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THE RHETORIC OF PUBLIC MOURNING: THE CASE STUDY OF THE ELLIS PARK CLEANSING CEREMONY

BY

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2002

DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

SIGNITURE: **DATE:** 22.11.2002

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INTRODUCTION

Aims of the study

In the twenty first century there has been an emergence of the expression of grief from the private domain into the public domain. The public expressions of grief have become prevalent during the aftermath of disasters. A disaster can be defined as not just involving one individual with a personal disaster, but a number of people experiencing the incident collectively. It is also an incident that affects a large number of people directly with negative consequences, or even fatalities. The aftermath of a disaster has resulted in the creation of formal and informal public expressions of grief. Formal expressions include, "official memorial services, the setting up of permanent memorials and anniversary events." (Eyre, 2001:260) Informal expressions of grief are spontaneous and include "members of the public visiting a disaster site or other significant sites associated with the event as well as places of worship." (Eyre, 2001:261) The public expressions of grief after a disaster can be labelled as a form of public mourning. The public will visit a disaster site to lay flowers or wreaths or even to pray. The disaster site is transformed spontaneously into a shrine. The public take part in the creation of these shrines in order to mourn the loss of life and to attempt to understand the unexplainable; which is "how" and "why" did the disaster take place. The paper discusses these issues by using the Ellis Park Cleansing Ceremony as a case study.

On the 11th April 2001 South Africa experienced a disaster that took the lives of forty-three people. Three days later, a Cleansing Ceremony was held at the disaster site. The ceremony was organized to symbolically and ritualistically cleanse the grounds. Religious leaders of various denominations conducted the cleansing ritual. This paper will examine the rhetorical implications of the use of water during the ceremony.

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The act of cleansing by the religious leaders also has a rhetorical implication and the paper launches into a discussion of this. This also brings into play the issue of authority. The fact that it is religious leaders who conduct the cleansing is an argument. The concept of "cleansing" is of immense significance to the paper, and the issue of whether the media coins this word or if its roots are from a particular culture is also discussed.

During the ceremony three important figures provide their narratives. They are the President, Thabo Mbheki, Arch Bishop Ndungane and Bishop Dandala. The discourse is analysed in terms of the rhetorical situation, the arrangement, the speech types, the components of the speech, the topics, the rhetorical tradition, and the speech is evaluated as a whole. The speaker's style is also examined.

The paper is concerned with discussing public mourning and the shrines, thus Ellis Park had to be examined as a shrine. During the three days after the disaster, the soccer stadium was transformed into a shrine, thus this had to be discussed. The reasons why the public creates these shrines will be examined.

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How does this relate to Rhetoric?

The Cleansing ceremony is aimed at persuading the audience and the general South African public that they should bury the past, and find closure in the ceremony, thus focusing on the future. The aim of the ceremony is to persuade the audience through the use of religion, therefore they are meant to identify with the ritual. Rhetoric is the art of persuasion, therefore an analysis of the ceremony conducted at Ellis Park is directly related to Rhetoric. This is owing to the fact that, the paper will prove that the ceremony and the ritual of cleansing which was conducted was aimed

at persuading the audience to move towards attaining closure and to view the grounds as "cleansed" spiritually. The ceremony itself and the narratives that take place are layered with rhetorical appeals to the audience. Thus, the study is directly related to the study of rhetoric.

Method of gathering the information

The first and most important source that was obtained for the research was the SABC video footage of the ceremony. Both the edited and unedited footage were obtained. The edited footage was also obtained. Material on African Traditional Religions was collected, in particular, information that was related to death and ritual cleansing.

The Internet was used to obtain reported specific details about the soccer match, the actual disaster and the ceremony. The Independent On Line picture gallery was used to obtain the picture that was analysed.

The three speeches that were analysed were transcribed from the SABC tapes. Readings related to public mourning and the creations of shrines was also obtained. The rhetoric material that was collected was material that dealt with emotions, epideictic rhetoric and rhetorical traditions.

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Method of Analysis

The unedited footage was used for the analysis. A frame-by-frame breakdown of the footage was conducted. The rhetorical aspects of the ceremony were accounted for and analysed. This entailed discussing the rhetorical situation of the ceremony. The rhetorical situation is the particle event or incident that took place and gave rise to the discourse. The different arguments and persuasive issues found within the ceremony were discussed.

During transcribing the three speeches that were analysed, each speech was numbered line by line for the purposes of the analysis. For the process of the analysis, each speech was numbered line by line. They are found in the appendices. The discourse was analysed in terms of its arrangement. The arrangement or periods, is the manner in which the orator has divided his/her argument. This entails looking at the fact that, does the orator state his/her argument and then later proves it, or is his argument divided into three or five parts.

The speech type in the discourse was also identified. In rhetoric there are three speech types namely: deliberative, judicial and epideictic rhetoric. Each speech type is used in a particular rhetorical situation. Deliberative rhetoric is used for political discourse, judicial is utilized in the law courts and epideictic rhetoric is used during ceremonies where the speaker seeks to praise or blame the audience.

The speakers' main argument or topic would also be identified and discussed. The speech would then be evaluated and finally the speakers' style would be discussed.

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Literature Review

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Chapter 1

BACKGROUND OF THE CLEANSING CEREMONY

The Ellis Park Cleansing ceremony took place as a reaction to a particular incident. Discourse whether oral or written seldom occurs in a vacuum. In rhetoric the issue, which leads to the occurrence of discourse is called a rhetorical situation. Through the evolvement of the rhetorical situation, different orators will use the incident as a catalyst for their discourse to take place. "Rhetorical situations are ones in which either we must change people directly by persuading them to think, feel, believe, understand, or act in a particular manner." (Hauser, 1996:36) A rhetorical situation therefore involves the orator, his/her discourse, the incident and most importantly the audience. The orator has to constantly bear in mind that he/she has an audience which is "capable of being influenced" (Hauser, 1986:37) and therefore capable of taking action.

On the evening of the 11th April 2001, a league match was to take place between two soccer giants, Orlando Pirates and Kaiser Chiefs. Both teams had been archrivals for years, and a match between the two always drew hundreds of spectators. Within the first ten minutes of the game, Kaiser Chiefs scored their first goal. The entire stadium roared with the cheers of fans. Fans, who were still standing in the queue, waiting to buy tickets at the gates, were getting restless and the roar of cheers from inside resulted in tickets being sold out within minutes. Although tickets were sold out, fans still remained in the queue, hoping to enter the already over crowed stadium.

> **Many of the fans and eyewitnesses have blamed problems with ticket sales. The stadium was filled to capacity with 65 000 fans. Outside, another estimated 60 000 people were jostling to get in. (Cooper, B. wa Sepotokele,**

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T. & Rantao J.) "Soccer Carnage: how could this happen?" [On – Line] "The Star" available from http://www.iol.co.za/[April 12, 2001,01:10am]

According to media reports, some fans started bargaining with the security guards to allow them to enter the stadium for a small fee. Mayhem took place when Pirates scored their equalizing goal, ten minutes after the first goal by Chiefs. People still standing outside wanted to share in the excitement started forcing their way into the stadium, pushing the temporary barriers and jumping over gates. Those people who were still standing in the queues were uncontrollably trapped in the wave of the moving crowd.

> Police used teargas to disperse the eager fans, but the stampede moved inside, hitting spectators in the northern side of the west stand. (Sapa) " '43 People confirmed dead at Ellis Park" [On – line] available from http://www.iol.co.za/[April 12, 2001, 12:07am]

By the time officials were aware of the unfolding disaster, people had already lost their lives. The game had to be stopped, thirty-five minutes into the first half. Bodies of the deceased were brought from gate fourteen into the soccer field and laid out in body bags side by side. At the fringes of the field, paramedics assisted the injured. Within minutes the sports field resembled a battlefield.

By the thirteenth of April, there were media reports that a Cleansing ceremony would be held at Ellis Park on the fifteenth, which was Easter Sunday, and that the ceremony would be open to members of the public.

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Chapter 2

THE CLEANSING CEREMONY: THE RHETORICAL IMPLICATION

This paper presents an analysis of the Cleansing ceremony, which took place at Ellis Park stadium. Thus, it is of great significance for this concept of "cleansing" to be defined and for this thesis to establish the root of the term. According to the thesaurus, the word cleanse is the same as to "purge, purify, rinse or wash". If we take the word purify, the Oxford dictionary explains it as to "make pure, cleanse from impurities." However, if this paper is to examine the ceremony as a rhetorical argument, it needs to establish a deeper analysis of this term. There were "forty-three people... killed and at least 155 injured" (Sapa)" '43People Confirmed dead at Ellis Park" [On – Line] available from http://www.iol.co.za/[April 12, 2001,12:07] during the stampede at Ellis Park soccer stadium on the 11th of April 2001 all of whom were Black South Africans. By the 13th of April, there were media reports that there would be a "cleansing" ceremony at the soccer grounds. Thus it is of significance for this paper to establish if the concept of "cleansing" exists among Black Africans or if it was coined by the media.

Among Black Africans, within their traditional religions, Cleansing rituals are conducting after a death has occurred. There are different types of cleansing rituals, which are performed according to the death(s), which have occurred. Africans believe that the life of an individual does not seize at the hour of the death. There is a belief among Africans that life is a cycle with key phrases, such as birth, marriage, death and being an Ancestor. Interruption of the circle results in the intervention of evil, ill health or death. According to Krige (1977) " if human existence is viewed in cyclic terms, death becomes but a phase in human destiny. Death is significant in that it marks an important phase in human cycle." The deceased persons

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spirit leaves the body and is believed to travel a long journey into the spirit world where he or she will join the world of the Ancestors. "The spirit...enters the realm of the living dead. It takes its rightful place in the spiritual hierarchy" (Nyathi, 2001:124) in the Ancestral world, and begins a new life. For Black Africans, "dying is seen as going on a journey...home. So the grave is even expressed in an old Sesotho hymn *as thari etla mpepang*...a vehicle that carries one away to after-life." (Setiloane, 1986:7). The world of the Ancestors is perceived as being similar to the present, the only difference being that, the Ancestral world is plentiful. A person(s) who die unjustly is (are) believed not to make a smooth entry into the Ancestral world. The unjustified spilling of blood, according to African traditional religions, is believed to lead to "angered" spirits or according to the Shona people of Zimbabwe, an "avenging" spirit.

After the ceremony, the media referred to the ritual as a process of cleansing the grounds of evil spirits.

> **On Sunday, members of the two teams and their support clubs sat on the pitch and in the stands as a small crowd gathered for what organizers said was a ritual cleansing ceremony to clear the stadium for bad spirits and to reclaim the spirits of the dead. (Boyle, B.) "SA Mourns fallen fans" [On – Line] Available from http://www.iol.co.za/[April 15, 2001, 03:45pm]**

This statement and the ceremony itself, are rhetorically layered, however, the paper will examine the meaning of the concept ritual first, then address its rhetorical implication.

A ritual is a particular procedure or sequence of performances, which are conducted by an individual or group of people. The performance has significance to the participants and has a goal.
"Ritual is primarily a rule –governed activity in which what is thought, believed, or said is far less important than what is done." "It is meaningless, without function, aim or goal." (Carter, 1991:209)

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The Cleansing ceremony can be viewed as a ritual owing to the fact that, it is conducted for a particular purpose and it is aimed at achieving a certain goal. "Scholars who study ritual readily admit that it is extraordinary behavior and uses language in an extra-ordinary way."(Carter, 1991:212). The language used in the Ellis park ceremony is from two distinctly different cultures. It is discourse from African Traditional Religions and Western Christian Religions. The discourse is repetitive; it is fixed in time and can only be used during that particular sequence of events. The ceremony has distinct elements, which categorizes it as a ritual.

Scholars have advocated that a ritual has three distinct functions, it provides the audience and its participants with information, and it installs community values and unites the participants. Thirdly, ritual provides the audience and the participants with certain ethics about conducting their lives. The Religious oratory, which is provided by the Arch Bishop of the Anglican Church and the Head of the South African Council of Churches, provide the audience with a message of hope, sympathy and consolation, while at the same time instilling a message of unity. The President provides a message of unity and a warning on not apportioning blame. The Language of the three pieces of discourse is not one that would be given on a daily basis. The space, at which the three orators provide their narrative, is not a space where discourse of any kind takes place. It is a space of entertainment and recreation. Academics argue, " Ritual achieves a meaning and function that is beyond the potential of ordinary, pragmatic behavior and language." (Carter, 1991:212). The ritual, which takes place at Ellis Park, is fixed into that particular time and space.

From a rhetorical perspective, the aim of the organizers is to persuade the audience through the rhetorical proof pathos (the appeal to the emotions or pathe). By targeting the emotions, of a vulnerable and emotionally moved audience, the aim of the ceremony is to achieve three goals: firstly, the ceremony provides the bereaved families and the public, with a space to publicly express their grief. It also allows the audience to feel that their

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grief is a shared burden. Secondly, the ceremony resembles a funeral or a burial, but without the bodies of the deceased. The ceremony thus, aims at providing the audience with a space to bury the past and to move forward by focusing on the future. The ceremony therefore aims at providing closure for the audience and the public at large. Thirdly, as a public mourning process, the perceived reaction, which the organizers hoped to achieve, is one of a National healing process.

The paper will now discuss these three factors separately. The audience and the public are provided with a space to publicly express their grief. The bereaved family members experience a private grief, while the rest of the community also experiences a sense of loss. The public will feel a desire to place wreaths, notes, flowers, religious symbols, national symbols, at the site of the tragedy. The escalation of these various items and inscriptions at the place where the tragedy took place transforms into a shrine. The items are an expression of sympathy and grief for the loss of human life. The public "who join in the construction of these spontaneous shrines are also rhetorical pilgrims." (Jorgensen-Earp, Lanzilotti, 1998:151)
The ceremony resembles a funeral owing to the fact that it aims at allowing the bereaved families and the public to bury the incident, through the process of cleansing and to be present at the site of the disaster, to obtain closure. The creation of the shrine by the public represents a shared memory. The memory is a public memory, just as the process is a public mourning. The shrine thus, becomes a representation of the past, which the public has experienced, and a future, which they will share. This public memory can be defined as "a shared sense of the past, fashioned from the symbolic resources of community." (Jorgensen-Earp, Lanzilotti, 1998:151)
It has been argued by some scholars "passive mourning that suppresses grief, rather than externalizes it through action, is inadequate to the personal or societal task of coming to terms with the loss." (Jorgensen-Earp, Lanzilotti, 1998:154) The community thus needs that public space to express their grief openly.

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The organizers of the Ellis Park Cleansing ceremony organized it at the site of the tragedy, as a rhetorical strategy "used as part of a national healing process." (Jorgensen-Earp, Lanzilotti, 1998:151) The site of a disaster and the creation of a shrine "invite the viewer to add to the text to help write the final story of the tragedy, and thereby regain control over the scene." (Jorgensen-Earp, Lanzilotti, 1998:160). The shrine thus can be viewed as an open grave.

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Chapter 3

THE RHETORICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE USE OF WATER

After the speeches had taken place, all religious leaders from the various denominations were invited to the podium to bless the water that would be used to "cleanse" the stadium. The religious leaders walked in single file, with containers of the blessed water and sprinkled it through the grounds, while at the same time uttering prayers. The prayer, which was stated by Bishop Dandala as he blessed the water, will be examined later in the paper. The paper will now focus on the use of water from a religious and a rhetorical perspective.

> **Priest and leaders of several religious denominations walked through the stadium, using branches of leaves or branches to sprinkle cleansing water in areas where people died and where the bodies were laid out. (Boyle, B.) "SA Mourns fallen fans" [On – line] Available from http://www.iol.co.za/[April 15,2001,03:45pm]**

The use of water at the ceremony is a multi layered rhetorical argument. The religious leaders are aware that among the audience, followers of the Western Christian doctrine will be able to identify the symbolic implications of the act. Black Africans who practice and follow African Traditional Religions will also be able to identify with the use of water. In the Christian religious doctrine, water is used to purify and it signifies a new beginning. The use of water for purification purposes appears both in the Old and New Testament.

> **I will sprinkle clean water on you and make you clean from all your idols and everything else that have defiled you. I will give you a new heart and a new mind. (Ezekiel; 36:25)**

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The quote is taken from the Old Testament, and it is a message given to the Prophet Ezekiel by God. The Prophet recites the message that God has given to him in a vision, to the Israelites. They need to be cleansed because they have defiled the Lord. God states the Israelites need to be "cleansed" from their life of sin and begin a new life. In the New Testament, the issue of "cleansing" for purification appears in the book of Hebrews.

> **First, Moses proclaimed to the people all the commandments as set forth in the law. Then he took the blood of bulls and goats, mixed it with water, and sprinkled it on the book of the Law and all the people, using a sprig of hyssop and some red wool. (Hebrews; 9:19)**

God speaks to Moses and tells him that anyone who commits sin needs to be ritually purified. Moses using animal blood mixed with water and conducts the purification. Water is used in the Bible also for baptizing those who decide to become Christians.

The religious leaders at the Ellis Park Cleansing Ceremony are relying on the perception that the audience who are Christians should be able to identify with the act of ritual purification through the use of water. Thus it can be stated that the Orators are relying on Kenneth Burke's issue of identification. Burke argues that sometimes the audience will identify with the text and (or) a belief and not with the speaker. (Burke: 1969) The ritual evolves out of biblical discourse, which the church leaders use as authority and as a persuasive proof. However they fail to realize that "biblical discourse is argumentative" (Gitay, 2002:95) Gitay argues that when biblical discourse is used as a persuasive proof and as authority, the audience is persuaded through their own "human perception" (Gitay, 2002:95) of the discourse.

The Church leaders are also aware that those who are not Christians but practice the African traditional religion will also be able to identify with the

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use of water for ritual cleansing. For example, among the Ndebele people of South Africa, when there has been a death in the family, after the burial, the mourners will make their way to the nearest river to cleanse themselves. The Ndebele people believe that "death defiles...as soon as the burial was over, the mourners headed for the river where they washed in the water into which was added purifying herbs, intelezi" (Nyathi, 2001:129) Water mixed with purifying herbs would also be used to cleanse the homestead of the deceased person and the tools which were used to dig the grave of the deceased person. The procedure of ritualistic cleansing after death, differs from one ethnic group to the next, however the common thread is that the cleansing ceremony has to take place and water is always used. The ritual allows those who are involved to "draw on the past in order to come to terms with the present." (Schimdt, 1997:301) The ritual ensures that the participants view death as a phase in the cycle of life.

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Chapter 4

CLASSIFICATION OF THE DISCOURSE OF THE CEREMONY

In public deliberation there are three elements that are needed in order that persuasion and the act of rhetoric can successfully take place. There is the speaker, the narrative and the audience. Therefore "the act of rhetoric is actually a triangle based on the mutual relationship between the three vertices of its angles: the speech, the audience and the speaker." (Gitay, 2001:9) In order for "the act of rhetoric" (Gitay, 2001:9) to successfully take place these components are vital.

When an orator addresses the audience he/she will utilize three sources of persuasion. The orator will either be persuasive through his/her character that he/she portrays to the audience or through credibility. Secondly, the orator may use emotive discourse that targets the human passions. Thirdly, the speaker may appeal to the audience through reasoning and logic.

> **Aristotle identified three artistic modes of persuasion, derived from presenting the character (ethos) of the speaker in a favorable light, awakening emotion (pathos) in the audience so as to induce them to make the judgment desired, and showing the probability of what is said by logical argument (logos). (Kennedy, 1991:119)**

According to Aristotle, a speaker has two means of persuasion at his/her disposal. The speaker could use artistic or non-artistic means of persuasion in the discourse. The artistic means of persuasion are ethos, pathos and logos. Aristotle argues that the non - artistic means of persuasion are not part of rhetoric. This is owing to the fact that they are based on evidence. For example, non – artistic means of persuasion would take place in a court of law, whereby the orator has to prove his/her discourse based on evidence. Aristotle also argued that in order for the

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orator to make use of the three artistic modes of persuasion, he/she has to make use of a particular mode of oratory.

In rhetoric there are three types of discourse namely: deliberative, judicial and epideictic. If the orator wants his/her discourse to be persuasive and effective, he/she needs to be able to know the audience. According to some academics, "rhetors were advised to analyze their audience, the occasion and the possibilities of subject matter." (Hauser, 1996:35) Once they had obtained this information, they would be able to construct their discourse with certain factors in mind. The discourse should compliment the occasion. An orator will use deliberative discourse for political oratory. "Deliberative discourse is that in which we seek to persuade someone to do something or to accept our point of view." (Corbett, 1971:39)
This type of rhetoric is concerned with the future. Judicial rhetoric takes place in the law courts and is concerned with the past. "In the law court there is either accusation [kategoria] or defense [apologia]; for it is necessary for the disputants to offer one or the other of these." (Kennedy, 1991:48)

The aim of epideictic rhetoric is to praise or blame the audience. The speaker thus seeks to highlight the special qualities of the person (s) he/she is praising and installs virtues. If the speaker seeks to censure, he/she will bring the audience attention to the vices of the person(s). "Ceremonial discourse sometimes shades off into deliberative discourse, sometimes into judicial discourse." (Corbett, 1990:139) Therefore, it can be stated that, the three discourse types often overlap.
The public deliberation presented by the speakers at the Ellis Park Cleansing ceremony is Epideictic. This is owing to the fact that it attempts to praise, console, and install community values. The ceremony, apart from the discourse is Epideictic, however this will be addressed later in the paper.

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Chapter 5

ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT THABO MBHEKI'S SPEECH

The introduction (*Prooimion)* of a speech is of importance, owing to the fact that this is where the speaker introduces his/her discourse and the angle at which the argument will be tackled. "The prooemia of epideictic speeches are drawn from praise or blame." (Kennedy, 1991:261) Aristotle states that only in Epideictic speeches may the introduction be "either unrelated or related to [the subject of the] speech." (Kennedy, 1991:261) The President begins his discourse by welcoming the subjects of his narrative, which are the bereaved families, who have come to witness the cleansing ceremony and lay wreaths at the disaster site. The introduction is sixty-two lines and that is fairly short compared to the President's usual speeches. Mbeki welcomes the bereaved families first, and rightfully so, in any other discourse he would welcome the VIP's first, then he welcomes the VIP's and the rest of the audience. The introduction is also short; it is from line 1-5 and is 45 words in length.

The body of the speech begins at line 6 and as from the first line Mbeki launches into the subject of his narrative.

> **All of us wish we were not here today. In particular, the bereaved families Wish they were not here today because non of us wanted the people who Died on Wednesday to have died. (Lines 6-8)**

In these three lines Mbeki relies on the perceived perception of his audience mind set. His perception is based on the fact that none of the members of the audience woke up that morning looking forward to going to the cleansing ceremony. They all woke up with a feeling of dread and anticipation. Mbeki is thus appealing to the audience emotions (pathe).

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> **Persuasion is effected through the audience, when they are brought by the speech into a state of emotion, for we give very different decisions under the sway of pain or joy, and liking or hatred. (Baird, 1965:117)**

Classical rhetoricians such as Cicero and Quintilian, viewed emotional appeal within discourse as vital. They argued that it should appear in the discourse where it will be used repeatedly. Within these first three lines Mbheki not only states to the audience that there is a shared feeling of dread about the ceremony, but he also uses collective words like "us" and "we".

In lines 8-12 Mbheki uses the perception of the audiences mindset by targeting their emotions. He is aware of the negative publicity the ministry of sport and recreation has received and will continue to receive after the incident. He therefore highlights the aims, the functions and advantages of sport. The President states that the sporting giants of this country are heroes and heroines. The speaker aims at changing the audiences' judgment on sport. He is aware that when an individual is emotional their judgment is different. People experience emotions owing to a particular incident, belief or personal experience. They will thus, pass judgment according to the emotions they feel at the time. Therefore "emotions may move one to a particular judgment, may alter the severity of a judgment, or may change a judgment entirely." (Leighton, 1996:207)

> **Sport competitions are not a place of death. (Line 12)**

What Mbeki is doing is typical of an Epideictic speech. "In epideictic speeches there will be much amplification about what is good and advantageous" (Kennedy, 1991:273) and the speaker wants the audience to see that there is no connection between sport and death. In lines 12-16, the orator names the unnatural causes of death in the country that are problematic. He further mentions that sport should not be on that list. The

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speaker is still further trying to change the judgment in the minds of the audience.

The lines 17-20 could be viewed as the place at which the persona of Mbeki "the President" emerges. Here the ethos of the speaker carries the speech forward. The orator is speaking on behalf of all South Africans.

The emotional appeal that the speaker was trying to achieve collapses in the next three lines.

> **We trust the fact that you know that the whole country and the whole world is with you at this moment of grief and will make your burden a little lighter. (Lines 21-23)**

In these lines the speaker is trying to reassure the bereaved families. However the consolation that the speaker is trying to provide to the bereaved families comes out as being forced and empty. The fact that the whole world is aware of the bereaved families pain, is little consolation. Therefore these lines are rhetorically weak.

In lines 24-27 the speaker continues with the issue that many countries share South Africa's pain. In lines 36-38 Mbeki reads a section from the French Prime Minister's letter to South Africa. The section Mbeki chooses to read supports his statement that the rest of the world shares the grief of the bereaved. The speaker reads the letter as authority for his statement that the world shares the countries pain. In these lines Mbheki is hoping that his ethos, his authority and the authority of the letter will legitimize his claim that the whole world shares the bereaved families grief.

The President mentions in lines 39-44 that the Chinese Embassy has collected funds which it has donated to the country. In the days after a disaster there are formal and informal rituals that take place.

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"Other instinctive responses during the first few days [after a disaster] include public contributions to disaster funds." (Eyre, 2001:261) Mbheki uses these lines as reiteration of the fact that the whole world shares the bereaved families grief.

In lines 45-49 the President thanks the sport teams who have observed a moment of silence in every game, for the deceased. This illustrates a ritual that has emerged in contemporary society and has become part of the public expression of grief and mourning. "Rituals following a disaster are often spontaneous and start within hours of the disaster becoming public knowledge." (Eyre, 2001:261) One of the rituals that has emerged in contemporary society, is that, during the days after a disaster has taken place, a minute of silence is endured by the audience at all public functions or events. This ritual is conducted to remember and honor the deceased.

The orator is aware that the bereaved and the rest of the public are anxious to find out who is liable for the occurrence of the disaster. Thus in lines 50-53 he mentions that there will be an enquiry. However he warns the audience that the enquiry will not be conducted to establish who is to blame for the Disaster. Mbheki is aware that the media and the public were already pointing fingers about who should be blamed for the disaster. In these lines the persona of the orator as State Head comes through.

The Epideictic nature of the speech comes through once again in lines 54-57. Mbheki praises the South African soccer federation, especially the players for the success that soccer has achieved nationally and internationally. The orator is aware that the majority of the audiences are soccer fans and that means that they are aware of the success that soccer has achieved. The speaker is also aware that the fans will also worry about their safety at soccer stadiums. So the orator reassures the fans that they will be safe.

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The Epideictic nature of the speech is further reiterated in lines 58-61, Mbheki instills a message of unity. One could view these lines as an echo of the Zulu concept that the South African government constantly promotes, that is the concept of "ubuntu" which can be translated as humanity.

> **Humanity comes to be defined in terms of qualities associated with the giving, protection, preservation and strengthening of life within a practice of human interdependence. (Kwenda, 2002:9)**

The orator knows that the concept of humanity is one, which his entire audience will be able to identify with. The President is targeting the general public in these lines. There is a double message that is found in these lines, particularly in line 59-60.

> **Your government will contribute what it can to that effort. (Line 59-60)**

This part of the speech is basically stating that the government can only provide a certain degree of support to the bereaved. This line especially works against the speech as a whole. All the emotional appeal that the orator has created throughout the narrative totally collapses in these lines. These lines can be viewed as the conclusion of the speech as a whole, and therefore the message that they carry was the final message, which the audience was going to take home with them. In line 61-62 the orator closes his narrative by repeating his condolences to the bereaved and "thanks" the audience.

In rhetoric the orator's "general head or line of argument" (Corbett, 1971:35) was called the topic or topoi. Certain topics were used for particular discourse. The general argument in Mbheki's discourse is that the bereaved families are not alone in their grief, the South African public at large and the rest of the world share in their grief.

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Evaluation of the speech

The speech will now be examined in terms of the speaker's style. It is important to point out that the discourse was not divided into a distinct introduction, body and conclusion. There was a brief, five-line introduction, which the speaker used to welcome the various members of the audience. The dispositio or organization of the discourse is important. "The structure of a discourse has a strong impact on the audience. An orator carefully plans his speech in order to reach his audience." (Gitay, 1980:299) The orator does not give much thought to the arrangement of the narrative, especially the conclusion. The conclusion of a speech carries weight owing to the fact that it is in this part of the speech where the orator sums up all the main issues that were raised in the body. The orator should be "moving the hearer into an emotional reaction" (Kennedy, 1991:280). By highlighting the main points of the discourse, the orator ensures that the audience leaves with a constant reminder of the speech and therefore a reaction is bound to follow.

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The speaker's style

When discussing the style of the orator's narrative, one needs to look at the appropriateness of the discourse and its overall effect. Style can be defined as "the conditions of propriety in a speech are that the style should be emotional and ethical, and at the same time proportionate to the subject matter." (Welldon, 1886:245) The orator's choice of words is also important. Through Mbheki's choice of words, it can be stated that two personas emerged. Firstly, the persona of Mbheki as the State Head emerges. Through this persona Mbheki spoke as a representative of the country as a whole. Throughout the discourse this is the voice that is dominant. The second persona is that of Mbheki as a member and a

representative of a specific interest group. Mbheki is constantly aware throughout the discourse about the negative reflection that the disaster has on his party, the African National Congress, and the issue of the blame factor. Thus there is a voice that constantly projects that the disaster could not have been avoided.

The aim of Mbheki's discourse is to appeal emotionally to the audience that the South African government and the rest of the world share their grief. He also attempts to make the audience focus on the future of soccer and to view the disaster as an unfortunate chapter in the past. This is all set on the backdrop that the public should not point fingers at anyone. The discourse fails to appeal to the audience emotionally. This is owing to the fact that Mbheki is unable to speak to the audience as an individual, an ordinary member of the community who is experiencing a shared sense of grief. Throughout the discourse he speaks as a President, and that is the dominant voice in the discourse. Therefore his narrative seems distant and is carried by his ethos.

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Chapter 6

ANALYSIS OF ARCH BISHOP NDUNGANE'S PRAYER

The prayer by the Arch Bishop has all the rhetorical modes of appeal of a speech. The only difference between the orator's prayer and a speech is the arrangement. The prayer does not have a distinct introduction, body and conclusion.

The prayer is twenty-one lines and is two hundred and thirty words in length. The first line that the orator utters is only six words, but it is rhetorically rich.

> **God of might, majesty and masses. (Line 1)**

In these six words the Bishop manages to summarize the beliefs of Christian doctrine towards the ultimate Being which followers of Christianity praise. God is the Supreme Being that Christians believe in. In the words "God of might" the Orator reminds the audience that God is powerful. In the word "majesty" the orator makes the audience aware of the splendor of this Being. Thirdly the Bishop describes God as the God of "masses" which means that He is the Lord of all people. This opening line is aimed at the followers of Christianity, and the speaker is aware that the believers will be able to identify with this statement. The Bishop is addressing a higher Being on behalf of the audience. However, the prayer is also an emotional appeal to the audience.

> **We thank you, for your graciousness to all your people, and for the road on which you have both led and accompanied us, as your people." Thank you for those who have tasted human dignity, after the years of human degradation. (Lines 1-4)**

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Followers of Christianity believe the Supreme Being that they praise is merciful and forgiving. The orator is thanking God for accommodating and supporting the people. In these lines the orator is referring to South Africa's apartheid past, and the difficulties that all the people had to endure before achieving democracy. In these lines the orator uses pathos on two levels. Firstly, he is reminding the audience that there is a sovereign God that has protected them and seen them through worse circumstances. The orator is creating awareness from the audience about the power of God.

> **Emotions are forms of intentional awareness...they are forms of awareness directed at or about an object, in which the object figures as it is seen from the creatures point of view. (Nussbaum, 1996:303)**

By doing this, the speaker is also establishing a common ground with the audience. The establishment of a common ground also draws the audience attention towards the speaker. "The audience prefer to be on common ground and respond favorably to speakers who so suggest." (Baird, 1965:137) Secondly the Bishop is using the past as authority. He is aware that every South African was affected in one way or the other by the political situation of the country. Therefore the orator is hoping that the audience will be able to draw the conclusion that if God was able to help them through that difficult period, he will also be able to help them now as well.

In lines 5-7 the orator introduces the rhetorical situation, which is the fact that the audience is gathered at the stadium to mourn the deaths of the victims of the disaster. In lines 8-10 the orator uses the past once again as authority.

> **We are a people who love sport and are bound together by sport. (Line 8)**

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In the new democratic South Africa sport has always been viewed as a unifying factor. This is owing to the fact that during 1995, after the founding of the new South Africa, South Africans of all races stood side by side cheering the rugby squad on, as it progressed all the way to the final and eventually winning the world cup. South Africans had been previously divided in all frontiers including sport. Rugby especially had been stereotyped as a white Afrikaner sport. In 1996 South Africans were further united as they cheered the Soccer squad on in the African Cup of Nations. The squad won the cup that year. South African soccer had also been stereotyped as being a Black sport. When the Bishop states that South Africans are "bound" by sport this is what he is referring to.

> **We pray that you will give us the strength, to turn this tragedy into opportunity. (Line 11)**

This line is rhetorically poor and is a weakness in the narrative. The orator is still targeting the audiences' emotions in this line, but the audience is still in a state of grief and mourning. They would thus be unable to view the situation as one which opportunity would arise.

Lines 11 - 14 have a multi-function and are an echo of the Lords Prayer, which is found in the Bible in Luke 11:2. In these lines the Bishop prays that the South African public should not seek for people to blame for the disaster but should have the wisdom as a nation to be united and be strong. The words in the Lord's Prayer are words of repentance from sin and evil. It is also prayer about forgiving those who have wronged you. This is the topic of the Bishop's prayer. His perception of the audience is that their hearts are searching for someone to blame for the disaster. Thus he is aware that the Christians in the audience will be able to identify the wording of this prayer and realize that it is an echo of the Lord's Prayer, and they will be able to think of the message found in the Lord's Prayer.

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In lines 15 – 16 the orator blesses the President and all other leaders in the country. In lines 17 – 18 the Bishop mentions the factors that the country needs to be able to move forward into the future.

May we face our future with pride, perfection and power. (Lines 17 – 18)

Thus the orator's message in these lines is that if the people of South Africa are too involved in pointing fingers at who should take the blame they will not be able to achieve "pride, perfection and power" for the future.

Lines 19 – 21 are powerful and the message is of vital significance to Christians. In these lines the orator reminds the audience of the significance of the day on which the cleansing ceremony is held on. The ceremony takes place on Easter Sunday. The implications of this day for followers of the Christian faith, is one of the basis for Christian Doctrine. Christians believe that their Messiah, the Son of God, was born and crucified for the sins of all mankind, died, and resurrected on the third day. So that all who believe in Him maybe cleansed from their sins and upon death, have eternal life in Heaven. These lines are not detailed but offer a strong conclusion of the prayer and will appeal, emotionally to the Christians in the audience.

Religious practices can be identified as being ritualistic. This paper has already identified the elements of ritual and defined them. Epideictic rhetoric is regarded as being ceremonial rhetoric, owing to the fact that it developed from the Ancient Greek rituals. "Epideictic rhetoric grew directly out of ancient ritual" (Carter, 1991:211). It took place during the rituals of "the festival orations, or panegyrics, which had their foundations in the ritual topoi of praise – of the festival god, the city, festival officials, the local rulers, etc." (Carter, 1991:211) It was rhetoric that was associated with ritualistic procedures of praise or even blame. Thus religious rituals are ceremonial and are regarded as being epideictic.

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The Bishop's main topic in the discourse is praising the Lord for all the wonderful work that he has done for the people of South Africa. He praises the Lord for seeing the South African public through the difficult period of apartheid. He also praises the political leaders of the country. The orator is constantly aware of the audiences mind set; therefore he indirectly censures them for this. The orator speaks about people being cautious not to issue blame until they have understood the reasons why the disaster took place.

Evaluation of the narrative

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The prayer by the Bishop was not arranged into three or even five parts, this is simply because, it is a prayer and not a speech. However, it did posses the rhetorical persuasive modes that the orator utilized as strategies to appeal to the audience. The rhetorical proof, which the orator relied on, was pathos, the appeal to the emotions. The orator deliberates before an already emotional audience and thus he capitalizes on this fact.

The discourse is aimed at those members of the audience who are followers of the Christian doctrine. Those who are Christians will be able to identify some of the concepts that the Bishop refers too. Line one and line 11-14 and line 19-21 will have great significance to the Christian members of the audience.

The speaker's style

Throughout the discourse the orator presents one persona, which is the persona of a "man of the cloth." As a religious leader, while the Bishop is praying, he is transformed in the minds of the audience. At that point in time, while he reads the discourse he is a messenger of God. The orator delivers discourse that is subjective. According to Richard L. Larson, in his article, Classifying Discourse: Limitations and Alternatives, there are a number of classifications within discourse. Subjective discourse takes place whereby the orator is personally involved in the speech. (Larson: 1984). The Bishop is personally involved owing to the fact that as a religious leader his presence is required at all the key phrases of the human life cycle, namely: at birth, marriage and death. The ceremony takes place, as an aftermath to the disaster that has occurred. It is a key phrase that calls for religious discourse.

The speaker is also very strategic in his discourse, he is aware of the emotional atmosphere that is present at the ceremony; therefore he uses it to his benefit but maintains control over it.

> **Tact expresses itself in the ability to impress a listener favorably through appeals and negatively by avoidance of expressing that create inhibitions. (Baird, 1965:126)**

The orator's ethos is a constant presence throughout the discourse, and it provides the discourse with weight and presence.

The topic of the narrative is praise, for the powerful deeds that the Lord has achieved by being there for the South African people during difficult times. The second topic is blame, which is indirectly geared towards the audience, for them being so judgmental by looking for someone to take the blame for the disaster.

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Chapter 7

ANALYSIS OF BISHOP MVUME DANDALA'S DISCOURSE

The orator provides a narrative that is forty-one lines, the shortest sentence is five words (line 1) and the longest sentence is fifty words (end of line 23 – line 27). The narrative by Bishop Dandala at face value resembles a speech but upon reading it, and analysing the conclusion, one realizes that it is actually a prayer. Like the other discourses that the paper has analyzed the prayer is given at the Ellis Park cleansing ceremony.

> **Ndiyazi ukuba uMkululi wami uhleli. I know that my redeemer lives and that in the end he will be the one to conquer. (Lines 1-2)**

The orator opens his address with a biblical quote. He states the quote in a Black African language that is his language and the language of his people. Then he proceeds to translate the quote into English. The Bishop uses the Biblical quote as a form of authority. The quote provides authority to the Bishop's narrative, in a way, he uses the quote to legitimize his discourse. The quote also provides his ethos with credibility. For those members of the audience who are not Christians or who do not know who the Bishop is, the fact that he stands up and opens his address with a quote from the holy book and speaks in their language, draws their attention to what he will say next.

The orator also chooses to quote the Biblical scripture in the language that majority of the audience will understand, this is very strategic. It ensures that no member of the audience feels alienated by the narrative and draws their attention. However, this only takes place for a brief moment.

The message behind the quote that the orator chooses basically states that the Lord lives forever and that in the end he provides peace. The orator is sending a message that states that Pain and suffering end through

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the Lord. The quote is of immense significance to the Christian members of the audience. The orator is also aware that those who are Christians in the audience will be able recognize and identify with the message behind the Biblical quote.

The orator proceeds in his narrative by focusing on the bereaved. In lines 3 – 4 the orator speaks in an inclusive manner. This is evident in his use of the word "we" which he uses three times in two sentences. He is the voice of The South African Council Of Churches and that is the persona that he brings forward in these lines. The Bishop uses simply language and his ethos to appeal to the audience. He provides comforting words to the bereaved by stating that the Church shares the pain of the bereaved. Just from these lines it is evident that the Bishop is relying on his ethos and emotional appeal. In his book 2 of the Rhetoric, Aristotle argued that at the root of every emotion there are two key emotions, pleasure (hedone) and pain (lupe). "The pleasure or pain is part of the concept of the emotion, neither is separable from the emotion." (Leighton, 1996:220) The orator knows that at the root of every emotion that the bereaved are feeling, due to the circumstances, there is pain and anger, thus he focuses his discussion on talking about that pain.

> **On an occasion like this, there are no words that can be adequate to heal your pain. But we want to say to the families, we as a people of faith, are lifting you constantly before God. (Lines 5-7)**

The orator's perception of the bereaved and also the rest of the audience is that they feel total despair. So he focuses on reassuring them and telling them that God is able to provide healing. Once again the Orator allows his ethos to reflect. This is evident in the words "we as a people of faith" (lines 6-7). The Bishop is speaking as a Bishop and a representative of the Faith community. However, these words will be reassuring for the followers of the Christian faith only and not for anyone else. There is a portion of the audience that the Bishop is alienating from the discourse.

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In lines 7-10 the orator's perception of the bereaved mind set is that they are probably questioning the presence of God. Thus this is why the Bishop pleads with them not to give up on God.

Please do not give up on God (line 9-10)

The orator's persona as of religious leader comes through once again. Lines 10-16 are very significant to the Christians in the audience, and these lines are an echo of the previous speakers narrative. The persona of the speaker as a messenger of God also comes through in these lines. The Orator reminds his audience of the significance of the day. The message that the orator is proclaiming is that, through the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, God was able to produce the redemption of all mankind. Therefore if God was able to produce something good out of the death of His Son Christ, He will be able to produce something good out of the disaster that took place. This message that the Bishop is providing is based on the fact that, in biblical rhetoric disaster is viewed as "caused by God as a punishment, that is, a causal link is established between deeds and sequences." (Gitay, 2002:86) Within the same lines it can be stated that the orator is viewed as "God's messenger, who speaks in God's name – when he performs on God's behalf he is actually performing a linguistic act which seeks to persuade in human terms." (Gitay, 2002:86)

In lines 17 – 21 the Epideictic nature of the discourse becomes more evident in these lines. The orator praises the soccer fraternity for the manner in which they have to cope with the situation in which they found themselves in. in lines 22 – 23 the orator praises the South African public for their support towards the bereaved families.

In lines 23 – 29 the orator introduces the main topic of his discourse.

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> We have come to pray to God, that the bitter memories will be transformed into powerful experiences that will take us to the future. (Line 28-29)

The aim of the cleansing ceremony is to purify the soccer grounds and to symbolically purify the bereaved families of their pain. When the Bishop states that "do no be afraid of this center" (line 26) he is aware of the Black South African perception that a deceased person's spirit embarks on a journey. If the person's spirit is not reclaimed, it may wander for years and is vulnerable to evil spirits. The Minister's persona of religious leader is evident in these lines and the persona of a black South African.

In lines 33 – 36 the Bishop presents a combination of two religions, the western Christian doctrine of God, as being loving, merciful and a Father who comforts and consoles. He combines this western Christian doctrine, with the African traditional religious concept of the need of symbolic cleansing after a death or the unnecessary spilling of blood. In these lines the orator is speaking directly to the bereaved families.

The speaker concludes by speaking once again to the sport ministry and consoles them by stating that the Lord will defeat away their pain. In lines 38 – 41 the orator closes the narrative by referring to the Holy Trinity

> In the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

This is authority, for the speaker and to the Christians in the audience.

Evaluation of the narrative

The discourse has the structure of a prayer, but can be viewed more as a speech. It has no distinct introduction or conclusion. The orator simply launches into the narrative just by quoting two lines from the bible that provide a message of comfort. Within the discourse, the orator is

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addressing firstly the bereaved families, and secondly the sport ministry and the public and the public at large. However the general public does not feature much in the discourse.

The problem with the narrative is that it is targeting only Christians and it relies on religious authority. It fails to be inclusive of all members of the audience, Christians and non-Christians.

The speaker's style

Throughout the discourse the orator uses very emotive language and his discourse is based on the appeal to the emotions. The most powerful statement which the orator states and which is rich in emotional appeal can be found in line 33 – 37.

> **The God of love, in his power is cleaning this stadium, so that the pains of yesterday will not continue to haunt those who will come to play here and share in the sports year, and so we say o the families, be strong. (Lines 33 – 37)**

In these lines the orator provides a symbolic image and a metaphor, which implies God is able to heal the bereaved, bury the past and focus on the future. "The metaphor or analogy is a useful rhetoric tool of persuasion regarding religious matters." (Gitay, 2000:10) The use of this metaphor by the orator offers the audience with a powerful symbolic image that they will be able to take home with them.

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Chapter 8

ANALYSIS OF THE BLESSING OF THE WATER

After the Bishop Dandala has addressed the crowd, he invites all the religious leaders from the various denominations and their secretaries to the podium, to bless the water. The water is placed in small containers. All the religious leaders stretch their hands towards the water as the Bishop leads the prayer. The act has emotional appeal and carries ethos for the audience who are watching. The religious leaders, at this point in time are transformed into messengers of God, whom God is working through to transform the water. For followers of the African traditional leaders this act also has emotional appeal, this is owing to the fact that, for ritualistic cleansing, the Medicine man was responsible for mixing water with the purifying herbs. Thus the ethos of the ministers would also appeal to those members of the audience.

In lines 1 – 4 the Bishop refers to pain and anger as heat.

With this water, cool our hands cool our bodies and our emotions from the heat of the moment. With this water, kindly remove the heat of the heart. With this water, soothe our injured feelings and remove the anger of our experiences. (Lines 1-4)

The water is being blessed and being transformed symbolically, it is being given the power to heal and soothe. It has been mentioned in the paper that for Christian believers water is used in the bible symbolically for purifying purposes. The orator is aware of this and he knows that the Christians in the audience will be able to identify with this.

In line 5 the orator pauses as the choir interjects and sings in the Zulu language the words "Izwa imitandazo yethu, Nkosi, sikhelela. (Hear our prayer. Lord, protect us.) (Line 5) The words are an echo of the National

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Anthem and the melody is the same. The words are important owing to the fact that they are a plea for protection and comfort. They are also words That all the members of the audience, both black and white will be able to identify with.

In lines 6 – 8 the persona that comes forward is not that of a religious leader, however it is that of a political leader. In these lines the discourse has its own ethos and not that of the speaker. The discourse also appears to be indirectly stating that the audience has sinned by seeking someone to blame.

Cleanse us from true and false accusations. Clean the stain left by our errors of omission and commission. Wash away the bloodstains of those who have died here tragically here. (Lines 6 – 8)

In line 9 the choir sings once again and repeats the same words. In line 10 – 11 the orator states that the water should cleanse the people of suspicion. One could state that the water is also a form of purging the audience of their sins, just like John the Baptist in the bible, when he baptized people with water so that they could be purified of their sins. "So John went throughout the whole territory of the Jordan River, preaching, "Turn away from your sins and be baptized, and God will forgive your sins." (Luke 3:3) The religions leaders conducting the blessing are aware that the Christians in the audience will think of this scripture as they witness the blessing of the water.

> **Holy Father, with this water, purify our hearts and minds remove any traces of suspicions. (Lines 10 – 11)**

In lines 13 – 17 the Bishop prays that the water should cleanse the people and allow them to make a fresh start and to bury the past. The blessing closes with the choir sing the words "Izwa imitandazo yethu, Nkosi sikhelela." The religious leaders all take a container of the blessed water and branches of leaves and walk through the grounds in single file as they

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sprinkle the water, while at the same time praying. For the audience, especially the bereaved families to witness this, it has an emotional impact and appeal to them. However for those members of the audience who are not religious the act and the ceremony has no appeal whether emotional or logical.

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Chapter 9

ELLIS PARK AS A PUBLIC SHRINE

During the ceremony the Master of Ceremonies request the VIP's, the bereaved and the rest of the audience to place their wreathes at the designated site. The President and the First Lady are the first people to place their wreaths, followered by the rest of the audience. However, even before the ceremony took place, the day after the disaster took place, members of the public had already placed flowers, tokens, toys, and notes at the gates of the stadium. Throughout the week leading to the ceremony there had been an escalation of these various items and inscriptions at the gates. The items can be viewed as an expression of sympathy and grief for the loss of human life and a feeling of pity towards the bereaved.
"Pity and fear are closely connected: what we pity when it happens to another, we fear lest it should happen to ourselves." (86a27-28)
(Nussbaum, 1996:309) The items that are placed at the disaster site can be regarded as a public shrine and a form of public mourning.

The creation of the shrine by the public can be viewed as a step towards a healing process. It could also be viewed as the emergences of grief from the private domain into the public domain. The "twentieth century has been marked by a reluctance to indulge public demonstrations of grief." (Howarth, 2001:247) However in the twenty first century there are a number of public expressions of mourning that take place after a disaster. These include wreath laying, memorial services, disaster funds and night vigils. "If death has been the taboo subject for many decades, bereaved people have been the pariahs, unwilling, and largely disable from openly displaying the extent of their grief." (Howarth, 2001:247) The public creates these shrines spontaneously as a process to put the past to rest and focus on the future.

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For the three days prior to the cleansing ceremony and during the ceremony, Ellis Park is temporary turned into a shrine by the public. It is the only way for the South African public to obtain a sense of closure and not to associate the stadium with death or tragedy.

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Chapter 10

THE ANALYSIS OF A PICTURE

The picture is taken by a member of the press, Kim Ludbrook and was featured in the Star newspaper and also on Independent On Line, which is a web site of all the independent local papers. The picture was featured in the paper the next day after the ceremony (16th April). This is the rhetorical moment of the picture.

The description of the picture

The picture features the Head of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Mvume Dandala and a woman. The Bishop is dressed in his robes and he is carrying ishoba, which is an object that is made of a horses tail attached on a rod. Ishoba is usually carried by the medicine man (iyanga) or members of the royal family, therefore it is a symbol of power. The Bishop is holding ishoba in an elevated position and there is water dripping from it.

The second person in the picture, the woman, is dressed in Xhosa traditional attire. She is holding a small clay bowl, with water. Behind the Bishop and the woman there are the empty seats of the stadium. The Bishop and the woman are standing among the empty seats of the stadium.

The rhetorical implication of the picture

The picture depicts a merging of two religious forms, Christianity and African traditional religion. The Bishop is dressed in his robes, which can be easily identified by the reader as to the persona that they represent. The Bishop represents the persona of a leader and the characteristics that are associated with him are power, morality, ritual and an institution. However

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the ishoba in his hand seems like a misfit. It is associated with ethnicity, religion, power and ritual, but not with the Western idea of religion. The Bishop is associated with religion and power, so is the *ishoba*. Thus it can be stated that the Bishop has the authority to be using the ishoba. He uses it as authority and as a rhetorical tradition. Black Africans will be able to identify the ishoba.

The woman in the picture is dressed in traditional attire and is walking bare foot. She can be viewed as a representative of the African traditional religion. However the African traditional religion is not only represented in the ishoba and the woman, it is also represented by the use of water for ritualistic cleansing. This argument has been analyzed in the paper.

The picture appeals to the audience on a number of levels. It appeals to them emotionally, this is achieved through the religious persona and religious act been conducted in the picture. It also appeals to the audience rationally, this is owing to the fact that it allows them to feel that no one religion is superior to the other. The picture is rhetorically persuasive.

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CONCLUSION

This paper has discussed the issue of public mourning and the spontaneous creation of shrines, by using the Cleansing ceremony that took place at Ellis Park as a case study. The rhetorical implication and appeals used by the orators during the ceremony were discussed. The paper also examined the rhetorical implications of the use of water during the ceremony. This also entailed looking at the use of water for religious purposes.

The concept of cleansing was examined as a religious argument and the rhetorical appeal it has on the audience was also discussed. The three different orators perceptions of their audience and the personas of the orators that emerged was also analyzed.

In analyzing the issue of the emergence of public shrines, the paper discussed and looked at Ellis Park as shrine and also discussed why public shrines emerge and the meaning of this rhetorically. Finally, the paper provided a picture that was taken during the ceremony and features one of the religious leaders and an assistant conducting the "cleansing." This picture was analyzed rhetorically.

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Appendix A

TRANSCRIPT: ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT THABO MBEKI

VENUE: ELLIS PARK STADUIM GAUTENG PROVINCE

DATE: 2002.04.15

TITLE: MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE

I would like to welcome the families of the deceased, our religious leaders, leaders of our sports teams, of the football association, of of the professional soccer league, members and supporters of Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates, Mayor of the Greater Johannesburg, Ministers and Friends.

All of us wish we were not here today. In particular, the bereaved families wish they were not here today because non of us wanted the people who died on Wednesday to have died. Sport cerebrates Intelligence and skill. It is an occupation of joy, an occupation of entertainment, an occupation of self-fulfillment. Those who succeed among our sports men and woman are heroes and heroines of our people. Sports competitions are not a place of death. Too many in our country die from unnatural causes. They die from crime, road accidents, and they die at places of work. Too many die from unnatural causes. We should not add to that by having people die at places of celebration of life, such as our sport competitions. On behalf of the government and all of our people, I would like to convey our condolences to the bereaved families, to the friends of the bereaved, to say, we all share this terrible burden that they carry, and to give sympathies to those who were injured. We trust the fact that you know that the whole country and the whole world is with you at this moment of grief and will make your burden a little lighter.

Many in the world have been sending us messages of support

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because they too grieve as the people of South Africa grieve. I will read you one message, which is representative of the messages we are getting from around the world. It is from the Prime Minister of France, and it says, " It is with deep motion that I have heard the news of the tragic accident which yesterday has plunged your country in mourning. The Ellis Park Stadium dedicated to sports achievements and to meeting between people became a place of suffering and sadness. In this adversity, I wish to tell you my own name and in the name of the French government about my sympathies. I would be obliged if you could convey my sincere condolences to the families and relatives of the victims." The Prime Minister of France has signed it, and as I have said, it is representative of many messages that we are getting from around the world.

On Thursday we received the credentials of a number of ambassadors, including the ambassador of China. After we had received those credentials, the ambassador of China passed on to us the sum of R10 000 which has been collected by the members of staff at the Chinese Embassy, to say, these diplomats from very far away want to carry this burden together with the people of South Africa.

I would like to say thank you to the people of the world for those messages of solidarity. I would also like to say thank you very much to the rugby players because in all the Super 12 rugby matches that have been played since this tragic accident, the rugby players of New Zealand, Australia and South Africa have observed the moment of silence to honor our fallen people. The Judge President of this division, Judge Bernard Ngoepe was kind to accept that he should in person conduct the enquiry into this tragedy. We must await the outcome of this inquiry, which is not focused on seeking to blame, but focused on ensuring that we do not have this tragedy again. It

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should focus at ensuring that we continue to occupy this proud place in soccer, according to which, for a succession of years, FIFA has placed South Africa among the top 20 soccer nations of the world. To stay in that position, also means that we have to take care of the safety of the soccer fans. The examples of support that have been given to us by the rest of the world, we too as South Africans, must follow. We must rally together and help. Your government will contribute what it can to that effort.

Once more, condolences to the bereaved families.

Thank you very much.

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Appendix B

TRANSCRIPT: ARCH BISHOP NDUNGANE (ANGLICAN CHURCH)

FUNCTION: CLEANSING CEREMONY

VENUE: ELLIS PARK STADUIM GAUTENG PROVIANCE

DATE: 2001.04.15

God of might, majesty and masses. We thank you, for your graciousness to all your people, and for the road on which you have both led and accompanied us, as your people. Thank you for those have tasted human dignity, after the years of human degradation. Today we come before you, in deep mourning and pain, for those who have lost their lives, and for those who loved them and will miss miss them, and remember with great affection and appreciation. We are a people who love sport and are bound together by sport. But today, we are together because we have been dealt a heavy blow, as a nation because of our love for sport. We pray that you will give us the strength, to turn this tragedy into opportunity. Deliver us from the temptation to apportion blame, before we have understood the reason why. Give us the wisdom as a nation to draw, together in our common bereavement. Make us strong. Bless our President Thabo Mbeki, in his many responsibilities as Head of the State, and all those who have sat in authority, to lead this nation in public life. Guide our people, deliver us from calamity. May we face our future with pride, perfection and power. We ask this, in the name of Jesus Christ whose resurrection and power over death we remember with untold thankfulness today. Amen.

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Appendix C

TRANSCRIPT: BISHOP MVUME DANDALA (HEAD OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES – METHODIST CHURCH)

FUNCTION: CLEANSING CEREMONY

VENUE: ELLIS PARK STADIUM GAUTENG PROVIANCE

DATE: 2001.04.15

"Ndiyazi ukuba umkululi wami uhlei" "I know that my redeemer lives and that in the end he will be the one to conquer." To the families of the victims, we as churches and faith communities want to say to you, we are sorry. We understand and we feel your pain. On an occasion like this, there are no words that can be adequate to heal your pain. But we want to say to the families, we as a people of faith, are lifting you constantly before God. We will do all we can to support you with our prayers, to care for you as you prepare to put your loved ones to rest, and we want to say to you, please do not give up on God. Because at this moment, God is crying your tears, your pain is his pain; your despair is his despair. But on this day of Easter, the day of resurrection, we want you to know, that God is able to produce something good, even from the most painful experiences of our life. We want to assure you, that the resurrection that we remember today says to everyone of us, pain, suffering and evil cannot be the last. Hold God's hand and allow God to heal you slowly. We also want to cry with the soccer fraternity. We want to thank them, for the heart that they have shown during this tragedy, and we want to assure our sports leaders that we will stand with them, we will uphold them in our prayers. We will help them in whatever possible way we will be asked to do so. We thank God for the hearts of the people of South Africa that have opened to the families at this time. But thirdly

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and finally, we are gathered here to declare, that it is the will God, that young people should play sports, and so we have come to say, to our young sports people, do not be afraid of this center, continue entertaining the people of South Africa from this stadium. We have come to pray to God, that the bitter memories will be transformed into powerful experiences, that will take us to the future. So we say to our sports leaders, keep encouraging our young people in this sports center, it is good for our minds, it is good for our spirits. We want you to know, that the God of mercy is crying with us, the God of new things is healing our memories. The God of love, in his power is cleaning this stadium, so that the pains of yesterday will not continue to haunt those who will come to play here and share in the sports year, and so we say to the families, be strong. We say to the sports leaders, be strong, we say to our young sports people be strong. Our God, the God of our forebears is with us, he will defeat away pain. In the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

Amen.

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Appendix D

TRANSCRIPT: BLESSING OF THE WATER BY BISHOP MVUME DANDALA

FUNCTION: CLEANSING CEREMONY

VENUE: ELLIS PARK STADUIM GAUTENG PROVIANCE

DATE: 2001.04.15

BISHOP DANDALA INVITES LEADERS OF CHURCHES FROM THE VARIOUS DENOMINATIONS TO THE PODIUM TO BLESS THE WATER THAT WILL BE USED TO CLEANSE THE STADUIM.

(Church leaders all stretch their hands towards the water, while Bishop Dandala leads the prayer.)

1. **Holy Father, with this water, cool our hands, cool our bodies and our**
2. **our emotions from the heat of the moment. With this water, kindly**
3. **remove the heat of the heart. With this water, soothe our injured**
4. **feelings and remove the anger of our experiences.**

5. ***CHOIR SINGS: Izwa imitandazo yethu, Nkosi, sikhelela. Izwa imitandazo***

   Yethu, Nkosi sikhelela. (Hear our prayer Lord. Lord, protect Us.)

6. **Holy Father, cleanse us from true and false accusations. Clean the**
7. **stain left by our errors of omission and commission. Wash away the**
8. **blood stains of those who have died here tragically here.**

9. ***CHOIR SINGS: Izwa imitandazo yethu, Nkosi, sikhelela. Izwa imitandazo yethu, Nkosi sikhelela.***

10. **Holy Father, with this water, purify our hearts and minds remove**

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any traces of suspicion.

CHOIR SINGS: Izwa imitandazo yethu, Nkosi, sikhelela. Izwa Imitandazo yethu, Nkosi sikhelela.

Holy Father, with this water, gives us a fresh start to build our soccer community anew. With this water, fill our hearts with a clean spirit. With this water, prepare us to be reconciled to yourself, through Christ and through one another and to one another.

CHOIR SINGS: Izwa imitandazo yethu, Nkosi, sikhelela. Izwa imitandazo yethu, Nkosi sikhelela.

Church leaders all take a container of the holy water and are each given branches which have been tired, together to create a small broom, others are given ishoba, to use for sprinkling water through the stadium. All church leaders form a procession and water single file, chatting as they cleanse the grounds.

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Appendix E

FRAME BY FRAME BREAK DOWN OF THE ELLIS PARK CEREMONY TAPE

1. Flash back to the 11th April the evening of the tragedy, commentary
2. South African Anthem being played in the background and the flag
3. is provided as a background to the commentary
4. Scoring of the first goal by Kaiser Chiefs
5. Fans at the gates
6. Scoring of the second goal by Orlando Pirates
7. Beginning of stampede
8. Images of the injured, paramedics helping the injured
9. Deceased in body bags placed side by side on field
10. Paramedics giving medical attention
11. Soccer players standing on the field
12. Scenes with the police and injured
13. Scenes with the police and angered fans
14. Interview with Dr. Robin Petersen (PSL Chief Executive Officer)
15. Interview with Ngconde Balfour (Minister of Sports and Recreation)
16. Interview with injured sports fan
17. Interview with journalists
18. Interview with Pirates coach Gordon Egusund
19. Interview with a fan
20. Scenes from the meeting with the press and the sport ministry
21. officials
22. Scenes of the flowers and other tokens placed at gate as a shrine
23. Arrival of Safa Delegation
24. Arrival of the bereaved and the general public in buses
25. Press positioning their equipment
26. Arrival of Winnie Madikizela Mandela, Limpo Hani, Tony Leon

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27. Arrival of Pastor Ray McCorly
28. Interview with Danny Jordan (Safa Executive Officer)
29. Image of the bereaved families all seated in one section
30. Arrival of Lennox Lewis (International Boxing Champion)
31. Arrival of "Baby" Jake Matlala (Boxing Champion)
32. Arrival of Arthur Mofakate and M'du Masilela (kwatio musicians)
33. Interview with Tony Leon (DP President)
34. Children from different soccer clubs stand and wait for ceremony
35. begin
36. Audience clap as President Thabo Mbheki and the First lady
37. Zanele Mbheki arrive
38. President and First Lady shake hands with the VIP's seated at the
39. Podium
40. Pastors of various denominations

41. Master of Ceremonies, Putco Mafani (Kaiser Chiefs PRO) welcomes
42. audience
43. MC explains the program of the ceremony
44. Singing of National Anthem by choir
45. Guests all stand up
46. Moment of silence for the deceased
47. Opening prayer by Arch Bishop Ndungane
48. MC request Rev. Letsiya to read the names of the deceased
49. Rev. Letsiya reads the names of the deceased
50. Names of deceased are shown on the big screen at the field
51. Bereaved are shown expressing grief as the names of the relatives
52. are read out
53. Counselors are shown speaking to the bereaved
54. Woman shown being given medical attention
55. MC calls Bishop Dandala to come forward to address the audience
56. Bishop Dandala reads his discourse
57. Bishop Dandala invites the Religious leaders of various
58. denominations to come forward to bless the water

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59. Bishop Dandala reads the prayer as the Religious leaders stretch
60. their hands towards the water
61. Choir sings in between the Bishops prayer.
62. Bishop invites all the Religious leaders to follow him to cleanse the
63. stadium
64. Each minister is given a bowl of water and leaves of branches
65. Religious leaders walk in single file and sprinkle the water while
66. praying
67. Bishop prays at the North East gate where disaster took place
68. Pastor Ray McCorly prays for a bereaved relative
69. Bishop Ndungane prays for a bereaved family member
70. Choir continues to sing
71. Members of the bereaved comfort each other
72. MC asks the Arch Bishop to read four of the names of the deceased
73. which had left out
74. MC invites the President to give his message of condolence.
75. President gives his message of condolence
76. MC thanks the President for his speech
77. MC explains the procedure that will be followed for the wreath
78. laying
79. Music
80. Guests all stand and sing
81. MC explains the procession for the wreath laying process again
82. President and First Lady lead procedure of the wreath laying
83. MC makes a request that only two members from each family of the
84. victims may lay a wreath
85. Families of the deceased make their way to lay wreaths
86. Sidney Mofumadi and Ngconde Balfour lay their wreaths
87. Some bereaved family members knee and pray at the disaster site
88. Media take pictures as the bereaved lay their wreaths
89. Lennox Lewis lays his wreath
90. Media takes pictures as Lennox Lewis lays his wreath
91. Some bereaved family members require medical attention

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92. Orlando Pirates and Kaiser Chiefs players make their way to the
93. North East gate to lay their wreaths
94. Bereaved comfort each other
95. Media walk among the stands and take pictures as the
96. Orlando Pirates and Kaiser Chiefs players lay their wreaths
97. President Mbheki and the Minister of Sports share a few words
98. Image of the bereaved
99. Female praise singer

100. Interview with Kaiser Chiefs fan
101. Interview with Kaiser Chiefs fan
102. Interview with spectator
103. Interview with Pirates fan
104. Interview with Chiefs fan

UNEDITED MATERIAL (found at the beginning and end of the tape)

105. Snippets of the ceremony
106. Snippets of the arrival of various VIP's
107. Snippets of the Shrine outside the stadium gates
108. Blessing of the water
109. Commentators and Presenters practicing their commentary
110. Snippets of the cleansing of the stands by different religious
111. leaders
112. Wreath laying
113. Snippets of speeches by President Mbheki, Arch Bishop Ndugane
114. and Bishop Dandala

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Appendix F

Purification: Religious leaders sprinkle holy water in the stands at Ellis Park soccer stadium during a cleansing ritual and memorial service at which President Mbeki urged fans not to fear the venue. Full story
Photo: Kim Ludbrook, The Star

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