". Old and young men had been called up to the king (for an undisclosed purpose); the women had been left alone to tend the land. The rain rite they performed consisted in their gathering in one spot, singing, shouting, laughing, crying, clapping their hands. Vijn does not record anything unusual in their dress. The married women wore their top-knots and carried their babies on their backs. Two of my informants add the following details: The girls proceed to their Brs' hut before sunrise, choose the best of their clothes and don these clothes in the *iLawu*. Without breaking their fast they start off with the cattle and begin to use most vulgar language on the pasture *117*. They then leave the cattle in charge of younger girls and return to the cattle pen where they perform *Giya* dances, like warriors, having their praise names (including honour names) called out by their age-mates. The inmates of the kraals avoid sexual intercourse on that day and do not plough (Za).

(226 and 227) agree that the girls do something unusual to provoke rain. Girls being of lower status can do something startlingly unusual by assuming dress and behaviour of a higher status, viz., the boys. Boys can't do anything as effective, since their putting on girls' dress would not be provocative but just silly. (They do not remember the rite recorded by Callaway, where the king's councillors put on girls' girdles to produce rain). Zulu ritual repertoire comprises not only provocative taboo breaches but also such as are expected to create pity or sympathy with the power that produces rain. Frazer already noted (1929:75) two Zulu rites for rain whose essence to him seemed to be an appeal for the pity of "the gods." When the corn (maize) is burnt up by the sun, the Zulu catch the heaven bird, kill it and throw it into a pool. The Heaven melts with tenderness for the death of the bird; it wails for it by raining. (The killing of the heaven bird, especially if done by a layman, is a ritual taboo breach, and so is the throwing of the lightning bird into water!) In the second rite Zulu women bury their Chn up to their necks in the ground. Then they move away for a distance and howl for a long time. The heaven is supposed to melt with pity at the sight. The Ms dig out their Chn and go home confident that rain will soon fall. (The taboo breach here consists in shouting at the heaven!)

Gluckman (1935) explained the rain rite as a case of ritualized sex antagonism - in a narrow sense between Brs and Sis and in a wide sense between men and women in general. Krige (p. 72, 78, 198/9) interprets the rite as an action compelling the assistance of an unseen power by a flagrant outrage on decency. Both explanations can be subsumed under the view presented here, viz., that the ritual provocation of rain is a case of inverted behaviour, consisting in the assumption by the girls of the role of their herdboy Brs. Such inverted conduct has ritual significance precisely because it is made up of a number of taboo breaches. In a more recent publication (1955:109 ff) Gluckman has revised his former explanation. He maintains that women perform two roles: they are ritually ambivalent as they are Wis and Child-bearers. In both these roles women are controlled by men, as a result of which conflicts arise between them.

The rain ritual, by allowing the women to behave in ways normally prohibited to them, strengthens the social order in a reversed form. The difficulty about accepting this interpretation is that there is no evidence that women, *qua* women, performed the *ukuBhina;* in most recorded instances pubescent girls perform it. Moreover support for the view that the rite arises from a fundamental conflict between the sexes is not forthcoming; the principle is too vast and too abstract to find expression in a single rite. Our explanation of the rites as instances of inverted behaviour comes closer to the evidence and is verifiable in concrete details. (251) sums up his evidence: "It is a custom to break custom: the girls go out *ukuPhula iSiko ngamaBomu* to break custom deliberately!"

The reversal of roles as a ritual mechanism was already noted by Frazer with reference to the transfer of the magical functions of the Zulu king to a temporary substitute to secure bountiful crops or to meet a special danger (1929:283-9). Berglund, A-I. (in 'Some African Funerary Inversions', MS) uses 'inversion' in a different sense. He argues that certain burial rites reflect the notion that death introduces man to a world whose order is the reverse of the world of the living. (In consequence huts are given a corpse door; the furniture of the deceased is turned upside down; garments are turned from left to right or front to back; the mourners move backwards or in an anti-clockwise direction, etc. A few of these customs are shown to occur among the Zulu). The difficulty is that all the cultures cited show but isolated instances of such reversal and only when these are placed together in the abstract, as it were, do they result in a reversed world of the dead. When the items of reversals are studied in the isolation in which they actually occur, they are seen to express the contrasted behaviour of different statuses, e.g., men are buried on their right side and women on their left, or chiefs on their right and commoners on their left. In other words the reversed world order idea may be a secondary derivation. Since 'primitive' man includes the dead in the hierarchy of statuses the reversals noted by Berglund can be explained by the more comprehensive idea of behaviour inversion which occurs as man passes from the living to the dead. With this interpretation coincides (251)'s view concerning the First Fruits as an example of ritual inversion. As the girls turn themselves into boys in the *ukuBhina* so the king turns himself into a monster *(isiLwane)* or, rather, ancestor at the First Fruits. As such he is allowed to do what is prohibited to everyone else, viz., eat of the forbidden crops. "On certain occasions", (251) concludes, "some things which are normally done must be undone. Custom is broken, so that people are given what they are asking for."

Ritual inversion, involving a taboo breach, also characterizes the procedure by which clan exogamy is set aside among the Zulu. Traditionally they are exogamous. Endogamy, like incest, results in a disease *(iQangane)* and other evil consequences (Colenso:1905: *kuZwanana iNkaba)*. Speculation about the origin of the human race, however, has led the Zulu to acknowledge the necessity of a stage to which the phrase *akuZalwane* is applied, the early period in which marriages between blood relations did occur, otherwise mankind could not have arisen. This solution to a logical difficulty for all theories of monogenesis means in effect that in the origin Brs and Sis were allowed to marry, so that in the progress of time *abaLanda* arose, i.e., persons who could lawfully marry as sufficiently remote in relationship (Callaway:1868:57n). This myth is "sanctified" by its cosmogonic context. (356): "The endogamy taboo could not be observed 'in the beginning' because there were not enough *iziBongo*. At that time such marriages did not produce defective Chn as endogamous unions do today!" The myth has a lesson which the Zulu is prepared to apply to other situations where exogamous marriage is not possible, e.g., when a population is decimated by war and refugees belonging to one clan find themselves lost in inaccessible or remote country. They also admit that love works thus that concessions have in practice to be made and strict exogamy modified. They are less ready to see structural necessities, such as arise when a clan has become so small that further exogamous unions might endanger its identity or so large, that it has become unwieldy.

Clan endogamy is ritually possible by the *umDabuko* custom, in which a kinship group segments, or as the Zulu put it, a family breaks off from the old stock, or the relationship which existed between two families is cut. In other words endogamy occurs as a practical event in

the evolution of every growing kinship group. The mechanisms which make the breach of the endogamy taboo safe involve (a) a change in clan/n, so that the prohibition of marital union between members having the same name is circumvented, and (b) a rite consisting in the slaughter of a (white) goat and occasionally in the crossing of a river *(ukwAhlukanisa uHlobo)*. The initiating of such a radical deviation from normal custom was normally a prerogative of the chief.

A review of the many cases of clan endogamy among the Zulu shows that, however much its existence is denied in theory, in practice it has occurred so frequently that the conclusion that it is exercised as a chiefly prerogative is justified. Bryant (1929) lists about 20 cases which can be placed from the point of view of structure into three groups: Endogamy within consanguineous kin, within a lineage and within a clan. Incest in the sense of marriage between siblings is not recorded, but cases between cousins have occurred.

(a) As an example of endogamy within a consanguineous group can be cited: Senzangakhona's marriage to Nandi whose M was a Qwabe, viz., Mfunda, Da of Kondlo, the Qwabe chief. The Qwabe have no connubium (Za/Hl) with the Zulu, whom they claim to be a junior Qwabe branch. Admission of intermarriage would mean acknowledgment of the Zulu claim to seniority.

(b) Cases of endogamy within the clan number only 5 out of 20. For instance, a Mthethwa king married Msweli's Da who was a clan member. Msweli's family received a new clan/n, aba-kwaNxele, after one of Msweli's antecedents. In so large a clan as the Qwabe, chief after chief, succumbing to the charms of clan-Sis, married them and broke off their families to form sub-clans with new names but still considered Qwabe, e.g., emaSomini (Somi), Khuzwayo. Cilisa, Makhanya.

(c) Cases of endogamy within the lineage number nine, i.e., they form the majority of irregular cases. For instance Dingane arranged the marriage of Maphitha to Menziwa's Da; their respective descent lines were: Ndaba-Jama-Sojiyisa-Maphitha and Ndaba-Xoko-Menziwa-Daughter. Menziwa was presumably already a Biyela. Their hiving off had occurred at the command of Senzangakhona already, when he married Mehlana who was of his own lineage, viz., Ndaba-Jama-*Senzangakhona* and Ndaba-Xoko *(iKhohlo* heir)-Ntopo-*Mehlana*. To do so Senzangakhona announced that Mehlana was no longer of the Zulu clan, but an abasemGazini, called so after emGazini, Xoko's kraal.

(d) Even family endogamy has occurred, or in the technical sense, incestuous unions. (As such I have counted marriages, where partners are not more than three steps removed in relationship). Mavuso, the Ndwandwe heir, married his *iKhohlo* Br Manukaza's Da. The girl's family were given the name of abakwaNxumalo. Among the Cele, Chief Langa is reported to have married a 'niece', a BrDa, the Br's family being named emKungwini afterwards.

Various points arise in such chief-initiated breaches of the endogamy taboo. The intention, being predominantly based on individual motives, was often strenuously opposed by the group affected. For it lost the 'royal' or senior clan/n and the privileges attached to it, and at any rate its rank. Hence the abakwaMhlangubo family of the Zulu clan resisted the endogamous unions planned by Dinizulu and Mpikanini (Dinizulu's So), with two of their Das, so that, according to Bryant, the second marriage came to nought. (115), who remembered these two instances, felt uneasy about my attempt to view them as 'institutionalized' procedure. "The royalty concerned did something 'bad'; the commoners did not accuse them in public, but came to the conclusion that their rulers were above the law; they might even have called them *abaThakathi*, people who spoil the character of their people! Yet if it had to be done, it could be done only by somebody with authority!" (298) indicates that the names given to the newly formed clans incorporate the idea of ritual separation. One Khumalo section broken off in this manner was called Siwela, because it was ordered *ukuWela umFula* (to cross the river) at the same time. The chief who married a clan-Si called her family Ndimande after her prowess in work *(iNdima ende)*; when the girl's family objected to the ominous deed *(ukuKhuza umHlola)* it was named

Khuzwayo. Because it was said that the Mhlango chief stabbed within his own herd *(inKosi yaGwaza emHlambini wayo)* the new group was known as Magwaza. The fact that some of these people adopted the name of *Yengwayo* (He was deceived) shows, however, that the interpretation of these events on looking back tends to become mythical, for it implies that the chief was deceived into this action. A similar conflicting interpretation centres round the name Biyela. Bryant (1929:39f) records that Xoko, Ndaba's *iKhohlo* heir, having been ritually separated from the Zulu by Senzangakhona's marriage to Mehlana, and called abasemGazini, prohibited the courting thus initiated between Zulu and his family. His kinsmen resented this: You are putting up a hedge for us, our family. (289) derives the 'fence' epithet from the habit of the Biyela to give asylum to people condemned at court. When Shaka discovered this, he called them "They put a fence round them!" *(wabaBiyela)*.

C. CONTRASTED BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS AND THEIR CULTURAL FUNCTION

A lineage splits because it has grown too big, or the women presiding over the Houses do not agree or because Brs quarrel. At such a pass the heads of the emergent segments are desirous of asserting their independence and their authority over their 'followers' by issuing critical prohibitions. Being critical they assist in differentiating the new segment in a striking manner from its old associates. E.g., in the Nyandeni Kraal (367), with three Brs residing in separate sections, each had its own hut style: in one the huts had red doors and window frames, in the second they were blue and in the third unpainted. One section had rush screens before the doors, another a semi-circular terrace and the third no particular feature. In short a differentiating cultural 'policy' was being pursued by the section heads who were, as far as one could judge, on friendly terms. The differentiation may extend to other aspects. In the Mbatha homestead (132) each of its three sections had its own ash heap with interdicts against mutual interference. In a third home (247) the two heads were no longer on such friendly terms: they had their separate cattle pens (in one kraal); the half of the yard under the "junior Br" was weeded, the half under the "senior Br" was not. Quite obviously prohibitions not to weed at the same time, and not to herd and milk together had been issued and sanctions of a mystical nature supplied to break the camaraderie of the herdboys and kraal girls. It is only a matter of time before the two sections will fall apart.

Such internal cultural differences are maintained by 'being fenced round', as the Zulu phrase goes, by means of a prohibition. Critical prohibitions are usually issued at the time of fission. The Zulu phrase for 'it is customary' is illuminating in this respect, for it means: "this is the way they were torn out", i.e., broken off from the parent stock. In this way kinship units growing into clans originally tended to become territorial units, as in the case of the Shezi in the Nkandla district to the present day, where rivers and hills acted as boundary lines (which it was Hl to cross). The area belonging to a clan had various 'sacred' spots; the place where the founder 'emerged', mountains or forests which could not be pointed at *(abayiKhombi)*, graves of ancient chiefs which had their taboos. Clan members developed a strong affection towards it and tried to return, even after long and arduous migrations, as is reported of the Ngwane chief Matiwane and the Cunu chief Macingwane.

Clans developed exclusive features in dress. At a time when Zulu men did not yet wear the head-ring, the Tuli wore "head-rings on a hair basket." Clothes differed: the Zulu proper using lamb skin for the *inJobo* and leopard skin for the *iBheshu*, the king in addition wearing lourie and *iSakabuli* as headgear; they introduced *iNsimango* skin for the *isiNene* and a headband of leopard skin. (Shaka alone wore feathers of *inDwa*, the blue crane, on his forehead.) The Ndwandwe wore *iNsimba* (genet) for the *inJobo;* for *iBheshu* goat or cowskin; for *isiNene* twisted tails of lambs; as headgear bateleur and lourie. The Mbatha again wore other dress. Shaka did away with these distinctions; the Ndwandwe alone were allowed to kill *iNsimba* for dress, the others only to supply the chiefs with the skins as sleeping mats. *iNsimango* could

only be killed for the king's clothes and blankets, a case of Hl as in all similar prohibitions. The back cloth of men must in some clans be made of the skin of a prescribed buck even today (120). The kind of restraint which existed in connection with dress can still be recalled in phrases like: 'Be careful you don't step on my hare-skin tassel, otherwise it will grow feathers', i.e. One day you'll irritate me and there will be trouble (DV).

Numerous differences existed in the speech behaviour of clans. The clan/n *(isiBongo)* and the courtesy name *(isiThakazelo)* are the clan's exclusive property; their use is prescribed in the Hl of speech. Round a clan's nick-name myths tend to form and to emphasize historical and actual differences in custom, such as past cannibalism, and religious associations. The avoidance of the chief's pers/n distinguishes the members of a ruling clan from the subjects, and since the use of the chief's name in an oath is only of use to his subjects, speech behaviour reveals tribal allegiance. Leslie (p. 176) noted: 'The different tribes have different Hl terms for the same words. E.g., **amaNdambi* is the king's kraal Hl word for water, because of *amaNzi* being avoided in Senzangakhona; whereas among the Zungu **amaDa* stands for water, because Manzini is the F of the present chief." Today the Buthelezi offer an instructive example. Since the GF of the present chief was Mnyamane, the word *umMnyama* is avoided by all Buthelezi men, Chn and Wis, and their non-Buthelezi subjects. When referring to 'misfortune' they call it **umBisholo* and in reporting an accident, they speak of **iShwa* rather than *isiNyama*. Buthelezi who do not Hl thus are rebuked by their orthodox clan Brs who are however prepared to disregard the avoidance when talking to a stranger or when clarity would suffer. The clan song *iHubo* could not be sung outside clan territory except on special occasions, e.g., a wedding.

An obvious differentiation between clans was in the economic sphere. Clans owned and still own different kinds of property, some possessing herds of cattle, others not, some specializing in one crop (e.g., tobacco) and another in, say, groundnuts, with all the specialist avoidances and interdicts separating them. Clans differed in the weapons they used and consequently the mode of warfare they adopted: the Mbonambi were spearmakers, the Ntlozi had no arms and destroyed their enemy's huts by fire; the short stabbing spear became a characteristic of the Zulu and they imposed it on all conquered tribes. Members of the royal family hunted, but they did not become smiths (Za and lack of knowledge, pride), nor did they become doctors *(iNyanga)*, including lightning doctors. If one of them became a diviner, which happened rarely, he became more powerful than a commoner.

Clans developed their own predilections in food, their own food taboos. The Tuli at the Bluff were an exception in that they ate fish, and they did not adopt the general Zulu fish taboo when they had other foods available. Special medicines go with clans. The Mbatha and Buthelezi use *iSazo* as love medicine, the Mbokazi *isiDala*; other clans might use *iHlala*. Because normally a person knows only how to work his own people's medicines, he does not try out others. But there may also be a special prohibition against using the medicines of other clans, or one permitting it only on a conditional curse. Clans possess their own 'miracle', e.g., the Ndlovu have an eagle as familiar which drops evil magic on other people's kraals; the Cunu lightning is made to strike an enemy's hut; at the same time they are experts in picking up body-dirt.

In these various ways avoidances and interdicts assist in 'cementing' cultural differences which have (a) emerged as a definite policy of segmentation or by historical accident, and (b) been maintained to consolidate the kinship units and to heighten their loyalty.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

I. SEMANTICS

The most important finding disclosed by this investigation is the distinction, far-reaching as it appears, between *Hlonipha* and *Zila*. The translations 'avoidance' and 'taboo' which we have used to stand for *Hlonipha* and *Zila* may perhaps be challenged. It might be said, for instance, that the term avoidance, having a negative connotation in English, is inadequate to cover the wide range of actions included under the Zulu term *Hlonipha*. For these comprise all deference actions, whether negative (shunning action) or positive. Dr. Letele thought the connotation of *Hlonipha* so wide, that it covered practically every form of behaviour which good breeding requires. On the other hand, another Zulu scholar, the late Dr. Malcolm, was of the opinion that (in our account) "the meaning of *Hlonipha* has been stretched unduly when it is joined with the positive obligations a husband has towards his wife." The first critic seems to view our collection as too narrow, the second as too wide. A similar criticism can, of course, be levelled against the use of 'taboo' in rendering *Zila*. Thus Prof. M. Wilson wrote: "If you stretch taboo to include prohibitions without mystical sanctions then there is no limit to what may be included under it." And, considering the wide connotation 'taboo' has acquired in European languages in recent decades - it was unknown in them before Captain Cook mentioned it in his report on his third voyage in 1784 - the use of taboo for the abstentions covered by *Zila* might possibly appear too narrow. Against both charges, that of narrowness and that of vagueness, the defence is, of course, that the investigation set out to discover what the Zulu classify under the two behaviour categories of *Hlonipha* and *Zila*. The ultimate responsibility for the narrow or wide connotations of the terms must rest with the Zulu speakers consulted. Moreover, as every linguist will admit, and here we quote Dr. Letele again: "In any case there are sometimes wide divergencies in the application of these terms, even within the same group of languages."

Justification for analysing the Zulu distinction between *Hlonipha* and *Zila* exists if it clarifies certain theoretical issues centring round the ritual prohibitions described in anthropological literature as taboos in general. The very fact that a niche was found in European languages for the Polynesian terms *tapu* (taboo) and *mana*, for the African terms *voodoo* and *safari*, and the American Indian words *manitou* and *tomahawk* shows that there were no exact equivalents in the European languages and that it was preferable to represent the foreign idea by the indigenous word rather than an inadequate translation. The borrowed word reveals that a concept is derived from a different cultural context, and the reader is well served to be reminded of this. For this reason the abbreviations H1 and Za have been used to indicate that the actions referred to are classified in this manner by Zulu speakers. The renderings 'avoidances' and 'taboos' are only approximations, and should be understood as such. No attempt was made to adjust Zulu usage to anthropological conventions, nor to the connotations prescribed by education departments, language boards or dictionary committees, since it is precisely the 'non-literate' way of classifying actions which is of interest and not the streamlined usages of a literate society. That the Zulu distinction between *Hlonipha* and *Zila* is significant for a theoretical study is evident when we remember that the general connotation of the word 'taboo' covers both. The inadvertent lumping together under one term of facts which the Zulu separate into two categories may bar us from gaining insights which the separation allows us to make.

A rapid survey over some recent studies of the phenomenon of 'taboo' will prove this point. For instance Ruud (1960) shows that the Malagassy term *fady*, like taboo, covers not only prohibitions with mystical sanctions but a very much wider range of interdictions. Thus the *fady* listed under 'authority and seniority', also those under 'posthumous names'(!) and some concerning siblings under 'marriage regulations' would be classed among *Hlonipha*, avoidances, by the Zulu. Violation would display disrespect towards a person in authority, and the punishment might consist in nothing more than a fine. Secondly, other *fady* refer to what

elsewhere might be viewed as rules of good manners, e.g. You must not pass someone on the road without saying,'May I please pass you?', or the 'taboo' on calling a person a 'dog'. A violation in this case would scarcely involve a mystic sanction; it is a case of abuse. Thirdly, some *fady* (taboos) are practical rules, such as that one should not raise a hare-lipped calf because it might transmit the defect to its offspring, or certain prohibitions in housebuilding, such as not to build on 'hungry' i.e. poor soil, or in the 'dead head' of a valley where there is swampy ground. Fourthly, other actions classed by the Malagassy as *fady* are customs, such as that people should not be quiet at a grave because it would make the solemnity unbearable, or the warning against omitting certain funeral obligations. In short, the Malagassy term *fady* covers a much wider range of action than the textbook definition of taboo (a prohibition with a mystical sanction). It resembles in this respect the Polynesian *tapu* , and it would be unjustifiable not to take notice of this fact.

A different way of classifying prohibitions is practised by the Nuer as recorded by Evans-Pritchard (1962: 177-82). This author treats a great number of breaches of behaviour norms under the heading "Sin" and groups among them violations classed by the Nuer under the term *thek* (respect) which the Zulu would unhesitatingly group under *Hlonipha* . This applies to the in-law avoidances, the restraints between marriage partners (which are intensified when the woman bears twins, etc.) Apparently the filial avoidances play a minor role in the acephalous Nuer tribe. A special position is assumed by those *thek* restraints which refer to a totem (pp. 64ff), such as not to eat certain parts of meat dedicated to the animal symbol of a human group. These, we have noted, are not represented among the Zulu, except for a few survivals in clans of Sotho origin. Other actions classed as *thek* would be considered as *Zila* by the Zulu, since in them no apparent dyadic relation is involved, e.g. abstentions from food and drink by a homicide, by mourners, by persons whose house has been struck by lightning. Evans-Pritchard considers that the function of such *thek* rules is to keep people apart, but we are not told whether the keeping apart of mourners from non-mourners differs from that between in-laws. Nor does Evans-Pritchard inform us on what grounds the Nuer call both 'minor respects' (which he translates as rules of good manners and conventions) and 'major respects', whose violation involves a religious sanction, by one and the same term, viz. *thek* ! The sanction goes under the term *neeru* which means 'to kill', 'to destroy'. Under this type of sanction fall the more intensive respect avoidances but also serious conduct violations, such as incest (*rual*), adultery (*dhom*), and intercourse with one's wife when she is nursing a child (*thiang*). Thus, although the Nuer do not classify as the Zulu do, their linguistic practice clearly points to factors which are significant in the Zulu categories of *Hlonipha* and *Zila* .

The Tallensi are a third example. They have become known to us through Meyer Fortes (1945, 1949, 1959) who uses the word 'taboo' in many contexts and makes little or no distinction between it and avoidance. For 'taboo' is used by him to cover six kinds of prohibitions: (a) The negative and positive implications of the Tale term *kicher* which comprises ritual prohibitions, e.g. not to eat fowl, and ritual injunctions, e.g. to use a goatskin loin-cover for a male corpse. These customs are distinctive of all Namoos clans (1945: 25, 66, 69, 122). (b) Totemic taboos, characteristic of clans, and comprising abstentions from certain animals symbolic of clan solidarity and certain respect behaviour directed at them. This mechanism occurs among the Hill Talis and other groups (1945: 20). (c) Personal taboos imposed by the Destiny ancestors, a special combination of ancestors looking after an individual and securing him a good fate. These taboos are to ensure the smooth incorporation of the individual into the social group, mainly his family (1959:44). (d) Rules of propriety: e.g. "All Tale women avoid eating domestic fowl from pubescence onward. It is one of several food taboos observed by women with the utmost strictness, not for ritual reasons but purely as a matter of feminine propriety" (!) in reference to the husband and his clan (1945: 125). (e) Avoidances observed by a firstborn son or daughter in relation to the father, e.g. not to wear his garments, not to use his quiver, not to look into or enter his granary. These avoidances are ritually removed from the firstborn son after his father's death (1959: 66). (f) Avoidances observed by a subject in regard to his chief, e.g. not to wear cloth garments, a chief's privilege. This rule is observed

within the chieftainship but not outside it; it is thus subject to spatial modification (1945).

It is clear that prohibitions (a), (b) and (c) would fall under Zulu *Zila* , and prohibitions (d), (e) and (f) under *Hlonipha* . The indiscriminate use by Meyer Fortes of taboo or avoidance in respect to them prevents their proper analysis. E.g. he overlooks the distinction between the dyadic nature of the latter and the group reference of the former triad. He does make clear by implication in 1959 that the avoidances under (e) occur in a particular dyadic relationship, viz. between the filial aspirant to a position in authority and the parental incumbent, and that they result in balance between successive generations! Among the Tallensi these restraints are apparently restricted to the first-born, especially the eldest son, who in Meyer Fortes' words "represents all the siblings." Such limitation of the avoidances to one sibling only does not apply to the royal Zulu, since in chiefly families the first-born are not e o i p s o heirs. Because of Meyer Fortes' indiscriminate use of taboo and avoidance the structural significance of the following facts escaped him: viz. that the Namoos observe (d), (e) and (f), that is female, filial and subject respect avoidances, in accordance with the greater stress on authority positions in their chief-led society, whereas the Tali, being acephalous in structure, have neither (e) nor (f), and (d) with them are observed by wives only while they suckle their children (1945: 125).

There is thus a methodological advantage in distinguishing dyadic and group situations in which restraints occur, and the Zulu distinction between *Hlonipha* and *Zila* is extremely useful in this connection. Moreover the Zulu classification may be helpful in view of the fact that there is no scientific agreement on the connotation of either taboo or avoidance. For instance Murdock (1949: 272f) considers 'avoidances' only an aspect of sex regulations between siblings of opposite sex, with the function of reinforcing the incest taboo. Lowie, on the other hand, denies (1921: 104-5) that avoidances are related to incest and he further contends that incest regulations have nothing to do with taboo. Avoidances may, on the other hand, be very widely defined, e.g. by Steiner, who uses the word indiscriminately for taboo (p. 65 and p a s s i m).

We are therefore justified in using the term 'avoidances' as an approximation to Zulu *Hlonipha* to imply two things: (a) the practice by a person of inferior status of shunning or keeping away from the possessions, sphere of activity and person of a correlated superior status, the two statuses being bound together in a dyadic relationship; and (b) positive deference conduct, i.e. actions expressing respect for a superior or submission by an inferior. Both types of action are performed reciprocally in the dyadic relationship, although the incidence of avoidance actions is on the inferior status. Both types of action share the same intention, viz. that of acknowledging a status difference. It is also justifiable to use taboo as a translation for the Zulu *Zila* , in the sense of abstentions, the desisting from certain activities. Such desisting occurs in certain definable situations, viz. developmental stages (diachronic rites), occupational activities, and leadership tasks.

II. THE ESSENTIALS OF HLONIPHA

Hlonipha actions are deferential avoidance actions. They occur in dyadic relations, i.e. in relations between correlated statuses, such as child=father, wife=husband, subject=chief, child in-law=parent-in-law. In such relations we can distinguish two poles of sociological significance: the agent, representing the inferior social position, and the referent who stands for the superior position towards which deferential conduct is directed.

Avoidance conduct is ritualized in the sense that it is formalized and institutionalized. It is formalized, since it comprises actions which possess a distinct configuration, e.g. the movement of young women along the Path of Avoidance. It is institutionalized since it occurs only in set social relationships. In other words *Hlonipha* conduct is not mere habit or routine, such

as may be performed by an individual in a situation which, even if it involves other persons, is not expressive of a structural factor, e.g. the particular manner in which a husband performs coitus with his wife. Merton's 'ritualism', one of his types of adaptation to (U.S.A.) cultural norms, falls short in this respect of the concept of ritualized conduct, for it is merely equivalent to 'routinization' (1957: 149). It is well to remember that H. Spencer called the type of behaviour we have in mind c e r e m o n i a l, taking as his example the way in which a dog acknowledges his master and the Comanche greet a stranger (1893: II: 3-6). However, the majority of social scientists and many biologists, e.g. K. Lorenz and Tinbergen, use the expression ritual. Hence this term is retained here.

In a recent study, Gluckman (1962) distinguishes conduct as either ceremonious or ritual, the former being without, the latter with, mystical sanction. As we have shown this distinction is only to a certain extent applicable to Zulu *Hlonipha* and *Zila* , since many restraints, which in formal respects and in function resemble mystically sanctioned conduct, have no mystical sanctions attached. We noted that similar conditions prevail in other societies, such as Malagassy, Tale and Nuer. Gluckman's further division of rites into magical and religious, factitive and constitutive, is of greater usefulness. The first pair of terms does not apply wholly, since neither are magical substances made to act in *Hlonipha* situations, nor is worship of ancestors always involved. Constitutive ritual fits the definition of *Hlonipha* as expressing a social relationship, in particular the subordination of inferior statuses to correlated superior statuses. The characteristic of factitive ritual is that it increases the well-being of a group and serves productive, protective and purificatory ends. We place Zulu taboo regimens, *Zila* , under this heading.

In discussing the ritual nature of *Hlonipha* (and *Zila*) conduct, Gluckman's observation that tribal society shows a greater degree of ritualization of social relationships than an industrial society throws light on our problem. Such ritualization of social relationships characterizes people who live in large kinship groups. In such groups social roles of the most diverse type are embedded in one and the same relationship. There are two consequences: (a) Since a person has to play many roles with the same set of persons, each role-activity becomes surcharged with emotions. (b) Ritual is required to dramatize and single out the different purposes so that there is confirmation of which role applies in a particular situation *118*. Concerning the emotional charge we shall presently offer evidence that avoidance relations are subject to invasion by magical notions when avoidances are intentionally violated by the agent. Concerning the carrying out of roles we have submitted evidence, e.g. in describing weddings and burials, that shows the almost meticulous separation of roles in ritual.

Avoidance conduct is frequently directed at objects rather than at the person to whom they belong. For instance, among the avoidances observed by wives and children with reference to the family head (by which convenient term we wish to cover the statuses of father and husband) a great number of objects belonging to him are shunned or dealt with in a restrained manner. These objects may be grouped under the following headings: certain localities in hut and homestead, the tools used by the family head in his work, eating and drinking utensils and certain food and drink, the clothes which he wears, certain parts of his body, certain names, gestures and items of speech. Valuable and intimate possessions of his may be placed in the apse and become thus identified with the ancestors. In other words, avoidances refer to localities ascribed to certain persons, certain tools of production which they possess, their goods of consumption as well as personal effects and intimate possessions. Through observing avoidances of these varied objects social distance is created and maintained between the agent of inferior status and the referent of superior status.

The objects thereby acquire symbolical significance. They stand for, or are a reminder to the agent of the owner-referent, and the actions towards them are acknowledged as acts of deference towards him. Avoidances are symbolical in nature because in the Zulu value system they are given this specific meaning which is not inherent in them when viewed as means to achieve utilitarian ends. Thus going round a herd of cattle will not really improve its well-being.

The deferential actions are rather judged to express the correct attitude of the inferior towards the superior. To display submissiveness by appropriate deferential avoidances is highly approved. (322), Cetshwayo's daughter, explains: "I do not know the reason why a person may not touch or use his father's or his mother's possessions. It is Zulu law. If he violates them, he is beaten for it. There is not necessarily a mystic sanction attached to these rules. You must not touch father! *UngaThini izimPawu zabaDala* ! (Don't touch your elder's property). The things which belong to the father and may not be touched represent him: *uyaFanana naye!* The father's coat is like the father himself. It is a memento, a reminder of him (*inKumbulo kaYise*) and of his authority. The sons must behave towards these objects as to the father himself. The same applies to the mother and her property!"

The referent as incumbent of an authority position is capable of altering the avoidance rules and of abolishing them for a special purpose. The observance of avoidances is never absolute. It is within the family head's authority to cancel the avoidances for an individual wife or child, to order her or it to go into a locality reserved to him, and to handle an object normally used by him alone. A particular avoidance may also be abolished for ritual reasons. E.g. when a young man makes his first ceremonial visit to the 'mothers' of his betrothed, he is expected to sit on the inferior, the women's side of the hut in which he is received, whereas his betrothed and her 'mothers' sit on the superior side. The avoidances observed by a man's wives and daughters-in-law are, as we have seen, removed piecemeal, mainly after the presentation of gifts to them by the family head. Let us also remember that the avoidances directed at the family head as referent hold within his homestead only; and that, for instance, his mother-in-law may eat of 'its' meat outside his homestead although she respectfully avoids it inside. Avoidances are further subject to contingencies. A family head, it was noted, may convert the men's side in his private hut into the women's side if for instance the thatch has begun to leak. An emergency may bring about the disregarding of a dress avoidance. When Chief Matyane's men ran away before a police posse, Hamoi, one of them, exchanged his loin-covering for the chief's so that the pursuers might mistake him for the chief and be put off the scent (Colenso: 1874: 90).

The intensity with which an avoidance is observed corresponds with the nature of the relationship between the agent and the referent. For instance, concerning spatial avoidances the family head's daughters-in-law keep farthest away from him. His wives observe them, but decreasingly strictly as they grow older. His agnates in the descending generation, i.e. his children approach the avoided object with a certain latitude, while the agnates of the family head's own generation need not avoid them and members of the ascending generation may even reverse the order, and place the family head in an inferior position in his own hut.

An exception to this gradation occurs among Zulu commoners. There the eldest son, the presumptive heir, has it enjoined upon him, to avoid his father's possessions, and in particular such as have strong magical associations, viz. his sour milk spoon and sleeping mat. The strictness of the avoidance in this relationship corresponds to the potentiality of tension between referent and agent, and in the final analysis to the inevitable displacement of father by son. For younger sons and especially daughters the avoidances exist, but they are less strictly observed. This does not hold for the royal family, as succession in it is not prescriptive (i.e. by hereditary right), nor selective (through selection by a tribal council), but testamentary, since a chief appoints his heir, and his name becomes known only when the chief is dead. Hence Holden (1866: 1-2) noted: "To name a successor during the king's life time was a capital offence." Bryant (1929: 93, 198) confirms this: "There was no right of primogeniture among royal Zulu, nor tribal selection of the heir." Applied to the *Hlonipha* custom this means that avoidances observed by sons and wives with reference to the king, are generalized, i.e. observed strictly by all.

The meanings given to avoidances reveal a contrast between the psychological and religious idiom in which they are offered by the Zulu and the jural, legal or structural significance which they are seen to possess on analysis. For instance Lebzelter (p. 271) reports a story in which

a king had a man come before him. After his departure the king remarked: 'The shadow of this man pressed me down. He seems to be a king!' And Cetshwayo's impression of Queen Victoria (as recorded by F.E. Colenso: 1884: II, 347) gives us a clue as to how Zulu feel when they approach a chief. Cetshwayo said: "I crossed the water...to visit the Queen, to whom people generally are not allowed to go... When I reached her, she shook me by the hand. I felt it up to my shoulder; I felt that the Queen was strong!" The author remarks this was meant in a figurative sense, and adds: "The Zulu believe in such circumstances virtue passes from the superior to the inferior." This interpretation is conceived on the ethnocentric analogy of an electric charge. Cetshwayo himself used the non-committal 'it', and in fact Zulu would rather argue that the handshake established a kinship relation between the royal 'mother' in England and her royal 'son' in Zululand.

Concerning a number of avoidances Zulu say that the things avoided contain the owner's body-dirt. In particular does this apply to the family head's eating utensils and vessels, to his clothes, sleeping mat and neckrest. As we have seen, the concept of *inSila* is a very wide one and includes the family head's herd of cattle (in particular the personally acquired ones), and his wives and children! The explanation is thus circular, for although it may elucidate why a man's possessions are avoided by a stranger, it does not explain why they should be avoided by his wives and children, of whom the latter in particular, are assumed to share their father's body-dirt. However, body-dirt does become significant when anyone wishes to harm the family head with it. The question of intention alters the situation. If the family head's brother harbours ill-feelings, or is suspected of practising sorcery against him, all the objects which previously were accessible are henceforth out of bounds to him.

A more telling theory advanced by some Zulu is that the most strictly avoided objects, such as the family head's sleeping mat or his sour milk spoon are associated with the creation and maintenance of life. The sleeping mat is untouchable by his wives (unless called there for sexual congress), children, and strangers because the family head performs on it the reproductive activities by means of which he increases the family. The consumption of sour milk is associated with the necessity of maintaining the nuclear kinship unit as a 'going concern'. In both actions the family head performs functions which resemble those credited to the Creator uMvelinqangi. The tools which the family head uses have the same double aspect, that of production (in plough and axe for instance) and that of protection of his family unit with his weapons. By these means the family head shares in uMvelinqangi's capacity to make crops sprout and herds increase, and to terminate life by bringing death to living beings in sacrifice and war. In short, the objects of avoidances (and avoided actions) represent the specific roles of the family head as genitor, and maintainer of his family's material resources and as defender of its existence and continuity.

As to anthropological interpretations, Levy-Bruhl's theory of primitive man's incapacity to keep apart subject and object might be called upon to explain avoidances. It might be said that utensils, food, clothes are felt to be so much part of the family head's self that in avoiding them the family head himself is avoided. This is precisely Willoughby's argument when he says (p. 266): "An understanding of contact taboos (which to a large extent coincide with what we have called avoidances) is aided by an understanding of the Bantu idea of personality. The Bantu take it for granted (a) that everything in the world has a personality of its own, a soul or spiritual entity, that makes it what it is and enables it to do what it does. (b) The personality of the individual extends to his secretions, his intimate possessions, his name, even his shadow..." In other words, use of an object belonging to the personality of the family head touches that personality itself and should therefore be avoided. We reject this extension-of-self theory because it cannot explain (a) that only certain, and by no means all possessions of a person are involved and (b) that the possessions which are involved act as registers of the nature of the respect attitude between agent and referent in dyadic relations and that (c) in consequence they are avoided by some but never by all persons.

Another concept which is used in interpreting avoidances is Simmel's 'ideal sphere'. This

sociologist states (1950: 321) that the ideal sphere of a person comprises his material property and his intellectual property. The violation of such property effects "a lesion of the owner's ego" at its very centre. "A sphere of this sort is placed round a man by his honour. Language pointedly designates an insult to one's honour as 'coming too close'." Simmel continues that "Discretion is nothing but the feeling that there exists a right in regard to the sphere of the immediate life contents. It differs in its extension with different personalities, just as position of honour and of property have different radii with respect to 'close' individuals and to strangers and indifferent persons". Here Simmel uses a model of society in which individuals q u a individuals defend their spheres against all comers. We have conceived Zulu society as representing a complex texture of dyadic relations between statuses, and it is in these relations that avoidances occur. Simmel's concept of a radius for each social position tallies with our finding that the intensity of *Hlonipha* conduct varies with the closeness of kinship or political relations. But on the whole Simmel's 'ideal sphere' is too indeterminate a concept to allow of a rigorous analysis.

Neither the extension-of-self view nor the ideal sphere theory takes into account the fact that the incidence of avoidances, being orientated mainly from dependent to autonomous status, suggests that *Hlonipha* is conduct by which authority positions are acknowledged and the extent of that authority implemented. Most Zulu are certainly aware that *Hlonipha* actions do just that. The word for authority is *amAndla*. The dictionary (S) defines *amAndla* as (a) physical strength force, fierceness; and (b) force of law, legal authority, law and order. Hence a father, the owner of a homestead, the chief, the principal wife in a large family have *amAndla*. A person who has *amAndla* is honoured and respectfully avoided. This is not so because of his physical strength but because of his social position, his status and his right to control certain dyadic relationships and to maintain order within a group consisting of a bundle of such relationships. In this sense the owner of a homestead has *amAndla* over his establishment of wives, children and dependants; the chief over officials, officers and commoners; a principal wife over the children of her House and her junior co-wives.

By contrast the observers of *Zila* roles as such do not have *amAndla*. (110): "Shaka, after his father's death, succeeded to the chiefship. The exercise of his legal authority *(amAndla)* resulted in the increase of respect avoidances by his subjects towards him. The strengthening of the king at the First Fruits subjected him to severe abstentions. This raised his magical fierceness; he was in a state of ritual rage throughout the ceremony. However, this did not augment his legal authority, or the number of avoidances observed on the part of commoners; But his authority could be lessened by disrespectful actions on the part of his subjects, for instance the intentional casting of one's shadow over him. Such acts would cause his power and dignity to dwindle." And inevitably so, since such acts challenged his authority.

Hlonipha conduct reveals that Zulu society is built on a complex hierarchy of authority positions. In it authority can be conceived, not merely as ascendancy over a group (R. Michels) but as ascendancy - in varying proportions - within dyadic relations. Thus the chief's authority is not a wholesale authority over a nondescript medley of commoners. His social position is like a hub in which the following relationships are centred: to his agnates, his mother, councillors, his 'mouth', his officers and commoners of varying rank and status, quite apart from the relationship with members of his family. A family head likewise forms a pole which has a number of opposite poles in his mother, his principal wife, wives presiding over Houses, supporting wives, eldest son of each House, including the heir and eldest daughter of each House and other sons and daughters.

Since the principle of reciprocity pervades *Hlonipha* even the inferior statuses are granted a measure of authority, though this may be only small in extent. Correspondingly the correlated superior status in the dyadic relationship concerned recognizes in his actions classed as *Hlonipha* the inferior's claims to consideration and his control over certain possessions. We noted, for instance, that an elder sister is due a certain amount of respectful restraints from her siblings, both male and female, including the avoidance of her personal name and its use

in ritual situations, such as in asseverations. And she receives preferential respect treatment from her parents as well.

Authority in this sense is not so much ascendancy or superiority and ability to exercise constraint but the right to advance certain claims and to use certain possessions as symbols towards which avoidances by others may be expected or demanded. Each individual builds up his own system of authority as he grows up and into the status for which he is qualified. Thus children gradually acquire their own sleeping mats. Their articles of dress are hung up over the nook in which they are wont to sleep. They become owners of plates, spoons and milk calabashes. From the outset boys seem to obtain a more varied and extensive range of such possessions, but girls are not ignored, as we have noted.

How is authority exercised through the avoided objects? Dress illustrates that the avoidance of a particular article by non-owners defines certain rights of the legitimate owner. We also know that certain items of dress are given to a prospective wearer by a person standing to him in a position of authority. For instance, certain dress articles are prepared by a father for his son and daughter, or by a husband for his wife. The donning of such dress items expresses acknowledgment of the father's (or husband's) authority. The refusal to don them is a denial of such authority. The objects which fall under this custom are those which are objects of particularly strict avoidances. For instance, a man's first loin-covering is given to him by his father at his puberty rite. Its acceptance normally signals the accession of a person to adult status. When Shaka refused the *umuTsha* prepared for him by his father Senzangakhona, he therewith revealed his rebellious nature. In a similar manner Dingiswayo ignored the order given by his father, the Mthethwa chief, to don the head-ring and had immediately to flee for his life (Bryant: 1929: 63, 87). Conflicts over dress items which are objects of avoidance occur also between father and daughter as shown in Nkandla law case 130/30. A headman had refused to celebrate the wedding of his daughter, although her lover was prepared to render 16 head of cattle as bride-price. The girl thereupon left her father's homestead and repaired to her lover's. "I put up my hair (scil. in a topknot) myself because you objected to my marriage. Majolo (her 'mother-in-law') prepared my hair. My betrothed provided me with the *isiDwaba* (kilt, normally given to a daughter by her father). This does not mean that I am deflowered. I am intact!" Yet important rites of status change from a father's daughter to a husband's wife had been carried out, not by the appropriate authority - the father - but by a party whose interests were involved. Hence, the father thought himself justified to initiate proceedings. Kilt and hairtop are symbols of full wifely status and are thus avoided (H1) by a woman's husband and by her father.

Since avoidances centre round personal possessions we expect that if they are violated, such breach of avoidance is actionable. This is true with regard to avoidances in the king-commoner dyadic relation, and is particularly well documented in the relationship husband-wife. These actions are often combined with accusations of sorcery. The inviolability of a family head's clothes is partly secured by mystical sanctions. Hence in Nkandla law case 87/31 a man declared that he would have nothing to do with his wife, since she had interfered with his penis box. (The court considered the charge frivolous). On appeal the man did not resist his wife's suit for a divorce because of neglect, although that meant that he lost the bride-price. In another case, 105/31, the husband asserted that he found some of his *inJobo* beads wrapped in brown paper in his snuff box. He told his wife: 'I have caught me a Mtakatshana' (little evildoer) and assaulted her with a kerrie. The woman denied knowledge of the beads in the box. (180), commenting on these cases, said: "The *inJobo* beads may have been taken by the woman to work sorcery on her husband, since they contain his body-dirt. Any kind of used clothing could be employed for this purpose. Interference with the penis box would be considered most dangerous. When a married couple have quarrelled a woman may not touch her husband's clothing, especially that which contains perspiration (shirt, loin-covering, underwear, penis box). The same holds for an angry husband who may not remove his wife's kilt or underwear for they contain her body-dirt." Avoidances are thus intensified and sanctions formulated in a magical manner, when a quarrel has embittered a relationship. Under *Hlonipha*

a woman may not touch her husband's sex organs. In Nkandla law case 139/30 a woman was charged with seizing her husband's testicles. The additional charge that she left the homestead at night and had borne children out of wedlock, shows that the first charge was taken as symbolic of other charges which would justify a divorce suit.

According to the principle of reciprocity implicit in *Hlonipha* a woman has reserved to herself a certain amount of privacy with regard to her body. This is inviolate to her husband under certain conditions, e.g. during menstruation, during confinement, after a burial. How sensitively the avoidance system distributes different kinds of exclusive rights over a woman's body is evident in the prohibition of intercourse (Za) before weaning. The avoidance system does not allow both gratifications at the same time. (111) says: "The husband respectfully avoids (H1) his wife's body because she is being used by the child!" A woman's clothes, her finery and ornaments are inviolate within her family and tribe. (They were, however, coveted objects of looting in wartime). Certain localities are reserved to a woman. The bride moves about on the left side of her husband's private hut. When she has her own hut built she reigns there without interference from her husband's mother or her co-wives, and even her husband. She also controls the yard outside her family hut. The tools which she keeps on her side of the hut and which represent her activities under the division of labour, may be touched by her only (H1). They indicate her duties as well as her privileges. Cooking pots and buckets, grinding stone and winnowing mat, materials for basket making and rope plaiting are kept on her side and this means that male members of the family may not touch them. Some of these, e.g. the grindstone, are secured by mystical sanctions, which may however be disregarded if simple ritual counter-measures are taken. E.g. a male visitor may sit on the grindstone if covered with a mat! The avoidance system also secures for each wife an independent household within the homestead. "Each wife, installed in a hut, was entirely independent of the others, possessing not only her house but also sometimes her own milch cows and always her own little private patch (*iCili*) of the kraal-yard wherein she could build her own granary and stack her private firewood without interference from other wives." Bryant (1949: 414), who reports this, omits to mention that such an establishment of a wife was respected by her husband and her co-wives under the *Hlonipha* ideal.

Violations of avoidances (H1) centring round a woman's apparel may as in the matter of a man's clothes be made the subject of a law case. In Nkandla case 21/30 a woman was accused by her husband of having killed her children and of having cohabited with other men. Since he refused to supply a cleansing fee to remove the abuse, she left him and went to her father's homestead. Her husband later visited her there and, to induce her to return to him, removed her blanket, kilt, and 'scarf'. Since he had committed a breach of *Hlonipha* by touching and removing the woman's clothes he had put himself in the wrong. In case 39/31 the plaintiff claimed damages from defendant, a brother's wife, on the ground that she had taken the bead-veil (*imVakazi*) off his bride at his wedding. Defendant admitted the act, adding that on the occasion of her own wedding, plaintiff's mother had done the same to her during the dances. Plaintiff's mother denied this. The court found that it was an offence for anyone, not entitled to do so, to remove the bride's veil, that the person qualified to remove it was the groom's mother, and that the removal normally took place on the day after the wedding dances. Evidence was led to show that the bride had objected twice to the removal of her veil, but that she acquiesced when told that this was the homestead's custom and that her brothers raised no objection. The plaintiff was awarded 10 shillings damages by the court. This case is instructive in showing that a temporary dress avoidance referring to an article in the wedding outfit of a bride may not be violated even in good faith by a related person.

The above situational studies bear out Hoebel's assertion (1955) that possessions define a person's legal status. Property, so we are told by T. L. Hobhouse (1913) has three aspects (for the owner): The privilege of use, the privilege of disposal, and the privilege of destruction. Among the Zulu, as we have demonstrated, a fourth right is involved, viz. the use of property as a means of implementing the owner's social position, as a means of stimulating deferential actions from inferior statuses, in short as a symbol of his authority. This holds

also for the Malagassy, for Ruud (p. 286) expressly notes that actions which are 'taboo' (*fady*) are directed at persons who are 'owners'. Firth's caution (1940) must be heeded in this connection. He tells us that such terms as property and ownership are used to indicate certain relationships in our culture. Their connotation in other cultures may differ greatly. The essential factors in the situation - the 'owner', the goods, the other persons with reference to whom rights in the goods are defined - may appear to be the same, but the sets of concepts formulated concerning them differ with the cultural background.

Ownership consists in exclusive rights, the type of right varying with the type of property concerned. Thus the right to use a man's personal name does not yield many material benefits to the owner; it is exercised freely by his superiors (parents, chief) and disallowed to his inferiors (wives, children). The avoidance implements the intangible right of the owner to his own name in relationship to his inferiors. On the other hand, ownership over material things, such as axe and spear, is immediately definable in its benefits to the owner; the exclusion of others deprives them of certain benefits which differ with the type of relationship in which the excluded person stands to the owner. Wives and children are deprived from handling these tools, but do benefit from the family head's use of them; a stranger is excluded from use and benefit. Cultures differ as to how exclusive rights are exercised: in modern societies no objections would be raised against a wife using her husband's personal name or his axe.

Goody (1962: 283) arranges objects, or goods, to which access may be restricted, under three heads: property, women (as to their sexuality), and social position (or office). Undoubtedly many *Hlonipha* rules turn on these three types of possessions and the bundle of rights centred in them. It may be accepted that the prospect of the transfer of rights in these possessions, upon the death of the owner, leads to tensions of various kinds between the owner and the heir, the incumbent and the successor, and between the prospective heirs themselves. Our material shows that avoidances prevent, in the case of owner and heir, incumbent and successor, the premature enjoyment of the rights of possession of property, of office, and of sexual rights. They thus help to balance the dyadic relationships concerned, to keep them adjusted to the contemporary existence of a living owner and a potential claimant. Meyer Fortes, limiting himself to the first case, the relationship between paternal owner and filial heir, states that avoidances express filial piety and form the basis of ancestor worship (1959).

It may be useful to compare Zulu avoidance customs and LoDogaa (Ghana) inheritance customs, remembering that the latter deal with the transmission of relatively exclusive rights, while avoidances are concerned with the maintenance of the exclusive rights of the referent as against the agent. Goody makes the point that the transmission of intangible possessions, such as medicinal knowledge, does not result in conflicts since such possessions are easily shared, whereas in the transmission of material objects conflicts arise, as exclusive rights can be formulated concerning them (p. 274). It is true that consumable material objects fall under this rule, for once sour milk has been eaten by a wife or a child, it is no longer available to the family head. But concerning material objects with a symbolical meaning such as his sleeping mat, it is an intangible factor which is involved - its significance in the family head's procreative activities. Such objects may not be used by others, not because they might be consumed, but because their illicit employment suggests that the legal owner no longer has the power to use them.

In other words, the legitimate use of such symbolic objects implements the owner's authority and validates it. Their illegitimate use interferes with that authority and is an instance of usurpation (p. 276). But as we clearly see from our Zulu material, usurpation is only involved where the misuse is enacted by an agent who is a potential claimant to the office or authority position, and who by such misuse presses a claim to the position. In *Hlonipha* practice also persons have avoidances imposed on them who, because of their biological condition - sex or age -, or their legal handicap - junior sons and daughters - are barred from ever exercising exclusive rights over the symbolic objects. Thus junior sons must avoid the family head's sleeping mat. In their case the misuse would not be judged a case of usurpation but of disobedience.

And a wife who would touch her husband's sleeping mat without his permission would be called refractory. Disobedience, we infer, is in the end as destructive of authority as usurpation. Avoidances, in short, continuously test and implement obedience.

The idea that the transfer to a son of exclusive rights in certain possessions belonging to his father does not represent a case of alienation, or in Hobhouse's term disposal, is obviously important for the analysis of avoidances. Goody's explanation (p. 278 ff) is that father and son, owner and heir, in this case form a corporation sole, in which the property rights are vested. It is precisely in such a situation, where alienation is not contemplated or is inconceiveable, that the symbolic meaning of the exercise of exclusive rights becomes significant. For if the family head did not reserve the right of using his sour milk utensils, his sleeping mat, neckrest and important dress items to himself, the distinction between the status of father and son, husband and wife, would be wiped out. The difference between their statuses could not be defined and the dyadic relationship would lose its two-pole structure with consequent social chaos in the family. A similar argument would apply to the chief-commoner relationship. Here too all the chief's sons as potential claimants have to observe specific avoidances of selected possessions of the chief. A son's violation of them would constitute usurpation. But also commoners, who have no claim whatsoever to succession, observe these avoidances to demonstrate their loyalty and obedience!

Possessory rights are always tripartite. They entail a three-cornered relationship, i.e. rights between persons in relation to an 'object'. Concerning the sleeping mat, for instance, not only father exercises his right to sleep on it but also the wife called to share it with him for a night. It is for her that misuse denotes disobedience. The exclusion by means of avoidance is nearly absolute for the eldest son who is a potential successor to the father, and to a slightly lesser extent also to his other sons. It becomes absolute for a wife who has quarrelled with her husband and who for that reason is no longer called to sleep with him. A violation of the mat avoidance by her would imply more than disobedience: it would reveal destructive ill-will. The avoidance of a father's sleeping mat by his daughters is likewise absolute, because a violation would imply the possibility of incest.

Goody works out the distinction between two types of property viz. f a m i l i a or productive resources, and p e c u n i a or consumer goods (p. 296 ff). Under the first head fall land and tools of production which are secured by stable rights. Under the second category fall objects of production and consumption, including sacrificial victims, in which there can exist only fleeting rights. The dichotomy overlaps but not completely that of immovable and movable property, also that of capital and consumer goods. The latter are further divided into personal effects and the bulk of a person's possessions. Transmission of the two types of property and of the two types of consumer goods follows different practice. It might be expected that there is also differentiation as regards avoidances. But such an assumption is not confirmed with regard to, for instance, cattle. Among them can be distinguished two categories: the ancestral entailed cattle which are used to raise new herds and self-acquired cattle which are mainly used in sacrifice or in straightforward consumption. (The two 'owners' of a sacrifice whom we consulted wanted to demonstrate to their families that they were the providers of meat to wives and children!) No differentiation in the avoidance of ancestral and personal cattle was noted, except that the various royal cattle were avoided in different ways, but evidence there is not clear.

We have established that the objects of avoidances represent relatively exclusive rights vested in their owners. These rights have symbolical significance is so far as they define the nature and extent of the authority of the owner over persons who have to observe the avoidances and who stand to the owner in various dyadic relationships. If these rights are violated by a person with evil intentions, legal proceedings may be instituted and a charge of sorcery brought against him. If the violation cannot be shown to have been motivated by such ill-will it may yet be taken seriously and the offender reprimanded or 'fined'. Because of the mystical sanctions which are likely to be attached to important possessions, or possessions with special associations, they tend to be described as 'sacred'.

We owe the introduction of the terms sacred and profane into the modern discussion of the religion of primitives to Durkheim. His distinction between 'sacred' and 'profane' turns mainly on the contrast between sacred and profane seasons and the corresponding activities engaged in by Australian tribes. Since the Zulu are not migratory as the Australians are, the contrast between sacred and profane activities in this sense is not as sharply defined with them. Moreover, when Durkheim says (1939: 37f): "All religious beliefs....presuppose a classification of all things, real and ideal, into two classes....designated as profane and sacred.. This...is the distinctive trait of religious thought" he cannot have had in mind the situation as it prevails in Zulu *Hlonipha* conduct where ordinary domestic objects may with reference to certain persons have the quality of being sacred, of being unusable by them, while to other persons of different status this quality does not exist. The objects with which the Zulu register kinship relations and social status, and test the appertaining attitude of respect and deference, are not withdrawn from profane life but perform their function of defining status simultaneously with their utilitarian function. Nor do Durkheim's assertions (a) that "there exists no other example of two categories or things so...radically opposed to one another...as sacred and profane" and (b) that "the heterogeneity between them is absolute" apply. Rather there is a fourfold scheme of categories to consider, viz. Holy-Sacred-Profane-Unholy.

When using the word 'sacred' with reference to Zulu authority positions and their symbols, it must be understood that its connotation differs from that of 'holy'. By this latter term is generally understood (a) the morally and spiritually perfect; (b) the t r e m e n d u m and f a s c i n o s u m in human experience, or (c) the ultimate value or s u m m u m b o n u m which is unchangeable. None of these characteristics are associated with those objects of the Zulu which serve as objects of avoidances. These objects do not even show the ambivalent quality which Latin s a c e r and Hebrew k a d o s h possess, i.e. of being 'forbidden' (reserved to a god) and 'impure'. They rather function as registers of attitudes in dyadic relations, and as such are sacred in a relative, not in an ambivalent way.

However Durkheim's description of 'sacred' as the quality of 'things set apart by a peculiar attitude of respect which is expressed in various ways' (Parsons: 1964: 411) hits the nail on the head. For, as we have seen, the many deferential actions as regards avoided objects express the proper attitude of the agent towards the referent who is the owner of the objects. Hence we may call the process by which symbols of authority become inviolate to persons subject to them a process of sacralization. Such a process is brought about by the expressive conduct of agents of inferior status in respect of referents of superior status rather than by the ascription of a particular quality to the objects concerned. (In fact, it would be difficult to find an equivalent for the term sacred in original Zulu).

It is de Heusch who has pointed out the close link between the power structure of a society and the process of sacralization. In 'Le Pouvoir et le Sacré' (p. 11) he and others argue that the exercise of power, apart from the employment of force or the obtaining of consent, always shows an irrational residue which shares the quality of the sacred, viz. the fear of mystical sanction and the reverence for the depositary of sovereign power *119*. The reason for the link between power and the sacred lies (p. 15) in the fact that a state expresses the will to permanence, a drive for transcendence. What concerns us here is the rider added by de Heusch (pp. 18, 140), viz. that sacredness of power is not an 'archaic' phenomenon. Rather, it is absent in simple societies of the hunter-gatherer type, with whom leadership is based on skill. Nor have these societies the density of population which would necessitate the 'distancation morale' which is the essence of the sacralization of power and which we have seen is very elaborate in Zulu avoidances.

The necessity for the sacralization of power arises in de Heusch's opinion when a political organization is imposed upon a number of clans, when the kinship principle is transcended in a 'break-through' by the territorial principle. This involves at the same time a transition from the principle of g r a v i t a s, on which kinship groups controlled by elders are based, to that of c e l e r i t a s, the youthful energy desired in leaders of the chief or king type. And

the break-through may demand an enormous magical act by the king to demonstrate a decisive disregard for the principle on which kinship is based. This may be achieved as by the Ruanda king through living in an incestuous hierogamy with his mother (who reigns together with him), or by incest with a royal sister. In societies at the stage of break-through the chief combines with his chiefly functions the function of magician or priest, or he is seen as a deity thus contradicting the evolutionary 'law' enunciated by Frazer, that political and religious functions begin to separate early in the development of society. De Heusch sees his theory illustrated in African societies where the king represents the founding ancestor, where his life is thought to affect the fertility of fields and herds, where the dynasty is descended from a god or the king's soul is animated by a deity.

We find similar notions among the Zulu, where as we have seen, the king not only inherits such sacred things as spear, loin-coverings, sour milk vessels from his ancestors but also uses them ritually on great occasions, such as his installation and the First Fruits. He is identified with his royal clan including the departed forbears. The king's virility must be protected and preserved, as was strongly expressed in Shaka's desire to retain his youthful looks and bearing (and possibly in the ritual test of this virility at the annual First Fruits). And we can document the sacralization of royal possessions by a striking illustration.

In the last years of the 18th century Dingiswayo, the Mthethwa chief, saw a chair for the first time. He then ordered his craftsman to manufacture chairs. When about a generation later King Dingane, Shaka's brother, despatched an army to pursue the fugitive Mzilikazi, and was without news of it for a long time, the diviners advised the king to sacrifice at the graves of his forefathers. Dingane was carried there on a chair and remained for days in seclusion and meditation. The identification of chair with royal authority was by then so far advanced that a sub-chief who visited a missionary about that time refused to sit on a chair and preferred to be seated on a chest. The use of a chair by a subject had become equivalent to an expression of rebellious intentions. In terms of *Hlonipha* conduct the chair had become a throne, a symbol of the king's authority and had for that reason to be avoided by the king's inferiors (Kotzé: 158). This evolution is clinched by an episode which occurred in 1882 when King Cetshwayo returned to Zululand after several years of exile. In the presence of representatives of the Natal Government Cetshwayo received the submission of the minor chiefs assigned to him. One of the chiefs Mfanawandlela Zungu, grandfather of (239), claimed that his ancestors owned the land on which the Zulu royal graves were situated and he thus considered himself senior to, if not the sovereign of, the Zulu king in the area. To validate his claim he had his chair taken to the ceremony and seated himself on it before the king (Gibson: 241).

These examples show how a suitable object, in this instance a piece of foreign furniture, becomes a symbol of authority and thereby untouchable to those who accept the authority as binding on them. Besides implementing the legitimacy of the authority, the object tends to acquire a mystical quality which on the one hand 'strengthens' the owner, and on the other makes it dangerous for people expected to pay homage to the owner's authority. The more complex such symbolic associations become the more intricate grow the avoidance actions of the correlated inferior statuses. Sacralization of this type may be a necessary process in ordering dyadic relationship with subordinate and superordinate poles and thus be an essential factor in social dynamics. Where such a symbol becomes a symbol of group solidarity and group achievement at a higher ritual level, it becomes a palladium, as happened with the Golden Stool of the Ashanti (E.W. Smith: 1921).

In order to see how the sacralization of political authority positions proceeded among the Zulu a twofold comparative study is indicated. First, we must pin-point the historical event when the sacralization process began, when a political organization was established which went beyond and above the kinship principle. Secondly, we must, if possible, find a negative case, that is a society similar to the Zulu but in which the elaboration of political structure did not take place, and in consequence sacralization remained in abeyance. Consequently we propose (a) to examine whether the emergence of the Zulu conquest state led to the sacralization of

political leadership and (b) to compare developments in the Xhosa polity where a conquest state was never attempted.

As to the conditions prevailing among the Zulu before Dingiswayo and Shaka, we may accept, following Bryant (1929: 70-82), Morris (1960), and Gluckman (1940) that the passing of Senzangakhona, Shaka's father, marked the end of the clan period of Zulu history. In that period the unit of social organization was the extended family throwing off branches by the process of lineage segmentation. "The clan was no more than a magnified homestead" with this distinction that the homestead had 'live' genealogical links between its branches (although adoption of strangers occurred) while the various homesteads making up a clan relied on remembered and sometimes fictitious genealogical links, and in some cases, e.g. the Zulu clan itself, a clan incorporated sub-groups of outside origin. The homesteads of a clan were organized on a territorial basis, the smaller units living under the control of a local headman, while the larger units were in charge of a district headman. The whole clan met in assembly at the annual celebration of the First Fruits. Attendance of all male members was expected. At this assembly new laws were promulgated, and the clan chief, acting as the representative of the natural order, initiated the consumption of the new crops. Wars between clans were idyllic affairs to secure cattle (to be kept) and female prisoners (to be exchanged for cattle). At the conclusion of hostilities the requirements of exogamy soon re-established intermarriage between the clans (Bryant: 1929: 36-73, 79).

These harmonious relations, perhaps somewhat overdone by Bryant, were shattered when Dingiswayo, the Mthethwa chief, allegedely met a white man, Dr. Cowan, who taught the young chief something of the technical superiority of the whites and the advantages of their political and military organization. Dingiswayo, in consequence, set about to establish military supremacy over the many small clans of the neighbourhood. Their submission was achieved without depriving their chiefs of life, land or internal sovereignty. It is significant that Dingiswayo should have thought fit to appeal to a religious principle in support of his campaign, viz. that it could not have been the creator's intention for the clans to quarrel incessantly and not to have a supreme head (Fynn in Bird: I, 64).

With the ascent of Shaka over the combined Zulu-Mthethwa realm the policy of conquest was significantly modified. Shaka took care to have all possible rivals to his position among his agnates 'removed'. He embarked on an ambitious reorganization of the armed forces. His new tactics involved the replacement of the ineffective javelin by the stabbing spear, which was handled by serried ranks of attackers, and the evolution of the famous battle array of a centre and two extremely mobile wings. Dingiswayo's policy of peaceful penetration was changed into one of ruthless destruction, depriving a defeated clan of their chiefly family, getting hold of their women and cattle, razing their homesteads and crops to the ground. The young men of the vanquished were incorporated into the Zulu army and the conquered areas ruled by governors residing in formidable barracks kraals (Bryant: 1929: 80f, 120, 125, 647).

This military and administrative build-up was accompanied by the elaboration of the avoidance system. We obtain a glimpse of this in the reports of the avoidances concerning the king's body. When the king washed himself in a special enclosure, immature boys carried water in gourds, and bore high above their heads a basin with bruised fat and ground Kaffir corn, while the cosmetic bearer presented a basket of red ochre holding it in both hands with arms outstretched. The king's body functions were, in fact, attended to by special servants. They had to ensure that the particles of the king's soul stuffs did not fall into the hands of sorcerers or hostile chiefs. A royal barber shaved the king, collected and burned the hair and scattered the ashes in a river. One of his *iNceku* was the receiver of the royal spittle, another the wiper of the royal anus (Morris: 50, 54). It was at this time that the abject approach to the king by men grovelling before him was introduced. Another area where *Hlonipha* avoidances multiplied was in relation to the seraglio which under Shaka became a large and minutely controlled institution. It was started with the bevy of captured Buthelezi daughters and later replenished with the daughters sent by men seeking the king's favours. The avoidance rules concerning the seraglio

were not only complex, their infraction was also always severely punished. The observance of the avoidances (not to enter the seraglio, not to converse with the girls, not to come in contact with their belongings) was supervised by chaperons in the daytime and by watchmen at night. (Nevertheless, as Isaacs reports, the girls knew how to make use of their chances when the king was asleep or absent). But also in other respects the avoidances were intensified. Such a comparatively minor *Hlonipha* as not to peep into the king's hut was sanctioned by the death penalty (suffered by some boys at Shaka's express command), and such execution was made a public spectacle (Bryant: 1929: 640).

The development of chieftainship among the Xhosa, who as Nguni share many cultural and structural traits with the Zulu, occurred without the establishment of a conquest state. The Xhosa possess the customs of *Hlonipha* and *Zila* but their implementation has never reached the immense proportions we have noted among the Zulu. The first chief of any consequence about whom reports are extant, was Ngqika, chief of a Rarabe section. He ruled 'with his mother' and treated her with the utmost respect. His contact with whites was marked by natural ease. When meeting the Dutch governor in 1802 the only distinguishing sign the chief wore was a necklace of white beads. He greeted the governor with a handshake and entered his tent with two of his wives. Handling knife and fork readily, he allowed his wives to share in the pleasures of the table. Such a joint visit by the king with his mother and wives to a white authority and their sharing of a common meal would have been unthinkable with Shaka some 15 to 20 years later (Lichtenstein: I, 365ff, 394ff).

Ngqika did indeed complain about an attempt having been made on his life and believed it to have been instigated by his father's brother Ndlambe. He considered it without example in Xhosa history. His mother was particularly indignant at the wounding of the king with an assegai by the assassin. Lichtenstein comments that these savages do entertain an exalted idea of the inviolability of majesty. In this respect the Xhosa resemble the Zulu. On the other hand, the Zulu would have been horrified at the thought of their chief acting as an executioner. Lichtenstein mentions two instances among the Xhosa: Ngqika killed a deformed son of Khauta (I, 366), and Ndlambe put to death a person whose stolen cattle were traced by their white owner to the chief's homestead (I, 407).

Concerning *Hlonipha* at the royal court the scant reports indicate that no name avoidances were practised, nor did the chief eat separately from his men, nor did he establish a seraglio, and the list of gestures and actions to be avoided was limited. The approach of subjects (and whites) into the royal presence was informal. Of Hintsa, the paramount chief of the Gcaleka, the other great section of the Xhosa, the earliest report (Hammond-Tooke: 38) notes: "His dress did not differ from that of his 'vassals'; his councillors addressed him without rising and called him by his personal name (aanHinza)." His marital establishment was not larger than that of a Zulu aristocrat - 15 wives. Thus "his homestead consisted of some 30 huts of the usual appearance."

The easy tenor of dyadic relationship between commoners and chief among the Xhosa was undoubtedly a consequence of the fact that the Xhosa never tried to set up a conquest state, that succession with them was regulated by the principle of primogeniture, and not by testamentary appointment. Further, the principle of segmentation ruled Xhosa polity. Not only the heir of the Great House had a claim to be chief; the heir to the Right House had also the right to establish his own sovereign tribe. As a result of this constitutional principle the Xhosa royal family was in a continuous state of fission. Thus at the time of Tshawe (5th generation of known dynasty) two tribes split off, the Cira (Great House) and the Jwara (Right House), and became independent. In the 9th generation the Ntinde tribe split off, in the 10th the Dange and Hleke, in the 11th the Gwali and Mbalu. After Rarabe had separated from Gcaleka in the 12th generation, the process of segmentation is documented in both branches. In the 12th generation the Zithembu broke off from the Gcaleka, in the 13th the Ntsonguna, who formed tribes with their own names. In the Rarabe half, Ndlambe separated in the 12th generation, Ngqika in the 13th as well as Gasela and Dushane, and Qhayi in the 14th generation. All these 15 tribes in about 10

generations claimed sovereignty in legal matters and external affairs, and to a large extent in ritual. Xhosa polity was thus segmentary in nature and never developed the concept of a state overarching the branches. Hence the sacralization of chieftainship among them remained within modest limits and avoidances concerning the chief were comparatively few.

The position is different with regard to avoidance conduct in the family. Soga (1930: 208ff) mentions avoidance by a daughter-in-law of her father-in-law's and mother-in-law's personal names. Likewise a man avoids his mother-in-law's name as well as that of all "female progenitors on the wife's side." This name avoidance is extended to all words which contain either the initial syllable or the root of the names of the parents-in-law and this holds for both wife and husband. The avoidance of the name of the founder of a clan is reported in one case only, viz. that of the Tangana of the Bamba clan. This avoidance is expected of all its females whether descendants or affines. Also reported are the spatial avoidances by young women of close approach to their father-in-law, and the part of the hut reserved to him, of the smearing of his hut with cowdung, and of shakin hands with of eating form the same vessel as the HM. A man, likewise, may not shake hands with or eat from the same vessel as his mother-in-law. These avoidances are ritually removed by the presentation of gifts to the woman's mother-in-law and by an exchange of gifts between son-in-law and his wife's mother. If a family head wishes to reserve an object to himself, such as a hatchet or a pipe, he places it under an interdict, an action derived from *Hlonipha* or respect conduct (p. 212). It thus becomes untouchable or 'forbidden' to his wives or daughters-in-law. The object in some way 'personifies' the owner's ancestors; its violation is termed 'sacrilege' by Soga, and must be wiped out with a sacrifice and presents.

Under the heading 'Taboo' Soga discusses certain conduct which he himself elsewhere characterizes as *Hlonipha* , e.g. the restrained deportment of the bride, who until her first child is born, may not approach from the front her husband's hut or indeed any hut of the homestead. The rule that a woman may not enter the cattle pen, unless in an emergency, or unless she has passed the menopause, nor step over her husband's stick of authority falls under such *Hlonipha* of authority symbols. Soga also mentions as respect avoidance that Xhosa men do not drink the sour milk of houses with which they are not connected by marriage. The custom is called *Hlonipha* by Soga, as it would be by the Zulu. So far Xhosa domestic 'taboos' are in fact respect avoidances in dyadic relations and closely associated with the authority structure.

Another group of avoidance customs, designated as *Hlonipha*, concern the speech avoidances of the initiands in the circumcision lodge. The youths replace a long list of common words with substitutes and are punished for employing the everyday words. These avoidances are apparently not part of conduct in dyadic relationships. But they may be seen to fall into that pattern, if we accept that in the transition phase of initiation the youths are in contact with the ancestors. That the presence of ancestors evokes subdued behaviour, called 'decorum' by Soga, is also shown in Xhosa sacrifice (p. 148). The avoidance of the names of game animals during a hunt may also be motivated by the view that the animals are beings which have to be respected before and after their life is taken. Soga calls this custom *Hlonipha*.

Soga also lists some food taboos. For women they refer to eggs, marrow, beestings and to certain actions, such as not to put a pot on the fire without the meat, nor to dish food for men before that for women and children. For men the prohibitions include not to eat pumpkin, or the food of a woman in confinement, or intestines during initiation. For girls kidney, birds, the rectum of an animal, marrow, and fowl are taboo, nor should they burn sweepings. To boys herbs and the tails of cattle are taboo, nor may they lick a cooking spoon or pluck feathers from the head of birds which they roast. Certain acts forbidden as 'taboo' when a person crosses a river really comprise respect actions towards the river and practical rules. Restraint conduct prescribed for the time of a thunder storm is correctly listed under 'taboos'.

The term for 'forbidden' or 'tabooed' is *maConini*, the things prohibited *izinTo ezibu-Conini* (p. 353). Soga does not discuss the mourning taboos under this term. In his rather

perfunctory description of mourning (p. 323), the term *Zilo* is made to cover a variety of behaviour: the solemn personal restraints, abstentions, such as not to visit friends, telling jokes to dispel the gloom, certain symbolic actions, e.g. shaving the head, destruction or emptying of milk-sacs, and in the case of the death of a chief the suspension of tribal festivities and rituals. Soga mentions occupational taboos only in passing, e.g. the *umXobosi*, or 'luck-bringer' was isolated in the cattle pen to secure success to the hunting party; he had "to observe the ritual" (p. 376).

Thus the family *Hlonipha* customs of the Xhosa resemble those of the Zulu except that filial avoidances of parents are not mentioned by Soga, an oversight, but he gives long lists of words avoided in the initiation lodge which together with circumcision was abandoned by the Zulu in consequence of their policy of military conquest. On the other hand, the avoidance conduct by a commoner in respect to his chief was by no means as elaborate as that of a Zulu commoner, and it is reasonable to presume that this is due to the exalted position which the Zulu king took up as a result of the Zulu policy of subduing and incorporating large populations in the power structure of the state. Since Xhosa polity was segmentary in principle a similar elaboration of avoidances in the commoner-chief relationship was not required.

This historical survey thus reveals that sacralization already occurs at the family level, and is not necessarily the result of the formation of powerful states with authoritarian leaders. This somehow contradicts de Heusch. This author admits that in chiefless societies, whose exclusive social processes consist in segmentation, the family head's authority is sacred because of the principles of paternity and primogeniture. However, the intense avoidances concerning the family head among Zulu and Xhosa show that filial *Hlonipha* anticipates the attitude of the son towards his deceased father in ancestor worship. Likewise a woman's avoidances of her husband's father anticipate the attitude which she is expected to take up towards him when he is dead. For then, she may as the mother of the heir be of vital importance in ordering the ritual relations between her son and his forbears since she will preside over the Great Hut in his homestead with its collection of 'sacred' objects and its reserved localities.

III. THE ESSENTIALS OF ZILA

The distinction between *Hlonipha* and *Zila* is not merely one of connotation. It is also structurally significant. *Hlonipha* is, as we have seen, ritualized conduct in dyadic relationships. In *Zila* conduct behaviour is not fitted into a dyadic relationship. The diachronic rituals, which accentuate the developmental stages of human life, as in confinement and puberty, are centred on a chief actor in his personal capacity: the woman who has given birth, the youth who has become physiologically mature. In the occupational ritual involving taboo regimens the individual diviner, weather-maker, hunter and warrior are involved and the sanctions threaten them as individual transgressors. In the leadership taboos of family head and chief, acting as priests for kinship unit and tribe, the meticulous observance by these exalted personalities of the regimen is a condition of the effectiveness of their appeal to the supernatural. In short, in each situation where taboo regimens are imposed custom designates a chief actor on whose responsibility the mastering of the situation depends, and to whom, in case of failure, ritual guilt can be ascribed. This suggests that in the relevant situations the chief actor, through the observance of a taboo regimen, has to achieve a certain psychic or ritual condition, without which the situation would get out of hand. This characteristic of taboo regimens is clearly expressed in the arrangements, absent in *Hlonipha* conduct, for secluding the chief actor. We may thus consider *Zila* observances as 'personal taboos', a term which Meyer Fortes uses in a similar context.

However every *Zila* situation has also social implications, and we shall see presently that in each situation a specific social reference is defined. Thus developmental rites are signifi-

cant to the chief actor's family, and, as the suppression of circumcision and the control of marriage through *ukuJuba* by the Zulu kings show they were also of importance to the tribe. The occupational taboo regimens have meaning for varying circles of participants in the situation. In a hunt the internal structure of the company is reflected in the differing intensity of taboo regimens, and the taboo observances of a lightning doctor are dovetailed with those of his family and clients. Finally the taboo regimens of family and tribal leader are superimposed upon generally observed taboo regimens, of family members in the case of the family priest, and of his subjects in the case of the chief.

It is also obvious that the situations in which certain persons are expected to observe taboo regimens result in rearrangements in the social structure, whereas *Hlonipha* behaviour merely confirms the existing order. Thus in the diachronic rite centring round the birth of a child, custom is concerned with an increase in family membership. At puberty the advance of an individual from his family of orientation to that of his family of procreation is anticipated. It is generally accepted that the burial of an important person initiates a restructuring of the family to which he belonged. In occupational taboo situations the restructuring of society is but temporary: it is demonstrated in the isolation of the chief actor and the 'contractual' relationships set up between him and his family and his clients and their families. In situations which require the observance of taboo regimens by family head or chief, their effect is the social exposure of these leaders over and against their following which intensifies their responsibility.

Zila situations also differ from *Hlonipha* situations by their more comprehensive and deeper meaning. Whereas the observance of *Hlonipha* avoidances regulates the tone of particular dyadic relationships and implements the structural necessity of superordination and subordination, *Zila* conduct always involves a chief actor acting on behalf of whole groups which in range and composition differ according to whether we deal with diachronic, occupational or leadership rites. Conformity to the taboo regimen in such circumstances contributes to the well-being of both actor and group. The chief actor's observance of taboos has meaning and symbolic value for all concerned. It is for this reason that we classed *Zila* under factitive rituals. Thus in diachronic rituals the chief actor and his kinship group participate in the commencement or termination of life in its more important phases, birth, marriage and death. In the Zulu view, these processes involve extra-human agencies, the ancestors or the creator, and the natural order of things which man cannot change and which he has to accept and submit to. In the occupational taboo regimens an awareness exists of the fact that personal skill and efficiency may not always be rewarded, that a factor is present which man cannot control, which factor may be called luck or ill-luck, blessing or curse. Leadership in family and tribe is called upon in crises which require particular efforts to master. When sickness strikes a homestead, when the cattle herd is decimated by a murrain, the family head resorts to a sacrifice to secure the help of the ancestors. When a chief is anxious about the state of the crops, when the issue of a campaign weighs on his mind, the magnitude of the issues involved and the importance of a successful outcome make it desirable that he respond to the situation with the observance of a taboo regimen.

The main characteristic of *Zila* conduct in all these situations is that the actor desists from everyday activities. He interrupts his round of daily contacts with others; his speech and expressive conduct is severely curbed; sexual activities are suspended; his food and drink are controlled, if he does not fast and refrain from drinking altogether; his behaviour is subdued and movement may be entirely restricted. This reduction or suspension of vital activities may be designated a retreat from ordinary life. Yet this ritual retreat in *Zila* conduct differs profoundly from what Merton (1957: 153-5) calls so. It is true the taboo regimen observer sets himself apart from society, as do the "retreatists, outcasts and autists" of Merton's retreat adaptation to (U.S.A.) social and cultural norms. But the *Zila* retreat of the Zulu results in a re-affirmation of cultural values, it has a religious significance, whereas the "autists" retreat is clearly an anti-social reaction, an irretrievable withdrawal from society and its norms.

We may characterize *Zila* retreat conduct among the Zulu as a temporary abandonment of

adult ways of life and the adoption of infantile behaviour. For the actors under a *Zila* regimen act as if they were unable to move about; they speak gently and with a limited vocabulary; they do not cohabit with a person of the opposite sex; and they partake only of the food and drink which are given to children. But in another way *Zila* conduct also resembles the behaviour of dotards. They too are restricted in their movements; their virility has abated; their voice weakened; the food and drink they consume must be 'soft', their speech is garbled. The contrast between ordinary conduct and conduct under taboo reflects thus the dichotomy between man in the fulness of life and man in the important stages of childhood and old age. In fact we may infer that, to the Zulu, child and old person behave as the ancestors are conceived to behave, i.e. in a subdued and lifeless manner. The actor observing a taboo regimen is expected to behave like them.

The situations which submit the chief actor, and the group in sympathy with him, to a taboo regimen have often been described as situations involving danger. Thus Steiner (1956: 147) says: "Taboo is an element of all those situations in which attitudes to values are expressed in terms of danger behaviour..... Social relations are describable in terms of danger, for (a) the classification of transgressions, (b) the localization of danger, and (c) the social participation in danger (through contagion) involve the specification of dangerous persons and the protection of society from them, and for endangered persons(!)" While there is some truth in the assertion that dangers of a mystical kind threaten the chief actor in a diachronic rite, in occupational and leadership ritual, Steiner ignores that taboo regimens, by the mechanism of seclusion, provide safety for the chief actor. Moreover the participants in taboo regimens, chief actors as well as companions, are not only aware of dangers; their attention is chiefly concentrated on the element of hope which the situation contains. Thus the birth of a child, the promotion in status of a person at puberty, are joyful occasions accentuated in diachronic rites. Occupational ritual is undertaken with the hope for the solution of a practical problem, and leadership rituals in family and tribe are orientated towards the settlement of recurrent issues or of an emergency. When Moltmann thinks that for too long the analysis of religious phenomena has been conducted under the shadow of the concept of danger and despair, and that their interpretation under the idea of hope yields new insights, we accept this suggestion with the proviso, that Moltmann's concept of hope refers to unique historical and irreversible situations in which, however dangerous and cataclysmic they appear to be, hope will emerge and lead mankind. The hope we discover in Zulu taboo ritual is a sociological one. It arises in the rejuvenating diachronic rites, the repetitive occupational activities which maintain the existential bases of social life, and the recurring revitalizing rituals which mark the great decisions of family and tribal leadership * 120*.

When the chief actor and his companions submit to a taboo regimen and participate in the ritual accentuating it, they retreat from normal life, and move into another than the everyday context. We are here dealing with "practices which are specifically isolated from the ordinary utilitarian occupations... They possess a specific quality of 'otherness'. They must be performed under special conditions; the performers must be placed in a special state" (T a l c o t P a r s o n s : 1964: 430). Max Weber gives us further details (1965: XXVIII). He realized that no human society is without religion, that man in all cultures has a conception of the supernatural order, of forces which are different and are superior to the forces governing ordinary events. Man spends time and resources in regulating his relation with the supernatural. Obviously taboo regimens and the classification of situations, as either needing such specific conduct or not, are attempts at regulating this relation. Further, they are attempts to give or find meaning to unusual, frustrating or portentous events. The retreat of *Zila* conduct places such events as they occur in diachronic phases, in occupational emergencies and in leadership operations, in a framework of meaning and thus heightens their significance for the participants.

Geertz (1966: 35-60) gives a recent account of how religious experience differs from, and outdoes, the everyday world of common sense. He argues: Religious belief in ritual engulfs the total person, and transports him into another mode of existence. Religious and practical

life are different modes of symbolic formulation. They are radically contrasted and man's participating in both is accompanied by the experience of the great gap between them. Geertz refers to Kierkegaard's 'instant' as a leap into the religious sphere, and Pascal's vision of the 'abyss' comes to mind. The effect of religious experience is to place proximate ends in ultimate contexts, and it is in this manner that religion becomes socially powerful.

In how far do Zulu taboo practices place the common sense world into the framework of a wider reality? We know that defined situations in diachronic stages, in occupational emergencies, in leadership tasks make the Zulu react with submission to a taboo regimen. Such reaction is socially and ritually well ordered. The chief actor can rely on the support of his 'companions'; taboos never occur in isolation but always in an association of related abstentions which range over the whole scale of the human potential; moreover the observance of the regimen is defined as to time. The Zulu are conscious of the fact that in a taboo situation they must adopt a special way of living, another order of existence. Callaway (1868) records that when a thunder storm approaches women remind one another 'to set everything in order'. We saw how many actions this setting in order demanded in Mpiyakhe's hut when bolts of lightning flashed down near it.

This special order is a response to events when men and women participate through diachronic rites in the creation and termination of life, through occupational efforts in maintaining the material bases of life and in the overall control of social life through the appropriate leaders in family and tribe. Meaning is given to these events by the adoption of the retreat conduct; the continuation of everyday activities is felt to be incompatible with the situations concerned. It must be remembered that the contrast is not absolute. For instance, although generally speaking sexual intercourse is always interdicted in critical taboo situations, it may as a ritual act be part of a *Zila* regimen, as is evident in the chief's intercourse with a scapegoat woman during the First Fruits. *Zila* conduct involves thus the paradox that man, when about to perform critical actions which refer to the creation and termination of life, to its maintenance and its control and management, goes into retreat and suspends all vital activities for a time.

The observance of a taboo regimen has been said by Radcliffe-Brown (1952: 143) to give to the chief actor 'ritual status'. In this context he defines what he calls 'ritual avoidances' and 'ritual prohibitions' (which coincide with the Zulu distinction between *Hlonipha* and *Zila*) by reference to two concepts, viz. 'ritual status' and 'ritual value'. "A ritual prohibition is a rule of behaviour which is associated with a belief that an infraction will result in an undesirable change in the ritual status of the person who fails to keep the rule. This change of ritual status is conceived in many different ways... but everywhere it involves the likelihood of some minor or major misfortune which will befall the person concerned." Steiner has brought out the difficulties of this argument (1956: 119-25) to which nothing need be added. However, we should like to draw attention to the application of the concept of ritual status to an African people by G. Wagner (in Forde, D. 1954).

Wagner, referring to the Abaluyia, distinguishes (a) persons and groups in health and in harmony with kin and neighbours, and normally successful in their work, and says they are in a neutral ritual status; (b) persons or groups which suffer from illness, misfortune, conflicts, excessive success; these are classed as being under an impaired ritual status; (c) certain specialists, such as diviners, prophets, rain-makers, who have special powers bestowed on them by God; they have a supernormal ritual status. Wagner admits that sorcerers who kill or cure at will are in an ambivalent position; they do not fit into this scheme. He further concedes that impaired ritual status can be repaired through ritual observances such as avoidances, taboos and sacrifices, while ritual status can be improved by wealth, offspring and limited success.

There are certain difficulties in applying this scheme to Zulu *Zila* conduct. (a) The category neutral ritual status seems unfortunate, for persons engaged in everyday activities have, at least among the Zulu, nothing to do with ritual. Wagner would have been well advised to speak of ritually neutral status. (b) The adjectives impaired and restored (ritual status) imply

that in the impaired condition the person affected is unable to perform ritual, but man under conditions of misfortune, or under certain physiological conditions, is required to submit himself to specific and stringent ritual. This is true of a person who has lost his father, a woman who has her period, a man who has killed another or has been wounded. Likewise it is doubtful whether we can really speak of restored ritual status. For what happens in the instances mentioned just now is that the ritual observed restores the person concerned to his normal self, so that he can carry out everyday activities. (c) The expression supernormal ritual status seems also a misnomer, since all ritual implies that the actor concerned has an 'extraordinary status'. What is supernormal is the power of the diviner, rain-maker, etc., not his status.

What Wagner fails to bring out is that the various ritual possibilities cannot be arranged on one scale, such as he suggests, viz. impaired-restored-neutral-normal-supernormal. Rather there is the normal condition of man which suits his everyday activities and in which no ritual is involved. And there are situations which may require him to perform ritual. This occurs (a) in situations which incapacitate him from performing rituals f o r o t h e r s, e.g. at puberty or in mourning, when he is wounded or has killed someone, but which demand from him, as the chief actor, ritual performances while he is in such condition. (b) There are situations where the chief actor is required to perform ritual o n b e h a l f o f o t h e r s and prepares himself for that purpose. Under this heading fall the leadership regimens and the occupational taboos. These two kinds of 'ritual status' cannot be aligned on one scale but represent different types of ritual, both being, in different ways, distinct from the normal utilitarian life.

The regimen of taboos or abstentions observed by certain persons may thus be viewed as rendering them fit, as conditioning them to pass through a diachronic or other critical phase or to render occupational assistance to others or give leadership service. Since this fitness is acquired through ritual abstentions we may call it ritual fitness. No ritual fitness is required for everyday life. It is required for situations with the quality of 'otherness' to which we have drawn attention. In his normal condition a Zulu is unfit to pierce the ears of children or to kill a sacrificial victim. Equally unfit is a person who has been wounded or is in mourning. But the former can condition himself for such ritual action on behalf of others, whereas those observing ritual abstentions on their own behalf cannot do so. Admittedly there are degrees of magnitude in ritual. Having had sexual congress is a condition which can be removed by a minor ritual, viz. the chewing of a root. Pubescence can be faced with a limited taboo regimen. A woman in confinement, a homicide, the chief at the First Fruits have to submit themselves to lengthy and elaborate regimens.

Ritual fitness is thus subject to human manipulation and not the result of divine grace or a gift from the ancestors. It is not a condition in constant requirement, for a family head and chief act their roles as priests only on rare special occasions, and the occupational roles are, as in all primitive societies, intermittent. Ritual fitness is acquired through a person's efforts in conditioning himself for, or in performing a special role which arises within the action system of his status. Such ritual fitness is most frequently acquired through the practice of retreat from ordinary life and submission to a taboo regimen. In all three situations: diachronic phases, occupational and leadership activities - the chief actor breaks contact with all those who carry on their everyday activities.

Imposition, observance and removal of a taboo regimen resemble in several respects van Gennep's rites of passage, viz. separation, transition and incorporation, or with Hubert and Mauss's structure of sacrifice (entry, middle phases, exit). The formal structure in every case is a threefold one, separation from ordinary life, transition phase in a ritual condition, and aggregation to normal condition (sometimes on a different level from that before the ritual). Thus the woman in childbirth is segregated in a special hut; she observes a stringent taboo regimen for a definite time, and is returned to everyday life when her child is weaned. The weather-maker prepares himself to meet a storm by dressing in a special manner and withdrawing from his family; during the period of storms he leads an isolated existence observing the appropriate taboo regimen; at the end of the season he washes and becomes an ordinary

man again. The family priest separates from wife (and children) and withdraws into his private hut. He conducts the meat eating insisting on the dignified conduct of all partakers of the meal; on the fourth day he resumes his normal life after thanking the ancestors. Be it noted that this structural pattern does not exhaust the ritual performed on these various occasions. For besides taboo regimens there are prophylactic, propitiatory and productive rites which are as essential in the configuration of the rite concerned as the abstentions of chief actor and companions.

Can we subsume the three situations in which taboo regimens are observed under one heading? Is it possible to see them forming one type of ritual? In the search for a comprehensive concept covering diachronic, occupational and leadership taboo regimens the criteria which Chapple and Coon (1942: 398f, 507-28) apply seem to be apposite. They distinguish individual and group rites. The former are transition rites; the group rites they call rites of intensification. The nature of the crises dealt with in both types of rites differs. In the individual rites biological changes bring about disturbances in the status of the person concerned, and he is incorporated into a new status. In rites of intensification we deal with disturbances in social interaction, e.g. in marital and mortuary rites, and the ritual establishes a new equilibrium and intensity of interaction. However, the authors define the occasions for rites of intensification rather narrowly as repetitive causes in nature, such as change of seasons. Thus only rites of the type of First Fruits are placed in the category.

It so happens that occupational and leadership rites in particular are defined by the Zulu as 'strengthening' rites. The concept of strengthening is used in a physiological sense, for instance at the 'strengthening of the knees' in the treatment of warriors; and also in a spiritual sense, when the *isiThunzi* , the personality or dignity of the actor, is said to be fortified. It is true that in confinement and pubescence, and also in mourning ritual the idea of contamination comes to the fore and the ritual is often defined as purificatory. But since, as we have seen, the 'impure' state incapacitates a person from performing rituals for others, and he is engaged in a ritual centring on himself, his condition is also conceived as one of 'weakness' and his return to normal life one of being strengthened. The essential fact of the retreat of the chief actor in a *Zila* situation is that he must face the situation with a collected mind, in a meditative mood, a dignified bearing. We may therefore call the taboo regimens dignifying rites, or rites to increase the dignity, *isiThunzi*, of the actors.

The connotation of *isiThunzi* is defined in the dictionary (S: 478) as weight in character, dignity, imposingness, influence, prestige, for instance in such a phrase as *waziHluba isiThunzi* (You lowered yourself in the esteem of others). (310) and his council said: "*isiThunzi* is a big word! It means a proud man, in whose presence you feel shy. It means dignity, a person worthy of respect. It means an honourable man, whom people praise and even fear. It means a trustworthy reliable person. This quality does not depend on wealth or skill or efficiency but on moral worth. A father has not necessarily more *isiThunzi* than his son, nor an elder son more than his siblings. They must be worthy of *isiThunzi* by good conduct. A woman may have *isiThunzi;* children may have *isiThunzi* 'created' in them by their parents through proper education. In general *isiThunzi* is acquired through observing custom, and in particular taboo regimens, but not through a sacrifice which yields 'luck' rather than dignity! Dignity is self-acquired, not an exchange for a gift to the ancestors."

This collective opinion can be supplemented by other informants. *IsiThunzi* is undoubtedly status-linked. The royal family has it; one of the praises of the Zulu royal clan is 'Shadow like that at sunset!' which means an immense dignity, that of others being short and diminutive. The phrase contains a pun on the first word which means both 'shadow', 'shade' and 'dignity'. (The specific word for the shadow of an object is *umThunzi*). The close link of the term with Zulu chiefs was revealed in the fact that when king Cetshwayo was in hiding from the English in 1879, his subjects referred to him by the *Hlonipha* word *uThunzi* (the Shade). The meaning of *isiThunzi* passes over into mystical influence. When the cannibal chief Ulupalule withdrew on the approach of a messenger sent by Shaka he did so because 'the influence of Shaka was great' (*isiThunzi*

esiShaka siKhulu). When Shaka overcame Pakatwayo, the Qwabe chief, in battle he did not harm him, "lest I overpower him" *(NgimEleke ngesiThunzi)*. A king's dignity is not easily impaired; a commoner's is reduced by misdemeanours, and even a 'big' person may lose it in this manner. Finally, 'shade' is connected with life and spirit. "The long shadow of man shortens as he approaches death" (Callaway: 1868: 126). The short shadow remains behind and is buried with the corpse. The long shadow leaves the body and becomes the *iDlozi* which is worshipped. When a man is at war, his mother and wives stand his sleeping mat in the sun to see if it still casts a shadow. Thus *isiThunzi* is shade, life, personality, dignity and it is strengthened by the proper observance of customs, including taboos.

The notion of degrees of *isiThunzi* tallies with the other that taboo situations differ in the degree of their severity. Already van Gennep (p. 101) pointed out that initiation into a social class may involve few magico-religious elements, and we noted that certain occupations, such as that of herbalist, have a taboo regimen which is considered light. On the other hand warrior and weather-maker, family priest and tribal chief are under strict regimens and they stand out in this respect from among the companions who observe taboos with them.

An intensified taboo regimen is thought to enable the chief actor to establish contact with the supernatural world. Already E.B. Tylor (1929: II, 414) noted: "From the earliest phases of culture .. religion was in close alliance with ecstatic physical conditions brought on by various means of interfering with the healthy action of body and mind and explained as symptoms of divine visitation, of superhuman spirituality... Among the strongest means is fasting, accompanied by other privations and solitary contemplation.... The Zulu doctor qualifies himself for intercourse with the *amaDlozi* or ghosts...by spare diet, want, suffering, castigation and solitary wandering till fainting fits or coma bring him into direct intercourse with the spirits. These...diviners...are worn out by fasting, sometimes of several days' duration, when they become...ecstatic and see visions... So thoroughly is the connection between fasting and spiritual intercourse acknowledged that there is a Zulu saying: 'The continually stuffed body cannot see secret things'!" Tylor also draws attention to the fact that primitive hunting involuntarily results in a similar life of privations. However, we would not expect hunters to obtain visions, but rather luck, in this manner. Thus privations raise a person's dignity and qualify him for success or contact with the supernatural.

Of particular importance is the special conditioning of the chief for First Fruits and the national rites. It consists in a severe taboo regimen of the type which van Gennep (p. 183) called 'an autonomous system superimposed on the ceremonial whole'. Here it is not dignity so much which is aimed at but fierceness. However, whether the one or the other, it must be magically induced. As Max Weber noted (1965: 2) one of the early religious phenomena is charisma, and it appears in two forms: as a natural endowment, e.g. luck, and as a quality magically worked up. The process of giving the Zulu king specific powers is called *ukuQunga*. Bryant (1905) renders this as 'to become darkened ritually or sinister by a stirring of the occult powers'. DV differentiate..."to invigorate, strengthen, fortify by charms, make callous, fearless (as king at the First Fruits or army for war)." Bryant expatiates on the process as applied to the king at the First Fruits: "(a) The king is made fierce by the application of various magical concoctions to his body and face; this condition of rage was to last throughout the ceremony. (b) The king carries out a number of ritual acts to show his ascendancy over his external enemies. E.g. he *Ncinda's*, sucks magical matter, pickings from foreign chiefs, and *Thonya's*, jumps over sherds containing magic, and dances in a special dress of three tiers covering him completely. (c) To maintain his condition in which his body is described as grimy or forbidden and his spirit angry *(ukuGqunkqa)* he had to observe a strict taboo regimen, in particular to fast completely." Bryant omits to complete the account. (d) The last act is the ritual 'desanctification' of the king. It consisted in taking emetics, washing rites and sleeping with the scapegoat woman. The *ukuQunga* is attested for the roles of king, weather-maker and warrior. We have no record that it applied to other occupational regimens. However the condition of 'brooding' observed in diachronic rites (puberty, confinement, mourning) seems to resemble the ritual condition of *ukuQunga*.

The quality which the chief acquires through the *ukuQunga* process is called *umMnyama*. This concept, like many others which we have analysed, has a negative and a positive aspect. Thus *umMnyama* means, first, excessive sensitivity to mystically detrimental influences. The king picks up misfortune more readily from ill-starred persons or from corpses than an ordinary person. His 'luck' is more easily upset, his health and virility sooner impaired. *umMnyama* in this sense also means that the king's misfortune spreads more quickly and more disastrously through the whole tribe. (146): "King Solomon once went out with a hunting party. Girls accompanied it carrying beer. A camp was set up in 'the forest'. A man was accidentally shot dead by another hunter. The king was at once suspected of having slept with one of the girls so that his *umMnyama* spread to the whole party." Likewise the *umMnyama* of a family head violating a taboo before a sacrifice spreads to his family.

But the aspect of *umMnyama* we are interested in here is the positive *umMnyama* which is ritually induced through the special treatment at installation or First Fruits, a treatment which includes a severe taboo regimen. Various associations cluster round this *umMnyama*, e.g. ritual fierceness and virulence. The appellations for the king symbolize this quality: they refer to the blackness of his being. It is also said that a special smoking rite makes the king who is 'black by nature' completely and absolutely black (*umMnyama imPela*). The king shares this magical blackness with the young regiments which were ordered to make the first onrush at the enemy. Black has, in addition, the implication of 'perfect, complete' as in the expression *eShumi eliMnyama* a full ten, a whole thing. Thus 'black' means 'luck-bringing' and black coal is a well-known fertility magic. In short, black as an attribute of the king brings out his ambivalence: he is fierce and perfect; he exercises and he checks force.

The following statements by Zulu informants illustrate the complexity of the concept. (180): "At the First Fruits the king had *umMnyama* . He had to have it so that people would fear him. The reason may be so that he could eat the first fruits without harm to himself and his people, just as the lightning doctor must have *umMnyama* to control storms." (175): "The king only can be strengthened so as to have *umMnyama* ; commoners would be weakened by it!" (320): "The king acquires *umMnyama* through ritual. Having been 'promoted' (boosted?) in this manner his subjects and regiments obey him. The treatment imparting *umMnyama* was carried out by doctors on behalf of the ancestors. They alone could touch the medicines. The king had to behave in a prescribed manner to make his *umMnyama* effective and to retain it. He had to be silent, to maintain an expectant mood, not to touch his wives. But he had ritual intercourse with a woman beyond her changes." (320) links *umMnyama* with *isiThunzi* , dignity. "It is through his *umMnyama* that the chief gets a big *isiThunzi* . The white medicines applied after the black treatment are not intended to purge the chief of the black medicines, but to strengthen his dignity! Commoners by their very nature cannot get hold of the royal *isiThunzi* ." Thus, although the king's ritual fierceness seems to exceed the bounds of dignity, it yet has links with it, for fierceness is the dignity of chiefs.

Krige consequently suggests (p. 257) that the king's *umMnyama* differs from that of warriors. The martial *umMnyama* might make the chief 'unduly' fierce. Presumably this was so, because the warriors' *umMnyama* ensured that they destroyed the enemy, whereas the chief's had to be restrained in governing his tribe. Krige mentions further (p. 113) that in the condition of *umMnyama* the chief resembled an *iNxeleha* (a killer). (320) and Studerus add that the king could be greeted as *isiLo* or *isiLwane* , fierce savage animal, terrible monster. It was in agreement with this name that the king dressed in animal skins. *UmMnyama*, *isiLwane* and royal *isiThunzi* thus go together. They reflect the king's supreme control over social, political and mystical forces. The Zulu king's 'dignification' is thus not achieved through an outrage, as Heusch claims for the Ruanda king, but through a complex magical treatment combined with a servere taboo regimen.

The sacred things employed by the chief actor in taboo regimens differ from the sacred things we noted in connection with avoidance customs. In the latter the sacred things are possessions of a person in authority and shunned by persons who are expected to acknowledge

that authority. The objects are often utensils of everyday use or consumer goods. Their avoidance expresses the attitude of deference of the inferior and implements the authority of the superior in a dyadic relationship. Exemptions are readily granted for practical reasons and the principle of reciprocity secures also for inferiors a certain measure of respect, however limited.

The sacred things of *Zila* are often specific objects used only by the chief actor when he submits himself to a taboo regimen. Thus the ear piercing knife is stuck in the thatch of a hut and may not be touched by anyone till the ears of the children are healed. The grass on which the woman in confinement lies is burned when she leaves the hut after four or five days. Many possessions of a deceased family head, which were used as objects of avoidance while he was alive, are at his death withdrawn from daily use and converted into sacred things which must be destroyed, e.g. his sour milk calabash, or buried with him, e.g. his sticks and spears. His residential hut is allowed to decay, his garden plots are no longer worked *(Zila)*.

Occupational ritual makes use of things which are not employed in everyday life. The stone and muller with which a medicine-man crushes medicines, the pot in which they are boiled or charred may not be used for any other purpose. His dress ('braces' and fur-cap) is sacrosanct and so is his medicine bag. Nobody may enter the hut where a weather-maker keeps his paraphernalia; his medicines are kept in a hiding place; the weapons with which he 'fights' a storm are kept in the apse of his hut.

The sacred things of the family head as priest include the great cloak worn only at a sacrifice. The sacrificial spear is kept unused in the apse of the Great Hut (or its kitchen) and its rust must be removed before the next killing. The chief's sacred objects are permanently hidden from commoners and even from agnates and comprise the loin-coverings and sour milk pots of his ancestors and the various vessels used in treating him in the medicine hut. The royal robes the chief wears at his installation and other tribal occasions, as well as the various dancing outfits which he has to don at the First Fruits are kept there or are specially made for the occasion and destroyed afterwards. Under sacred things must be included the royal hoop, or *inKatha*, into which every year are incorporated the king's body-dirt and the pickings from foreign chiefs. Even the chief's stone basin, in which he ritually washes himself, could become a palladium as shown in the case of the Luthuli, where the theft of the stone from the reigning potentate by his rival led to the former's downfall (Bryant: 1929: 499). As the family head's grave became a place avoided, so the king's grave was inapproachable, and because of its importance a tabooed site. Yet it could serve as an asylum to a person fleeing there, and so could the part of the royal hut in which the king slept.

All the objects sacred in the *Zila* sense, must not be touched by anyone, except by persons ritually pure, such as children or old people, or by an expert who has ritually prepared himself to handle them for the ceremonial occasion or by the chief actor of the taboo situation himself. Thus a medicine-man's bag may not be touched by his brother even. Sacralization of *Zila* objects is not relative as that of *Hlonipha* objects, but absolute.

Zila situations, we said, differ from *Hlonipha* situations in placing the actor, not into a dyadic relationship but into a relationship with a group. The actor, the person observing the taboo regimen, enters into a retreat and he does so because he is considered responsible for the well-being of a defined group which is ensured by his appropriate demeanour and endangered if he were not in retreat. This accountability towards a group has its obverse in the fact that the actor is associated in his observance with a number of persons whom we have called his 'companions'. Thus in diachronic rites a woman in confinement is supported by the taboo observances of her husband. A youth undergoing the puberty regimen is aware that his parents abstain from sexual congress, that the homestead is in a subdued mood. In the occupational rites the chief actor is accompanied in the taboo regimen by his wives and children, his clients and dependants. The abstaining hunter counts on the observances of his wives, as he does on those of his fellow-hunters. The warrior is aware that during the campaign his own privations

are paralleled by similar abstentions at his homestead, by the regimen of his officers, and the taboos observed at court. The family priest is conscious of the fact that he is partnered in his abstentions by the differentiated taboo regimens of his assistants, such as stabber and praiser, and by those of his wives and children; in fact, he includes unrelated neighbours in the range of persons affected, for they are admitted to the sacrificial meal on one day and have then to behave in a subdued manner. In short, a sacrifice or a tribal ceremony like the First Fruits involves the calling into action of a constellation of taboo regimens.

The companionship taboos do of necessity affect the ritual fitness of the chief actor. If properly observed they contribute to his 'dignity' or *isiThunzi* , since the number of companions, and their importance, should correspond to the importance of the chief actor. If neglected, the lack of 'dignity' displayed by the 'companions' brings about a weakening of the chief actor's dignity. In other words, the wider the range of participants in a taboo regimen, the greater is the interest in its outcome, the deeper the conviction in its effectiveness, the profounder the understanding of its symbolic meaning. The social network called upon to participate in a taboo situation represents a moral texture held together by the woof of emotional involvement and the warp of interdictions. (In certain respects we face an arrangement which recalls the moral involvement of partners in a sorcery investigation among the Azande: Evans-Pritchard: 1937).

The interlocking of taboo regimens of chief actor and companions has a decided influence on the problem of responsibility and guilt. E.g. the husband as 'actor abroad' (as hunter, magician, weather-maker, warrior) and his wife as domestic companion in the taboo regimen refrain from commensurate actions at the same time. Taboo companionship thus stresses the interdependence of the husband's and wife's moral responsibility, and brings out their mutual accountability for events in their respective spheres of activity. This interlocking makes women share in the success of their hunting husbands, makes victorious warriors proud of the virtue of their wives, and binds marital partners together in defeat as jointly answerable for it. This dovetailing of moral norms and sanctions, as evidenced in the joined observance of taboo regimens, has often been described (e.g. by Read) as a paradigm of magical belief. It is rather a symbolic recognition of the interdependence of actions of closely related persons, in particular spouses, and of the moral obligations correlated statuses have for each other. The link between the moral conduct of the wife at home and the occupational success of her husband abroad is a theme also in other cultures, e.g. in the palaeolithic hunting culture. Hamann, R., (Geschichte der Kunst 1963, I, 48) draws attention to the curious North African rock paintings "which associate nutrition, fighting and reproduction". They show a man handling his weapons and his woman looking on from the distance; their sexual organs are connected by a line.

Such joint responsibility of persons in a correlated relationship is exercised for the well-being of a group; thus husband and wife secure by it the prosperity of their family of procreation. The diffused responsibility in occupational ritual defines the action sphere of chief actors and companions, e.g. in a hunt that between the captain of the hunt, ordinary hunters, drivers and their wives. Here the mechanism of joint responsibility is applied to an a d h o c group. The family head's *Zila* conduct before a sacrifice necessitates that he instructs his various companions to join him in taboo observances; and to each may be ascribed a specific responsibility: the successful performance of the stabbing, the right taste of the meat, the appropriate response of the ancestors, etc. The same applies to the chief and his companions: harm may come to the chief himself, his children, especially his sons, his wives, but also to his regiments, his council and the whole tribe. Consequently these various circles of persons, the groups to which they belong, are obliged to participate in the chief's taboo regimen, to share in his privations. The joint observance of taboo regimens engenders a feeling of solidarity between chief actor and companions, a consciousness of facing a common responsibility in a critical situation.

This ritual knitting together of chief actor and various circles of companions, and groups of supporters in appropriate taboo regimens may be described as the formation of a congre-

gation. The use of the term 'congregation' in this context may be considered far-fetched. Thus M. Weber's discussion of congregations (1965: 60-70) conceives of them as occurring in 'high religions' only. Congregations are described as the routinization of a prophetic movement whereby either the prophet or his disciples secure the permanence of the prophet's work and of the congregation's benefits therefrom. Through the institution of congregation the economic existence of the religious enterprise and of those charged with functions in it is achieved. However, by implication M. Weber suggests other types of congregations and he lists various kinds of helpers which a prophet may draw to himself: viz. apostles, disciples, comrades, and plain followers. The basic criterion for the formation of congregations is thus that an actor in a religious or ritual situation finds helpers. In Zulu taboo situations such helpers are never denied to the chief actor. We have referred to them as companions.

The smallest congregation defined through joint taboo observance is a young married couple when they welcome the birth of their first child, even though it is possible that the husband observes his taboos rather perfunctorily. A whole homestead sees a youth pass through the puberty ceremony; here we have a congregation whose attention is absorbed by the various rites and stages of the proceedings. In the occupational taboo regimens the ritual congregation rarely acts 'in unison', but the actor relies on the simultaneous observance of taboos by his wives at home, his clients in their kraals and his associates in the guild, if such exists. E.g. a diviner might count on taboo observance by his teacher or apprentices. In the First Fruits the whole tribe is engaged in various measure. In the past all male members of the tribe were expected to attend the ceremony and some reports mention that women were present, except young mothers with babies. Thus in some cases the actual presence of the persons ritually participating may be achieved and enforced by magical sanctions against absentees. In other situations such coming together may not be feasible. It is then sufficient that the joint observance of taboos by chief actor and companions takes place simultaneously, as in the case of warrior and wife. Ritual congregations of this kind are structured according to the range of participants. There is always the distinction between chief actor and companions. Among the latter there may be some who are closely associated with the chief actor, as is the stabber to the family head in sacrifice and the war magician to the chief in the strengthening of the army. The range of companions depends on circumstances. It is small in diachronic rites and occupational ceremony. It may be considerable in the case of a family sacrifice or a tribal celebration.

We are now in a position to appreciate Durkheim's view that religion is "a body of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things which unites in a single moral community, called a church, all those who adhere to them." The Australian prototype of a church which Durkheim had in mind is characterized by an ebullition of feeling, a kind of hysteria, in which society experiences itself (Evans-Pritchard: 1965: 66-74). The Zulu taboo congregation is more nearly a convent, a community in retreat living under definite restrictions. Thus the emotional and even the moral factor may not be necessary to characterize the congregation. We accept that the congregation is best defined, as done by M. Weber, as an 'association for religious ends' (T. Parsons: 1964: 431).

Few anthropologists have made use of the concept of congregation. M. Fortes (1965: 122), without defining the term, employs it to characterize religious groupings in small-scale societies thus: "The congregation of worshippers in African ancestor worship invariably comprises either an exclusive common descent group augmented by collateral cognates of restricted or unrestricted range or a domestic group only, i.e. a family elementary or extended. Congregations of the first kind represent ancestor worship in the context of corporate lineages, those of the second in the family context. In the first members participate by right of descent and filiation; in the second by right of marriage and parenthood." Fortes refers by implication to a third kind of congregation, viz. the whole nation when it approaches the ancestors of royal rank through the chief.

This typology of congregations brings out the fact that the members of a family, or of an

expert-client link and those of Zulu polity constitute themselves into congregations of varying range through the joint enacting of taboo ritual, rather than through the possession and confession of a common creed. This ritual participation in various types of taboo companionship is not considered by Fortes, because he is primarily concerned with the jural criteria of membership in certain congregations (those forming in ancestor worship) and not with the expression of ritual membership in a d h o c congregations (such as are especially prominent in occupational situations, but occur also in diachronic and leadership situations). Hence Meyer Fortes's typology is unduly restricted. As we have pointed out ritual congregations extend not only to domestic groups or lineages; they form in all situations where a chief actor relies on companions in the observance of taboo regimens. The ritual engagement of chief actor and companions thus forms the differentia between an association organized for religious ends and an association for profane ends. Obviously chief actor and companions, when they classify events as to which must be met with a retreat regimen and which do not require one, must use the same criteria, and they must also share the same view as to the necessity and severity of the taboo regimens to be observed.

The ritual congregations of common taboo observances thus assume the most varied forms. In the diachronic rites it may be only husband and wife who are joined (when a child is born), but in mourning for a kraalhead his widows and children, his agnates, and affines are involved to a varying degree, as well as the diggers of his grave and his neighbours, each with his own specific taboo regimen. In the occupational situations the ritual congregation comprises the chief actor and his clients, and their respective families; for warriors the whole tribe may be engaged in varying measure. In the leadership type the congregation again varies in accordance with the significance of the occasion and the range of persons involved. A family sacrifice is attended by a limited congregation, a chief's installation by the majority of the tribe. Zulu *zila* congregations reduplicate thus the conditions prevailing among the Nupe, where the ownership of cults attaches either to groups based on varying territorial criteria (Nadel, 1954: 14f) or on individual ownership of the requisite medicine (ibid: 154).

The Nupe congregation-in-worship is described as performing two functions : (a) "it mobilizes a certain group and (b) does it in such a manner that its internal structure is thrown into relief: the inner circle of worshippers, the officiants, the subordinate members, and the partial exclusion of wives and strangers" (ibid: p. 270f). To a large extent this description would apply to Zulu *zila* congregations except for one objection. When Nadel says: "The arrangement of the congregation...mirrors the statuses of mundane society, so that the latter is demonstrated in model form, dramatized and endorsed by the sacred context" the tautology so common in structural arguments comes out. The ritual taboo congregations of the Zulu are not a mere reflexion of social structure. Especially in diachronic situations where women and pubescents, and widows and brides are involved as chief actors and their close relatives as companions, the high ritual involvement of women stands in sharp contrast to their social dependence. In fact, Zulu women, social inferiors in a patrilineal and patriarchal society, are indispensable in joint taboo regimens either as chief actors or as companions. We need but recall their engagement as the moral partners of their expert husbands, as scapegoat sex partner of the chief in the First Fruits, as young mothers under the long taboo regimen of the suckling period.

In the companionship mechanism of taboo observances we have an institutionalized example of what is called reference group. Merton (1957: 226) defines reference group behaviour as those processes through which men relate themselves to groups and refer their behaviour to the values of these groups. He draws attention to the significant role which the experience of 'relative deprivation' plays in the formulation of reference group judgments. For instance, in a military call-up (in the U.S.A.) recruits would compare themselves to persons of their own, or of different status, who are not called up. Applied to the *zila* situation among the Zulu this suggests, that through the mechanism of companionship taboos the sense of deprivation of the chief actor is considerably reduced. In all taboo situations the chief actor, observing a major taboo regimen, sees himself in the company of other witnesses to the significance of the

situation, who by their participation in the taboo regimen display their sympathy, and who share his deprivations with him. The a d h o c solidarity of taboo observance is, of course, completely absent in *Hlonipha* conduct which, although reciprocal in principle, is at any one particular point in time always a one-sided manifestation of the attitude of respect.

Zila conduct differs in one further, but vitally important, aspect from *Hlonipha* conduct. There is not only accountability of the chief actor and his companions to variously defined groups. The formation of a *Zila* congregation has also a built-in reference beyond the groups to supernatural forces. The 'dignification' of the *Zila* observers by means of retreat conduct involves that the chief actors and their companions behave in a manner that differs completely from that of normal adults, that makes them share in the ritually powerful impotency of child, dotard or ancestral spirit. Such behaviour is thought necessary in the presence of the variously conceived extrahuman powers which reveal themselves in *Zila* situations.

Thus (a) the c e l e s t i a l p h e n o m e n a of the eclipse of the sun or moon, of hail, electric storm, even of moonless night and night itself evoke the retreat response, the cessation of vital activities. Certain misfortunes are described by the Zulu as reactions of these phenomena which are either personified or referred to as impersonal. Certain human achievements are credited to the observance of retreat conduct at the time of atmospheric events. Over against terrifying irregularities in the natural order, man feels that he must put his arrangements 'in order'. It is a special order, the retreat order, which is then adequate, and not the order of everyday activities. When a calamity occurs, e.g. when lightning strikes, the selectiveness of this event arouses guilt feelings and such feelings may become permanently associated with sky phenomena.

(b) The occurrence of events, classed by the Zulu a s l u c k, i l l - l u c k o r f o r t u n e, m i s f o r t u n e, also involves the assumption that favourable events may be the result of retreat conduct, of demureness in critical situations. Unfortunate occurrences are judged to be the result of the violation of taboo observances. Lucky and unlucky events are seen as impersonal factors which may be due to inborn qualities (e.g. a woman's lap may bring luck) or they are manipulated by socially acceptable magical practices. They are ultimately linked with the proper attitude of the person concerned, and in particular his rectitude in observing taboos in *Zila* situations. Conformity to the required taboo conduct yields 'positive sanctions' (or rewards), violations of the taboo order 'negative' sanctions (or punishments) (Radcliffe-Brown: 1952: 205ff).

(c) The idea that m y s t i c s a n c t i o n s a u t o m a t i c a l l y m a i n t a i n t h e s o c i a l o r d e r a n d t h e o r d e r o f n a t u r e, if violated by human trespassers of *Zila* obligations, exists also among the Zulu. It is the idea of 'immanent justice' which in many cultures can already be detected in the play of children (Jahoda). The conviction that misconduct recoils on itself is a corrollary to the mythological theme of the withdrawal of the creator after the creation, in which he gave to both nature and society a distinctive order. This automatic view is tempered by a vitalistic component. For the Zulu realize that the maintenance of the natural and social orders requires certain acts of man and animals, viz. the giving of life through coitus and parturition, as well as the losing of life through death and killing. The participation of man in the processes of initiating and terminating life through acts which involve the shedding of life-bearing liquids, such as semen and blood, also involves a feeling of guilt. This is expressed in the concept of 'impurity' associated with these liquids and the ritual of purification which is required concerning them. The concept of individual purity or impurity shades over into the concept of group contamination and cleansing.

(d) Finally t h e a n c e s t o r s a s f o u n d e r s o f t h e m o r a l a n d s o c i a l o r d e r, together with the creator, and as its transmitters (in education) and reformers (as culture-bringers) act as judges of *Zila* conduct. They are in a way personified memories of names, but also personal extensions of the family and lineage. Their presence at diachronic rites is felt to be 'natural'. They also grace occupational efforts with their presence. They accompany

a warrior on a raid and strengthen the weather-maker in a storm. At family rituals such as a sacrifice they come to receive offerings. At tribal assemblages the royal ancestors are invoked to emerge. The ancestors thus shape the fate of persons and groups which belong to them. *Zila* conduct is described as conduct directly demanded by them or as natural in their presence. Setbacks in an individual's life, disasters striking a group are put down as consequences of taboo violations, and they engender guilt feelings towards the ancestors. Abstention regimens are not considered sufficient in themselves to gain their goodwill. Prayer and sacrifice, oaths and praises, form part of the means with which a Zulu establishes communication with them.

There are thus four extra-human references: celestial phenomena, lucky and unlucky factors, the immanent social and natural sanctions and the ancestors, which are thought of in *Zila* situations. They are felt to be the non-contingent opposite to whom man is accountable, from whom he can expect positive or negative reaction to his conduct. This vis-à-vis of man is conceived as tremendum in the celestial phenomena, as fascinosum in the fickle play of luck and ill-luck. It is sensed as conditum in the natural and social order, and perhaps as otiosum in the ancestors who have to be urged to act through prayer and sacrifice, and not least through taboo regimens. The wide range of characteristics of the opposite of man in critical situations, from the sky phenomena to the inscrutable dispensation of luck, from the arrangements in nature and society, to the ancestors in their fractiousness, indicates more than anything else that the vis-à-vis of persons in retreat is to the Zulu an ignotum. While this fact may be decried by some who feel that they know the nature of this ignotum, in itself it makes the proud Zulu appear humble in his stand over against the unknown vis-à-vis of man, and certain of our sympathy.

In both *Hlonipha* and *Zila* conduct the Zulu do not act according to the means-end scheme of everyday life, where the end is inherent in the means, where the means directly produce the ends. *Hlonipha* and *Zila* conduct is not utilitarian or economically productive behaviour. It is symbolical behaviour. Through the restrained acts of *Hlonipha* the correct attitude that should prevail in dyadic relationships is expressed. The symbolic meaning of *Zila* conduct has a double reference: to the group of persons who join in the retreat ritual and to certain extra-human factors or forces which are involved in the *Zila* situations. The concern of the retreat observers is the well-being of their groups. They are aware that their own efforts, expressed in the suppression of vital activities, must find a response in forces to which this conduct is commensurate.

FOOTNOTES

1 Kropf notes in Xhosa, which is closely related to Zulu, both *umZili* (mourner) and *isiZilo* (an abstaining/ a mourning). Fourie, (p. 163) referring to Transvaal Ndebele, a Zulu dialect, handles the word *zila* in a Europeanized fashion. As a noun it is made to refer to the object abstained from or the person avoided. In particular he calls the animals avoided by clans *zila* and then translates the term with - totem. He also employs the term *zila* as an adjective, e.g., a man is *zila* to his Da-in-l, etc.

2 Bryant (1929: 114) notes the use of *ukuZila* in the clan/n of the *ama-Zila-nKatha*. This is the nick name of the emaNcubeni (the clan which reverences or avoids the head-pad). The Ncube, contrary to general practice, do not throw away the head-pad after use but burn it and rub the ashes on the abdomen of every inmate of the house, lest he become afflicted with stomach disease. The name of the Founder of the Matabele nation, UmZilikazi, contains the root *Zila*.

3 Wanger: (1923: 123); Fourie (p. 162) objects to Bryant's etymology, which is however adopted by Elliot. Fourie's objection rests on the erroneous identification of taboo with taboo day which he calls a fetish (sic), a dark, feared thing.

4 Bryant: (1905: 738-47), Colenso (1905: appendix); Doke (1939: appendix); Döhne: (1857 passim), Kohler (1939: 91) Werner (1905: 346-56, where Zulu *Hlonipha* is both identified with Polynesian taboo and restricted to language avoidances). From the latter Frazer (1929 index) derived his explanation of *hlonipha* as name taboo.

5 The diachronic taboo regimens are, of course, indirectly connected with the statuses listed in Tables I-VI. The physiological changes in a woman which are taken as occasions for imposing a regimen of taboos on her are basic to the social differentiation of the sexes. The fact of death necessitates the re-casting of the whole family structure.

6 Collections of Zulu royal praises have been edited by Döhne, R.C. Samuelson (1923), Bryant (1929: 663 and passim), Stuart (1923 and 1924), Grant (1928), von Fintel (1929) and Cole (1968).

7 The frequent rendering of *isiThakazelo* as 'praise/n' is confusing since 'praises' is the established expression for epopee, heroic song. Another rendering: 'address name' is not distinctive enough especially in view of the frequent employment of the word 'address' in the following argument. The term 'praise name' is best used for short phrases in the 'praises' as was done above and it is thus used by Grant. The term *isiThakazelo* confuses old Zulu; they give it only when asked for "The other *isiBongo*". Only about one third of the clans have an *isiThakazelo* listed in Bryant (1929).

8 The Swazi explanation for the identical usage, viz., that a man is allowed to marry into his FM family, does not apply to the Zulu, cf. Kuper H. in Radcliffe-Brown and Forde: 105.

9 S and DV note that *mZala* may be used for any cousin on the M's side viz., MBrCh and MSiCh; paternal cousins, (FBrCh and FSiCh) are accordingly *mFowethu* or *Dadewethu*. None of my informants used the terms thus, nor does vW note this usage.

10 It should be noted that any woman's husband is called *mKhwenyana* by the whole neighbourhood from which she comes, even by non-kindred.

11 Bryant (1949: 209): "A F-in-l and a M-in-l refer to their Da-in-l by her clan/n with prefix u-." (103) comments: This is wrong. If only uSithole is used, this always refers to a MAN; in addressing him, the clan/n without prefix is used.

12 Some informants assert that the use of the F's pers/n in oaths and asseveration is possible two days after his death even by his Das. Its other ritual use in genealogy and praises is refrained from till after the Bringing Home.

13 Krige mentions a mythical animal *isiTshakamana*. It knows names of a person's ancestors. By calling a man by these names it causes him to die.

14 Chief Gatsha and Princess Magogo deny that the pers/ns of their ancestors are mentioned at a SAC. The 'people' guess from cues in the praises which ancestor is meant. This may be a case of inversion for Callaway (1868: 70, 140, 144) and Krige (p. 292) support the line taken in the text.

15 He mentions his eldest Si in praises, which brings out the importance of Si in oaths, asseveration; the k/t *(Baba)* shows her influence as FSi.

16 Perhaps from *ukuKotha*, to bask in the sun (Studerus).

17 The practice spread from the kings to important court families, e.g., Ndlela, Dingane's Prime Minister, gave rise to a path (*iNdlela*) being known as * *iNyathuko*.

18 The inversion suggested by Bryant (1949: 209f) that the clan name is the usual form of address among commoners and the courtesy name among people of rank, is only a half truth.

19 In this term the idea of isolation, reservation, is present as in *isiGodlo* (royal seraglio).

20 A Ch was rudely scolded by its GF when it loitered in a doorway (290).

21 Cf. Callaway (1866: 287): *ukwEnza amaNyala:* to commit uncleanness like incest. S: 341 - any disgusting matter, act or speech, anything untoward, even bad luck.

22 Q. (to 307): Is there not a danger in this continuous harping on the incest prohibition? Is the sister not presented thereby as a fruit, which because it is forbidden, becomes sweeter? I add: Adam might have overlooked the Tree of Knowledge, if God had not drawn his attention to it by his prohibition. (307) remains dour: A Zulu boy would not be thus tempted. If a trespass occurs it would be an exception. (301) accepts, but he is European-trained. He remembers a speech by a European school principal on this topic.

22A When Dingane left the hut, his wives walked about in it and said to Gardiner they were not now afraid of the king.

23 The use of the immediate past is etiquette (Hl) and expresses a desire to speak to the person addressed, in this case the M-in-l. It is may be used by commoners, but is speech etiquette which characterizes court society.

23A The proliferation of respectful gestures at the time of the despots is reflected in the following quotations: "Servants fetching meat at the king's order crouched before him; at his nod they carried off a chunk at full speed holding it up with extended arms" (Gardiner: 31). Even "chiefs stooped as well as commoners at Dingane's court". "Whenever a chief gives anything to an inferior he must hold out both hands for it on pain of being killed". "It is death ..... to break wind in the king's presence; to have an erection; to ease oneself or make water in his kraal" (Smith, A.: 47,92).

24 Early white travellers were given SM without difficulty.

25 The following restraint falls outside Hl. There is a dislike against admitting strangers from inferior tribes. The reasons are partly rational, often magical. In Mpande's time Thonga hunters who carried skins of wild animals to the royal kraal were refused entrance into kraals, even though they were accompanied by Zulu guides, because they were thought to be carrying certain maladies. As no scientific theory of the transmission of disease was known, the transfer was conceived to be of a magical nature.

26 This avoidance is waived under certain conditions. P.J. Schoeman reports that a hunter removed a stake from a fence to supply a camp-fire with fuel. Reminded that he was committing an 'unlawful act' he replied that when Zulu wage war against an *umThakathi*, in this case a man-eating lion, they are not bound by laws!

27 Shaka was buried in a grain pit. If this type of burial was traditional, the cattle in the pen were moving over the graves of their former owners and this may explain their close link with them even today. But it is more likely that Shaka's burial in a grain pit was exceptional because he had been murdered and had no heir who could have stood above his grave, nor did he leave behind any widows.

28 Climbing on a hut is done legitimately only by certain categories of people: woman thatcher, lightning doctor, family head and immature boys to fix lightning pegs, and illegitimately by others, e.g., a So who wishes to usurp his F's position (Shaka) climbs on his Residence; certain animal familiars sent by wizards do the same. The king has the prerogative to climb a hut in order, for instance, to watch a hunt.

29 Anyone passing a hut must not omit to tie a knot in the grass rope used to tack down the thatch so as to be welcome there in future. (cf. S: *iQondo*).

30 Already Gardiner (quoted by Bird: I, 301) noted that the ground about the doors and gateway of the royal

homestead had been sprinkled by a magician, since several persons who had been at court fell sick on their way home.

31 Cf. Venda: van Warmelo: 1930: 46; Nyakyusa: Wilson, G. and Hunter, M.: 14/5; Makua: Harries, p. 31; Chagga: Raum: 1941: 326. Frazer, J., 1929: 296-7 lists practices in Europe and East Indies in which delivery is facilitated by means of opening doors.

32 (238) denies that there is a prohibition for Chn to sit at a fire. "A Zulu is introduced to fire soon after birth and sits near it every day of his life."

33 When a film was shown in a church all the commoners filed into the aisle in which the chief and his family did not sit to respectfully avoid him.

34 In law case Mahlabatini 60/1949 plaintiff sued for recovery of fees from defendant who fraudulently offered to engage the services of a doctor who was to prevent death from such grave pennies. The plaintiff's Wi gave evidence: "Pennies were placed on the grave of my HF to buy the lives of all my Chn so that they would die!"

35 Shaka was buried at Dukuza (Stanger), Dingane in Swaziland, Mpande at Ulundi. Cetshwayo died in his WiF's homestead near Eshowe and his corpse was taken to Bhobho Ridge, Nkandla Forest. (Studerus observes that his grave is actually between the Nsuze, Nkunzane and Mome rivers, and not on Bhobho Ridge). Solomon's burial place is at eMahashini (Nongoma): Bryant (1929: 21). Lugg (1949) shows Dinizulu's grave North of Mpembeni River, whereas it is South of it.

35A "A person yielding himself up ... when at war is certain of every consideration and his life is never taken" (Smith, A.: 84).

36 This spear is ringed by the tribal doctor with magical stripes; it was held by Chief Gatsha during his Installation with point downward (!).

37 Evans-Pritchard, (1937: 9): Leech is a person who practises leechcraft, i.e.. the treatment of pathological conditions by empirical or magical means through physic or surgery. Physic comprises the use of drugs (empirical) or medicines (magical).

38 (370): For *ukuPhothula* a certain medicine is prepared when the patient is cured; it is stirred in a pot until it foams: a goat is slaughtered and the bile poured into the pot, whereupon the patient washes his whole body in the medicated water. He can now go and bathe. *UkuPhothula* is really a r/r from the taboo on washing.

39 Women preponderate in the profession because this difficulty does not arise with them. The explanation of Zulu divination as an institution which allows women to compensate for their inferior status has many facts to support it.

40 The rule that the shoulder-blade of the diviner should not be touched by anyone has sexual implications: Boys seduce girls by touching their shoulder; they smear love medicine there (Studerus).

40A Already Smith A. (p. 68) heard such a report: "The natives think that if they put out some milk the thunder will come to it in a shape they are unable to describe but by throwing a spear at it they will kill it and prevent it hurting any person".

41 Yet he admitted that because he did not wash his clothes were full of body-dirt, and thus also of *umMnyama*. They could therefore be placed outside his hut, if he was away, and would keep off a storm.

42 When they leave the kraal where the hunters meet, they leap over a small child with their spears. A dull child has been chosen, so that the game will be inert like it. The child's mother is given a reward, i.e., bowels of one of the animals killed.

43 Perhaps the killing without shedding the bull's blood fitted into the vegetative celebration of the First Fruits; the killing with axe or spear may have been done before a campaign.

44 Wounding, like puberty, menstruation and confinement, leads to abstention from milk lest cattle be affected.

45 The observance of the disembowelling rule at Isandhlwana preserved the bodies of the fallen English soldiers for months.

46 My questions on this point were discussed by the two main informants and several important tribal leaders. Answers were given only after an agreement had been reached by them as to what information could be given away.

47 *Mshopi* is a personification of the bad luck *(isiNyama)* of the seclusion period and of other occasions.

48 If the discharge commenced in day time, the girl presented her discarded clothes to her GM, if at night her mat and blanket.

49 Re "Crossing of the river" Callaway (1868: 436) noted: "When a man is about to wash, he takes *inTelezi* medicines. When he 'has-gone-to-the-ford' *(uma eye-eZibukweni)*, he does not take *inTelezi* but washes with plain water, for he quits his hut early and can't see the herbs in the veld. Moreover, since *iZibuko* is a bad thing *(inTo emBi)* he cannot touch the medicines (he has at home). Yet he chews and breathes it over his medicines and thus 'unties' them." My informants rejected the idea that *iZibuko* is a 'bad thing'; they said 'it is natural'! *iZibuko* has a wider meaning than 'emission': The girl's race at puberty is to a river crossing *(eZibukweni)*. The site for the Bridal Party on the Day of the Dances is *eZibukweni* ('at the river'). Bleek (p. 13) describing the *Hlobonga* visits of young men at their sweethearts' says that the men go early to the river to wash themselves before the visit. There may be two 'washings', one before and one after congress, as at a meal.

50 This reminds of the interdict on any person walking in the middle of a path during a thunder storm to respect (Hl) the Lord of Heaven, i.e., lightning. Sun and lightning seem, in the taboos listed, to be identified with the male principle both as fertilizing power and as authority over woman.

51 The top-knot consists of hair growing inside a spirally wound grassband cone or pipe, which in some districts broadens into a wide lid at the top.

52 Princess Magogo reports that Dinizulu planned the joint celebration of the following rites for a bevy of royal Das: the (obsolete) *ukuBelethisa iThunga* or *Kulisa* ('to make grow') and the *ukuKhehla*. The girls were not happy about combining the two and considered themselves too young for the second because none of them was as yet pregnant! Most of the girls then refused to put on the top-knot except three with whom the rest quarrelled. Dinizulu who had already selected beasts to be slaughtered, one for each of the ten girls, gave the remainder away to the regiments. Callaway (1966: 210) notes the general rule: At certain periods the chief directs the young women to fix the head-knot or *iKhehli*.

52A Shoeman, H.S.: 76 notes the following dress changes of the bride controlled by the relaxation of restraints: The *imVakazi* (veil) is replaced by the *isAmbozo* (it does not hide the eyes). It in turn gives way to the *umBhama* (headband). This band establishes the woman's seniority over other wives who have not yet acquired the right to wear it.

53 Neighbours are defined by (388) thus: The Chn visit one another and eat SM, bigger Chn refuse it; in times without matches you go there to ask for 'fire'; they render mutual help at weeding; the companions of a girl in the puberty hut hail from the neighbourhood (but the girl's age-group, *iNtanga*, comes from a wider area).

54 The heir could not stand at the top of the grave and point his F's spear into it, since he was 'too young'. His FBr (388's F) stuck the spear into the ground instead. Should an heir stab the ground with his F's spear during the latter's life-time, he would express a wish to kill his F - *uyamPhahla uYise* - and could be killed for this act by his F.

55 (389) defines neighbour: any person living within a radius of one mile with whom you are on good terms! Anything out of the ordinary has to be reported to him as a matter of Hl. He drives your cattle out of a third person's fields. Neighbours are invited to beer drinks and help one another.

56 When Solomon was installed as king a brown ox of the Nobamba herd was likewise sacrificed. The contents of the intestines of this beast are plastered round the pot containing the new king's emetics. (The *izinKomo zenKatha* are the offspring of a mythical brown cow!)

57 It is, however, 'untrue' that an order to brew is given when a person is on the point of death. For 'sending off' *(ukuPhelekezela)* a very old man, a goat is slaughtered and beer made. For if a dotard cannot die, there is a general murmur: Why don't they hurry him ritually to death (334, 335).

58 It is the FeBr's duty to pass on the news to the other Brs. If the deceased was an eBr, it is the heir's duty. If the deceased's family is 'bad friends' with a FBr no message goes to him. The omission of a FBr is a violation of the unity of siblings which has dire consequences.

59 A similar procedure is followed when during an epidemic all communications between the district in which it rages and the court are suspended (Za). Before any resident of the district may call at the court again, its representative has to hand over a considerable gift, say £2, a load of beads, or two heifers, to remove the interdict.

60 Sweet milk is considered specially suitable for old people, since their throat is believed to narrow to such an extent that solid food cannot pass it. In the past dotards had a goat slaughtered for them to hasten their departure. They were then exposed near a rock ledge with a little food, including sweet milk. (Wanger: 1917:516: *ukuPhelekezela)*

61 Radcliffe-Brown on Transkei tribes: "If a man drinks milk from the cattle of a lineage other than his own, he may not hereafter marry a woman of that lineage" (1950: 82)

62 But cf. Xhosa peoples: *ubuLungu* beast, in Radcliffe-Brown: 1952: 80; J.H. Soga: 1931: 205ff.

63 The Kavirondo have similar exclusive rules: People who intermarry do not visit one another, Wagner: 1940: 205, 207. Among the Tsonga there is an intermediate third group: where no SM is eaten and no intermarriage takes place.

64 Les structures élémentaires de la parenté.

65 From English 'steam'!

66 The terms syncretic and diacritical have been used concerning taboos by S. F. Nadel: 1950:337; *idem:* 1938: p. 85. In my analysis the terms have been somewhat redefined:
i. Rights and duties are diacritical if they take the form of differentiated social tasks within a defined group segment.
ii. Syncretic are those rights and obligations which define the unity of the social segment in contrast to all other segments.
In other words: i. Diacritical factors determine the internal differentiation of a social unit, and
ii. Syncretic factors define the unity of a social entity in its relations to other entities.

67 In other words, the reserved area has been shifted and subdivided corresponding to greater individual freedom.

68 Colenso-Durnford make it clear that the Umcijo was a company of the Inkandampemvu Regiment. Clements (p. 284) says it was the Inkanodunga Regiment which turned the cattle back.

69 But cf. Bride's milch cow and agistment cows.

70 (301) remarked anent this: Those cattle are 'finished'; the connection was lost in the troubles of the royal house beginning with Cetshwayo and ending with Solomon.

71 The signs indicating such an illness are fainting, pain in certain regions of the body, etc. It causes the patient to abstain voluntarily from certain food, e.g., SM, beer and snuff. The Wis of such a man ask themselves: "What kind of an *iThongo* is it, that restrains *(ukuVimbela)* him even from snuff?" When in such circumstances a SAC is offered, "the man will get well, if he has been affected by the spirit" (Callaway: 1868: 5).

72 The ritual leader of family or lineage will be called patriarch rather than priest, since he does not form part of an hierarchical organization but observes the taboo regimen on behalf of his kinship group.

73 (128), a woman, stressed that an U does not discuss his choice with his Brs but with the princWi of the house from which the victim is chosen, if the cattle have been apportioned. She adds, this is how a H *Hl*'s his Wi. Other informants deny that this is necessary, and (128) may have been advancing a claim rather than a fact.

74 Men also cook goat's and sheep's flesh. Women cook only game and chicken, game because "it was killed by the H, and seized by his dogs!" This is Zulu rule (120).

75 *Nyama-emBi*, the condition of sacrificial meat after a taboo-breach, it is not actually rotten but the term expresses the family's disapproval of the breach (380).

76 Cf. Evans-Pritchard: 1954, and 1965.

77 J. Frazer, (1929: 495): Bones are used for 'strengthening': When a serious disease has attacked a Zulu kraal, the medicine-man takes the bones of a very *old dog*, or other old animal, and administers them to the healthy as well as to the sick people, in order that they may grow as old as the animal.

78 Baboon, leopard, lion, serval (which heals the *isiThutwane* illness), elephant, cattle, hyena, wild dog and weasel.

79 Re:Crushing the Gourd several items need further investigation: Dube: 10, and Krige: 256n state that the gourd must be broken, or pierced, before it can be cooked. The Crushing of the Gourd also produces rain, thus Lugg says of the Baso rite: "At the time of the crushing or piercing of the gourd the warriors sing: 'The calf celebrates the *umKhosi* and the sky becomes overcast'. There is an association between gourd and sun: at this stage in the rite the king (chief) may squirt at the sun, or the sun is symbolically cut in twain with the sacred axe" (Fuze 160, quoted by Bryant: 1949: 518; Raum 1953).

80 The inversion of the normal husband-wife relation is consonant with the ritual depression of the man's status in the marriage negotiations.

81 (328) mentions an analogous case: During her training as diviner she avoids SM, and is afraid of H *and* snake. In avoiding all three she avoids power and sex symbols in SM and snake, both of which also stand for the ancestor *par excellence*, the HF. This three-symbols-in-one is also represented in speech: e.g. 'to eat up' means (a) to incorporate food; (b) to perform coitus; (c) to exercise royal power.

82 Bryant: 1929: 611; Grout: 137; Grant, *passim;* Fourie: 189-195.

83 Gardiner: 123, Duggan-Cronin, A.M.: plates on Zulu; Fourie: 100, 102, 153; Grant, *passim.*

84 So-called 'cold' animals, i.e., those which crawl out of holes, or live in the water, have a link with the realm of the dead, and thus with the ancestors, in all primitive religion, according to Wundt. Callaway (1868: 190f) records the following distinction: Chiefs turn into *iziMamba* , the black and green kind; commoners including the female founders of Houses, appear in *imiHlwazi, oBhulube* or *imiZingandlu* snakes.

85 Meinhof: 1912: 35-8, 77, 112; *idem:* 1911: 18; Callaway: 1868: 134-5, 196-211; Kropf: 192, 205-6; Tyler: 89; Grout: 137; Leslie: 28, 277-91; Lugg: 1929: 371; Bryant: 1905: 470; *idem:* 1929: 101, 198, 672-3; Samuelson, L.H.: 69, 136-8; Wanger: 1917: 653.

86 Tyler: 107, 111; Bird: I, 108; Isaacs: II, 302; Samuelson, L.H.: 31, 61; Asmus: 90; Fourie: 92-6; Lucas: 119; Hermannsburger Missionsblatt: Mai 1957.

87 Delegorgue: I, 225, 573; Bryant: 1929: 356, 359; DV under *umKhondo;* Informants (125), (127), (122).

88 References: Bryant: 1905: under *Hlaba, i-Nxeleha, Ncindela, isi-Konkwane, Bokoda;* Bryant: 1929: 159; Tyler: 111; Gibson: 49; Callaway: 1868: 51, 61; Leslie: 120; L.H. Samuelson: 168; Braatvedt: 1927: 556; Krige: 255, 259, 286; Owen: 68, 88; Gardiner: 127; Isaacs: I, 179; Wanger: 1917: 650. Informants: 125, 127, 131, 138. Colenso J.W.: 1855: 77, 109, Fynn: 78.

89 To 'overshadow' in this mystic manner is concretely expressed also in 'to urinate over' *(ukuThonya)*, like a dog on another dog's urine and thus to gain power over it. This notion leads to a taboo on inferiors urinating or defecating at the spot where a superior relieves himself *(Hl)*. Cf Read, M. The Ngoni, and their concept of 'to go to bush', i.e., to go where a person defecated before his death and where his soul is believed to hover.

90 Farrer: 124; Bryant: 1905: *qonela, iThunzi, amaGeba;* van Warmelo: 1938: 26, 105, 108; Speckmann: 172; Shooter: 174, 224; Callaway: 1866: 161; *idem:* 1868: 56n; Fourie: 143; Colenso: 1880: 74; Frazer: 1911: II, 423-5, 219, 254. Even these last references show the taboos referred to as status-linked, although Frazer did not pay attention to this fact.

91 Samuelson lists *ukwEsaba* under *ukuSaba:* to be afraid, to respect, and has extended meanings for the derived forms, viz., *ukuSabeka:* to be fearful, terrible, awful, awe-inspiring, prodigious and *ukuSabisa:* to terrify, intimidate.

92 Callaway: 1866: 105, 280 ff; Samuelson, L.H.: 9, 40, 43, 63, 93.

93 Nyembezi: 1954: 18, 51, 11, 137, 57, 66, 73, 65; Samuelson, R.C.: 1923: 610

94 Cf. Margaret Mead: Russian swaddling produces the submissive-plus-explosive Russian personality; Erikson: The pinching and annoying of the Sioux child makes him war-like; and Roheim: Parental coital posture determines the psychic attitude of a people.

95 Haring: *passim;* Kroeber: 1952: 308, 312.

96 Since a man is given courage by an animal which conveys demureness to a woman, this seems a case of inversion as in the *uFuzo* custom.

97 Arbousset's note that a man who hoes his fields, and handles hoes, is an *umFokazana* was challenged by (323): It is his lazy non-working Wi who is an *umFokazana* . The opposite of *umFokazana,* in the sense discussed, is *umFokazi* according to (301, 323). But S: 109 has 'stranger'.

98 Pre-marital pregnancy is settled by a 'fine' to the girl's M of £5 and 1-2 head of cattle to her F, or 1 head to the girl's family, to be eaten by it (Kohler: 1939: 45, 71). The court books of all magistracies abound with such cases. There are, however, also many non-legal sanctions, viz., magical: the girl will give birth to a monstrosity, and proto-legal: the girl's age-mates will beat up the youth. There is a tendency to exaggerate the consequences: Both girl and youth will be killed; the cattle of the youth's F will be confiscated; the youth will be jailed or taken away by the white man.

99 A few informants class a girl at her first menstruation as having *umMnyama.* When (125) asserted this even of the pubescent boy, he realized that he had gone too far and corrected himself: 'No, both are *Ngcolile, Thombile, Khulile*'!

100 Cf. Otto, R.; 1925: 16: the numinous is associated with the experience of 'the flesh creeps'.

101 Baumann, (1950): makes clear one link between *inSila* tail tufts and *Nyama* (revenge): The tail is the point exhaling revenge. Tail of bird and fish are also known as *isiSila,* those of quadrupeds as *umSila.* This term also refers to the fur-trimmed end of a shield-stick and to the chief's rod of authority. 'By authority' is rendered: *ngomSila wenKosi.*

102 Associated forms are: *onuSuku:* he/she has sexual stain; *oSukeni:* in state of sexual defilement; Krige: 82n notes *abe-ne-nTsukweni:* people with sexual defilement.

103 Colenso argued that the propagandist cry in 1879 that the Zulu 'washed their spears in blood' after the death of a king was not justified. But we have noted that after Nandi's death a campaign was carried out.

104 The leaders of modern sects assume the prerogative of imposing interdicts, e.g., not to drink beer, not to eat pork, not to have sexual intercourse on the Sabbath, etc.

105 For parallels cf. Soga (1932: 212, 353) *amaConini,* and Cook, (1931: 88) *conisiza.*

106 Bryant (1905): *uku Qogela* and *ukuHlumula;* Leslie: 13.

107 Willoughby's separation (p. 189 ff) of taboo signs and quarantine signs is difficult to understand. By quarantine signs he obviously means isolation signs for persons under a *Za* regimen. Even more questionable is his assertion that taboo signs have nothing to do with taboo, since they have the nature of charms!

108 Krige: 104; Kohler: 1939: 13-5; Bryant (1905) under *ukwEmula, inKomo yamaSi.*

109 Krige: 135; Kohler: 1939: 45.

110 Callaway: 1866: 61-3; Krige: 150, 154, 383.

111 Krige: 308; Samuelson, L.H.: 45-62; Grout: 138; Callaway: 1868: 259-374; Kohler: 1941: 9-30.

112 The tendency to dress in the clothes of the other sex, more precisely called transvestism, is also sometimes known as inversion.

113 Callaway: 1866: 59n; Shooter: 101; Krige: 31, 106; Bryant: 1949: 216; Bryant: 1905: under *ukuBhina.*

114 A 'legitimate' exposure of genitals occurs with nubile girls who show their pudenda to the Sis of their intended by way of 'advertisement', and apparently also to their Fs at the time when the bride-price is negotiated. Such an exposure never occurs between H and Wi: *Hl!* Bryant: 1949: 567, 570.

115 Fynn: 297; Krige: 141, 143 ff, 93; Shooter: 74; Braatvedt: 1927: 559: Kohler: 1939:79, Hunter: 173 (Pondo); Laubscher: 158-9; Fourie: 119 (Ndebele: Here the inversion affects even the groom, for towards the end of the wedding he kindles a fire and cooks food, actions which the bride seeks to obstruct).

116 Carbutt: 12; Bryant: 1905: 513, 580; idem, 1929: plate, p. 410; Krige: 72, 78, 198/9.

117 The informants refused to give details, since "this is a women's affair"; the interpreter believed that the reference was to the private parts of a M: *mSunukaNyoko, mSunuweNja, mBombokaNyoko*. But the women suggest rather an insult to Nkulunkulu, uMvelinqangi or Nomkhubulwana. Two male informants cite as samples of obscenity: *Bolo la-maDoda, amaLebe leNgane,* and they compose a song that might have been sung: *amaLebe leNgane zekise abaFo, abaFo, abaFo.*

118 Talcott Parsons, who calls Gluckman's 'multiplex' roles 'diffuse' offers a more complex analysis.

119 The authors in their argument explicitly disregard such 'purely religious factors' as legitimacy, investiture and charismatic powers of the king.

120 An analogous phenomenon was already discussed by van der Leeuw (1938: 465ff). He pointed out that the primeval dread experienced before God, the unknown, was tempered with the experience of love, and that both combine in the religious attitude of awe. When man is forced 'to avoid' he may have recourse to hubris, or habit or faith. Faith, however, is inconceivable without love (1. John iv, 18). Such love points the way beyond danger and fear.

APPENDICES

I. LIST OF INFORMANTS

The first 100 informants (approximately) were students or teachers at the Training Institution Umpumulo, Natal (1938-9). F.H. indicates that the informant was a student at Fort Hare University College.
The list is so arranged that numbers 101 - 199 represent informants seen in Dec. 1952-Feb. 1953; 201 - 299 those seen Dec. 1955 - Feb. 1956; 301 - 399 Dec. 1956 - Feb. 1957; 401 - 459 Jan. - Feb. 1958 and June 1958, and 461 - 470 November 1959.
The entries give Magisterial district (E: Eshowe; Ma: Mahlabatini; No: Nongoma; Nk: Nkandla; CZ: Ceza), clan name, regiment and further particulars. Most Ceza informants were contacted by favour of Dr. W. Bodenstein. For regiments the ff abbreviations are used:

Cetshwayo: Cetsh II: uVe (1875); Cetsh III: Falaza 1 (1877); Cetsh III: Falaza 2 (1878):

Dinizulu: Dini I: imBokodebomvu (1886); Dini II: Felaphakathi (1888): Dini III: DakwaKusutha = Hawulwengwenya (1902): Dini IV: Mvalana = Cijimpi (1906); Dini V: Vukayibambe (1912).

Solomon: Solo I: Nqabayokucusha = Nqabayembube (1918): Solo II: Phondolwendlovu (1925); Solo III: Ntabaye Zulu; Solo IV: Manugelane (1930).

Number	Name (Pers/n)	Clan name	Regiment	Age	Remarks
D: 101 (m)	Pika	Zulu			kaSitheku KaMpande; Zulu representative in Durban
E: 102 (m)	Zilaba	Biyela			alive, humorous
E: 103 (m)	Ephraim	Ndwandwe			Chief at Kwamondi
E: 104 (m)	Edmund	Ngubane			old, once policeman
E: 105 (f)	Sabetha	Zulu	Dini III		Si of (101), GDa of Cetshwayo
	Sabina	Xhosa			(Companion of 105)
E: 106 (m)	Boshiwe	Zulu	Dini III	70	Sub-chief
E: 107 (m)	Ngebethu	Ngemu		73	minor clerk
E: 108 (m)	Mathabathi	Zincume	Dini II	78	
E: 109 (m)	Mhlambose	Mbatha	Ngcungce	100	serene
E: 110 (m)	Alsen	Nzuza	Dini IV	60	cf 308
E: 111 (m)	Gqokisimbi	Ntuli		55	Chief, GSo of famous Ndlela
E: 112 (m)	Juda	Mthethwa	Dini IV	60	(111)'s headman
E: 113 (m)	Mlunguza	Qwabe	Dini II	80	ex-acting Chief
E: 114 (m)	Simon	Mkhize			policeman Mahlabatini
E: 115 (m)	Nathan	Buthelezi			ex-Fort Harian
Ma: 116 (m)	Nsingwana	Buthelezi			old chief
Ma: 117 (m)	Makhobotho	Khoza		65	Makwazi-zaMbana Regiment
MA: 118 (m)	Malunguza	Mbatha	Dini IV		headman, ex-constable
Ma: 119 (m)	Mthunzini	Buthelezi	Dini V		
Ma: 120 (m)	Bubu	Zulu	Solo I	58	F was Dinizulu's headman
Ma: 121 (m)	Hlupizwe	Madela	Dini III	72	
Ma: 122 (m)	Sukabekuluma	Sithole	Dini III		born before 1879
Ma: 123 (m)	Sipho	Africander			interpreter
Ma: 124 (m)	Uzweni (Aaron)	Ntanzi	Solo I	55	
Ma: 125 (m)	Findo	Zulu	Dini II		kaShingane kaMpande, foster-child of Cetshwayo, Dinizulu's praiser (?)
Ma: 126 (m)	Mahlephi	Sibiya			Wedding at kraal
Ma: 127 (m)	Njakazana	Buthelezi	Dini II	80	herdboy in 1879

Ma: 128 (f)	Nonhlupho	Zulu	Dini III		Da of Poyiye, Br of Zibhebhu
Ma: 129 (m)	Velaphi	Mabizela	Dini V		commoner
Ma: 130 (f)	Mdlayoshi	Buthelezi	Solo I	60	
Ma: 131 (m)	Mkipheni	Zungu	Dini V		headman of (212)
Ma: 132 (m)	Mhlolthini	Mbatha			Fraternal homestead
Ma: 133 (m)	Dothela	Zulu			F was Dinizulu's headman
Ma: 134 (m)	Findo	Zulu			(cf. 125)
Ma: 135 (m)	Nkomozabantu	Gasa	Solo I		headman
Ma: 136 (f)	Alzina	Dhlamini	Dini V		
Ma: 137 (m)	Maphelu	Zungu	uVe	98	officer; killed 100 men in wars, two whites at Isandlwana; walked to Pietermaritzburg in two days
Ma: 138 (m)	Maphulungwana	Mbatha	Dini IV		lightning doctor; had not washed for 5 months
No: 139 (m)	Ndesheni	Zulu	Solo II		kaMnyayiza, constable, Paramount Cyprian's adviser
No: 140 (m)	James	Mabanga			interpreter, teacher; house struck in storm
No: 141 (m)	Mnyayiza	Zulu	Dini III		GSo of Mpande (d. 1957)
No: 142 (m)	Manzezulu	Mabanga	Pefene		Si = (141)'sWi; humorous
No: 143 (f)	Madagada	Mthembu	Pefene	53	clever, witty
No: 144 (f)	Phongwane (Kate)	Dhlamini	Dini III		now Ntshangase
No: 145 (m)	Velemu	Nxumalo	Dini II		a sceptic
No: 146 (m)	P.J.	Xhulu	Dini V		owns stone house, carpenter's shop
No: 147 (m)	Nsumbulwana	Zulu	Dini III		kaZibhebhu
No: 148	Ndoloza	Zungu	Dini II		
No: 149 (m)	Vivian	Ngcobo	Solo I		herbalist
No: 150 (m)	Msenteli	Zulu	Zakakusuka		mourns death of Wi
No: 151 (f)	Maria	Ntshangase	(now Zulu)		rejects fee (3/-) as too low
No: 152 (m)	Matholane	Ndwandwe	Dini III		deputy chief
No: 153 (f)	Nonina	Mabanga			now Khoza
No: 154 (f)	Nopendulo	Khumalo	Solo II		now Ndebele: Diviner
No: 155 (f)	Tembekile	Xhulu	(now Matonsi)		
No: 156 (f)	Nombendle	Zulu	(now Xhulu)		Zibhebhu's Da: Princess
No: 157 (f)	Balungile	Ntsele	(now Cebekhulu)		Nyoniyimbomvu Regt.
No: 158 (m)	Cyprian	Zulu			Paramount Chief (d. 1968)
No: 159 (f)	Shukela	Sibiya	Dini II		Dinizulu's widow
No: 160 (f)	Eliza	Shandu			Solomon's widow
No: 161 (f)	Nomampondo	Qwabe			Dinizulu's widow
Nk: 162 (m)	Mnyamane	Biyela	Dini I	80	
Nk: 163 (m)	Tom	Buthelezi	Solo I		
Nk: 164 (m)	Momeli	Sithole	Dini IV		
Nk: 165 (f)	Nokuela (Julia)	Shabangu			now Dhlamini
Nk: 166 (m)	Nodada	Langa	Dini III		
Nk: 167 (m)	Mpiyakhi	Ntombela	Dini II		
Nk: 168 (m)	Ndosi	Zulu	Solo I		
Nk: 169 (f)	Mtombi	Dladla			(Wis of Chief Manyala's So
Nk: 170 (f)	Mbangi	Mtimkulu			who guards prisoners)
Nk: 171 (m)	Sitole	Dhlamini			Members of working bee
Nk: 172 (m)	Mamfinyongwo	Mchunu	Dini IV		in field
Nk: 173 (m)	Maklaya	Sikhakhane	Dini III		diviner
Nk: 174 (m)	Mnukeni	Ndaba	Dini III		without cattle
Nk: 175 (m)	Sikhali	Mlotshwa	Dini IV		kilt maker

Nk: 176	(m)	Mzinyazinya	Zulu	Dini IV	kaSitheku kaMpande; very good informant
Nk: 177	(f)	Esther	Mkhize	(now Majola)	Watchtower sect
Nk: 178	(m)	Mgoqo	Magubane	Pefeni (?)	leopard hunter
Nk: 179	(f)	Muthiyanduna	Cebekhulu	(now Mahaye)	clever
Nk: 180	(m)	Mahlukwana	Mbatha		
Nk: 181	(m)	Khohlo	Ngcobo	Dini V	
Nk: 182	(m)	Lugade	Nxumalo	Dini IV	
Nk: 183	(m)	Manetha	Khanyile	Dini III	
Nk: 184	(m)	Ganeyaka	Zulu	Solo I	
Nk: 185	(f)	Selina	Magwaza	Dini IV	(now Zulu)
Nk: 186	(m)	Vendle	Magwaza	Solo II	whistling diviner
Nk: 187	(f)	Sasile	Nxumalo	Mpindinyao	old; (now Dhlomo)
Nk: 188	(m)	Manyala	Biyela	Dini III	chief (cf. 411)
Nk: 189	(f)	Bagcinile	Goqo	(Christian)	(now Mhlela)
Nk: 190	(m)	Mpini	Shezi	Dini IV	Chief at Emacubeni
Nk: 191	(m)	Hambayedwa	Shezi	Dini IV	Councillor of (190)
Nk: 192	(m)	Greene	Dunge		interpreter
Nk: 193	(m)	Nkunyase	Dludla	Dini III	
Nk: 194	(f)	Nobelungu	Dhlamini	Cetsh IV (?)	
Nk: 195	(f)	Laura	Dunge	(Christian)	M of (192)
Nk: 196	(m)	Filemon (Nyoka)	Mbatha	Cetsh IV (?)	(193-7) acted as informants
Nk: 197	(m)	Nonyama	Sikhakhane	Dini II	for (192)
E: 201	(m)	Mkhuba	Ngema	Dini V	
E: 202	(m)	Nason	Kunene	Solo I	Minister
E: 203	(m)	Zefania	Shezi	Solo I	Minister
E: 204	(m)	Ceza	Xabasha	Dini IV	
E: 205	(m)	Hovohovo	Khoza	Dini V	
E: 206	(m)	Zinkwa	Makwaza	Dini IV	
E: 207	(m)	Mnyikanya	Zungu	Ngayinkane	
E: 208	(m)	Mahlakanjane	Biyela	Solo I	Chief
E: 209	(m)	Qijana	Mhlongo	Dini III	
E: 210	(m)	Neftal	Shobethe	Dini III	
E: 211	(f)	Nobusuku	Ntuli	(now Mhlongo)	love/n: Shauhlaka
E: 212	(m)	Siphoso	Mpungose	Dini V	Chief
E: 213	(f)	Selina	Ngema	(now Mhlongo)	guesses her Regiment
E: 214	(m)	Cekwana	Mhlongo	Dini IV	
E: 215	(m)	Kaiphas	Mncangwo	Dini III	
E: 216	(m)	Mahlolanga	Mahaye	Solo I	
E: 217	(m)	Madoyi	Khoza	Dini III	Councillor
E: 218	(m)	Ndambula	Mhlongo	Dini V	Councillor
E: 219	(m)	Flathelo	Khumalo	18	
E: 220	(m)	Phindogunye	Biyela		ex-president Native court Eshowe
No: 221	(m)	Lazarus	Zulu		teacher, interpreter
Ma: 222	(m)	Mzobana	Dhlamini	Solo II	talkative
Ma: 223	(m)	Bangane	Mthethwa	Dini I	
Ma: 224	(f)	Otilina	Khumalo	70+	(now Buthelezi)
Ma: 225	(f)	Emelina	Zungu	(now Msane)	
Ma: 226	(m)	Ntungamanza	Shwala	Dini III	intelligent, happy
Ma: 227	(m)	Mkamfuza	Mkabi	Dini III	
Ma: 228	(m)	.....	Magubane	Dini III	refuses to give
Ma: 229	(m)	Mzila	Khuzwayo		interpreter
Ma: 230	(f)	Magogo (Princess)	Zulu	(now Buthelezi)	Dinizulu's Da; Solomon's Si; Mathole's Wi
Ma: 231	(m)	Gatsha	Buthelezi	35	B.A. Fort Hare

Ma: 232 (m)	Lokothwayo	Nkwanyane	Pefeni		Bambata rebellion
Ma: 233 (m)	Msenteli	Buthelezi	Dini V		(231)'s FBr
Ma: 234 (m)	Nyangeni	Buthelezi	Solo II		
Ma: 235 (f)	Nomgcabo	Mthembu	(now Buthelezi)		Mathole's widow
Ma: 236 (f)	Jabile	Ndlela	(now Buthelezi)		Mathole's widow: clever
Ma: 237 (m)	Jajana	Buthelezi			
Ma: 238 (m)	Mthunzini	Buthelezi			
Ma: 239 (m)	Mqiniseni	Zungu			Chief
Ma: 240 (m)	Filemon	Zungu			u Y i s e, So of (239)
Ma: 241 (f)	Mqiniseni Zungu's	Wis.....			
Ma: 242 (m)	Ngcugci	Mbatha	Dini II		
Ma: 243 (f)	Nomentshise	Sibiya	(now Mbokazi)		
No: 244 (m)	Landithambo	Zulu	Dini III		
No: 245 (m)	Shwapana	Tsibande	Dini III		
No: 246 (m)	Ngangamahashi	Dhlamini	Dini V		
No: 247 (m)	Mkokiseni	Ntanzi	Phindicala		Embilweni Kraal
No: 248 (f)	Lazarus Zulu's	mother			
No: 249 (m)	Babana	Nxele	Phindicala		
No: 250 (m)	Matendamo	Nzuza	Solo II		
No: 251 (m)	Pikayivuzwa (Rev.)	Mathe	Dini III		trained at Adams 1890
No: 252 (f)	Mnyayiza Zulu's	chief Wi at his Nongoma			homestead
No: 253 (f)	Usipathe (Alida)	Shezi	(now Zulu)	18	iNgcugci Regt.
Nk: 254 (f)	Phozizile	Zulu			
Nk: 255 (m)	Gomba	Macubeni	Dini V		
Nk: 256 (m)	Shayankwenyane	Nxumalo	Dini IV		
Nk: 257 (f)	Mjabulisa	Biyela	(now Zulu)		elderly lady
Nk: 258 (m)	Mpiyakhe	Ntombela	Dini II		intelligent
Nk: 259 (m)	Madladla	Zulu	Dini III		
Nk: 260 (m)	Langalishona	Dludla	Dini III		see (293)
Nk: 261 (m)	Msondi	Ntsiba	Dini IV		
Nk: 262 (m)	Bandleni	Sikhakhane	Solo I		
No: 263 (m)	Lazarus	Zulu			interpreter
Nk: 264 (m)	Justice	Mbatha			interpreter
No: 265 (f)	Thembekile	Xulu	Dini II		(now Matonsi)
No: 266 (m)	Msumulwana	Zulu	Dini III		
No: 267 (m)	Majona	Zungu	Dini III		
No: 268 (m)	Dlabazulu	Zulu	Dini II		So of Zibhebhu
No: 269 (m)	Hlomafuthi	Xulu	Dini III		
No: 270 (f)	Nowuhlama	Hlabisa	(now Zulu)		
No: 271 (m)	Mahlahlana	Ntuli	Dini II		
No: 272 (f)	Ntombenhle	Zulu	(now Zulu)		Phindicala Regt.
No: 273 (m)	Bidlikana	Zikhonjwa	Dini II		
No: 274 (m)	Mnyayiza(141)	Zulu	Dini III		kaNdabulo kaMpande
No: 275 (f)	Madakada	Mbatha	(now Mthembu)		claims Dini II age
No: 276 (m)	Mshayiwendlu	Ntshangase	Dini II		Informants 266-278 were
No: 277 (m)	Maviyo	Sibiya	Dini II		interviewed for me by J.
No: 278 (m)	Mbuswana	Mabanga	Dini IV		Mabanga and 279,280 by
No: 279 (m)	Mathusela	Luthuli		58	Chief Ephraim Ndwandwe
No: 280 (m)	James	Nxumalo		62	
No: 281 (m)	.....	Xhunu			royal gatekeeper
No: 282 (m)	Gazanyama	Xhulu			heir to (283)'s kraal
No: 283	The three Gwala	kraals			
NK: 284 (m)	Livingstone	Ncobo			interpreter
Nk: 285 (m)	Mandlemali	Linda	Dini IV		confused
Nk: 286 (m)	Khanyisane	Kanyile	Dini II		excellent informant
Nk: 287 (m)	Amon	Mkhize	Dini IV		Dixon's store

Nk: 288 (m)	Robert (Rev.)	Nxumalo	Dini IV		Zionist sect
Nk: 289 (m)	Manyala	Biyela	Dini III		Chief (cf. 187)
Nk: 290 (m)	Mkhonto	Khanyile	Dini II		
Nk: 291 (m)	Mhlazana	Khanyile	Dini II		Br of (286), ailing
Nk: 292 (f)	Bizane	Mancele	(now Khanyile)		Wi of (291), diviner
Nk: 293 (m)	Langalishona	Dludla	Dini III		the same as (260)
Nk: 294 (m)	John	Shezi	Solo III		
FH: 295 (m)	F.N.	Mkhize			F.H. Anthropology II: 1957
FH: 296 (m)	L.M.	Rulashe			F.H. Anthropology II: 1957
FH: 297 (m)	J.M.	Khumalo			F.H. Anthropology II: 1957
FH: 298 (m)	L.B.	Khumalo			F.H. Anthropology II: 1957
CZ: 299 (m)	Gefika	Zulu			valuable informant
E: 301 (m)	Jekonya	Zulu	Dini V	60	
E: 302 (m)	Mwana	Kwanyane	Dini IV		shrewd, humorous
E: 303 (m)	Joshua	Ntaka	Solo II	35	
E: 304 (m)	Mhesheni	Mpungose	Solo III		Christian
E: 305 (m)	Samuel	Mgwaba	Solo I		head policeman
E: 306 (m)	Mbuxu	Sibiya	Solo I		born 1892
E: 307 (m)	Sibani	Ngobese	Solo I		policeman
E: 308 (m)	Alsen	Nzuza	Solo III		(cf. 110)
E: 309 (m)	Mphenduleni	Jele	Solo III		dislikes to give pers/n
E: 310 (m)	Siphoso	Mpungose	Dini V		chief with councillors
E: 311 (m)	Mcatshangwela	Matonzi	Dini V		kaMkandeni kaTshana Gaingane
E: 312 (m)	Aisacks (Isaacs)	Sibiya	Solo III	38	
E: 313 (m)	Saimon (Simon)	Ndlovu	Solo III		
E: 314 (m)	Nyeni	Dhlamini-Shenge Rgt: Monagalo	born 1878; a toddler in 1879		
E: 315 (m)	William	Mhlongo	Solo I		claims to be of Nandi's clan!
E: 316 (m)	Mkathwa	Thabethe	Solo I		
E: 317 (m)	Elliot	Ngubane	Solo I		
E: 318 (m)	Siqimbu	Matonzi	Solo I		Br of (311)
E: 319 (f)	Nozithobo	Msimela, born at earthquake, 20			(now Makoba)
E: 320 (m)	Begeshowe	Zulu	Dini III		regent for chief Mpikaivuzwa Khoza
E: 321 (m)	Walter (Rev.)	Khumalo	Solo I		sect, educated at Ceza
E: 322 (f)	Sabethe *(mNtwana)*	Zulu			refuses fee offered
E: 323 (m)	Mkhwelana	Mpungose	Dini III		Br of (310)
E: 324 (m)	Luka (Rev.)	Mkhize	Solo I		Zionist sect
E: 325 (m)	Mntuwakithi	Zulu	Solo I		
Ma: 326 (m)	Reginald	Zulu		20	interpreter: (231)'s cousin
Ma: 327 (m)	Jathomvu	Khwanyana	Solo III	30	hunter; spruce
Ma: 328 (f)	(pers/n ?)	Ntombela		30	diviner, married, four Chn
Ma: 329 (m)	Mkhulumeleni	Sibiya	Solo I		court-messenger
Ma: 330 (m)	Mfihleni	Buthelezi	Dini V		forward like (329)
Ma: 331 (m)	Malini	Zungu	Dini V		tobacco grower
Ma: 332 (m)	Mnigeni	Buthelezi	Solo IV	25	
Ma: 333 (m)	Matingwane	Ndebele	Dini V		headman
Ma: 334 (f)	Magogo (Princess)	Zulu	(now Buthelezi)		"First lady"
Ma: 335 (m)	Gatsha Mangosuthu	Buthelezi			Chief
Ma: 336 (m)	Mhuzu	Sibiya	Dini IV		four Wis
Ma: 337 (f)	Mantombi	Mbeje	(now Nzimande)		born time of rinderpest
		does not remember court/n of her clan			
Ma: 338 (m)	Aisak (Isaac)	Ngobase	Dini III		

Ma: 339 (f)	same as (328)				
Ma: 340 (m)	(pers/n ?)	Cele	Dini III		
Ma: 341 (f)	Esther	Mbatha		30-	
Ma: 342 (f)	Alfina	Xabela		35	
Ma: 343 (m)	Luka	Mbokazi	Dini V		
Ma: 344 (m)	Unnamed informant				brief statement
Ma: 345 (f)	Ntabani	Mbamba			(now Gasa) Makoti
Ma: 346 (f)	Unnamed informant				
Ma: 347 (m)	Zibana	Mthembu	Dini V		headman, "farmer"
Ma: 348 (M)	Absai	Zungu	Solo I		headman
Ma: 349 (m)	Kifa	Shandu	Solo IV		
Ma: 350 (m)	Mshulugu (Aegid)	Mbeje	Dini II	90	herbalist
Ma: 351 (m)	Mcemenge (Franz)	Mvelazi	Dini III		"farmer"; Christian
Ma: 352 (m)	Ntoni	Thabethe	Dini V		Christian
Ma: 353 Ma: 354	Names not recorded: seen outside court				
Ma: 355 (m)	George	Khoza	Solo IV		
CZ: 356 (m)	Manitigwana	Ndebele	Solo IV		headman
CZ: 357 (m)	Wilfred (Rev.)	Cele			interpreter
CZ: 358 (f)	Kathrina (blind)	Mtimkulu	Dini II		(So, Da-in-l speak).
CZ: 359 (m)	Jeremia	Nyandeni	Dini V		Christian
CZ: 360 (m)	Maseko	Makhoba	Dini V		
CZ: 361 (m)	Hesekia	Hlatshwayo	Dini IV		Christian
CZ: 362 (m)	Dlakuthelwa	Mdletshe	Solo II	40	headman, *iNyanga*, intelligent; 6 Wis
CZ: 363 (m)	Josiah	Hadebe	Solo I		
CZ: 364 (m)	Josef	Jiyane	Solo II		
CZ: 365 (m)	Mashesha	Nyandeni	Dini IV	75	informative
CZ: 366 (f)	Tryphina	Masondo			
CZ: 367	Nyandeni family				
CZ: 368 (m)	Laduma	Madela	Solo II		Lightning doctor philosopher, craftsman
CZ: 369 (m)	Anos (Enos)	Maphisa	Solo I		diviner (suspicious)
No: 370 (m)	Henry/Hendrik	Mkhize	student		interpreter
No: 371 (m)	Kantolo	Ntsele	Dini V		king's policeman
No: 372 (m)	Aaron "ben"	Ntuli	Solo I		Christian
	gives court/n as: Mpele-Pemba-Ngabele-Ntuli-za-Nkomo				
No: 373 (m)	Nyonende	Nyeni	Zuluwenyaneni		(about 40)
No: 374 (m)	Jaji	Sibiya	Dini V		grass weaver/dignified
No: 375 (m)	Mxanjuzwa	Zulu	Dini V		tanner
No: 376 (m)	Jonas	Ntsele	Masithelana		loin-cover maker
No: 377 (f)	Christina	Zulu	Dini V		(141)'s Si (now Sibiya)
No: 378 (f)	Ncofi	Qwabe	Mtsogo	18	
No: 379 (f)	Qinisele	Mthethwa	Dini V		(now Sibiya)
No: 380 (m)	Khishwakonke	Zulu	Solo II		prince, M was a Ntshangase
No: 381 (m)	Ficela	Khoza	Solo I		
No: 382 (f)	Nomali	Mtshali	Dingumphathi		(now Mthembu)
No: 383 (f)	Khohliwe (Eliza)	Nkosi	(now Zulu)		Christian, no *'iButho'*
No: 384 (m)	Zishwati	Dlamini	Solo II		
No: 385 (f)	Phumaphi	Sibiya	Solo I		(now Gwala)
No: 386 (m)	Sigebengu	Nkunzinyama	Solo II		royal attendant
No: 387	Usuthu kraal: several informants, esp. Rev. Sinclair Xhaba				
No: 388 (m)	Matakana	Khumalo	Solo I		
No: 389 (m)	Mpikayipheli	Sithole	Dini IV		exempted from tax
No: 390 (f)	Shayomune	Mabanga	Solo I		(now Nzuza)
No: 391	Zulu-Menyaneni	Kraal informants			

No: 392 (f)	Xhulu kraal at Hlophenkhulu:			Chief widow
No: 393 (m)	Nkantini	Buthelezi	Solo I but is really Phindicala	
No: 394 (m)	Sinkwa-kwaZulu	Zulu	Solo III	prince
No: 395 (m)	Fakazi (Goodman)	Buthelezi	Dini V	non-Christian
No: 396 (f)	Khanyisiwe	Khumalo	Solo III	(now Alina Mabanga)
No: 397 (f)	Nopendulo	Khumalo	(now Ndebele)	cf. (154): diviner
No: 398 (m)	Zachariah	Ntshangase	Solo III	Kraal
No: 399 (m)	Twasa	Xaba	Dini V	Kraal
Nk: 401 (m)	Gomba	Shezi		Kraal (cf. 255)
Nk: 402 (m)	Khanyisane	Khanyile		(cf. 286)
Nk: 403 (m)	(pers/n ?)	Shezi		visiting (401): Br
Nk: 404 (m)	.....	.....		visitor to (402)
Nk: 405 (m)	Mandlakazi	Zulu, also seen in 1953 at Nongoma, not listed then		
Nk: 406 (m)	Livingstone	Ngcobo (alias Douglas)		interpreter
Nk: 407 (m)	Dlozi	Mthembu	Cetsh III	head-ringed
		addressed as Mageba by interpreter		
Nk: 408 (m)	Solomon	Ndlovu	Dini I	"once a warrior"
Nk: 409 (f)	Puzile	Dhlamini	Nobamba kraal	Dinizulu's widow
Nk: 410 (m)	Mdonziswana	Zulu	Solo II	prince i/c Nobamba
Nk: 411 (m)	Manyala	Biyela	Dini III	cf (188); Chief
No: 412 (m)	(pers/n ?)	Mapahana	Dini V	
No: 413 (m)	Mathebe	Ntanzi	Solo I	
No: 414 (m)	Phumanyova	Zulu	Mandlakazi	Chief: Zibhebhu's GSo
No: 415 (m)	Mkhwintshi	Zulu	Phindicala	Chief Councillor to (414)
No: 416 (m)	Ziphakanyiswa	Zulu	Zulumenyaneni	Councillor to (414)
No: 417 (m)	Shungu	Ndebele	Nyathi	Councillor to (414)
No: 418 (m)	Mzitshwa	Tshele	Phindicala	Councillor to (414)
No: 419 (m)	Masende	Nxuma	Phindicala	Councillor to (414)
No: 420 (m)	Tshaba	Manyoni	Nyati	Councillor to (414)
No: 421 (m)	Mhobho	Mpanza	Thabekhulu	Councillor to (414)
No: 422 (f)	Chief widow	esiNyembezini	Kraal	(cf. 392)
No: 423 (m)	Msenteli	Zulu	Dini III	
No: 424 (m)	Jesangeze	Zulu	Solo IV	
No: 425 (m)	Gazambane	Xhulu	Solo IV	esiNyembezini
CZ: 426 (m)	Laduma	Madela	Solo II	cf. (368, 429)
CZ: 427 (m)	Dlakuthelwa	Mdletshe	Solo II	cf. (362)
CZ: 428 (m)	Fahlela	Zungu		mFowethu of (239)
CZ: 429 (m)	Laduma	Madela		cf. (368, 426, 461)
CZ: 430 (m)	Mashingeni	Khumalo		"old man"
Nk: 451 (m)	Livingstone	Ngcobo		interpreter
Nk: 452 (m)	Mpiyakhe	Ntombela	Dini II	(cf. 258, 167)
Nk: 453 (m)	Khanyisani	Khanyile		(cf. 402)
Ma: 454 (m)	Msentelele	Buthelezi	Dini V	
Ma: 455 (m)	Mthunzini	Buthelezi	Dini V	Kraal used in FILM
Ma: 456 (m)	Elphas	Zungu		(239)'s So; policeman
Ma: 457 (f)	Magogo: Princess	Zulu	(now Buthelezi)	(cf. 230, 334)
Ma: 458 (m)	Gatsha (Mangosuthu)	Buthelezi		(cf. 231, 335)
CZ: 461 (m)	Laduma	Madela		(cf. 368, 426, 429)
CZ: 462 (m)	Mziwayikwala	Thabethe		(461)'s amanuensis
CZ: 463 (m)	(pers/n ?)	Ndebele	Present at making of inKatha and at SAC	Ceza chief (not at SAC)
CZ: 464 (m)	Nzuza	Madela		(461)'s eBr
CZ: 465 (m)	Sifubayisasi	Madela		(461)'s yoBr
CZ: 466 (m)	Elias	Madide.		(461)'s MBr
CZ: 467 (m)	.....	.....		(461)'s MSiSo

CZ: 468 (m)	.....	Khumalo	(461)'s neighbour
CZ: 469 (m)	Leni	Khumalo	
CZ: 470 (m)	Qiyo	Zulu	(461)'s "chief"

II. BIBLIOGRAPHY

For abbreviations see end of list

Arbousset, T. Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance (Paris 1842), transl. Narrative of an Exploratory Tour in South Africa (London 1846)

Asmus, G. Die Zulu. Welt und Weltbild eines bäuerlichen Negerstammes (Essen 1939)

Barter, cf. Plain Woman

Baumann, H., 'Nyama, die Rachemacht. Über einige mana-artige Vorstellungen in Afrika'. Paideuma, vol. 4. (1950) pp. 191-230.

Best, E., 'Maori Medical Lore', Journal of Polynesian Society, vol. 13 (1904) pp. 224 f.

Binde, W., Tabu, die magische Welt und Wir (Bern 1954)

Bird, J., The Annals of Natal, 2 vols. (Pietermaritzburg 1888)

Bleek, W., Zulu Legends (edited by K. Engelbrecht) (Pretoria 1952)

Blohm, W., Die Nyamwezi, 2 vols. (Hamburg 1931, 1933)

Braatvedt, H.P., 'Zulu Marriage Customs and Ceremonies' SAJSc, vol. 24 (1927), pp. 553-65
Roaming Zululand with a Native Commissioner (Pietermaritzburg 1949)

Brownlee, F., Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records (Lovedale 1923)

Bryant, A.T., A Zulu-English Dictionary (Mariannhill 1905)
'Zulu Cult of the Dead', Man 1917, no. 9
'Zulu Medicine and Medicine-men' Annals of the Natal Museum, vol. 2 (1909), part. I, pp. 47-103
Olden Times in Zululand and Natal (London 1929)
'The Zulu Family and State Organization', Bantu Studies, vol. 2 (1923-6), pp. 47-61
The Zulu People (Pietermaritzburg 1949)

Callaway, H., Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulu (Springvale 1866-8)
The Religious System of the AmaZulu (Springvale 1868-70)
'On Divination and Analogous Phenomena among the Natives of Natal', JRAI, vol. 1 (1871), pp. 163-81

Carbutt, C.L., 'Some Minor Superstitions of the Zulu regarding Children' Folk-Lore (Cape-Town), 1880, p. 1ff.

Cassirer, E., Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, Part I: Die Sprache (Berlin 1923)

Chapple, E.D., and Coon, C.S., Principles of Anthropology (New York 1942)

Clements, W.H., The Glamour and Tragedy of the Zulu War (London 1936)

Codrington, R.H., The Melanesians (Oxford 1891)

Colenso, F.E., The Ruin of Zululand, 2 vols. (London 1884, 1885)

Colenso, F.E., and Durnford, E., History of the Zulu War and its Origins (London 1880)

Colenso, J.W., Ten Weeks in Natal (London 1855)
Langalibalele and the AmaHlubi (London 1874)
Cetshwayo's Dutchman: C.J. Vijn: The Private Journal of a White Trader in Zululand (London 1880)
Zulu-English Dictionary (Maritzburg 1905)

Cook, J.A., A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean (London 1784)

Cook, P.A.W., Social Organization and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomvana (Cape Town 1931)

Cope, T., Izibongo. Zulu Praise Poems. Oxford 1968

Crawley, A.E., The Mystic Rose, 2 vols. (London 1927)

Dammann, E., 'Mwiko und mzio', Anthropos vol 63 (1968) pp. 43-48.

Davies, W.N.G., and Quinche, C., 'AmaNdebele Taboos and Etiquette', Bantu Studies, vol. 7 (1933), pp. 277-84
Delegorgue, A., Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe notamment dans le Territoire de Natal, 2 vols. (Paris 1847)
Dennett, R.E., At the Back of the Black Man's Mind (London 1906)
Dempwolff, O., Die Sandawe (Berlin 1916)
Diamond, A.S., The Evolution of Law and Order (London 1951)
Diniz, F., Populacoes indigenas de Angola (Coimbra 1918)
Döhne, J.L., A Zulu-Kafir Dictionary (Cape Town 1857)
Doke, C.M., The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia (London 1920)
Textbook of Zulu Grammar (London 1939)
Doke, C.M., and Vilakazi, B.W., Zulu-English Dictionary (Johannesburg 1948)
Douglas, M., Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo (London 1966)
Drever, J., A Dictionary of Psychology (London 1952)
Dube, J.L., Insila kaShaka, transl. by J. Boxwell as Jeqe, the Bodyservant of King Shaka (Durban 1933)
Duggan-Cronin, A.M., The Bantu Tribes of South Africa, vol. 1: The Nguni (Cambridge 1941)
Durkheim, E., Les Formes Elémentaires de la Vie Religieuse (Paris 1912), transl. The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (London 1939)
Elliott, W.A., Notes for a SiNdebele Dictionary and Grammar (Bristol, 1911)
Evans-Pritchard, E.E., Witchraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande (London 1937)
Social Anthropology (London 1951)
'The Meaning of Sacrifice among the Nuer', J R A I, vol. 84 (1954), pp. 21-33
Nuer Religion (Oxford 1962)
Theories of Primitive Religion (Oxford (1965)
Evans-Pritchard, E.E., and Meyer Fortes, African Political Systems (London 1940)
Faye, C., Zulu References (Pietermaritzburg 1923)
'The Influence of Hlonipha on the Zulu Clicks', Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. 3, part IV (1925) pp. 757-82
Ferguson, J.W., 'The Zulu and the Spartan Military System', Harvard African Studies (1911)
Fintel, G. von, (a) Tshaka (Hermannsburg, Hannover n.d.)
(b) Uzililos (Hermannsburg, Hannover n.d.)
Firth, R., Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori (London 1930)
Human Types (London 1938)
Forde, D., cf. Radcliffe-Brown
Fortes, Meyer The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi (London 1945)
The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi (London 1949)
Oedipus and Job in West African Religion (Cambridge 1959)
'Some Reflexions on Ancestor Worship in Africa' in Fortes M. and Dieterlen, G., African Systems of Thought (London 1965)
Fortune, R., Sorcerers of Dobu (New York 1932)
Fourie, H.C.M., AmaNdebele van Fene-Mahlangu en hun religieus-sociaal Lewen (Zwolle 1923)
Frazer, J.G., art. 'Taboo' in EB (8th and 9th editions), reprinted in Garnered Sheaves (London 1935)
Totemism and Exogamy, 4 vols. (London 1910)
The Golden Bough, Part II: Taboo and the Perils of the Soul (London 1911)
Psyche's Task (London 1913), reprinted in The Devil's Advocate (London 1927), pp. 7-32
The Golden Bough (abridged) (London 1929)
Anthologia Anthropologica (London 1929)
Freud, S., Totem and Taboo. Resemblances between the Psychic Life of Savages and Neurotics (London 1919)
Fuze, M.M., Abantu Abamnyama lapa Bovela Ngakoma (Pietermaritzburg 1922)
Fynn, H.F., (1833): The Diary of H.F. Fynn (editors J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm) (Pietermaritzburg 1950)

Gardiner, A.F., Narrative of a Journey through the Zoolu Country (London 1836)
Geertz, C., 'Religion as a Cultural System' in Banton, M. (ed.) Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion (London 1966)
Gennep, A. van, Tabou et Totémisme en Madagascar (Paris 1904)
Les Rites de Passage (Paris 1909), transl. The Rites of Passage (London 1960)
Gerstner, J., 'A Preliminary Check List of Zulu Names of Plants', Bantu Studies, vol. 12 (1938), vol. 13 (1939), vol. 15 (1941)
Gibson, J.Y., The Story of the Zulus (London 1911)
Gluckman, M., 'Zulu Women in Hoe-culture Ritual', Bantu Studies vol. 9 (1935), pp. 255-71
'Social Aspects of First Fruit Ceremonies among the South-Eastern Bantu', Africa, vol. 11 (1938), pp. 25-41
'The Kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa', in Evans-Pritchard, E.E. and Fortes, M., African Political Systems (London 1940)
'Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and of the Zulu of Natal' in Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. and Forde, D. (editors), African Systems of Kinship and Marriage (London 1950)
Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa (Manchester 1954)
Custom and Conflict in Africa (London 1955)
Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations (Manchester 1962)
Goody, J., Death, Property and the Ancestors (London 1962)
Grant, E.W., 'Izibongo of Zulu Chiefs', Bantu Studies, vol. 3 (1927), pp. 27-9, 201-44
Grout, A., Zululand or Life among the Zulu (London 1862)
Hammond-Tooke, D.W., The Tribes of Willowvale District (Pretoria 1956)
Haring, D.G., Personal Character and Cultural Milieu (Syracuse, N.Y. 1956)
Harries, L., 'Makua Song-Riddles from the Initiation Rites', African Studies, vol. 1 (1942), pp. 31 ff.
Hartland, E.S., Primitive Law (London 1924)
Hartley, W., Natal, Transvaal and Zululand (London 1880)
Hobhouse, L.T., Development and Purpose (London 1913)
Morals in Evolution (London 1929)
Hoebel, A.E., The Law of Primitive Man (Cambridge, Mass. 1954)
Hoernlé, A.W., 'The Importance of the Sib in the Marriage Ceremonies of the South-Eastern Bantu', SAJSc, vol. 22 (1925), pp. 484-92
'Social Organization' in Schapera, I. (ed.) The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa (London 1937)
Holden, W.C., History of the Colony of Natal (London 1855)
The Past and Future of the Kafir Races (London 1866)
Holleman, J.F., 'Die twee-eenheids-beginsel in die sociale en politieke sameleving van die Zulu', Bantu Studies, vol. 14 (1940) pp. 31-76
'Die Zulu Isigodi', Bantu Studies, vol. 15, (1941), pp. 91-118 and 245-76
'Zulu Grondreg', Bantu Studies, vol. 15 (1941), pp. 77 ff.
Shona Customary Law (Cape Town 1952)
Howells, W., The Heathens (New York 1948)
Hunter, M., Reaction to Conquest (London 1936)
Hubert, H. and Mauss, M., Sacrifice, its Nature and Function (London 1964)
Irle, H., Die Herero (Gütersloh 1906)
Isaacs, N., (1836) Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, 2 vols., van Riebeeck Society Publications, vols. 16, 17, (Cape Town).
Jahoda, G., 'Immanent Justice among West African Children' Journal of Social Psychology, vol. 47 (1958), pp. 241-48
Johannsen, E., Ruanda (Bielefeld 1915)
Jones, E., Papers on Psycho-Analysis (London 1948)
Junod, H.A., 'Les Conceptions physiologiques des Bantous Sud-Africaines et Leur Tabous', Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie (1910) pp. 126-69.

Junod, H.A., The Life of a South African Tribe, 2 vols (London 1927)
Kidd, D., The Essential Kafir (London 1904)
Kluge, F., Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (Berlin 1930)
Kotzé, D.J., (ed), Letters of the American Missionaries 1835-8. Van Riebeeck Society Publication, vol. 31 (Cape Town 1951)
Kohler, M., Marriage Customs in Southern Natal (Pretoria 1939)
The Izangoma Diviners (Pretoria 1941)
Ehrfurcht and Erhaltung. Ethnologische Studie aus dem Leben der Zulu (n.d.)
Rhythmus und Exaltierte Zustände am Fest der ersten Früchte. Katholische Missionen Jahrbuch 8
Kranz, A., Natur- und Kulturleben der Zulu (Wiesbaden 1882)
Krapf, A., A Dictionary of the Suaheli Language (London 1882)
Kriel, T.J., Sotho-Afrikaanse Woordeboek (Pretoria 1942)
Krige, E.J., The Social System of the Zulus (London 1936)
Kroeber, A., The Nature of Culture Ill. (Chicago, 1952)
Kropf, A., A Kaffir-English Dictionary (London 1899)
Kunene, D.P., 'Notes on Hlonepha among the Southern Sotho', African Studies vol. 17 (1958), pp. 159-82
Langheinrich, F., Schambala Wörterbuch (Hamburg 1921)
Laubscher, B.J.F., Sex, Custom and Psychopathology (London 1937)
Laydevant, F., 'Le Coutume de Hlonepho', Africa, vol. 16 (1946), pp. 83ff.
Lebzelter, V., Eingeborenenkulturen in Südwest- und Südafrika (Leipzig 1934)
Leeuw, G. van der, Phänomenologie der Religion (Tübingen 1933), trsl. Religion, its Essence and Manifestation (London 1938)
Lehmann, F.R., Mana, der Begriff des ausserordentlich Wirkungsvollen (Heidelberg 1912)
Die Polynesischen Tabusitten (Dresden 1930)
Leslie, D., Among the Zulus and AmaTongas (Edinburgh 1875)
Levi-Strauss, E., Les Structures élémentaires de la Parenté (Paris 1949)
Lichtenstein, M.H.C., Reisen im Südlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1803-6. 2 vols (Berlin 1811, 1812), transl. Travels in Southern Africa; 2 vols. van Riebeeck Society vols. 10, 11 (Cape Town).
Lindblom, G., The Akamba in British East Africa (London 1920)
Lowie, R., Primitive Society (London 1921)
Primitive Religion (London 1925)
Lucas, T.J., The Zulus and the British Frontiers (London 1879)
Ludlow, W.R., Zululand and Cetywayo: Customs and Habits of the Zulu (London 1882)
Lugg, H.C., 'Notes on Puberty Rites among the Zulu', Man (1907)
'Agricultural Ceremonies in Natal and Zululand', Bantu Studies, vol. 3 (1929), pp. 357-84
Historic Natal and Zululand (Pietermaritzburg 1948)
Luttig, H.G., The Religious System and Social Organisation of the Herero (Utrecht 1933)
Maciver, R.M., Society (New York 1944)
MacLean, J., A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs (Mount Coke 1858)
Malinowski, B., 'Parenthood. The Basis of Social Structure' in Calverton F. (ed.) The New Generation (London 1930), pp. 113-68
Marett, R.R., 'Is Taboo Negative Magic?' In: Anthropological Essays presented to E.B. Tylor (Oxford 1907)
The Threshold of Religion (London 1909, 1914)
art. 'Taboo' in HERE, vol. 12 (1921, 1929)
The Sacraments of Simple Folk (London 1933)
Mauss, M., The Gift, the Form and Reason of Exchange in Primitive Societies (Glencoe, Ill. 1954)
Meinhof, C., Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen (Berlin 1910)
Dichtung der Afrikaner (Berlin 1911)
Afrikanische Religionen (Berlin 1912)
Afrikanische Rechtsgebräuche (Berlin 1914)

Mensch, C., Taboe, een primitieve vreesreactie (Amsterdam 1937)
Merker, M., Die Masai (Berlin 1911)
Merton, R.K., Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill. 1964)
Meyer, H., Die Barundi (Berlin 1916)
Mncube, F.S.M., Hlonipha Language as found among the Zulu-Xhosa Women (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg)
Moltmann, J., 'Hoffnung und Planung' Merkur, vol. 19 (1965), pp. 609-22
Morris, D.R., The Washing of the Spears (London 1966)
Mpanza, M.J., uGuqabadele (Durban 1930)
Müller, C.I., Stutterheim-Lüneburg-Ulundi (1879): Die Eiche Supplement (Hermannsburg, Natal 1957)
Nadel, S.F., 'Social Symbiosis and Tribal Organization' Man, vol. 38 (1938) no. 85
'Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills' in Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. and Forde, D. (editors) African Systems of Kinship and Marriage (London 1950)
Nupe Religion (London 1954)
Natal: Commission appointed to inquire into the Past and Present State of the Kafirs in the District of Natal (Pietermaritzburg 1852)
Nigmann, E., Die Wahehe (Berlin 1908)
Nilsson, M.P., Geschichte der Griechischen Religion (Munich 1941)
Norris-Newman, C.L., In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879 (London 1880)
Nyembezi, C.L.C.S., Zulu Proverbs (Johannesburg 1954)
Otto, R., Das Heilige: Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen (Breslau 1917), transl. The Idea of the Holy (London 1925)
Owen, F., The Diary of Francis Owen, van Riebeeck Society Publications, no. 7 (Cape Town 1926)
Parsons, T., 'The Incest Taboo in Relation to Social Structure and the Socialization of the Child', British Journal of Sociology (1954), pp. 102-115
The Structure of Social Action (Glencoe, Ill. 1964)
Persson, J.A. An English-Tswa Dictionary Inhambane (1928)
'Plain Woman' (pseudonym of Miss Barter), Alone among the Zulu (London 1866, 1879)
Plant, R., The Zulu in Three Tenses (Pietermaritzburg 1905)
Preuss, K.T., 'Die Religion' in Thurnwald, R. (ed.), Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde (Stuttgart 1939)
Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., Structure and Function in Primitive Society (London 1952)
Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. and Forde, D. (editors) African Systems of Kinship and Marriage (London 1950)
Raum, O.F., 'The Rolling Target (Hoop-and-Pole) Game in Africa' African Studies vol. 12 (1953), pp. 104-21, 174-80
'The Interpretation of the Nguni First Fruit Ceremony' Paideuma vol. 13 (1967) pp. 148-63
Read, M., 'The Moral Code of the Ngoni and their Military State' Africa vol. 11 (1938)
The Ngoni of Nyassaland (London 1956)
Redfield, R., The Primitive World and its Transformation (New York (1953)
Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute (Berlin 1910)
Reyher, R.H., Zulu Woman (New York 1948)
Ritter, E.A., Shaka Zulu, The Rise of the Zulu Empire (London 1955)
Roscoe, J., The Baganda (London 1911)
Ruud, J., Taboo, a Study of Malagassy Customs and Beliefs (Oslo 1960)
Samuelson, L.H.S., Zululand, its Traditions, Legends, Customs and Folklore (Mariannhill 1912)
Samuelson, R.C.A., King Cetywayo Zulu Dictionary (Durban 1923)
Samuelson, R.C.A., Long, long ago (Durban 1929)
Schapera, I., (ed.), 'The Old Bantu Culture' in Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa (London 1934)

Schoeman, H.S., 'A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Ntunzini District, Zululand.' African Studies, vol. 27 (1968), pp. 57-81 and 107-38
Schoeman, P.J., 'Gevalle van onwettige Bevrugting by die Zoeloe' Annale Universiteit Stellenbosch, vol. 17
'Zulu Koningskap', Bantu Studies, vol. 15 (1941), pp. 77f
Die Swerwerjagter (Kaapstad 1933)
Op die groot Spore (Kaapstad 1942)
Scriba, F., Die Naturerscheinungen im Glauben der Zulu. Die Eiche Supplement (Hermannsburg, Natal, 1949)
Seagle, W., The History of Law (London 1946)
Shooter, J., The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country (London 1857)
Simmel, G., The Sociology of G. Simmel (Glencoe, Ill. 1950)
Smith, A., Andrew Smith and Natal; van Riebeeck Society Publications, vol. 36 (Cape Town 1955)
Smith, E.W., The Golden Stool (London 1929)
Smith, E.W., and Dale, A., The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, 2 vols. (London 1927)
Soga, H.I., The AmaXosa: Life and Customs (Lovedale 1932)
Speckmann, F., Die Hermannsburger Mission in Afrika (Hermannsburg, Hannover 1876)
Spencer, H., Principles of Sociology, 2 vols. (London 1893)
Stayt, H., The Bavenda (London 1931)
Steiner, F., Taboo (London 1956)
Stuart, J., History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906 (London 1913)
Hlangakula (London 1924)
uKulumetule (London 1925)
uTulasizwe (London 1937)
Stuhlmann, F., Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika (Berlin 1910)
Tyler, J., Forty Years among the Zulu (Boston, 1891)
Tylor, E.B., Primitive Culture, 2 vols. (London 1929)
van Warmelo, N.J., Kinship Terminology of the South African Bantu (Pretoria 1931)
History of Matiwane and the AmaNgwane Tribe (Pretoria 1938)
Transvaal Ndebele Texts (Pretoria 1930)
Tshi-Venda-English Dictionary (Pretoria 1937)
Verhulpen, E., Baluba et Balubaisés du Katanga (Brussels 1936)
Viehe, G., Grammatik des Otjiherero (Stuttgart-Berlin 1897)
de Villiers, A., De Wit Kraai (Bloemfontein 1939)
Wagner, G., 'The Political Organisation of the Bantu Kavirondo' in Evans-Pritchard, E.E. and Fortes M., African Political Systems (London 1940)
'The Abaluyia in Forde, D., (ed.) African Worlds (London 1954)
Walk, L., 'Die ersten Lebensjahre des Kindes in Südafrika' Anthropos, vol. 23 (1928), pp. 23-109
'Initiationszeremonien und Pubertätsriten der südafrikanischen Stämme', Anthropos, vol. 23 (1928), pp. 860-95
Walker, E., A History of South Africa (London 1928)
Wanger, W., The Collector (Mariannhill Natal 1911-13)
'The Zulu Notion of God', Anthropos, vol. 18-9 and vol. 20-21 (1923-6)
Catholic Zulu Terminology (Marianhill 1913)
Konversations-Grammatik der Zulu-Sprache (Mariannhill 1917)
Weber, M., The Sociology of Religion (London 1965)
Webster, H., Taboo. A Sociological Study (Stanford University Press 1942)
Werner, A., 'The Custom of Hlonipha in its influence on Language' J R A S, vol. 4 (1905) pp. 345-56
Westermann, D., Afrikanische Tabusitten in ihrer Einwirkung auf die Sprachgestaltung (Berlin 1940)
Westermarck, E., The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas, 2 vols. (London 1912, 1917)
Willoughby, W.C., Nature Worship and Taboo (Hartford, Mass. 1932)

Young, C.T., Notes on the Customs and Folklore of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples (Livingstonia 1931)

Abbreviations:

EB Encyclopedia Britannica
ESS Encyclopedia of Social Sciences
HERE: Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
JRAS: Journal of the Royal African Society
JRAI: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
SAJSc: South African Journal of Science

INDEX

1. LEADERS, LANGUAGES, LOCALITIES AND PEOPLES

2. AUTHORS

3. TOPICS