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REVIEW





Conception of death in different cultures and funeral rites in Bolivia, China, Indonesia, Madagascar and USA

Concepción de la muerte en diversas culturas y ritos funerarios en Bolivia, China, Indonesia, Madagascar y EE.UU.

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ABSTRACT

In some cultures, death is associated with different rituals and customs to help people grieving. Rituals offer people ways to process and express their grief. They also provide ways for the community to help people who are grieving. Death can cause chaos, anger, and confusion. That is where the community comes in to support and help cope with grief. Funeral rites are symbolic systems that represent specific socio-cultural practices of the human species; they are a means to facilitate the arrival of the soul to its place of destination through religious or pagan acts, methods to ward off and scare away evil spirits or to prevent the dead from appearing and disturbing the living. After analyzing the concept of death in the proposed cultures, differences and similarities were observed in their conceptions and meanings; they all share the feeling of honoring, loving, caring, and commemorating their deceased. Each celebration is a tribute to the loved one on a particular date, depending on the culture and geographical region, such as Bolivia, China, Indonesia, Madagascar, New Orleans, and Parsis (Persians). In the different funeral rites, we could appreciate death's diverse manifestations and beliefs and its connotations, such as honoring, entertaining, feeding, grooming, decorating the deceased, and respecting and venerating nature.

Keywords: Death; Funeral; Community; Socio-Cultural Practices.

RESUMEN

En algunas culturas, la muerte se asocia a distintos rituales y costumbres para ayudar a las personas en su duelo. Los rituales ofrecen a la gente formas de procesar y expresar su dolor. También permiten a la comunidad ayudar a las personas en duelo. La muerte puede causar caos, ira y confusión. Ahí es donde entra en juego la comunidad para apoyar y ayudar a sobrellevar el duelo. Los ritos funerarios son sistemas simbólicos que representan prácticas socioculturales específicas de la especie humana; son un medio para facilitar la llegada del alma a su lugar de destino mediante actos religiosos o paganos, métodos para alejar y ahuyentar a los malos espíritus o para evitar que los muertos aparezcan y molesten a los vivos. Tras analizar el concepto de muerte en las culturas propuestas, se observaron diferencias y similitudes en sus concepciones y significados; todas comparten el sentimiento de honrar, amar, cuidar y conmemorar a sus difuntos. Cada celebración es un homenaje al ser querido en una fecha determinada, según la cultura y la región geográfica, como Bolivia, China, Indonesia, Madagascar, Nueva Orleans y los parsis (persas). En los distintos ritos funerarios, pudimos apreciar las diversas manifestaciones y creencias de la muerte y sus connotaciones, como honrar, agasajar, alimentar, acicalar, decorar al difunto y respetar y venerar la naturaleza.

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Palabras clave: Muerte; Funeral; Comunidad; Prácticas Socioculturales.

INTRODUCTION

We automatically think of illness, suffering, and mourning when discussing death. The ways of acceptance are different in different cultures depending on the way of living that one has. In some cultures, death is associated with different rituals and customs to help people grieving. Rituals offer people ways to process and express their grief. They also provide ways for the community to help people who are grieving. Death can cause chaos, anger, and confusion. That is where the community comes in to support and help cope with grief.⁽¹⁾

We will delve into the celebration of funeral rites in some not-so-well-known cultures, such as the Day of the Skulls in Bolivia, the festival of the Hungry Ghosts in China, the Ma'nene Ritual in Indonesia, the Famadihana ceremony in Madagascar, the Jazz funerals in New Orleans in the USA, and the Zoroastrian funeral in the USA. (2) The Zoroastrian funeral of the Parsis, a people originating from ancient Persia, showcases their practices, traditions, and beliefs about death and their worldview of death, which differ from the typical Judeo-Christian traditions. (3)

DEVELOPMENT

Concept of death

In order to discuss the concept of death, it should be taken into account that its understanding varies according to time, culture, religion, and age. Death is postulated as a transcendental issue; it is more than a biological event since it involves emotional, social, cultural, and spiritual dimensions. It is a universal event, but the ways of dying in each society differ substantially. (4) The social processes accompanying dying are different, and so is the social consideration of the act of dying. Death and funeral are different in different parts of the world. We can state that death is a social fact impregnated with significance. Therefore, the meaning of death is socially defined. (5)

Funeral rites

Funeral rites are symbolic systems that represent specific socio-cultural practices of the human species; they are a means to facilitate the arrival of the soul to its place of destination through religious or pagan acts, methods to ward off and scare away evil spirits or to prevent the dead from appearing and disturbing the living. We can affirm that they are cultural instruments that preserve social order and allow us to understand more complex aspects of human existence. Rituals establish a symbolic order for vital events and allow the social construction of shared meanings related to death and mourning. Therefore, funeral rites vary from country to country and culture to culture, depending on cultural beliefs and values in their way of conceiving and understanding the world. In addition, the nature of funeral rituals reflects the influence of the social context in which they occur. (6) It is essential to highlight the importance of symbols in rituals for the affirmation and development of ideologies in a community, to preserve and strengthen their teachings, and to establish a bond of union and a sense of belonging to their culture.

Skulls Day (Bolivia)

On November 8 in the city of La Paz, Bolivia, the festivity of the Natitas or Day of the Skulls is celebrated, which is a unique tradition in Bolivia that consists of the veneration of human skulls called natitas or "little souls."

In the Andean culture, death is considered part of life; it is an arrival to a moment of permanence in the existence of beings. Death is never the end or termination of the being but the continuity of the being within the existential and universal totality. They understand death as a journey to another dimension of life. The dead have permanent attention and relationships with their relatives and the community.⁽⁷⁾

The Andean tradition believes that people have 7 souls, which go to different places when the person dies. One of these souls stays in the skull and has the power to visit the living through their dreams to heal and protect them.

For the Andean culture, the souls are part of the community of the living and can intervene beneficially in favor of their loved ones, guaranteeing them prosperity and well-being. (8)

During the celebration, family members dress in traditional Andean wool hats; family altars are built to honor their deceased loved ones, where they take their ñatitas for the celebration of the mass in which they are crowned and covered with flower petals, they are entertained with prayers, cigarettes, coca leaves, flowers, food, music, alcohol is sprinkled on them. The relatives eat, chew coca, smoke cigarettes, and drink alcohol with the ñatitas. The ñatitas are treated as when they were alive.⁽⁹⁾ At the end of the celebration, the ñatitas return to their owners' homes, where they are considered protectors and benefactors of health, prosperity,

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help with family problems, assistance at work, personal and household protection, and even divinatory powers are attributed to the skulls. This funeral rite has a festive character where the dead must be cared for and celebrated. (10)

Hungry Ghosts Festival (China)

The Festival of the Hungry Ghosts (Zhon et al. Festival) is celebrated on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month on the birthday of King Yama, the king of the underworld. It is a traditional Taoist, and Buddhist festival celebrated in different East Asian countries. According to beliefs, during the month of ghosts, the underworld's gates open and let out the ghosts that roam the realm of the living to alleviate suffering, find food, enjoy offerings, or take revenge on those who have misbehaved.⁽¹¹⁾

Then, on the last day of the seventh month, the gates of hell close, and they must return. For this reason, the Taoists chant sutras (discourses given by Buddha or some of his disciples) to alleviate their suffering.

A legend says that when a young man died without descendants in ancient times, no one could perform any burial ceremony for him, so they became orphan spirits or "without descendants." Its origin dates back 2,000 years; it is celebrated by the Chiu Chow community in Hong Kong, which traces its roots to Guangdong province.

During the festival, wearing black or red in clothing is not recommended, as these colors attract ghosts. Avoid wearing the number 4, as it sounds like death. To avoid tempting ghosts, it is recommended not to walk alone at night, do not swim, avoid moving and openings, avoid reflecting mirrors while sleeping, and do not take selfies because an unwanted ghost may appear behind you.⁽¹³⁾

During the month, the villagers try to feed the ghosts; at nightfall, food, primarily sweet bread, is placed on the steps of the houses so that the ghosts do not have problems finding the ritual offerings; the places with the food are illuminated with lanterns.⁽¹⁴⁾

The Chinese put a plate of food and a chair on the table for loved ones who have died so that ancestors can visit them and eat with them; paper offerings are also prepared to represent material goods, which, when burned, reach the spiritual world. In the past, paper drawings of gold and silver pieces were burned; now, in modern times, paper bills, checks (fake), and paper copies of objects such as credit cards, miniature houses, motorcycles, cars, and appliances (miniature) are burned. Floating lotus flower-shaped lanterns are also deposited in rivers and waterways with the idea that they will guide ghosts back to the underworld. (15)

Ma'nene ritual: Indonesia, Toraja

The Ma'nene ritual, or "the Corpse Cleansing Ceremony," is performed every 3 years, and the Toraja have been practicing this ritual generation after generation for over 900 years. The Ma'nene ritual of the Torajas of Indonesia is celebrated every three years on August 28, a custom of several generations that consists of showing the bodies of their dead relatives and treating them as if they were still a member of the family. The explanation lies in the beliefs about celestial ancestors who descended to earth by divine ladders. Therefore, it is believed that death is not something to be feared; instead, it involves honoring the deceased with the most excellent care to help them pass to the afterlife.⁽¹⁶⁾

Funerals are celebrations that are too important for the Torajas and incredibly costly. For this reason, some corpses remain in homes after death, being fed and cared for until relatives can arrange and pay for a funeral.

Most Torajas live in small, interconnecting villages in the highlands of Sulawesi in Indonesia. In these villages, the Torajas have built houses known as Tongkonan, buildings arranged in a row, side by side, which are the meeting point for almost every aspect of life, the focal point of Toraja tradition and culture. (18)

Famadihana (Madagascar)

Famadihana, also called "the return of the dead," is the procession of the bones that is done in a village called Magache located in Madagascar, an African island; 17 of its 18 ethnic groups that inhabit the island practice the Famadihana; each with its different characteristics but almost similar.

This ritual is performed every 7 years between June and October. It consists of taking the dead out of their graves and changing their clothes, wrapping them in new clothes or shrouds, labeling them with their names, and carrying them to celebrate with their loved ones.⁽¹⁹⁾ This celebration represents the "Communion between life and death" for the town's people. There is no sadness or crying; for them, it is a grand celebration. They make great meals; among others, one of the typical dishes is the "Vary be menaka," which consists of a dish based on rice and boiled zebu meat. They play music, dance, and hire musical groups, and in these celebrations, the deceased's family is congratulated for such celebration; the family and the guests dance with loaded bones. This ritual is generally done jointly with the different deceased and neighbors.⁽²⁰⁾

For the Malagasy, this ritual is magical and necessary; spending time with their loved one who is no longer alive demonstrates love, worship, and adoration, and in return for all that, the deceased provides his blessing.

This rite consists of a few days, where the celebration can be extended. (21)

Once the Famadihana is over, the bones are returned to the tombs. However, before, the guests and relatives go around the grave 7 times and listen to the words of the master of ceremonies, who thanks them for participating in the grand celebration.

Nowadays, this ritual is less and less performed since, in 2017, the government of Madagascar banned its citizens from dancing in the company of their deceased due to a plague that spread throughout the island in large numbers. Likewise, they continue these rituals in some of their villages. (22)

New Orleans: A Jazz Funeral

This funeral tradition originated in the early 20th century. It is known as jazz funerals, although this term is erroneous because the preferred description is "funeral with music. "With all this tradition, they carry out the African spiritual practices and the amalgamation of cultures. When a person dies, the Africans "celebrate" the vivid life of who is no longer there, with a purpose, since according to the culture, if someone dies, you have to please the spirits to protect the deceased. The musical troupes accompany the deceased regardless of the color of his or her skin. The musical funeral begins when the deceased is taken to the cemetery. They can leave from different places, their house, church, or the morgue, which is a place where the corpses are veiled and prepared for burial. The band begins with funeral melodies and religious hymns; the congregated people follow the rhythm with slow and painful steps.

Some attendants usually wear colorful umbrellas of a thousand colors that contrast with the black used to begin the mourning. $^{(23)}$

The ark is introduced in a horse-drawn funeral carriage until it arrives at the cemetery; according to their culture, this is their most honorable way of saying goodbye to the deceased, celebrating the time he was among them, sharing, teaching, and learning. They are also often joined by the so-called "segunda linia," anonymous people who happen to be on the street at that moment and join the procession to celebrate the deceased's life. (23,24) The umbrellas turn, or even the handkerchiefs are waved in the air; in New Orleans, death is or was lived. Unfortunately, this tradition, despite continuing to perform, is beginning to fall into disuse, perhaps due to the rush of modernity or the generations that need to learn how to value it. (25)

Zoroastrian Funeral: Tower of Silence (Parsis)

One of the most peculiar funeral rites is preserved in the eyes of all those foreign to Zoroastrianism, which for these faithful is the most acceptable and natural: The exposure of the bodies of the deceased to the sun, wind, and vultures. A final act of charity that, in addition, is the same for the poor and the rich. (26)

Zoroastrianism gives particular importance to preserving the seven creations (soil, water, earth, animals, man, and fire).

Death is seen as a temporary triumph of the evil spirit Ahriman, whose nature is the destruction of the divine order. When a person dies, the demon of the corpse enters his body and takes possession of it, contaminating everything that comes into contact with it. The body is considered impure; thus, burying the bodies of the deceased would contribute to the pollution of the earth's elements, incinerating them, that of fire, and throwing them into the sea, that of water.⁽²⁷⁾

The deceased's body is subjected to a bath with water and then dressed in white cotton clothes after a prayer from the sacred Zoroastrian texts. The deceased is placed on a cotton sheet on the floor, and two relatives sit beside him. At this moment, the body begins to fall under the influence of the demon of decomposition, and they begin to be considered impure. No one is allowed to touch them except those who dress them and the massesalars, coffin bearers, who cover the entire body with a white sheet and then place it on a stone slab in a corner of the room. (28)

Then, a dog is made to look at the corpse. It is an important ritual, repeated several times during the funeral, whose objective is to confirm that the person is dead. They are dogs that are specially kept for this ritual.

After this ritual, the fire is brought into the room and kept burning in a vase with incense and sandalwood fragrance. Zoroastrians believe that this fire destroys the invisible germs of disease. A priest sits before the fire and continuously recites excerpts from the Avesta. This is the moment when most of the friends and relatives of the deceased pay the last honors and can contemplate his face for the last time after the nassesalars cover the face with a piece of cloth. (29) At this moment, the funeral procession follows the corpse to the tower of silence; there is always a distance of at least 30 steps, and all are dressed entirely in white. The nassesalars are the only ones who can access its interior; they climb the corpse to its roof. The towers usually have a uniform shape, a flat roof with a slightly higher perimeter. The floor of its roof is divided into three concentric circles. The deceased's body is deposited in the outermost one if the deceased is male. Suppose it is a woman in the second and a child in the central one. However, there is no class distinction; as a Persian poet says... death equals all, whether one dies as a king on a throne or as a bedless pauper on the ground.

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The deceased's body is exposed to the sun and the carrion birds. When these have been devoured, the less it will decompose and the lower the risk of sanitation and contamination. The design of the towers includes radial channels. However, they may seem like an ornament. However, their real mission is to allow the evacuation of body fluids and rain to the well in the center of the towers, where the ossuary is located. (30) In this ossuary, the bones are deposited after the birds of prey have devoured the body and the sun and wind have bleached them (which can take up to a year). There, with the help of lime, they begin to disintegrate until, finally, the remains are washed away by rainwater. After passing through several charcoal and sand filters, they are lost in the earth's interior, where they end up in the sea.

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, after analyzing the concept of death in the proposed cultures, differences and similarities were observed in their conceptions and meanings; they all share the feeling of honoring, loving, caring, and commemorating their deceased. Each celebration is a tribute to the loved one on a particular date, depending on the culture and geographical region, such as Bolivia, China, Indonesia, Madagascar, New Orleans, and Parsis (Persians). In the different funeral rites, we could appreciate death's diverse manifestations and beliefs and its connotations, such as honoring, entertaining, feeding, grooming, decorating the deceased, and respecting and venerating nature.

In carrying out this essay, we discovered the traditions of the funeral rites investigated, revealing practices, religions, and paradigms uncommon in everyday life in Argentina.

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