

RELIGION, TRADITION AND CUSTOM IN A
ZULU MALE VOCAL IDIOM

THESIS

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by

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DECLARATION

The whole of this work is a product of my original thought and research. Where the contrary is found, this will always be acknowledged in full.

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C.M.J. NDLOVU

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ABSTRACT

The study is about a Zulu male vocal tradition called isicathamiya performed by 'migrants' in all night competitions called ingomabusuku. This is a performance style popularized by the award winning group Ladysmith Black Mambazo. Isicathamiya - both in its symbolic structure and in the social and cultural practice of its proponents has much in common with the ritual practices of Zionists. And Zionists are worshippers who integrate traditional beliefs and Christianity. This study will reveal that isicathamiya performance and Zionists are linked in three major areas: in the social bases and practice of its proponents, in the structural properties of their performances and in the meanings attached to these practices.

Firstly, Zionists, who are also called a Separatist or African Independent church, and isicathamiya performers have minimal education and are employed in low income jobs in the cities. Most groups are formed with 'homeboy networks'. Furthermore, performers, unlike their brothers in the city, cling tenaciously to usiko [custom and tradition]. Although they are Christians, they still worship Umvelingangi [The One Who Came First], by giving oblations and other forms of offerings. Amadlozi [the ancestors] are still believed to be their mediators with God.

Also commonplace in this category is the practice of ukuchatha, [cleansing the stomach with some prepared medicine]; and ukuphalaza [taking out bile by spewing, which is also done as a way of warding off evil spirits]. These are rural practices that have meaning in their present domiciles.

The second area of similarity consists in the structure of the nocturnal gatherings that form the core of the ritual and performance practices among isicathamiya singers and Zionists. Thus, a core of the ritual of Zionists is umlindelo [night vigil] which takes place every weekend from about 8 at night until the following day. Likewise, isicathamiya performers have competitions every Saturday evening from 8 at night until about 11 am the following day. Although Zionists night vigils are liturgical and isicathamiya competitions secular, the structures of both isicathamiya choreography and Zionists body movements appear the same. These movements are both rooted in a variety of traditional styles called ingoma.

Thirdly, the meanings attached to these symbolic correspondences must be looked for in the selective appropriation of practices and beliefs taken to be traditional. Using present day commentaries in song and movement, ingoma and other rural styles performed in competitions and Zionists night vigils reflect a reconstruction of the past.

Isicathamiya performers and Zionists see themselves as custodians of Zulu tradition, keeping Zulu ethnicity alive in the urban environment. This is why in this study we are going to see rural styles like ingoma, isifekezeli [war drills], ukusina [solo dancing] that were performed on the fields, now performed, sort of feigned and 'held in' as they are performed in dance halls with wooden stages.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1. CHOICE OF SUBJECT

I am a Zulu by birth. I grew up in Mayville, a white suburb of heterogeneous communities before the segregationist policy took its toll in the early 1950s in South Africa. After the 1957 Urban Areas Act, and the Bantu Laws Act of 1964 and the forced removals that were to follow in the middle 1960s, we were finally resettled at KwaMashu Township, approximately 18 kilometres north of Durban.

In 1964 when I went to live in KwaMashu Township with other Zulus who came from rural territories, my background proved to be a handicap in many ways. Firstly, I had never seen ingoma performance in my life. I was one of the people who intermingled with tourists to see this musical style performed by Zulu 'warriors' [as they were called] in one of the parks in Durban on a Sunday afternoon. I looked with bewilderment at the shuffling of their feet, the simultaneous stamping on the ground, amid choral response and ululations from female on-lookers nearby. I saw those shields and assegais, leaps, retreats, gesticulations and physical gyrations. It was picturesque. The tourists were watching with glee and taking pictures unremittingly.

I was to learn later on from my mother that the ingoma performance I had seen was not the real thing. It was put on, ad hoc, for the tourists [like many of the kind in Durban parks on Sunday afternoons]. My mother added that the real one is performed inside the kraal for special functions, like weddings. There, complete traditional attire is worn. She said further that in traditional functions there are no spectators because everyone is involved, either by hand-clapping, drumming, singing, ululation or praise poetry. "Kushunga uthuli lapho [there, dust appears], basukwe nawusinga" [and they become spirited], urged on by the choral accompaniment of the non - dancers, said my mother.

This autobiographical experience attempts to show how I lacked a particular kind of rural based Zulu cultural experience and knowledge. I was to see, on another Saturday afternoon at the KwaMashu cultural showground, an ingoma performance by males from ezimpohlweni [bachelor flat]¹ section "A", also known as umuzi wezinsizwa [hostel] but literally meaning "home of adult males". This cultural show ground was situated at KwaMashu Township's "E" section, just across from the male hostel. I noticed that the ingoma performance I saw at the Durban park differed markedly from this one.

¹ Ezimpohlweni, coming from the word izimpohlo; this word was termed derogatory by hostel - dwellers and they would severely punish anyone calling them by izimpohlo.

Firstly it was an ingoma contest, which meant involvement of many competing troupes whose attire looked more colourful and meticulous than the ones I saw at the park.

Secondly, the audience comprised mostly home - boys, friends, relatives and residents from the township. This became apparent in the solo praises by one of the group members, responded to by certain members of the audience who knew precisely the chiefs, rivers, valleys and incidents enshrined in the praises. Thirdly, the degree of their involvement in dancing, singing, clapping and drum - beating was far weightier than the one I had seen earlier. The reason being that the performances were by Zulus for other Zulus, unlike the other ad hoc tourists' performances.

It is important at this juncture to mention that township dwellers view Ezimpohlweni as a rural base and centre for Zulu culture, custom and tradition. Because most of them came from the farms and reserves, they were usually teased by the township dwellers who called them izinyoni [birds]. The term izinyoni refers to rural people in the city, or 'rural birds in the city'. Moreover, rural people are known to possess medicinal skills, hence hostel dwellers are known to be izinyanga/izangoma [medical practitioners and diviners]. Therefore, most male members of KwaMashu Township would consult hostel dwellers for a variety of ailments. Some medical practitioners would be invited to come to

the township to administer treatment of an assortment of ills, especially by the women - folk who were not allowed to go inside the hostel.

But the township youth and hostel dwellers were always at loggerheads. When I was growing up there was a law forbidding female friends, wives and daughters of the hostel dwellers from entering the hostel. To circumvent this restriction, hostel dwellers tended to come to the township on Sunday mornings to socialize by drinking beer with their home - boys, friends, sweethearts and relatives who were not staying at the hostel. They always travelled in groups of say, five, eight, ten or more. On their return in the afternoon, intoxicated, wielding sticks, knobkerries and assegais, they would sing, dance and gallivant in the streets, sometimes blocking cars and buses. When you crossed their paths they would raise their sticks and knob - kerries and say, vika wethu!, [shield yourself brother!] and hit you hard on the head.

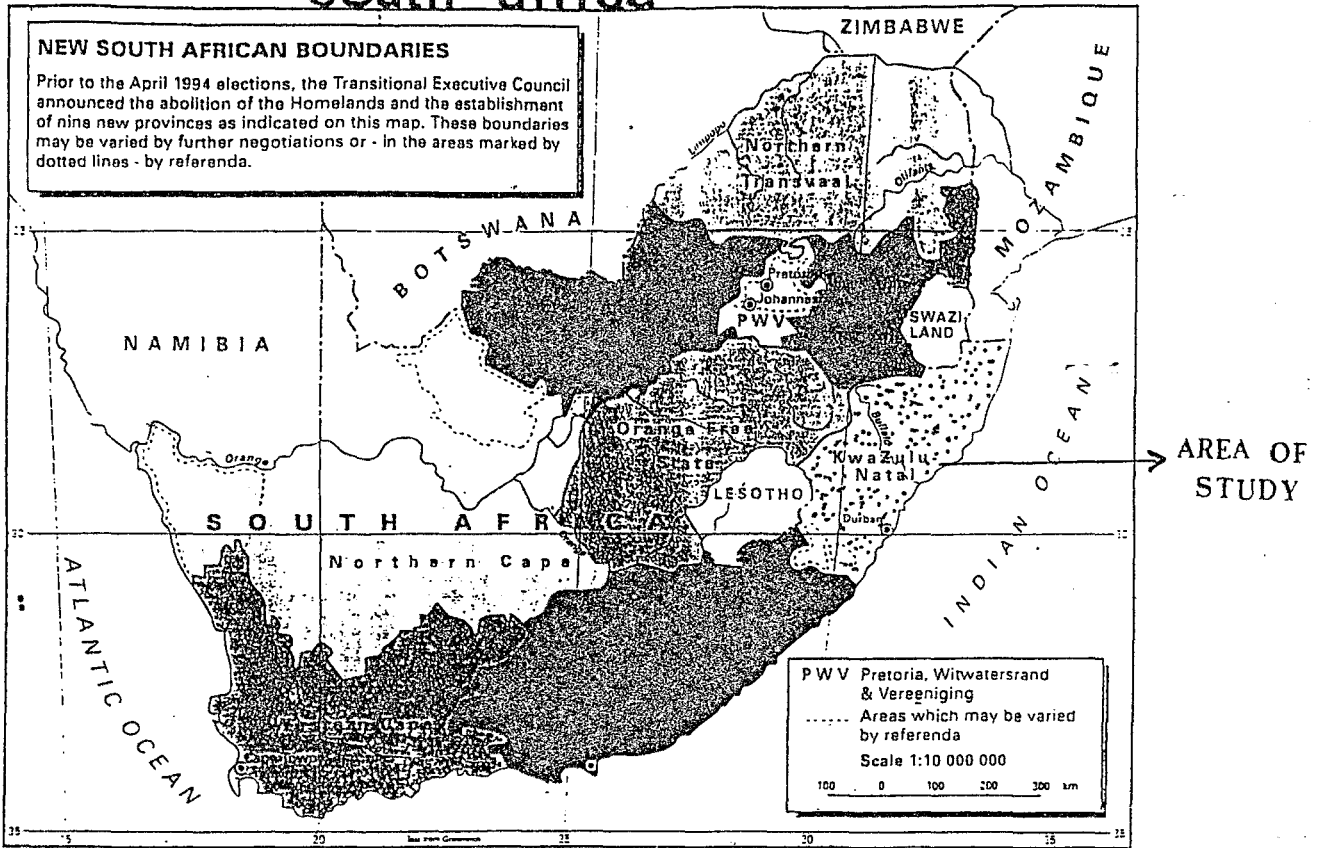
The intention was not really to hurt. It came from ukungcweka [stick play] [see Chapters 2 and 6 of stick - fighting]. But some people like myself did not grow up with ukungcweka. And besides, it was always executed when they were drunk; some people were hurt, some were hospitalized. Thus the youth of KwaMashu interpreted such action as provocative.

As a result when the youth saw them coming down the road they shouted abuses, saphela izimpohlo! [the bachelors, we are finished!] saphela izinyoni! [the birds, we are finished!]. Then the hostel dwellers would hit at anyone close to them. These were some of the rural behavioural tendencies an urban boy had to cope up with in the city. I was to see, on another Saturday evening, male groups coming from ezimpohlweni, clad ostentatiously in their showy clothes, some walking with alacrity, singing and dancing in ingoma style as they went, on taxis, trains and buses. Some wore extravagant coloured suits, white gloves and shoes of matching colours. Some wore overalls that displayed the emblems of sponsoring companies.

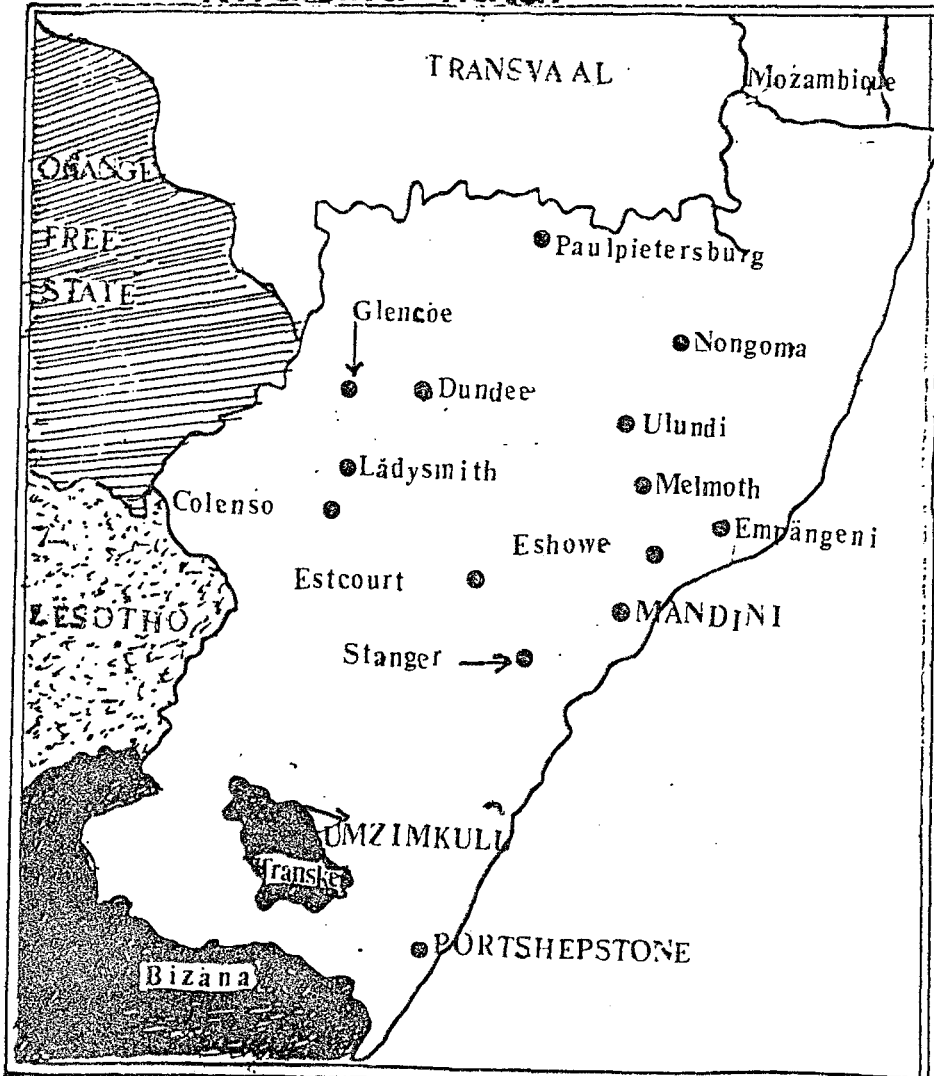
To cultural novices like myself and the other boys of my age, this scenario also called for ridicule. We also named them izinyoni [birds]. Here the word "birds" has a connotation of rural persons believed to be backward in terms of urban lifestyles. The township youth were busy with urban music and dance styles like twist and rock and roll, and fashions that were the craze of the time, believing that they were abreast with the tide of modernization. Seeing hostel dwellers festooned in odd colours and moving in ingoma style was classified as backward.

I was to learn later on that these dandified males were actually qjazibantshi [long-tail-coat-clad men] [as they were called at the time] en route to their

south africa



kwazulu natal



ngomabusuku [all night] competitions. When in 1985 I began research into this idiom for my B.A. [Honours] degree at the University of Natal in Durban, I was oblivious of the fact that I was throwing myself into a complex urban/rural world of religion, tradition and custom, quite different from the one I had experienced growing up in the city.

1.2. THE IDIOM

This dissertation is about isicathamiya, a musical style that first appeared in the 1920s and was developed by male members of the Zulu people who live in South Eastern Africa, in the coal - mining districts of Newcastle, Vryheid, Paulpietersburg, Colenso and neighbouring areas in the province of KwaZulu Natal [see map]. It is a Zulu male vocal idiom that has been popularized by the award winning group, "Ladysmith Black Mambazo". Since their international appearances with Paul Simon there has been an increased interest, locally and abroad in this idiom.

Derived from the verb cathama which means 'to crawl like a cat' or to stalk, the term isicathamiya describes the choreographic movements of this idiom [Mngoma 1977, Sithole 1979, Coplan 1960, 1982, Rycroft 1957, Larlham 1981 and Erlmann 1977, 1990, 1991]. isicathamiya veterans describe this style as neat, gentle and quiet, as opposed to indlamu which involved hard

stamping on the ground. The discussion of isicathamiya choreography in Chapter 6 shall reveal that, instead of defining it as 'crawling like a cat,' performers prefer the definition ukunyonyoba [moving stealthily] because it describes stealthy human movement, and is built around the philosophy that uma ungayinyonyobeli ingoma izobaleka [if you do not approach ingoma stealthily, it is going to run away]. An example given here is that a lion can only catch its prey if it moves with stealth.

Isicathamiya has been described by some scholars as the idiom of the migrants and proletariat who, when they were away from home, clubbed together in terms of their ethnic origins or home - boy structures to form singing groups for recreation. As David Rycroft writes:

Many forms of truly indigenous music and dancing are still performed in towns by so - called migrant labourers. Of the thousands of men who come to town from country areas to take up temporary unskilled employment, many are housed in mining, industrial and municipal compounds and hostels. Here, members of one or another tribe who still retain a common connection with their particular tribal culture naturally tend to meet together after working hours, and real traditional music and dancing as often as not materialise quite spontaneously [1957:1].

The earlier performers who were working in the mines had to find a spiritual

balm to relieve themselves from the tedium of work, loneliness and dreary working conditions. There were no women in the compounds, and as a result, migrants recruited from rural areas were accommodated in hostels where this all male singing tradition developed. My research has revealed that most members of their audiences [which included their sweethearts] were of the same rural origin and of a similar income bracket too.

Those men who were domestic workers and performing other secondary services for urban whites, came to the compounds for rehearsals. Rycroft [1957] says that on any evening of the week in Johannesburg, small groups could be heard rehearsing in hostel rooms, on balconies, and in backyards. In this way rural performers came into contact with the urban world.

In Chapter two I shall argue that the categorization of the present isicathamiya performers as migrants is a misnomer. Hostel dwelling does not imply continuation of migrancy. Group membership now extends to those home - boys who do not live in the hostels but are permanent urban dwellers. Secondly, much as the initial performers were migrants, and others employed in low paying jobs such as male domestic work, bricklaying and ordinary handy-men, my research will reveal that some performers also came from the Black literati.

Prevalent during the mid - 1930s, the style was known by many synonyms such as stishi [stitches], imbube, isikhunzi, bombing, skhwela joe, cothoza mfana and jazibantshi.² These and other names are going to feature prominently in this thesis as they refer to isicathamiya performance in different musical periods.

1.3. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND HYPOTHETICAL BASIS

There is not much written documentation of Zulu music predating the advent of isicathamiya. The only available literature discusses the history of isicathamiya from the 1930s [when it emerged and proliferated] to the present day. However, it is vital for the study to fathom the historical beginnings of this genre. The absence of literary information does not create a vacuum, however. Because I am discussing a traditional idiom that has been orally transmitted, and because I intend to give the 'emic' and etic accounts of my research, I could not overlook the importance of relying on interviewing the 'grey hairs' who are the early exponents and veterans of the style.

Writers like Mngoma [1977], Sithole [1979], Coplan [1960,1982], Rycroft

² see sections 2.2.1, 2.2.3, 5.3, 6.3.3, and 6.3.4 for detailed discussions on the derivatives of isicathamiya.

[1957] and Larlham [1981] have concentrated on 'competitions' because of the prior knowledge that competitions are the engine of isicathamiya. They have concentrated on the sound aspect, which is the 'surface structure'. They have omitted to fathom the 'deeper structures' which are behaviours, religious beliefs and attitudes of performers and their audiences. These dimensions could have provided them with the necessary background information on the song and movement culture of isicathamiya performers. Erlmann [1977, 1990, 1991] so far is the only scholar who has written extensively on this study, but he does not concentrate on the interwovenness that exists between belief systems, songs and choreography that emerges with Zionists, for example, and isicathamiya performers. Although he discusses competitions and choreography extensively, he has not asked how these are linked to the Zionist performance rituals. This is the focus of my study.

The importance of the religious element is born out in my research which revealed that 78, 2% of isicathamiya practitioners are Zionists. With this statistics in mind I compared their religious philosophies, customary rites, social status, vocal behaviour [songs] and physical behaviour [movements] in order to find common parameters.

The deeper structures reveal that isicathamiya takes as its source a variety of

elements drawn from both the pre-colonial past and the practices of an emergent modernity. Although they live in the city, isicathamiya performers have kept Zulu customs and traditions alive through traditional practices such as honouring their oblations by slaughtering goats when communicating with amathongo [ancestors] in their umlindelolo [all night vigils], and by continuing to immunize in the traditional manner and take an enema.³

Similarly, in their all night singing and choreography they take their inspiration from rural styles such as ingoma [Zulu dance], ukusina [solo dancing], isigekle [fast dance], isifekezeli [war drills], umchwayo [praises], izingoma zomshado [wedding songs], amahubo [clan anthems], umbholoho [community singing] and ukushaya induku [stick - fighting].⁴ At the same time, tradition here does not mean the seamless continuity of the symbols, customs and practices of the olden days. These traditional ways are mixed with urban forms like isikhunzi, influenced by "cooning", the performance practice of the visiting minstrel troupes in the middle 1800s.⁵ The amaleki [ragtime] characteristics of the late 1930s are also discernible. The impact of missionary hymns and the legacy of

³ This is discussed in full in Chapter 3.

⁴ These definitions of the terms were supplied by my informants. They may be articulated differently by other groups.

⁵ Cockrell, D., "Towards the Formation of Some Black South African Musics; of Revival Hymns, Minstrels and Jubilee": Durban 1984.

tonic solfa are also largely reflected in some isicathamiya examples.

What distinguishes isicathamiya from other genres currently performed in South Africa, is the way in which the combination of these traditional elements and modern practices are conceived of as traditional. Although performers say they are still performing ingoma yasekhaya [song from home], ingoma yakudala [the old song], the reference to the home and the past time, is primarily an imaginary one. Tradition, the sense of past ways in the present is a strategic device that empowers workers to cope with the uncertain present.

1.4. INDIGENOUS MUSIC THEORIES

Anthropologist, Alan Merriam, whose book The Anthropology of Music [1964] is a "well known encyclopedia of quotations, without reference to which no paper is complete" [Gourlay 1983:2]⁶ defines the discipline of ethnomusicology as the "study of music in culture" and says it is approachable from two directions, the anthropological and the musicological. On the one hand, the anthropological stressed how music is structured and functions in a particular social group, how people conceptualize, philosophize and theorize about their music. On the other hand, musicologists have concentrated on the "structure

⁶ Gourlay, K.A. The Necessity Of Theory. Papers Presented At The Third And Fourth Symposia On Ethnomusicology, Durban: University Of Natal, 1983.

of music as a system in itself" [Merriam 1964:3] which Blacking [1976] calls "the sonic object". Their focus has been the study of melodic contours, harmonic constructions, intervals, scalar and rhythmical patterns and how notes are put together to make a song. They have tended to ignore, for example the anthropological aspects such as questions pertaining to cultural meaning and values attributed to a particular body of music. Such theories were objectionable to many ethnomusicological scholars because they treated sound as an isolated object outside of its cultural matrix.

There are many musical aspects of these two approaches i.e. the anthropological and musicological which need more attention but we may not find them here, as that would warrant a study on its own in future publications. My approach is primarily cultural and anthropological. I am taking Courlay's approach as mentioned above.

As a solution to the afore - stated problem, a theory of folk evaluation is espoused hereunder by Robert Garfias, who with three other ethnomusicologists, namely Mieczyslaw Kolinski, George List and Willard Rhodes attended the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology at Wesleyan University in 1963, styled The Symposium On Transcription And Analysis. Four of them were given the task of transcribing and analysing the same piece of music and then bring their results to the meeting for comparison

[England 1964].

According to England the aim was to provide material for thought, not only to the participants, but also to everyone interested in the discipline of ethnomusicology regarding one of the most important tools of the trade, transcription as Seeger puts it, the "visual documentation of sound recording" [England:223]. Although all the four ethnomusicologists produced different transcriptions of a Hukwe [Bushman musical bow] and stated their reasons for doing so, Robert Garfias' conclusion which is in concert with Merriam and Blacking's rejection of Carl Seashore's tests of musical ability states:

This transcription of the Hukwe melody shows some departures from standard transcription techniques. It is not, however, designed as a universally applicable method. In fact, it might be better argued that each genre or tradition be transcribed according to a special system devised to illustrate best those aspects of the performance on which the analyst wishes to concentrate. No system of transcription, mechanical or otherwise, can preserve all of a musical example accurately, and it is up to the transcriber to select or emphasize pertinent parts of the entire configuration. The standard western notation system tends to reinforce those aspects of the sound pattern which are compatible with our own notation traditions and in varying degrees to distort or omit others [Garfias 1964:233].

Garfias' analysis is further echoed by George List who says:

When two scholars transcribe the same recorded performance there is rarely agreement on all details heard. No matter how qualified or experienced the two scholars may be, their transcriptions will display differences not only in methods of notation but also in content, in what is notated [1974:353].

Garfias' analysis shows us that whether we use Kenneth Pike's emic and etic methods in transcribing music, subjectivity is largely discernible [Jairazbhoy 1977]. According to Jairazbhoy electronic devices too can be inaccurate, especially if the researcher in the field, through subjectivity decided to record what he wanted to transcribe. It is for this reason that Charles Seeger suggests that, "musicology is going to have to develop a more descriptive music writing that can be written and read with maximum objectivity" [1977:180]. It is for this reason again that Merriam stresses the major strength of ethnomusicology when he says:

Music is a product of man and has structure, but its structure cannot have existence of its own divorced from the behaviour which produces it. In order to understand how and why a music structure exists as it does, we must also understand how and why the concepts which underlie that behaviour are ordered in such a way as to produce the particularly desired form of organized sound [Merriam 1964:7].

I argue that writing a dissertation about a people with a long history of oral transmission of culture and no evidence of written notation, whose ecological studies are conceptualized differently than in the west, and whose demographic tendencies are not approached in a numerical way, but approached through kinship system and lineages, and religion where everything has a continuum of men who have connections with God, presents special problems for analysts.

It is for reasons such as these that I have not used notation in this theses,

although traditional Ethnomusicological approach might demand it. This is not the emphasis of my study.

Peoples' own concepts of their actions, their reasons and explanations for them, and more generally the whole range of their own notions about social and natural world they live in, form a necessary and indivisible part of their reality [Blacking 1981:1]. Zulus have their own notions of verbal and non - verbal modelling systems that they use for describing their indigenous music theories. They also have their own ways of identifying their experiences.

Zulus do not notate their musical performances in written form but in symbolic and metaphorical forms. It is how they link spiritual experience with expressive culture, like the wearing of iziphandla [goats - skin wrist bands] and ukugcaba⁷ by Zulu men that symbolizes purification and indlela eya ebudodeni [the rural path to male maturity].⁸ Likewise, melody to Zulus is perceived as indlela, the rural path whose undulations and meandering cannot be measured and anticipated.

⁷to administer incisions on any part of the human body for the purpose of administering powdered medication - rubbing the powder into the raw bleeding incision.

⁸ The concept of indlela is discussed in detail in chapter six.

Bongani Mthethwa [1984:56] says a short melodic phrase is referred to as umucu which literally means a thread of cotton onto which beads are strung - appropriate for applying to

'melody' in music. The beads are given to a male suitor by her female friend to register acceptance of his love proposal.

Therefore, musically speaking umucu represents an unfinished story or a musical phrase. When the couple decide to get married, the woman shows her consent by giving her male friend umgexo [a necklace with an assortment of ubuhlalu, beads]. Musically, umgexo is symbolic of a fuller idea. To performers a musical sentence is representative of a metaphorical journey to the stage

[see ill. 2 and 9 a and b].

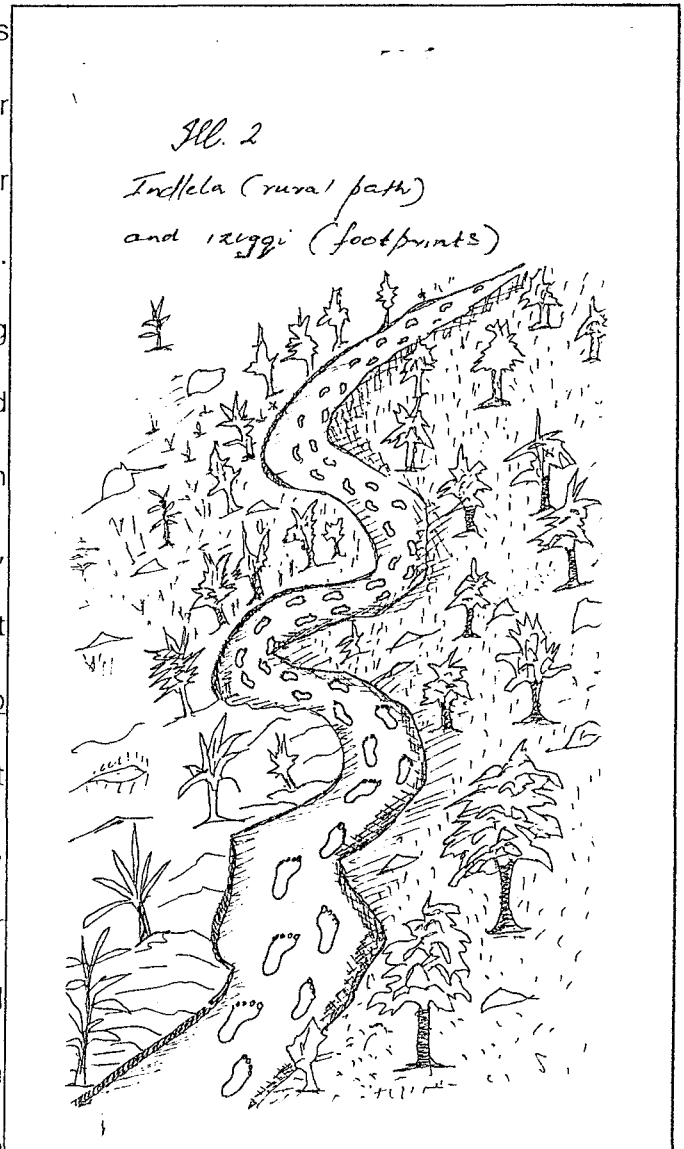


Illustration 2

Similarly with the early European church music manuscripts like the Gregorian

chant, the neums and little symbols simply expressed movement, up and down. Then music was divided into textual meaning, where you would have a symbol expression for sliding up, for holding it there and sliding down, much like following a path [indlela]. Likewise, in Zulu musical parlance, umucu [phrase] izigqi [footprints] tell you that you go from here, to there and come down there, just like the meandering and undulating on the path to the stage. Blacking is consonant with this view when he says: "nonverbal modelling systems may sometimes be as important as speech in influencing a course of social action" [Blacking 1981:4].

It goes without saying that there are multiple ways of conceptualising musical performance and experience. Also worth citing is Hugo Zemp [1978,1979] who discusses the music of the 'Are 'Are of the Solomon Islands that reveals a local conceptualization of the link between music and metaphor [Gourlay 1983]. Equally Steven Feld discusses the Kaluli of New Guinea and their metaphorical association of their music sounds with waterfalls and bird sounds [1981]. He says sound structure is social structure for it is a form of human behaviour embodying the cultural ideals, embedded in musical performance. With some cultures metaphor is often the only way to understand musical principles that are grounded on social harmony, as Waterman would put it: "Musical style is grounded in values...Musics do not have selves; people do" [1990:6].

When Blacking says: "the focus of analysis, in written as well as unwritten music, must be on the creative process, and in particular on performance" [1981:184], we shall begin to understand why in the Zionists umlindelo [waiting up songs] we cannot predetermine by notation that at a certain point in the music the leader of the group is going to say, sa! walakahla [signalling a change of movement], or a Zionist preacher avukwe umoya, "becomes spirited", because even the initiates themselves do not know when they are going to be spirited. It is for these reasons that izicathamiyans/ Zionists say they do not even write down the words of their music. They say once you write words down music dies. Expressiveness and dimensionalism in Zulu parlance is spiritualism [umoya].

When composing music for amahubo, ingoma and isicathamiya, performers concentrate on the creative process. Therefore, ethnomusicological studies should focus mainly on the part that music plays in a given culture, and leave the "structure of music sound as a system in itself" to musicologists [Merriam 1964:3].

The music illustrations provided in this thesis will therefore not attempt to show how 'notes are put together to make a song', but will discuss the hows and whys which are the processes that lead to the product. Zulu performers themselves never involve themselves in notational thought processes when

making music. This is why I will then try to examine what goes inside their heads that make them produce this music. In this way the outsider will be provided with the insiders' thought processes that lead to performance. The transcriptions supplied in this study are graphic representations of their stage performances and must be viewed as approximations of their sound structures.

Transcriptions are by their nature capricious and are some form of shorthand, as they can never capture performances in their social milieu. Although a video is itself a form of notation, it has been supplied in this study because of its capability of allowing the reader to visualize the indefinable in words.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

1.5.1. Methods used

The researcher regards it as necessary to have some historic perspective and knowledge of the investigated phenomena of the past in order to understand more fully the present. This is attempted in Chapters two and three. For these one has to turn to literature. The researcher is well aware that a fair amount of literature does exist on the subject and many sources have been consulted as far back as the middle 19th century. Some of the earlier sources of information written by missionaries are designed to inculcate certain ideas and

are therefore biased and unscientific. Nevertheless they provided a valuable background to the study of present day performers and worshippers.

The researcher's knowledge of oral tradition and the proto-history of KwaZulu - Natal as well as his acquaintance with Zulu, Bhaca, and Xhosa dialects, provided another easy entry. His knowledge of Zulu helped him in tracing the background of some of origins of Zulu religious philosophies which have been adopted by isicathamiya practitioners and Zionists. Thus his linguistic ability facilitated communication and the grasping of many abstract ideas. The researcher feels that his undergraduate training and training at honours and masters level have been of great benefit. Apart from his musicological training, his training in related fields such as anthropology and social anthropology were undoubtedly of great benefit. Because KwaZulu - Natal is a vast area, practical preparations for field work included inter alia, the use of the researcher's private vehicle as he was not funded. The researcher relied entirely on his relatively insufficient income as school teacher.

During investigation, use was made of every possible source of information that could be considered available. These included performers, veterans in the field, local informants, leaders of Zionist congregations, Chairmen of isicathamiya associations, and prominent people inside the community who were knowledgeable in the phenomena investigated. No questionnaires were used.

Instead the researcher relied on interviews, formal and informal discussions. These were regarded as secondary informants. Specifically arranged interviews with at least 57 groups have been the primary and major source of this thesis.

Observation naturally played an important part in this investigation. Several techniques were used in gathering actual data from performers. The researcher attended a plethora of their isicathamiya rehearsals and competitions and Zionist imilindelo services and also took part in performances and church services. In certain areas in Durban the initial contact was started by requesting the performers to converge at the spot for interviews. On some occasions the researcher would use his private car for conveying groups, so that the researcher would be among them for socialization and therefore gather more information informally. This placed him at an ideal position for observation and learning to question performers in subsequent interviews. Where interviews showed lack of information, re - visits were made available.

The researcher acquired a commendable knowledge of isicathamiya terminology. Customary rites undergone by performers were explained to the researcher and it was explained how this spiritualization helps them in the performances of indlela [journey to the stage]. The belief in ancestors came out clearly in the interviews.

The researcher was thus trusted and accepted. Where his knowledge was lacking he would be reminded of tradition. Informants suggested that at the completion of this work a goat should be slaughtered as oblations to the ancestors [see appendix regarding dates and period of research].

1.5.2 Evaluation of data from interviews, biographical accounts and song discussions

1.5.3 Biographies of musicians

1.5.4 Survey of primary and secondary sources

1.5.4.1 Primary Sources

- a) Journal articles
- b) Personal interviews and discussion
- c) Public addresses
- d) Official correspondence, statistics, reports, publications eg. African Music Journals, Ethnomusicology journals.
- e) Official documents, statistical records, publications and correspondence of universities

- f] Observation and analysis of performing groups in their all night competitions
- g] Educational conference papers and reports
- h] Video recordings and inscriptions

1.5.4.2 Secondary sources

- a] Books
- b] Theses

1.6 THE SCOPE OF THE WORK AND DEMARCATION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

My choice of subject was influenced by a desire to look at ways in which the social and philosophical behaviours of Zulus are reflected through isicathamiya performance. In Chapter 2 we shall see from the biographical accounts how these migrant workers were caught up in rural/urban world experiences and how they solved the problems of shifting identities between rural and urban spaces. We shall also see how survival strategies like the formation of performing groups and migrant associations formed on kinship ties helped them to help themselves, and how ethnic associations enforced the sense of Zulu identity.

Chapter 3 will show us that the Zulu traditionalist is heavily influenced by Christian teaching, whereas isicathamiya practitioners are traditionalists whose

philosophical behaviour is firmly entrenched in pre-Christian worship of uNkulunkulu or uMvelinqangi "as the maker of the earth and everything that is in the world" [Vilakazi 1965:87]. Discussions of Zulu religion will offer us explanations of Zulu beliefs in amathonga/amadlozi [ancestral spirits] from which they trace their beginnings. Further, beliefs in ancestral spirits, mythology and folk-lore also demand study since they influence Zulu philosophies of life, and thoughts about this body of music.

Chapter 4 will focus on Christianity as an African heritage, thereby arresting the notion that Christianity originates or was simply imposed on African peoples by the west. The discussion here will attempt to reveal the Zionists' concept of the Black Christ and the biblical sources supporting traditional medicinal practices and healing rituals. The indigenization of Christianity through the Zionists' re-examination of the Bible and its references to traditional practices is vital to this study.

Chapter 5 will usher us into an isicathamiya world - view, the cosmology and cosmogony. We shall see why the performers' status is dichotomous - they are Zionists and izicathamiyans. The performers will give testimonies of why they integrate Christianity with the worshipping and veneration of the shades.

Chapter 6 will show us how isicathamiya performers transformed their rural

styles to fit into the urban settings and how their competitions served as a base for musical fantasies about home. How the hostel stage halls were used to represent the rural kraal - a remaking of home; how they see themselves as custodians of Zulu custom and identity. In this chapter the discussion will also further reveal that isicathamiya stage competitions are a construction of meaning and the reconstruction of the past. These performances express conservatism, Zuluness. In fact these performances are an imagined replay of the past, using present day commentaries in song and movement.

The discussion on Zulu performance concepts in Chapter 7 will reflect how Zulu thought patterns are put to work in song and choreography and how traditional beliefs enhance their performance practices. I also discuss how they use their bodies to transcend mundane spheres in isicathamiya secular performances and Zionists' rituals. In their umlindelo [waiting up time] for competitions] commonly known as ngomabusuku, this study will offer us explanations as to why izicathamiyans and Zionist performances have similarities.

Is it because of the indigenized Christianity of the African Independent churches? What about their compositional skills that performers say are acquired through dreams and vision quests, are they linked to their beliefs in ancestral spirits? Why is isicathamiya choreography shaped like the Zionist isikhalanga [circle movement], is it also a form of ritual? Is this what influences

their song texts? Through interviews we shall manage to get answers to the above questions and we are also going to be ushered into a rich language of Zulu musical philosophy, concepts and musical terms.

1.7 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.7.1 'Traditional' Music

The term 'traditional' music has been upstaged by some scholars who make it sound as if it refers to those musics which border on the periphery. The music has also been referred to as 'simple and repetitive', as if these songs are amorphous and as if their repetitive nature is simplistic, unstructured and unmusical. At the same time western music is portrayed as the quintessence of the world's musics. On the other hand, to Zulus, Xhosas, Tswanas, Vendas etc., western music may be purposeless, gibberish and inconsequent because it is not culture - bound, and does not enshrine African values and customs, and does not represent African philosophical thoughts about music. It is common to hear people talking of traditional musics as if they are 'left overs' from the so - called 'progressive Western classical musical forms'.

This study will reveal that these musics do have form and structure. And that some of these forms and structures do not necessarily lean on western structures because these compositions epitomize the concepts, beliefs, traditions and customs in different communities. The words 'folk' and 'traditional', when used as appellations to describe national music of some cultures, are similar. Western classical music could also be termed 'traditional' or 'folk' music. Blacking [1976] says all music is folk music. Nettl [1973] says in some languages the words 'folk' and 'national' are the same. Therefore traditional music is not inferior to classical music simply because it is passed on orally. Distinctions between oral transmission and literary culture have nothing to do with the simplicity or complexity of music. All societies have simple and complex songs.

Concepts, principles and philosophies behind music making can only be understood by composers, performers and audiences of given traditional situations. Outsiders can never know the reasons surrounding the simplicity, complexity or efficacy of some musical forms, for they do not know how these concepts function in given societies. For instance, this study will reveal that in the performance of all Zulu traditional styles discussed here, performers bavukwa umoya, become spirited, or perform 'as if possessed by spirits'. This kind of spiritualism, or 'pentecostalism' [if used in a liturgical context] is culture-bound and abound in almost all traditional musical styles. Therefore a traditional

musical idiom like isicathamiya is as important to its performers and their audiences, as classical music is to its performers and audiences.

1.7.2 Traditional Dance

In this study I shall be using the phrase 'structured movement system' or choreography instead of the word 'dance', whenever I can, mainly because there is no Zulu word for dance. Performers deny emphatically that their movements are dances. Traditionally, the rhythmical stirring of the body is called umnyakazo [movement] and/or ukudlala [playing], just like ukudlala ngenduku [stick playing/fighting].

1.7.3 "IsiNtu"

On the basis of what I have discussed in 1.7.1, the meaning of tradition can also be inferred from African concepts of humanity and sociability. Thus, the word isiNtu in its broadest sense means "humanity " and may be a password to many cultures of the world, for it is a pivot around which many concepts,

beliefs and philosophies revolve. The word ubuNtu means the "act of being human", and isiNtu may in its narrowest sense be termed Zuluness in Kwa - Zulu Natal. In its original context, the word abaNtu means people of any colour, race or creed. But in the South African context it was wrongly used to refer to Black people.

In his book, "African Religions and Philosophy", Mbiti, J. says:

"NTU is Being itself, and cosmic universal force...NTU is that force in which Being and beings coalesce...NTU expresses, not the effect of these forces, but their being. But the forces act continually, and are constantly effective' [pp.99 ff] [1969:11].

Accordingly, this mythical or imaginary "NTU" would be revealed only if the whole universe came to a standstill [ibid p.11]. According to Mbiti the word baNtu means something different, for its stem Ntu is universal. To Black South Africans the meaning of the word abantu [plural] means people; umuntu [singular] means a person, any person, any human being. But it is commonplace to hear a white man incorrectly saying, eg. "I met a bantu as I was coming up the road", and the plural word abantu in this context refers to a singular person. This misnomer bantu may be attributable to linguists who use it for the classification of languages in South Africa. But there is also a political dimension to the word abantu. Black South Africans regard this term Bantu as

gratuitous, disparaging and therefore unacceptable, especially since it was used in discriminatory government legislation like "Bantu Authorities Act", "Bantu Affairs" and "Bantustans".

When Black South Africans refer to umculo waBantu or umculo weSintu, they in fact mean 'traditional' music, encompassing all rural song and movement forms [to be discussed in the next chapter]. Traditional songs are sung with pride and reverence. When singing traditional songs, traditional regalia must be worn, otherwise the songs and their movements lose their colour and sacredness.

The Zulu proverb, umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu, literally meaning, a person is a person because of other people, or a person is a person because he socializes with other people, or in western terms, no man is an island, exemplifies the universality of the word umuNtu. And this proverb is quite ubiquitous with isicathamiya musicians. If you ask them why they use it often the reply that it comes from ekhaya [home or farm], where they live as a unit, as a family and are dependent upon each other for anything. They say it also comes from war songs, where they have to perform interdependently for the production of good isihomuhomu, harmony [Caiphus Sibiyi, Chairman of KwaMashu branch, interview 28/05/94]. They say even here in the cities they live in hostels as a unit, as a family, because almost all groups are formed by members coming

from the same homestead. Therefore they have to depend on each other for survival in the cruel city life.

Further, rotating credit institutions like stokvels are kept alive by Zionists and izicathamiyans because they are the best agencies for helping each other financially and otherwise. And that is why even their ngomabusuku competitions are run in a stokvel - like manner. Mbatha of N.B.A. Champions says, "the isicathamiya that I am singing is not mine. It belongs to the community, especially when I perform it in a way acceptable by the community" [interview 27/11/93]. And continues to say that, for isicathamiya to survive, it has to depend entirely upon public and community, more especially from their patrons comprising homeboys, sweethearts, friends and relatives coming from the same villages. [ibid].

Msimanga [veteran] adds that the dictum, umuntu umgumuntu ngabantu is kept alive by them because they are shunned by their educated brethren and they decided to stand up on their own and unite [ibid]. In the next Chapter we shall be looking at how the isicathamiya idiom was brought into the city, how this idiom developed and proliferated, how local styles were influenced by urban forces and which traditional traits resisted syncretism.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 RURAL/URBAN MIGRATION

The main object of this chapter is to explore the early history of isicathamiya music that arose as a result of labour migration and industrialization, especially in the coal-mining districts of Natal in the 1920s. Although this style first appeared in the 1920s, its origins go back a century ago to the 1880s [Erlmann 1987:1]. The period between 1920-1930 appears to mark a watershed in urban black performing arts because "the people of Natal were first to be exposed to migrant labour, to be exposed to mines and compounds [Clegg 1981b:2].

The oldest isicathamiya performers interviewed, like Ngweto Cornelius Zondo of the Paulpietersburg Crocodiles [born in 1911] and Paulos Msimanga of the Natal Champions [born in 1929], say most of the migrant workers came from the same farms in Zululand, from below and above the Tugela River which marks the boundary between Natal and Zululand [see map]. Some came from Glencoe, Bergville, Hlobane, Ladysmith, Dundee in the heart of the Natal province. Some came from Mahlabathini, Ulundi, Nongoma, Eshowe, Empangeni and Stanger. Most of the migrants came to the cities by recruitment; some opted to come to the cities forced by massive evictions from their ancestral land where they had been living as family units for survival, through rural

subsistence. Some, albeit a few, came of their own volition, seeking greener pastures.

Erlmann says these evictions "produced the farm labour required by expanding white farms as well as a steady supply of migrant labour to the industrial centres like Durban and Johannesburg" [1990:205 vl.34 no.2.]. And Christopher says that what further precipitated this migration and industrialization was that "the indigenous population provided a source of unskilled labour, at a price at which White immigrants could not compete" [1982:40].

Also worth mentioning are the effects of the 1913 Natives Land Act and the First World War that forced large numbers of rural Africans into the Durban labour market "and heralded a new era of large-scale industrial expansion, urban growth, and political unrest" [Erlmann 1991:58]. Ghettos, resettlements, reserves, Bantustans stimulated by the 1934 Native Trust and Land Bill, the 1936 Natives Trust and Land Act which saw the excision of land from Black areas, the 1950 Group Areas Act, the 1951 Squatters Act, and the 1952 Native Laws amendment Act [Christopher 1982:44-52], were repressive policies aimed at cultural emasculation and at "securing a stable supply of cheap African labor" [Erlmann 1991:58].

To curtail influx into major centres, industrial-gerrymandered boundaries had to be introduced [Christopher 1982:44-52]. Ethnic boundaries "canalize social life... entail social interaction and contact between persons" [Barth 1969:11]. And change of ethnic membership occurred through marriage across these industrial boundaries.

Because workers from these Black states only met at work at these industrial boundaries, and returned to their respective states after work, ethnicity encroached, became fossilized and firmly entrenched amongst Black South Africans. In fact in some townships like Soweto there were sections allocated specifically for Zulus, Xhosas, Ndebeles, Sothos etc. Because they were a mixture of various African communities i.e. Zulus, Sothos, Xhosas, Shangaans, Mozambicans they came with their "...vigorous traditions of mimetic dance, poetic expression, musical and gestural narrative..." [Coplan 1985:64] and a complex articulation between ethnic and regional background emerged.

But clarification needs be made here regarding the term 'migrants'. Although the term is going to feature prominently in this discourse, as it denotes early mine recruits who started the singing of this isicathamiya, subsequent hostel dwelling groups were employed in a variety of skilled and unskilled labour. Actually, according to Professor Khabi Mngoma, to say isicathamiya was performed only by 'migrants' is incorrect, especially when taking into account

that some people who were singing it had advanced education. This is reflected in the brief biographies below. But let us for a moment hear what

Professor Khabi Mngoma has to say about this:

Some of the people who sang it became Professors like Professor Absolom Vilakazi who comes from Newcastle, father to Professor Herbert Vilakazi. Professor Nyembezi was also familiar with the style. Professor Elkin Sithole [who was lecturing at the University of Illinois in America-now late] sang it too. It was a familiar style at the time. Isicathamiya performers are not migrants at all. They might have been when this idiom started. The only link is the home-boy structure [interview 23/04/94].

Therefore the brief biographies to follow will attempt to show that none of the groups interviewed are 'migrants' and that all of them are able to read and write. But what will stand out is that all of them are employed in a variety of low - paying jobs.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES

Professor Khabi Mngoma

Khabi V. Mngoma is now a retired Professor. He was head of the Music

Department of the University of Zululand. He says he lived through this tradition. He became involved with it from 1938 at Wemmer Hostel in Johannesburg. In 1947 when he was working for the Recreation Community Services Department, one of his assignments was to establish venues for the choirs. They often used the Inch Cape Hall Polly Street Centre in Polly Street and a church in Mvuyane Congregational Church in Doornfontein, and the mine hall in City Deep in Johannesburg. He, together with impresarios like Mggomo Dlamini, would secure the hall, look for judges and be involved in all other arrangements. In this way he became intimate with the style.

Paulpietersburg Crocodiles' leader, Ngweto Cornelius Zondo was born in 1924 in Paulpietersburg. He never attended school, instead he looked after cattle. He could not find a job on the farm so he went to Johannesburg in the early 1940s, where, together with his brothers they worked as bricklayers, as contract workers for a company called F.R. Christium Ltd, which was a big firm responsible for building props for all the mines in Johannesburg [interview 3/11/85].

Easy Walkers' leader, Absolom Gumbi was born at KwaDweshula in Port Shepstone in 1932. He did not go to school and was employed as a male domestic worker in Durban in 1952. In 1954 he worked for the Oil Refinery as a labourer, for Royco Company up to 1975 and for Sandof for 9 years

[interview 20/05/89].

Home Tigers' leader Samson Ntombela was born at KwaBabango in the heart of Zululand in 1930. He never went to school. As a result he worked as a labourer in low paying jobs [interview 24/02/86].

Paulos Msimanga, an isicathamiya veteran was born at kwaNobamba [Weenen], near Estcourt on the 29/9/29. Msimanga went to school up to standard eight. He started working in 1948, at the age of eighteen, in Durban at Brick and Tiles, commonly known as Coronation, in Briardene as a machinist. He also worked as a handy-boy at Morningside where they were building a flat. He also worked at Umgeni Iron Works, where they were moulding iron. He also worked for Union Whaling Company in the workshop where they were also moulding iron bars. Then in 1954 he worked for S.A.R. [South African Railways] for 36 years, until he retired in 1991. He started isicathamiya in 1958 with Nyawuza at Congella. Although he never took part in singing, he was always involved in organizing competitions until he took up Chairmanship of the Y.M.C.A. [interviews 24/02/86, 05/04/86, 27/11/93].

King Star Brothers, who are managed by H. Pelo [a fluent English speaker] was formed in 1960 in a location called Sinawane, in Standerton. Most members are

now self-employed, running taxi businesses, whilst a few are still employed in low paying jobs [interview 2/7/89].

Orlando Naughty Boys [surviving members]. Mbijane Shembe, the leader, was born at Warden in the Orange Free State province in 1925. He only went up to standard 5. He came to Johannesburg when he was only eleven years old to start schooling, brought by his elder brother Petros Shembe, who worked for Consolidated Textiles as a labourer, to start schooling at the Salvation Army in Orlando East, Soweto. He studied up to standard five. He then worked at a restaurant. He was then introduced to ngomabusuku music by Jeremia Makhoba, a popular tenor of the "Naughty Boys" at the time in 1937. In 1948 he worked for a shoe repair shop in Julis Street, in Denver in Johannesburg. He later resigned from work and became a professional cobbler [interview 6/7/89].

Orlando Naughty Boys co - leader, George Mkhalihi, a relative of Mbijane Shembe, was born at Newcastle in 1918. He remembers the year of his birth because he says it was the year of isibhadalala, "1918 influenza". He only went up to standard one. When he was 19 years of age he went to Johannesburg where he worked for a Timber Company until he retired [ibid].

Durban Crocodiles' leader **Enoch Mzobe** was born at Bothas Hill in 1921. He went to school only up to standard one, then went to look after cattle as he

was considered well educated at the time. Then as a teenager he worked as a gardener for a white man at Amanzimtoti near Durban. He left work and went back to school and finished off at standard five. Then he proceeded to Johannesburg for his music career. While in Johannesburg he worked for Torch Ties factory in Commissioner street as a labourer. As a side-line to supplement his derisory income of one pound ten shillings a week, he sold clothes. He worked for Sprite Caravans in Pinetown from 1969 to 1973, and for Datsun Centre for 2 years. He then worked at Ndwedwe for five years and retired. "It must have been 1982, or 1983" [interview 26/05/89].

Let us now look at how groups in the cities were formed. Was it because they were working together? Was it because they belonged to the same social category? Was it because they came from the same farm? What about their religious affiliations? What really are the forces that brought them together?

2.1.2 Home-boy structure and ethnic origins

Isicathamiya arose as an important musical idiom in the mines because it had to amalgamate with a variety of musical and dance styles and because of the heterogenous population of hostel dwellers and migrant workers in the coal mining compounds. Because they still retained a common connection with their tribal group, they tended to meet after working hours to discuss matters of

common interest and phantasize about ikhaya. They faced the same traumatic experiences of family separation. So to rid themselves of nostalgia, "real traditional music and dances as often as not used to materialize" [Rycroft 1951:1]. This was a beginning of the revival of rural culture in an urban context.

The formation of football teams could be referred to as a precursor of isicathamiya competitions, for membership here was built on izihlobo zegazi [relatives of the blood], meaning "biological relatives", by team mates from the same rural districts. According to Isaac Mtshali of the King Boys, Albert Gumbi of Easy Walkers and Enoch Mzobe of the Durban Crocodiles, most group members appear to have been football players. When trying to find out this connection, my informants also pointed out that most groups members are Zionists. Enoch Mzobe even said:

It is because worshipping involves singing. And its also because football involves males only; isicathamiya involves males only too. Compounds and hostels accommodate males only, which made football and the isicathamiya to be the only vehicles by which males could express themselves [interview 26/05/89].

Let us find out from the transcripts of interviews below other reasons that led to the interwovenness of football and the isicathamiya music idiom:

Mtshali of the "Kings Boys" has this to say:

That was in 1965. I do not know if I can describe this fairly well. I told you earlier that we have been a football team, the "Wendol Vultures". Then because of problems we encountered, the team was banned at work. We were living together at that time. Rather than remaining idle, we decided to form a singing group. That was still in 1965. At that time we were working at Wentworth hospital. We worked there for a very long time, playing for the above football team.

The change occurred when a new superintendent arrived at the hospital. He discouraged us from playing football because we sustained much injuries, and on Mondays some of us would not go to work. Then he stopped us from playing football. Thereafter we had a plateau of stagnation, and we decided that rather than loiter after work and on weekends, we should form a singing group. Singing would not injure us in any case. Then we formed this group, and we drafted a constitution and named the group "King Boys" [interview 23/02/86].

Albert Gumbi of "Easy Walkers" says most groups started by being football players, "Our football team was called the "New Tailors". We played football during the day and sang in the evening" [interview 20/05/89].

Enoch Mzobe of the "Durban Crocodiles" says:

I also played football, playing for a club called "Bergville Lions". I worked so hard that I was even commissioned to open a football ground at Molweni [near Port Shepstone], and taught children how to play football.

Q: Now, how did you combine football and singing isicathamiya?

A: I played football during the day and sang in the evening.

Q: What was the idea of combining football and singing ?

A: I wanted to keep the young men together. Sometimes the same name is given to singing groups and soccer players, and that does not cause problems.

Q: How did you choose the members of your singing group?

A: I first used the same soccer team, and as time went on other people developed interest and joined us [interview 26/05/89].

The interwovenness of football and isicathamiya is also evidenced in the use of izintelezi [medicinal charms], or 'the taking of the emetic' as an energizer and

- hardener, as echoed by Enoch Mzobe below:

I also composed a song about the "taking of an emetic". In the olden times, when the male wanted to woo a lady, he would first drink medicine, with an intention of spewing it later. This was done as a 'hardening instrument' so that males would not be weak, and so that their bodies would be resistant to witchcraft by their male counterparts who might have been hardened with stronger medicine.

The 'taking of an emetic' also served as a charm to ladies and increased their chances of winning in their proposals. Even in stick-fighting; you cannot challenge 'another male from the other side of the river' unless you are sure that you are strong, and certain that you have hardened yourself. So if your opponent is weak he would be defeated [interview 26/05/89 12].

Sometimes other males would carry with them some medicine that they would smear on their eye-brows when they see a beautiful lady approaching. Again this would increase the chance of winning. Football clubs too use this medicine for smearing it on strategic spots in the body, or on their football boots, or at the goal-posts, to ward off goals from their opponents. When smeared on their football boots it would increase the chance of scoring goals. If smeared by players who are defending at the back, it would be impossible for the forwards of the opposing team to pass this invisible wall created by the 'medicinal spell'.

Sometimes medicine is poured on the ground clandestinely as the players enter the field before the beginning of the game. The effect of this medicine would be to weaken other players. If both teams are equally strong, a draw usually ensues [ibid].

According to the above informants, football members were hostel or compound residents, and the formation of teams was according to the principle of "home-boy structure". Though it is a common feature to have brothers and relatives in one group, some groups today do not have any blood attachment or regional basis at all. Some groups are constituted purely on friendship ties, irrespective of rural proximity. This is why Keesing has this to say regarding formation of groups according to kinship ties:

The anthropologist who studies a tribal community can anticipate that people do not always live up to the ideal standards of behavior between relatives, and that they act toward one another in many roles other than those based on blood relationship [1981:215].

Now let us for a moment look at a few examples of how membership in these groups below was constituted so as to determine blood relationships, religious ties,⁹ friendship ties, home-boy structure and ethnic origins. In this way we are

⁹ The question of the same religious ties will be discussed in Chapter 3 in detail. Here we are concerned with their rural origin, and their rural performance styles that were transported to the cities.

going to determine whether Keesing is correct when he says communities do not always live up to the ideal standards of behaviour between relatives. In our case, do the groups live up to the home-boy structure?

Paulpietersburg Crocodiles

Ndlwenye Jacob Zondo [bass] - Paulpietersburg
 Zonke Jacob Khumalo [tenor] - Paulpietersburg
 Ngweto Cornelius Zondo [leader/soprano] - Paulpietersburg Matshamhlophe
 Joseph Khumalo [alto] - Paulpietersburg.

All members come from the same reserve called "String" in Paulpietersburg. The two Zondos are biological brothers, and the Khumalos are blood brothers too.¹⁰

King Star Brothers

Enoch Masina [soprano/alto] - Standerton
 Paulos Mbatha [bass] - Standerton
 Abraham Makhubo [bass] - Standerton
 Roy Mathobela [bass] - Newcastle
 Philip Shabalala [bass] - Bethlehem
 Moses Cebekhulu [tenor] - Standerton
 Nhlapho [bass] - Greylingstad
 Bernard Hlatshwayo [soprano] - Standerton
 John Hlatshwayo [bass] - Standerton
 Philip Mabizela [bass] - Standerton

¹⁰ The reason why there are only four members in this group is because earlier isicathamiya groups used to model themselves on American gospel troupes, like the Golden Gate Quartet.

Shadrack Shabalala [tenor] - Standerton

The Hlatshwayos and Shabalalas in the group are biological brothers. They say they are "cousins under the star of the King of the Hlatshwayos" [interview - 2/7/89]. Almost all of them come from Standerton.

Easy Walkers

Absolom Gumbi [soprano/leader] - kwaDweshula, Port Shepstone
 Mbuyiseni Wellington Khuzwayo [alto] - KwaDweshula
 Richard Mziwonke Maci [tenor] - Harding
 Mthethweni Francis Mdladla [bass] - KwaDweshula
 Mubi Philemon Msane [bass] - Mthwalume
 Mbukelwa Frank Shoji [bass] - Mthwalume
 Mlaliswa Alpheus Memela [bass] - Enyavini at Mzinto
 Mbalekwa James Mtolo [bass] - Port Shepstone
 Makhosazana Francisca Mabaso [alto] - Rockdale in Bergville Khayelihle Isaac
 Msomi [tenor] - KwaDweshula
 Khushulwa Mazeka [bass] - Ixopo
 Lifana Alson Nkungu [bass] - KwaDweshula
 Siphon Wiseman Dlamini [bass] - kwesikaMthethwa at Empangeni
 Muntu Albert Khoza [bass] - kwaMaphumulo
 Muhle Zephania Nhlumayo [alto] - kwaXolo eZingolweni
 Velile Stanford [bass] - eMzimkhulu

Although Ixopo, Umzinto and Umzimkhulu do not fall under the magisterial district of Port Shepstone, they are neighbouring areas. But performers coming from these areas do not share any blood ties with other members of the group. They are just friends recruited from their workplaces. The same applies to members coming from Rockdale in Bergville, kwesikaMthethwa at Empangeni and kwaMapumulo, which geographically are the only places not in the Port

Shepstone area.

N.B.A. Champions

Hamilton Mbatha [leader/soprano] - Babanango
 Limos Khumalo [alto] - Babanango
 Caleb Khumalo [tenor] - Babanango
 Ephraim Khumalo [bass] - Babanango
 Shadrack Manyoni [bass] - Babanango
 Samuel Buthelezi [bass] - Babanango
 Freddy Buthelezi [bass] - Babanango
 Phineas Mthabela [bass] - Babanango
 Mduduzi Biyela [bass] - Nkandla
 Mthoko Biyela [bass] - Nkandla
 Vusumuzi Sithole [bass] - Hlabisa

All the Khumalos, the Biyelas and the Buthelezis here are biological brothers from one home-place, Babanango, in north Zululand. Mbatha, Manyoni, Mthabela and Sithole are distant relatives of the Khumalos. Nkandla and Hlabisa share one magisterial district.

River Stars

Alfred Sibisi [leader/soprano] - Nquthu
 Mzwandile Sibisi [bass] - Nquthu
 Thulani Khoza [alto] - Nquthu
 Walter Khoza [tenor] - Nquthu
 Maxwell Thango [bass] - Nquthu
 Moffat Thango [tenor/bass] - Nquthu
 Phellington Magoso [bass] - Bulwer
 Enoch Nzama [bass] - Ndwedwe
 Richard Goqo [soprano/bass] - Nquthu
 Sibusiso Dlamini [bass] - Greytown
 Tom Zama [bass] - Greytown
 Gcinani Mthimkhulu [bass] - Melmoth

Here, Sibisis, Khozas and Thangos are blood-brothers. Other members are friends who were swallowed up in the group when it was formed in Durban.

FAIRVIEW

Alfred Hlabe [soprano] - Bizana
 Walter Mjoli [leader/soprano] - Bizana
 Headman Zambe [alto] - Bizana
 Raphael Biyela [tenor] - Ixopo
 Anthony Sokhela [bass] - Pietermaritzburg
 Zaqade Didiza [bass] - Bizana
 Ernest Mapholoba [bass] - Bizana
 Bethuel Mlaba [bass] - Bizana
 Dikane Daza [bass] - Bizana
 Phineas Ndovela [bass] - Bizana
 Bhukumuzi Wayise [bass] - Bizana
 Vumile Gabusa [bass] - Bizana
 Writing Zangwa [bass] - Bizana
 Vineto Phesa [bass] - Flagstaff
 Amos Didibana [bass] - Bizana
 Ayanda Shusha [bass] - Bizana
 Bhekinkosi Sithole [bass] - Ladysmith
 Vuyani Jojiyo [bass] - Bizana
 Makhweleta Madiba [bass] - Bizana
 Bhekithemba Mzize [bass] - Bizana

This is a typical example of a group that was formed, not along the lines of blood-ties but of ethnic origin. Bizana lies near Umzimkhulu which is the boundary between Transkei and the province of Natal. Much as Bizana people speak Xhosa as their home language, Zulu influence is widely discernible. Hence all their compositions are in Zulu. Only two members do not hail from Bizana i.e. Phesa [Flagstaff] and Sithole [Ladysmith]. Flagstaff is the nearest town to Bizana, in Transkei. Ladysmith is in the heart of Zululand. Sithole was

swallowed up here because he had relatives who hailed from Bizana, and was on first name terms with the rest of the members of the group he met in Durban when the group was formed.

JAMA LUCKY STARS

Wellington Dlamini [soprano/leader] - Babanango
 Bhekani Khoza [alto] - Nquthu
 Sipho Biyela [tenor] - Nkandla
 Xolani Ngobese [bass] - Babanango
 Mzomkhulu Ngobese [bass] - Babanango
 Mhlonishwa Zuma [bass] - Babanango
 Mbongeleni Ntombela [bass] - Babanango
 Mhlakayifani Ngobese [bass] - Babanango
 Khulekani Mncube [bass] - Babanango
 Mzikayifani Ntombela [bass] - Babanango
 Bongani Ngobese [bass] - Babanango
 Sipho Ntombela [bass] - Nkandla
 Sabelo Nxumalo [bass] - Nquthu
 Thulani Zondi [bass] - Mahlabathini

Here there are Ngobeses and Ntombelas who are biological relatives from the same magisterial district of Babanango. Although there are no blood ties linking the rest of the members; the common denominator here is that Babanango, Nquthu, Nkandla and Mahlabathini are rural towns that are close to each other and under one Chief. But let us also hear the views of some performers regarding formation of groups:

TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW

Q: Are most groups composed of members coming from the same farm ?

A: It was like that before; for anything to succeed it had to be formed by local people. These people had friends and relatives who would take this and proliferate it. But now performers come from all over, not necessarily from the farms. We now have a multiplicity of groups who reside in the townships. But all these people come from the lowest-income bracket [King Star Brothers, interview 2/7/89].

Enoch Mzobe of "The Durban Crocodiles" holds a different view about this matter:

Q: Some groups say most of their members come from the same farm, so that even when they are now living in the hostels and compounds, away from home, they still club together in the formation of football clubs and performing groups. Did the same obtain in your group?

A: No, it was not like that with my group. But as you say such a feature is quite ubiquitous in the formation of groups in this idiom. My brothers' group too was formed by people coming from the same farm. Mine was a bit different. For instance I came from Molweni, singing soprano. Another member singing alto came from Estcourt; the tenor singer came from Bergville, and the bass singer came from Bergville too. Let me say those Bergville singers were Mncube, Ndebele and Gili, those three. Then there was Makhoba from Nquthu.

I was not fussy about that. I took members from anywhere, as long as a person had love for music. At the same time this gave us problems because most of the members went home for Christmas and that made it impossible for us to sing during this season. That was the only disadvantage. The advantage of having a group comprising members who come from different places gave you the opportunity of going to perform in their home-towns, thus winning fans. They also wanted their folks to see them perform. In that way our music was easily proliferated. As a result we became famous [interview 26/05/89].

The "Easy Walkers" led by Absolom Gumbi and "The Ladysmith Black Mambazo" led by Joseph Shabalala, would certainly disagree with Enoch Mzobe's views because their groups are composed of members coming from the same farm and they say this has tremendous advantages. For instance Shabalala says what contributed considerably to his success was that he was singing with his brothers and close relatives. This blood relationship in his group paid dividends especially in the matter of discipline. His group respects him because he is the eldest and they take orders and reprimands without flinching or raising eye-brows. Secondly they listen to him when he suggests vocal arrangements of songs. They know him to be their leader, spiritual leader, elder and mentor.

Gumbi's group also comprised members coming from the same place. He says this can be seen in the harmonious relations prevailing in the group. The members grew up together on the farm, shepherding sheep and looking after cattle and goats together. They learned 'stick-fighting' together and were responsible for transferring stick fighting competitions to the cities.

Veit Erlmann's views are consonant: the stick fights became "expressions of competition by rural territorial units and districts for resources under the conditions of the urban labor market" [Erlmann 1991:99]. With stick fighting, the district-based organisation of ngoma dance teams was duplicated in isicathamiya choral competitions.

2.2 AMERICAN INFLUENCE AT THE TIME

Migrant labour had attracted thousands of people, some coming from as far afield as Zimbabwe, bringing with them a variety of song and dance styles that were later going to be fused with ingoma music, as we shall see in section 2.2.1. Right now the focus is on an American import; a new style from America that was that was to result in the development of a rich and syncretic music tradition.

INDEPENDENT INVENTION! DALE COCKREL'S HYPOTHESIS

Although scathamiya competitions started in the coal-mining districts of Natal in the 1920s, "The "pre history" of isicathamiya starts in the second half of the 19th century when American minstrel shows had become by far the most popular form of stage entertainment in the urban centres" [Erlmann 1987:5].

A hypothesis has been advanced by Dale Cockrel, an American musicologist who visited South Africa in 1984, that American jubilee styles like black-face

caricatures, quartets, could have influenced isicathamiya. Cockrel gives an account of the jubilee performances that took place in the middle of the 19th century in South Africa and says that in 1898 McAdoo and his Virginia Singers toured the world. In South Africa they performed in Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town not less than six times. Black audiences praised McAdoo, and immediately thereafter two choirs mushroomed in imitation of the McAdoo company. After the American troupe had departed, a new style evolved, as Blacks imitated the black-faced minstrels. He quotes the Cape Town Coon Carnivals as having been the first troupes that copied directly from the American show. Other South African troupes were "Ama Nigel Coons, Pirate Coons, Brave Natalia Coons, as late as 1918" [Erlmann 1977:6].

In his article, Towards the Formation of Some Black South African Musics: Of Revival Hymns, Minstrels and Jubilee, [unpublished, Durban 1980], Cockrel raises questions like, what makes isicathamiya smack of American minstrels when South Africa and America are thousands of miles apart? Is it because of the influence of the performances of the Jubilee troupes in South Africa? If not, what forces were at work that made it smack of an American legacy?

Dale Cockrel's hypothesis prompted me to make an in-depth study of American Vaudeville, comparing its history with that of isicathamiya, and also to spend many hours listening to early Minstrel songs and early isicathamiya songs so as

to try and fathom common parameters in both musics. This happened when I was reading for my B.A. honours in Ethnomusicology at the University of Natal in Durban in 1985, and my M.A. in 1987 at Queens University of Belfast in Northern Ireland. I used the Birmingham Quartet Anthology recorded between 1930 and 1940, and also the earliest recordings of isicathamiya dating back to the late 1950s. There seemed to be several common parameters in these two musical genres. For instance, the early isicathamiya songs have banjo accompaniment. Dale Cockrel says the banjo could have been copied from the Americans, because it was there in the minstrel show, and the Cape Town Coon Carnivals used the banjo in the same way as the Americans did.

Kirby P.R. [1968] says that after the rise of the Dutch East India Company in 1652, there were many instruments that were brought along by traders to the Cape. He cites the banjo, the ramkie and other instruments. It is proof that the banjo was not only introduced by the 'American visitors', but there are two points: 1] the banjo only developed its present-day form in the USA in the early mid 19th century, and 2] the fact that it was introduced to the Cape does not mean it reached Natal. Cockrel says that gradually after the Americans' departure, the banjo was used by traditional musicians to accompany their songs.

Another argument Dale Cockrel presents is that isicathamiya attire could have been copied from the American visitors. Even pictures taken of early traditional groups show attire that looks similar to that worn by the Americans.¹¹

This study will show that although local musical and dance forms were evolving into a distinct urban culture, some of the following local forms had discernible American influences: marabi, tula ndivile, ukureka (isitishi) or umgandiyana, umbholoho [wedding songs], mbube, isikhwela joe, ngomabusuku, ukureka, cothoza mfana and many more (see 2.2.1 and 2.2.2).

2.2.1 The advent of ragtime, "mbube" music and the process of indigenization

The New Encyclopedia Britannica defines ragtime thus:

"...propulsively syncopated musical style, one forerunner of jazz and the predominant style of U.S. popular music from about 1899 to 1917. Ragtime evolved in the playing of honky-tonk pianists...it was influenced by minstrel-show songs, blacks' banjo styles, and syncopated [off-beat] dance rhythms of the cakewalk, and also elements of European music" [v. 9 micropaedia, Chicago 1990:900].

¹¹ Attire appears in Chapter 6.

One of the first local styles to appear in South Africa, modelling itself on Minstrel music, was a style called 'Mbube'. Mbube became the generic name for the Zulu male traditional style of ensemble, because of the popularity of Solomon Linda and his Evening Birds in 1937. The song was also known as "Wimoweh" or "The Lion Sleeps Tonight". It was a three-chorded song entitled "Mbube", accompanied by banjo and recorded on 78 r.p.m.. This composition was characterized by the bass part giving the 'call' or 'lead' very effectively. The antiphon was given by the upper three voice parts. This antiphon or response was typically triadic and sung sotto voce to allow for the prominence of the highest voice part to take over the announcement from basses singing in unison.

According to Ngweto Zondo of the Paulpietersburg "Crocodiles", the Mbube style was low-ranged and characterized by harshness of texture. It needed people with low voices who would be able to sing loud even in low registers, without the use of microphones. "Mbube" means the "roaring of a lion". Therefore it means the voices were 'growling' in a sound akin to the 'roaring of a lion'" [interview 3/11/85].

According to Khabi Mngoma this growling style of singing has acquired different appellations from time to time. When Solomon Linda's Evening Birds made the song Mbube famous, this type of male choir ensemble was referred

to as Mbube Choirs. When their style developed a forceful declamatory style, the singing was referred to as "Bombing" and the choirs "Bombers". When the emphasis was on choreography, manifested by stealthily effected steps the appellation was Cothoza Mfana choirs [1977:10]. Cockrell, when commenting on the use of the banjo in mbube music of the 1930s says:

Although the music of ingoma busuku is today unaccompanied, you surely noticed that this important forerunner of a significant contemporary genre of Zulu music is accompanied by a single instrument, the banjo, a most important musical legacy left us by the minstrel shows [1984:13].

Subsequent compositions after the mbube style which also used banjo accompaniment included, eGoli [In Johannesburg], Ikhubalo Lami [My Magic Wand], Hawu! Hawu! Ngeke Wayithola! [No! No! You Will Never Get It!], Kigiligi Mara [The Cock Is Crowing Mara], Akasabhal'uMy Lovi [My Love Is No Longer Writing], We!Baba! [Oh! Father!], Bathathe Igugu Lami [They have Taken My Love], Yangena iMorning Light [The Morning Light Is Entering] [from I.L.A.M.collection - unpublished]. But later compositions were accompanied by piano, influenced by ragtime. Mbube style still incorporated traditional concepts of musical performance as in ingoma and umbholoho, "wedding songs".

TRANSCRIPTS OF INTERVIEWS

Sithole of the "Highlanders" says other groups that were famous in 1939 during Solomon Linda's fame were, "Natal Champions", who had broken away from the "Evening Birds", the "Royals", an S.A.R. [South African Railways] group, Mthlane with his "Home Defenders". Then in 1940 there were the "Natal Lions", Mthlane's "Evening Birds" [interview 05/04/86].

Samson Ntombela says when he came to Durban from Zululand in 1947 the imbube style was in vogue. But unlike Solomon Linda's mbube song that had banjo accompaniment, subsequent compositions were unaccompanied. That was the time when he joined "Home Tigers". Other groups that were singing mbube at the time included the old "Evening Birds", managed by Dlamini from Mabhaceni [name of a tribe]. There was also "Dundee B.G.S" from Point, there were "Zulu Tigers", "Mountain Blues" managed by Dlamini, a short guy nicknamed "Mosquito". There was also "Humming Bees", who later changed their name to "Dundee Humming Bees". There was also the "Crocodiles" of Mr. Mzobe, also the "Dangerous" by Khumalo. There was the "Winter Roses" managed by Solomon Ngcobo, also "Vultures" by Dlamini. There were many Dlaminis there. There was also Mngadi's "Morning Stars". Another group was "Natal Universal". There was the "C 2 C" and "Croco Stars" by Mfusi; also "Natal Champions" by Shandu [nicknamed "Madabudabu"]. There was also Vilikazi's "High Stars", also Sibiya's "Young Stars"; also Sibiya's "Zulu Royals". There was also Ngubane's "Smiling Brothers"; also "New Croco Stars" who

came from the old Ndlovu's "Croco Stars". Ntombela says this took place in 1948 [ibid].

Ngweto of the "Crocodiles" says mbube music evolved from umbholoho. "We were in Johannesburg at that time and also sang imbube too in 1937 or so. Even those large automobiles with loudspeakers came to our district broadcasting the mbube songs".

Q: Who started it ?

A: We would not know but it came from Durban. We remember Meshack Zikalala of Durban who was associated with mbube singing. We also remember Phondolwendlovu, both of whom were local men but were now living in Durban. This is a very old style introduced by people who were working in the urban areas. It has an influence of city life, a modern influence. It was also performed by whistle blowing. This style was followed by stishi, which came after ragtime.

Q: Where does stishi come from?

A: It was formerly called umgandiyana then stishi. Umgandiyana is another Zulu word for ukureka. Stishi [also known as a march] was performed wearing special shoes with extra heels so that they would make an impact on the floor when sounded. At Nquthu in Newcastle they still wear those shoes.

Q: When you were in Johannesburg in 1938-39, all these styles were something of the past?

A: They were something of the past, but they were quite famous and quite prominent [interview 18/11/85].

Zungu of the "Natal Universal" reports that the name Solomon Linda in isicathamiya music circles is always associated with mbube style [interview 24/02/86].

Also quintessential in the popularization of ragtime songs was R. T. Caluza, a young African teacher at Reverend Dube's Ohlange secondary school. He "wrote emotionally topical lyrics in Zulu and set them to African melodies and the rhythm of the American ragtime vocal songs" [Coplan 1979:139]. He used piano accompaniment in his pieces and "made ragtime respectable and elite choral music popular" [ibid], such that his works were prescribed for African school music competitions. Coplan also cites the "Darktown Strutters", and "Hiver Rivers" as also having popularized the performance of ragtime, Negro spirituals and jazz vocals.

2.2.2 Emergence of other urban local styles

Throughout the 1930s the hostels and shebeens became the nucleus of the working class culture. They formed the hub of migrant workers' cultural activity and regularly attracted spectators to **ngoma** dances performed by migrants from the Natal midlands [Erlmann 1987:11]. Shebeens, which numbered over 40 at the time in Johannesburg [Coplan 1979:136]¹², were night clubs and entertainment venues, where migrant workers and domestic workers gathered for socializing and music making.

¹² In his article, The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, [1900-1960]

It was in these shebeens where a revolving credit association called the 'stokvel' emerged and where a wide variety of musical performances were used to attract customers. In fact, according to Coplan:

By the 1920s and 1930s, the churches, schools, clubs, drinking houses, parties, and dance halls of the black locations were producing a new generation of performance professionals [1985:5].

By the early 1920s in Johannesburg stokvels had developed their own characteristic urban style, marabi, which assimilated elements from every available performance style, and had become a unified urban African working class musical style [Coplan 1980:137-206]. It consisted of two-phrase, three-chord African melodies repeated in alternation with a 'break' allowing for some solo figuration, and was played on a battered pedal organ to westernized African dance rhythms [ibid].

Another style to develop was the piano music of the shebeens called tula ndivile which blended Xhosa melodies and American ragtime. Tula ndivile is a Xhosa phrase literally meaning "Keep quiet I have heard". Although there is no clear explanation as to how and why this phrase was coined, it is logical to hypothesize that performers meant they were really taken up by the ragtime craze. This piano style was so pervasive in the music of the time that even imbube was influenced by it.

Therefore the appellation ukureka comes from this Americanized word "ragtime" of 1920s. Ragtime not only influenced local styles, but overseas song and dance forms as well [as described at the beginning of section 2.2.1]. Local traditional dances incorporated the ragtime dance steps were then called ukureka; some called them isitishi [probably translated from 'stitching'], since dance movements simulated 'stitching' or umgandiyana. Khabi Mngoma says ragtime influence is largely discernible in the harmonisation of isicathamiya bass parts [interview 23/04/94].

2.2.3 *Ingoma* and the influence of indigenous styles

Describing isicathamiya alone is inadequate. One would have to describe ingoma first because it is an umbrella term for a plethora of traditional dances. Secondly ingoma describes the singing and dancing, other forms of inheritance, philosophies and Zulu thought patterns [Paulos Msimanga interview 05/04/86]

Isicathamiya holds together the rural and urban dichotomy; the past and the present. Although it is now done in the present as a cultural revival, it is linked directly with lived experiences in the city. Ingoma must then be described fully here so that we may discern how it was influenced by urban styles as practitioners were searching for aesthetic models and for the expression of self-consciousness [Veit Erlmann 1991:99]. In that way we shall understand why to urban performers isicathamiya should reflect social and aesthetic advancement.

Jonathan Clegg [1982, 1984] describes ingoma as a collective term for a great variety of dance styles, such as isishameni, umzantsi and mqongqo originating among farm labourers in the Natal midlands during the 1920s. Here there is a notion I want to arrest. The idea of ingoma as having originated with farm labourers implies that it arose because of social interaction between Zulus and white farm owners. This hypothesis is tenuous, making it appear as if Zulus had no history of song and dance.

My argument is that it is older than that. During Shaka's reign [1818-1828], the Zulus had been dancing ingoma. Let us take a look at Mackeurtan's [one of the earliest travellers] report below that predates and conflicts with that of Jonathan Clegg. Mackeurtan, commenting on the description of ingoma dance as seen by early travellers who landed on the coast of Natal on the 7th of March, 1756 says:

It is not supposed that the dancing of the Zulus bears any close resemblance to the efforts which may be witnessed in these days at the ballet, the night club, the cabaret, or the suburban free-and easy. It does not, in any event, allow partners. But it seems to have united some of the characteristics of each, with community singing thrown in. It consisted largely in a rhythmical raising of the feet, a thundering stamp upon the ground, and a series of grotesque shuffles interspersed with vigorous leaps. These were accompanied by a stiff posturing, a shrill, monotonous chorus from the women, and a booming bass accompaniment from the men. At times the performers ran to and fro, brandishing sticks, crossing each other's paths, and prancing extravagantly [1930:103].

Much as the above description of ingoma style is an etic one, the reference to the "rhythmical raising of the feet, " a series of grotesque shuffles and leaps", the "monotonous chorus from the women", and "the booming bass accompaniment", are nothing less than attempts at the description of ingoma style.

But let us now look at other ramifications of ingoma in order to determine the extent of urban influences, as well as determining the stubbornness of practitioners in trying to retain their links with the countryside. There are so many varieties of movement styles performed by Zulus that it would be virtually impossible to discuss all of them here. I am only going to discuss styles which practitioners say had a direct bearing on the isicathamiya idiom.

Because of the heterogeneous population of the migrant workers in the city, local popular idioms were subjected to much influence and change. As part of the recreation in the mines on weekends, ingoma competitions were organised by commercial companies:

Commercial employers coopted workers' dance competitions, providing uniforms, colours, banners, transport, and time off for rehearsal - all to heighten the loyalty and morale of the workforce [Coplan 1985:65].

Jonathan Clegg remarks that, "The dance later became an integral part of the migrant worker culture in Johannesburg and more especially at Wemmer Hostel,

which is a famous hostel at the bottom of Rissik street" [1983:64]. One of the traditional Zulu dances to be influenced was umqongqo. In describing this style Jonathan Clegg says:

You'd have a line of guys, people singing and clapping behind them, and the lead would shout 'four' and they would kick four, very simple. Hands up high, body position of umqongqo, you kick like this [demonstrates]. You chita your hands [hands raised above head, bring them down behind the neck, 'throw' them out horizontally], you turn away [demonstrates] [1981:11].

Isibhaca was also a Zulu style that was common in Johannesburg and Clegg describes it as "where you don't move, you mark one place, the stress is on the isijiqo [?] movement in a very short, very small space, but lots of vertical movement up and down" [1983:66]. Indlamu and ingoma are somewhat akin in that ingoma involves as many as 100 or more 'dancers' moving in unison either vertically, laterally or circularly, whilst onlookers support them by hand-clapping, singing antiphonally and drum-beating. Indlamu is a solo display where any 'dancer' is allowed to display his creative genius and gyrations.

Another Zulu dance was umzansi. According to Erlmann umzansi "originated in the Ndwedwe and Mapumulo areas on the coast south of Durban and is often referred to as isiZulu or indlamu [1991:101]. In other words indlamu and umzansi are synonymous; the difference is not in the performance but in the origin. Indlamu is as old as ingoma.

Isicathulo [gumboot dance], although part of the rural repertory that came with the migrants from the Natal midlands, is reported to have originated from the mission stations, and could have been a direct offshoot of ingoma stamping dance. Isicathulo dance movements do not involve stamping like ingoma, but involve "tapping and slapping" of the gumboots as Hugh Tracey describes below:

The original is said to have been a step dance performed by Zulu pupils at a certain mission where the authorities had banned the local country dances. When it became so popular for pupils to wear footgear, the sharp sound on their boots gave "Isicathulo" a distinctive character in comparison with the muffled thud of bare feet in other dances such as indlamu. The clicking of the heels was also exploited [1952:7].

The Xhosa umxhentso [involving the shaking of the whole body] and Sotho mohobelo, characterized by striding and leaping became part of the new found repertoire in the mines. The Shangaan makwaya [word coming from 'choirs'] involving singing and miming in their dance movements, may have directly influenced isicathamiya choral form.

Exponents of the Zulu dances were amagxagxa, "...marginal people who, like the Xhosa abaphakathi ['middle ones'] were neither traditional nor Christian, but somewhere in between" [Erlmann 1991:101]. They were the ones responsible for bringing these dances to the acculturation process in the hostels [Clegg 1981:1]. Izingoma zomshado [wedding songs] and amahubo [clan anthems]

were blended with the above traditional styles, together with the raking [ragtime] movements of the 1920s and 1930s.

Indlamu, isishemeni are synonymous with ingoma. The difference is that in indlamu/isishemeni the emphasis is more on dancing than on song [Shandu interview 27/11/93]. And Msimanga adds that, "indlamu is called by many names, depending on where it comes from. There is isiChunu, isiBhaca and umqongqo". isiBhaca originates from EmaBhaceni, beyond Umgungundlovu, Pietermaritzburg, "from the people who came with the "gumboots". isiBhaca is the same as the Zulu indlamu except that, "unlike indlamu, when they kick, they kick back then the foot comes back to rest. The foot is lifted and goes under the armpit and it makes the sound "gho!" [ibid].

And when describing isiChunu Msimanga says isiChunu, isishemeni and umqongqo are synonymous and Mtshali says they originate from across the Thukela river, from the Mbuyazi clan, up to Ladysmith [interview ibid]. isishemeni/umqongqo originate from the Chunus, in the Msinga and Greytown area up to Ladysmith. And there is another style called unhlangeni from up country, Vryheid area, "that is performed until they kneel down, feigning isiBhaca" [Msimanga:ibid].

ISIFEKEZELI/UDWENDWE

The discussion of this dance style is important here because it later influenced isicathamiya choreography and the manner of standing on stage. According to Hlabangani¹³ of Zulu Home Soldiers, isifekezeli involves ukuklela kwamabutho/kwamaviyo,

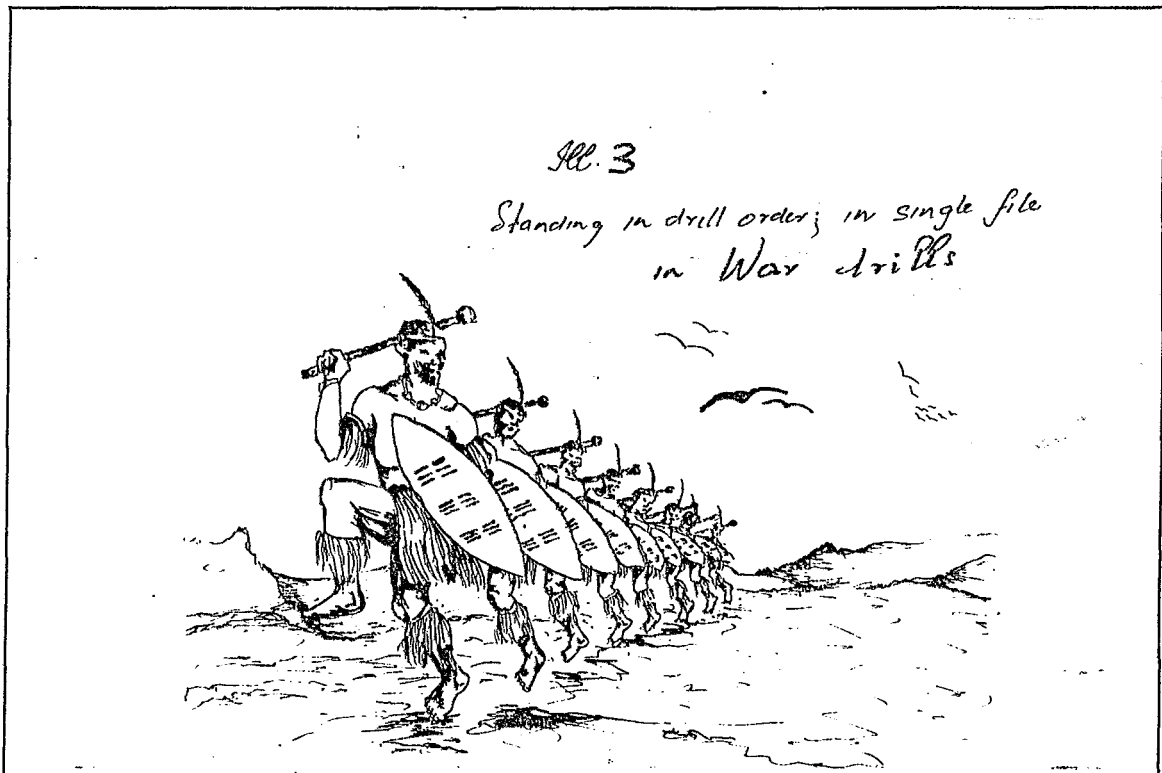


Illustration 3

"standing in single file" [see illustration 4].¹⁴ Dlamini of Lucky Stars defines

¹³ Hlabangani is a clan or praise name for the Mtshalis.

¹⁴ Ukuklela is also called udwendwe, i.e. standing in drill order.

isifekezeli as ukuviva kwamabutho [war-drills], and each regiment has its amafolosi/amashoshozela [leaders]. But Hlabangani emphatically denies that "standing in single file" was copied from the white men's military drills. He says when the white men came this style was already there. He adds that even ingoma performance has this arrangement of standing in drill order. But Mtshali of Home Tigers says the dance does not start in a straight line. Instead:

It starts by being igoda, "coiled rope" then idabuke, "tears up" and separates into regiments". When it is still coiled, the leader inside the circle ugale akhuze isaga, starts by shouting praises saying "sa! he! be", bengakayithwali ingoma, "before they lift off the song". He shouts ize ivuthwe, "until the song is ripe", then they take off singing in marching style [interview 27/11/93 [see video, illustrations 3 and 4].

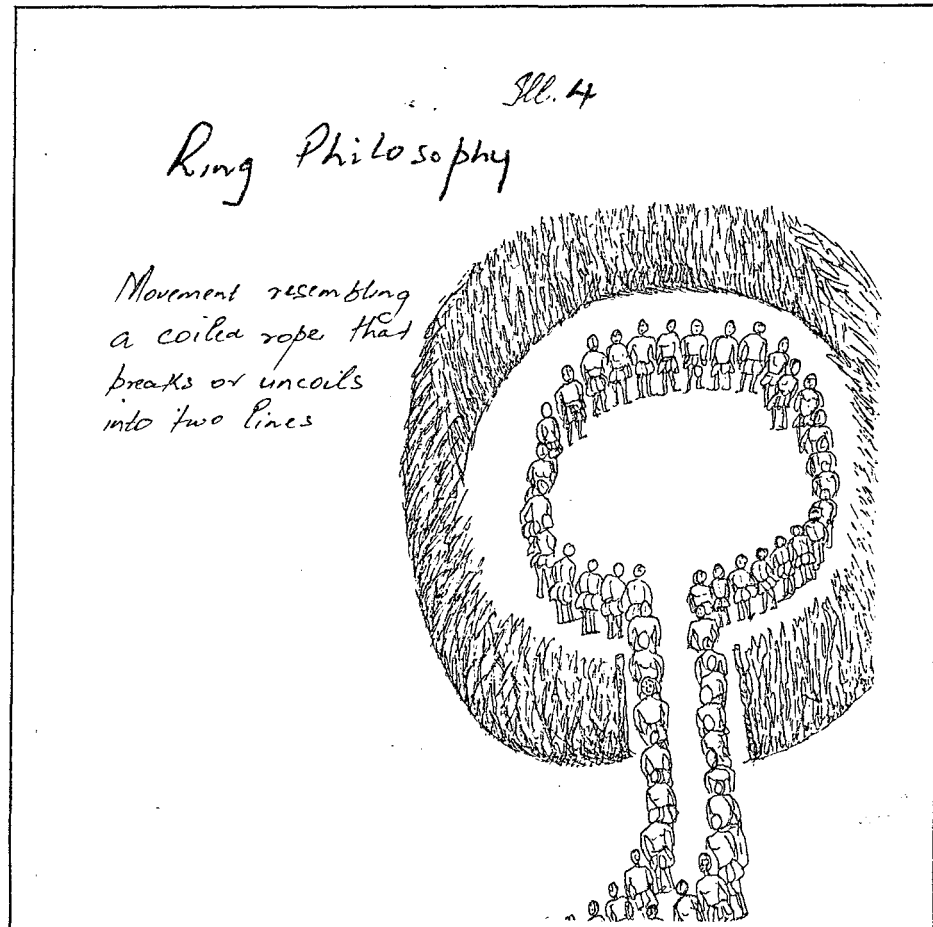


Illustration 4

Mtshali is saying here that the idea of forming igoda [coiled rope] [which we shall call 'the ring'] comes from ukuklela kwamabutho [war drills] as seen in the video provided and in illustrations 3 and 4.¹⁵ But Msimanga holds a different view; he says some people call this style imashi because it is a fast 'quasi drill' dance performed by males only [ibid]. Taking into account that Msimanga's assertion conflicts with Mtshali's as to the origin of this dance, and also that

¹⁵ More discussion of this movement follows in Chapter 6.

the words isifekezeli, ukuklela kwamabutho and imashi are synonymous, meaning march, it would be proper to infer that this style must have had contact of some kind with the 'military drill' arising from the Second World War.

The same could also be said about the dance called amaleki, probably coming from the word ragtime, which Wellington Dlamini of Jama Lucky Stars says is also called ukunyakaza kwesikhohwa [Christian movement] that does not prescribe the wearing of traditional attire . Wellington Dlamini further says:

Imashi [march] is identical to what we do because imashi is practised. There is usually umbhidi [leader] who sees to the precision of the steps involving simultaneous lifting and stamping of the feet as we do in isicathamiya steps. The march is performed by males after women have been swaying. This is why I say cothoza music comes from amaleki and imashi. These steps used to be slow, feigning ingoma [interview 27/11/93].

UDWENDWE

Udwendwe is a Zulu name for wedding. When you say, ngiphuma odwendweni, you mean "I am coming from a wedding". When Dlamini was asked to elaborate on udwendwe he responded:

People who go to umuga [a wedding - function] form uklele [a straight line]. When they bring the bride they are usually many and they form a straight line because they cannot enter the gate simultaneously. They come in a straight line. They are also called umthimba [ibid].

And Hlabangani adds that udwendwe/umthimba comes in a straight line, boasting, singing and moving arrogantly, teasing the ikhetho group and ikhetho does the same.¹⁶ It becomes a dance and song combat until it is announced which of the two groups has won the laurels. And the songs they sing are called umchwayo.¹⁷ They move in a straight line because they are preventing the other group from reaching the bride's group.

ISIGEKLE

When asked to define isigekle, Hlabangani says:

Isigekle is the indigenous way of movement in traditional attire. Ikhetho starts by watching umthimba doing their dance performance. Then ikhetho takes the stage. It is different from ingoma in that ingoma is too competitive and prescribes display of individual skills, whereas in isigekle the emphasis is in combining the dance games of the bride's versus the groom's. Here the bride dances for the last time because she ceases to be a girl and enters motherhood. Here the groom displays his skills too. But ingoma is a general display of dancing prowess either as groups or individuals [interview 30/10/93].

¹⁶ See the definition of ikhetho below.

¹⁷ Umchwayo are teasing songs or "songs by which ikhetho receives umthimba" [Dlamini, interview 22].

Ingoma, unlike isigekle, is multifaceted because it describes the singing, dancing and hand-clapping that goes with it. Shandu of N.B.A. Champions confirms what Hlabangani says by adding that on the following day when the bride esaba,¹⁸ she dances for the last time. As a result she exhibits all her ingoma dance skills. Shandu goes on to say:

Ingoma goes with fitness and strength. Even hand-clapping in it iyashisa, and the stamping of the feet ziyashisa,¹⁹ and it is quick, not slow. Ingoma heats you up. But in isigekle the performance is slower and not as hot. It's where you show your skills nicely, taking your time with movement [ibid].

UKUSINA

Subsidiary to ingoma is ukusina where music occupies a secondary position. Mthethwa, B. and Mpanza [1986:150-151] describe ukusina as literally meaning stamping the earth. And they divide ukusina into three distinct styles, namely isigekle, 'standard type' and isikhihli. They describe isigekle thus:

This style being an old Zulu art form is understood, in traditional Zulu, as a dance song. The song is basically cyclical so that the beginning and the ending are not clear. The dance phrases also reflect the song by their lack of beginnings or endings. The movements are slow and solemn. All the body is distinctly involved, the arms, legs, and the stylized head movement...

The standard type has "...musical punctuations reflected by the

¹⁸ The giving away of presents to the groom's parents and relatives by the bride, as prescribed in ilobolo Zulu custom.

¹⁹ Iyashisa, "hot" [singular]; ziyashisa, "hot" [plural].

clear beginnings and endings in the dance phrases. The standard ukusina is therefore not completely African because of the Euro-African song structure that produces it... The third type isikhihli is described as "...more uniform compared to the 'standard' ukusina...because of its mechanical uniform movements, resembles a 'dancing machine'. The turning movements resemble those of a caterpillar tractor as the foot swings instead of stepping [ibid].

James Stuart says at the initiatory ceremony on the first menstruation of the girls the ukusina and ukucwaya dances are performed.

"The young men will sit in a line. The girls sit on the upper side of that post. The young men then perform ukusina and ukucwaya dances. They come one by one..." [ibid:184].

UKUGIYA

Also subsidiary to ingoma is ukugiya. Although Stuart above describes ukusina as a solo performance, ukusina involves group participation as in ingoma, whereas ukugiya is a solo performance. Bryant describes ukugiya thus:

While the assembly, seated on the grass, awaits the commencement of the Zulu wedding-dance, or at any other suitable intervals during the performance, suddenly one of the young braves, fully accoutred with stick, shield and feathers, will jump up, rush into the arena before the crowd, and there perform all the pantomime of actual Native warfare at its hottest. Working himself into a perfect frenzy of murderous fury, he will charge down on the invisible enemy, with tails and feathers flying, dealing death to right and left as he goes, parrying with his shield, stabbing with his assegai [here a stick], retreating backwards before the overwhelming odds, leaping into the air with agility of

the leopard, the crowd the while roaring out his praises...
[1949:230].

Ingoma and its subsidiary styles were transformed into one dance by isicathamiya performers. On the video provided the reader can see traces of ukugiya movements where umpishi/ukhondakhtha [the leader], leaps, moves forwards and backwards, gesticulates, singing at the top of his voice summoning the group to follow suit. Ingoma dance and its subsidiaries left indelible marks on isicathamiya choreography.

Khabi Mngoma says when ingoma is subjected to urban influences "it gets improved, it gets refined, it gets re-indigenized" [interview 23/04/94] as practitioners strive to retain the country elements. The incorporation of all sorts of rural elements in the urban ingoma [isicathamiya] reflects inventiveness and artistic expression. Mngoma further says that isiginci [guitar], imfiliji [mouth organ] and concertina were instruments taken from white farmers, and were indigenized to the extent that some people actually thought that these were African instruments, which of course they are not. The way they are played is very African. Some of the rhythms are typical of the umakhweyana gourd bow. This shows the great inventiveness of the Zulu musician, and the capacity to indigenize the foreign elements that come into Zulu music.

In the next chapter we shall see how these rural styles reflect their Zulu traditional beliefs and religious philosophies. The discussion will be on the advent of Christianity and how Christian doctrines have been indigenized by Zulus to give meaning to their Africanness. We shall also see how and why some Christian elements were retained and others discarded.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 ZULU PRE-CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

The thrust of this chapter is to unravel Zulu religious thoughts, beliefs and philosophies predating the advent of Christianity and uncontaminated by its approaches. In this way we shall be able to fathom the Zulu world-view, their cosmology and cosmogony. The elucidation of this world view will enable us, in the next chapter, to determine how performers of isicathamiya and Zionists differentiate between present day Christianity and their traditional religion. I may also add that the discussion to follow does not attempt to give a picture of pure original religion. It merely tries to show how the religious practices of people in the present are connected with the past. It will also enable us to fathom how and why Zulu symbolic structures such as religion, philosophy, social and cultural practices share some commonalities with those of Zionists.

Zulu pre-Christian worship cannot be discussed in isolation since it is not far removed from the rest of the African continent with which it has shared cultural and religious affinities. Further, according to Imasogie [1985] African scholars of African traditional religion have to take into account the lack of documentation of the historical and non-literate past of the Africans, and "There

is no written tradition with which to compare the oral tradition which is now available if there should be disagreement between two religionists" [1985:2]. As a result an outsider watching an African worship at his shrine may conclude that he is worshipping "stones, trees and animals", forgetting that worship is directed at the realities behind the symbols, not at the symbols themselves.

Marie-France Perrin Jassy is trying to arrest this notion when he says that pre-Christian worship was the armour of social order, the instrument of controlling natural phenomena, the means of explaining the mysteries of life and death [1973:25]. The belief in the dead and the supernatural was strongly interwoven into kinship relations and a world without this belief was not possible.

Zulus say in the beginning there was uMvelingangi [the first Being], yilowo awayehlalekhona, nosazobakhona naphakade [the One Who antedates time and Who shall be forever and ever]. He is also known as "the One who came first, the Supreme Being"²⁰, "uMnini mandla onke i.e. "the Omnipotent" [Vilakazi 1965:87], uMdali/uMenzi [the Creator] and uNkulunkulu [the Biggest Ruler]. Zulus conceive of God as Omniscience, commanding the wisdom and respect of everyone. "God as the All seeing and All hearing" [Mbiti 1970:3]. They conceive of Him as God, the perpetual eye that keeps watch everywhere, in

²⁰ According to Oosthuizen, "uMvelingangi expresses **priority** and is considered to be the Creator" [1976:12].

waters, trees, everywhere at once [ibid]. They think of his Omnipotence as portrayed by thunder which Zulus say, "is the voice of God", showing control of the sky and the earth. They think of the Transcendence of God ambivalently. God is far away and unreachable. At the same time, due to His Immanence, He is near, He is everywhere.

Zulus when talking of creation did not separate cosmology and cosmogony, for they believed that the earth and the sky worked in harmony. Berglund's informants say, "the sky and the earth always go together...the sky and earth are husband and wife":

They are one, but the one is above the other. The sky is the first-born [of the two], but they are the same kind. That is why the one that lives in the sky is called the first-born of the twins. He is the first to come forth. Then came the earth. They belong together. They have their children. They are men [abaNtu] [1975:32].

They believed that the sky [husband] was not very far away from the earth [wife]. "It was within reach of them. This was an idyllic state somewhat like the garden of Eden story" [Imasogie 1985:32]. The close proximity of the earth and the sky is the reason why Zulus associate the mysteries of life and death, believed to be the other world from which people come and to which people return in spirit form. Hence Ngubane says whilst this world [earth] and the other world [sky] exist as separate entities, to Zulus, "the cessation of life in "this world" is believed to mean continuity of life in the "other world"

[1977:77]. In this way, as Berglund suggests, the earth and the sky are close to each other. Berglund [1975:34] reports that prior to the disobedience of man there had been direct communication with the Lord of the Sky. But when man disobeyed, direct communication was shattered and the Lord of the Sky closed the hole in the sky.

Another reason for the closure of the hole in the sky according to a Zulu creation myth, Berglund writes [ibid], is that the Lord of the Sky became tired of complaints he was receiving about a certain young man who had been riding His favourite ox. So He lowered him to the earth through an opening in the sky. Seeing that he was lonely the most beautiful girl in the sky was also lowered to the earth to make him happy. Then the Lord of the Sky closed the hole in the sky so that they should not look up into heaven. And then people multiplied. That is why they are known as Zulus because they came from that place [i.e. izulu, the sky].

Zulu creation myths reveal that the Lord of the Sky has a wife called iNkosikazi yeZulu [the Heavenly Queen], "uNomkhubulwane or Inkosazane [the Princess] who cooks for him [Ngubane 1977:47]. She is described as intombi [a virgin], a rainbow, a bringer of rain, blesser of fields that yield good harvest, curer of diseases, advisor and instructor to nubile girls in choosing right partners, advisor on cultivation of fields, preparation of foods and general welfare

[Berglund 1975:65-71]. Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi describe uNomkhubulwana as a "Zulu female deity, a Native 'Ceres', believed to affect the planting of corn and harvest" [1990:584]. It is important to mention here that the present urban Zulu folk seldom speak of this Zulu female deity. She is only real to the rural folk who still thrive by cultivating the land.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS [AMADLOZI]

The theocratic concept of the Supreme Being in the Zulu traditional religion is perceived to be conjunct with the earthly hierarchical order of government. Here the King rules his subjects through the appointment of his amakhosi/izinduna, [Prime ministers], izinceku [chiefs], "officials in a chief's kraal, whose duties are to look after the food and transact important business" [Dokes, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi, 1990:529]. Below Chiefs are abanumzane [headmen] of military kraals and so on. Similarly, the Supreme Being, "having created the universe, appointed divinities to the various departments of nature to carry out his purpose" [Imasogie 1985:34]. And God was too busy in Heaven to meddle in earthly affairs. So to create an unbroken intercourse between Himself and men, He appointed His divinities, "liaison officers between God and men" [ibid:35], such as amadlozi and amathongo as evidenced by Callaway saying, "All nations worshipped the Amatongo, because Umvelinqangi commanded them to do so, saying, "You see,...I tell you about the Amathongo, that you may worship them " [1970:131].

Zulus who are the children of the Lord of the Sky are ordinary people that cannot communicate directly with Him because "He is too far away...We fear him. He has **amawala** [a haphazard way of acting" [Berglund 1975:42]. He is also known as iNkosi enolaka, [having wrath]. The shades can communicate with the Lord of the Sky on our behalf because "They know each other, the shades bowing and praying on behalf of their children before the face of iNkosi yezulu" [ibid].

Synonymous with the Lord of the Sky is uNkulunkulu [the Most High]. The shades are also called "the Lords of the nether world", because they are believed to be in constant supplication to the Supreme Being, and are looked upon as intermediaries between Him and mundane beings.

In the Zulu language, words like amadlozi, amathongo, izithutha, izithunzi and abaphansi denote the dead but their precise meaning varies and is sometimes even conflicting to Zulus themselves. But let us start with the meaning of idlozi [singular, amadlozi plural]. According to Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi idlozi [shade] is defined as a "departed spirit [so called before it has gained entrance into the body of amathongo, ancestral spirits, by the ukubuyisa ceremony] [1975:161]. And Imasogie defines the shades as "collective spirits of the departed members of the clan" and departed members of the immediate patriarchal family [1985:35]. I consider Berglund's [1975] discussion of the

shades more appropriate in this phase of our discourse because he gives an elaborate account of which departed spirits have the power to become shades; and which of them have the power to communicate with the Lord of the Sky on our behalf.

Berglund says Zulus have two concepts of death, timely and untimely death. Timely death is expressed by terms such as ukugoduka [going home], ukudlula [to pass], ukuhamba [to go] and ukuqhubeka [to continue], which all give notions of passing on, a continuation. An untimely death is described as ukufa [to die], ukubhubha [wither and decay], and ukugqibhuka which imply a breaking off of life.

In becoming a shade emphasis is put on how one has departed from this earth. For instance old people, the grey hairs, who die a natural death, are said to have passed on in a "natural continuation of life" and can then become shades after the ukubuyisa [bringing back] ceremony has been performed. But dying young through accidental death is considered untimely and cannot be mourned. The ukubuyisa ceremony cannot be held because the shades are associated with the grey hairs, hence old people are often referred to as shades as well. There is also no mourning for a person killed by lightning because that would be regarded as an "arrogant act of rebellion against the Lord of the Sky" [Berglund 1975:41], for Zulus believe that through lightning God has spoken.

Such a man cannot become a shade and no ukubuyisa ceremony can be performed for him because there is going to be no 'continuation of life' for him. Inkosi isim'thathile [the Lord has taken him].

Then there is the question of amathongo. As I mentioned earlier, there are conflicting statements regarding the words amathongo and amadlozi. Ngubane [1977] says amathongo is a collective term for all departed spirits and Nyembezi simply says they are "the spirits of the dead" [1974:2]²¹. Berglund [1975] says while some ethnographic records state that amathongo are synonymous to amadlozi, there is a notion that amathongo are shades associated with dreams, hence ubuthongo [deep sleep]. Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi provide definitions of ithongo as "ancestral spirit" [cf. ilidlozi [1990:801]. They further state that the word ithongo comes from isithongo, "long sleep, sound sleep" associated with dreams [ibid]. Callaway also subscribes to the association of ithongo with dreams for he says God said, "You will see also by night, you will dream; the Itongo will tell you what it is it wishes" [1970:6].²²

²¹ "The departed heads of families were supposed to return after death, to watch over the destinies of those who still remained behind" [ibid].

²² See Chapter 5 where all Zionists and isicathamiya practitioners interviewed unanimously support the notion that amathongo are spirits related to dreams, giving them compositional skills.

Izithutha are particular spirits that have materialized as snakes or house lizards. Male ancestors are associated with snakes, while female ancestors, particularly old women materialize as house lizards [Ngubane 1977:50]. That is why in rural homesteads you are sharply reprimanded if you try to kill a lizard that you see gliding on the wall, "Ungamubulala kànjani ugogo wakho ? [How can you kill your grandmother?]. Or when a snake is spotted nearby it is referred to as ubabamkhulu [grandfather] and should not be killed.

Also part of the ancestral realm is the question of isithunzi as discussed by Vilakazi. When a man dies, his isithunzi or shadow lives on as an ancestral spirit, so when people talk of izithunzi zakithi [the shadows of our family], "they mean the dead members of their lineage whose spirits are now their gods" and who reside emlanjeni [in the river] or in the air [Vilakazi 1965:88].

WORSHIPPING

According to Imasogie, "Worshipping is generally defined as a man's response to what he considers to be the revelation or presence of the divine" [1985:41]. He further says this response may take various forms of expression, like confession of sins or offerings either in recognition of blessings received, or to obtain forgiveness and plea for continued communion. All of this is part of Zulu cosmology. Since the Supreme Being decreed that Zulus should pray to the shades, it became part of their life to talk to the shades and amathongo

whenever the need arose. So conscious are Zulus of the omnipresence of the shades that when men are drinking Zulu beer, the first to drink are abaphansi, [those underneath]. This is done by pouring a small portion of beer on the ground. Likewise Nigerians, writes Imasogie [1985:41], "At meals, especially the last meal of the day, he pours out libation for the spirits". Whenever soldiers are going to war the shades would be consulted, sacrifices made and libations poured as a way of requesting military strength and the presence of amadlozi [of that particular clan or lineage] on the battlefield. Steve Biko explains the concept of worshipping thus:

Worship was not a specialized function that found expression once a week in a secluded building, but rather it featured in our wars, our beer-drinking, our dances and our customs in general. Whenever Africans drank they would first relate to God by giving a portion of their beer away as a token of thanks [1973:42].

Both shades and amathongo are ancestral spirits believed to prescribe the kind of life style to be lived by members of Zulu society; just as in Christian life. If taboos were broken, the shades would be so angry that calamities would occur unless oblations like slaughtering of beasts were performed for protection or forgiveness. All sacrifices were made to the Lord of the Sky through His appointed agents, the shades and amathongo.

The Christian doctrine emphasizes purity of soul and spirit, preaches against all sorts of defilement of the body, against stealing, adultery and all forms of

immorality, incest, and sinning generally. It prescribes what kinds of healthy foods are to be eaten and unclean foods like pig to be avoided. A Christian who clings tenaciously to the Christian doctrine is said to be always engulfed and overwhelmed by the presence of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, steadfast worshippers of the shades enjoy constant spiritual communication and are usually endowed with gifts in their particular fields of specialization. Izinyanga, [medical practitioners], clairvoyants, and izangoma [diviners] are examples of this endowment given them by their obabamkhulu, [ancestors].

Also part of the supernatural nether world [abaphansi] are the abalози, "Abalози/amakhosi amakhulu, whistling great ancestors" [Harriet Ngubane 1977:103], "ancestral spirits speaking in tongues" believed to reside in the reeds [Vilakazi 1965:87]. In another myth the Lord of the Sky is also believed to have emerged from the reeds which were at the river [emfuleni/emlanjeni]. As a result the river was believed to be imbued with supernatural powers. That is the reason why traditional healers take neophytes to the river for traditional ukuthwasisa/ukuthwala [training of neophytes].

The whistling ancestors can only reveal themselves to the traditional healers because these are the only ones that comprehend the whistling 'language of the ancestors'. And that was the only way men could communicate directly with the whistling ancestors [abalози]. I have undergone many traditional

consultations with traditional healers in my life and have heard them speaking to the 'whistling spirits'.²³ The language of the whistling ancestors is akin to whistling which follows spoken rhythm and tone, such that in some cases you can infer what the ancestors are saying, like when they are greeting, "ph,ph,ph,ph", saying, "sanibona" [good morning].

Related to the 'speaking in tongues' of the ancestors is amadlingozi or ukuvukwa usinga / ukuvukwa umoya [outbursts of intense interest, or of ardent zeal, outburst of excitement] [Doke - Vilakazi:158]. Warriors at war, when leaping, stabbing here and there in frenzy with their spears, are trans-mogrified. They have transcended the mundane and enter into the spiritual realm of 'speaking in tongues'. Ngubane writes, "In possession, the spirits are believed to "ride" on the shoulders of the possessed and to speak or whisper..." [1977:142]. So when Zulu warriors are at war chanting, ngadla mina kabanibani!, [Me, I eat up, son of so and so]²⁴ and uyadela wena osulapho! [You are lucky, you who are dead!], they are experiencing some kind of transformation with the whispers of the ancestors on their shoulders.

²³ The word abalozzi stems from ukushaya umlozi, "to whistle" [Doke-Vilakazi] *ibid.*

²⁴ This refers to the fallen hero.

In the performance of Zulu traditional movements such as ingoma, isishemeni, isigekle, and many other, being spirited is often experienced.²⁵ But I must hasten to point out here that it is not all the group members that become spirited and 'speak in tongues'; it is the song leaders, especially in their solo displays of leaps and gyrations in ukusina/ukugiya [solo displays]. Again song leaders do not become song leaders by choice but by appointment of the agents of the Lord of the Sky, the ancestors. And after being appointed by ancestors through his dream or vision, or through some elders [grey hairs] in the community, the appointee is then endowed with transcendental powers. Berglund [1975] says dreams are an experience with a reality that is strongly enmeshed in kinship relations. He further states that:

Reality is not only that which is definable in rational terms or acceptable because of proven conclusions. Reality includes experiences which require interpretation and subsequent action [1975:79].

Berglund's informant says it is the dream that shows the truth because the lineage shades [amathongo] never deceive their children. The dream is an experience with a lineage shade [lithongo].

²⁵ See Chapter 6 for more discussion on these traditional dances.

3.2 PURIFICATORY RITES

According to Zulu creation myth, when the Lord of the Sky lowered the young man, together with the most beautiful girl in the sky, through the hole in the sky, the creation of the earth with its bountiful and picturesque hills, valleys, mountains, rivers, trees and forests, was already complete. Then He created all kinds of animals. But first to be created were fowls, goats, sheep and cattle so that people would not get hungry and so that men would make sacrifices. On hills and valleys cattle would graze and from springs, fountains and rivers men and animals would drink. From trees men would build houses. So life went on and men multiplied.

Then one day the Lord of the Sky became very angry on discovering that men were violating the taboos such as adultery on the part of the wife, stealing, eating wrong foods, witchcraft and sorcery. The Lord of the Sky demanded, through his earthly divinities, that their bodies be ihlambuluke [be purified] before sacrifices and oblations could be made. And the Lord of the Sky made them see, through ancestors, from which imithi [trees], izihlahlana [shrubs] they could extract medicine for healing their stomachs, headaches, coughs and other ailments. These medicines would also help them drive away evil spirits and ukuziqinisa [harden] or immunise themselves against witchcraft and sorcery.

So from time immemorial Zulus have held to their belief in traditional herbs for strengthening against witchcraft/sorcery and evil spirits. Herbalists and diviners were believed to be the agents of ancestors who would prescribe precisely what kind of medication should be administered for particular ills. Ukugcaba [part of hardening] is done by administering herbs in an incision made by a sharp object. This incision is made on the wrists, elbow, shoulder, neck, head, above the buttocks, hip, below the navel, chest, knee and foot. This medicine becomes ulinda [waiter] in one's blood stream, waiting for any foreign invasion like sorcery or other evil agents.

Ukuchatha [administering an enema], ukuphalaza [spewing prepared medicine, especially for expelling inyongo [bile], ukugcaba, [cutting a small incision in the skin],²⁶ ukuncinda [administering medicine by the method of sucking from the finger tips]²⁷ [Doke - Vilakazi 1975:531], ukugguma [steaming oneself with prepared medicine] and taking of amakhubalo/izintelezi [eating of herbs] to ward off illness, amashwa [misfortunes] and sicknesses, loss of jobs, unloveliness, or a rift between a person and his ancestral spirits and to ward off isidina or isigcwagcwa, "disagreeableness, unpopularity" [ibid:147]] by eating izinhlungu

²⁶ Here umuthi, a powdery stuff, is inserted in the incision.

²⁷ Here a sick person has to dip his fingers in and out of a bowl containing very hot medicine, suck it and say something like "Hamba mkhuhlane, hamba moya omubi", "Go away fever, go away bad spirit".

zenyoka [snake poison], all these are done for strengthening or hardening.

All the above remedies are administered for enhancing one's isithunzi. According to Vilakazi, "The isithunzi, which literally means "shadow", is "personality" or "force of character" [1965:88]. When warriors go to war they use herbs for enhancing masculinity so that their adversaries are somehow weakened. Traditionally, the head of the household is supposed to have isithunzi [force of character] so as not to appear a weakling. And diviners are consulted to prescribe herbs for enhancing their personalities [izithunzi - plural] so that their counterparts may respect and fear them. A certain herb is also administered as a charm when looking for jobs and when proposing love to women.

Then there is the question of udondolo/induku [the stick or rod] in Zulu tradition which is carried by men to exhibit isithunzi sobudoda [masculine shadow]. It is also carried as a weapon. It is a symbol of authority and exudes dictatorial powers, just like the rod always carried by the leader of Inkatha, Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi. The rod is also believed to ward off evil spirits, sorcery, and protects one in the same general way as the wristband. The rod protects you against all attacks by your adversaries, even against gun shot. Without the rod, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is vulnerable to sorcery, attack and ailments. It is also important to point out that the power of the rod lies in its visibility. Once your

adversaries see it they are weakened.

Also as part of the strengthening rituals and warding off of imimoya emibi [evil spirits], ukubethela [anointing/smearing of umuthi] on doors, windows and in any opening in the homestead is performed. This ritual is performed by professional diviners. Another type of strengthening is that administered by diviners to ward off lightning.

The wearing of iziphandla, wrist bands or armlets [Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi 1990:646], usually made out of goat skin, is also part of strengthening rituals and of rites of passage. Ngubane discusses it below:

Each child is placed under the protection of the ancestors by a sacrifice of a goat known as imbeleko [beleka, verb. to carry on the back]. The skin of the goat is usually prepared to be used to wrap the baby on its mother's back]. Sometimes the goat is referred to as eyeziphandla [isiphandla is the wrist skin-band]. This goat provides the first wrist skin-band for the baby. By this sacrifice the ancestors are thanked for, and also requested to protect the baby. This is a form of the "baptism" which puts the baby under the protection of a definite range of ancestors [1977:51-52].

Ancestral worship and purificatory rites are mainly practised and observed by isicathamiya performers and Zionists who are rural/urban dwellers and who regard themselves as custodians of Zulu custom and tradition. But Clyde Mitchell in his essay The Kalela Dance [1956:44] explains that the set of

relationships among a group of Zambian tribesmen in their rural home is something different from the set of relationships among the same group when they are transposed to an urban area. He goes on to say, "...urban dwellers develop institutions to meet needs in towns and these... differ from rural institutions meeting the same need in tribal social systems" [ibid]. In other words these rural institutions have to change and adapt to urban circumstances.

I may conclude by saying that this chapter was mainly concerned with giving us the Zulu concept of the world and how Zulus fit into it. We have been concerned with how Zulus understand the world and how they relate to the spiritual forces that constitute their environment. But what is the relationship between isicathamiya performers and the Zionists? This study will reveal that performers express themselves through a particular set of religious ideas. These are not Christian ideas. They are ideas grounded in early Zulu religion, yet most of the performers are Zionists. Since the aim of this study is to fathom some commonalities between the worshipping rituals of the Zionists and the performance rituals of isicathamiya, the following chapter is going to examine how the understanding of the world is interpreted by the Zulu Zionists in their indigenized Christianity.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 ZIONISTS

Zionism among the Nguni-speaking peoples of South Africa and on the whole African continent is a subject that has received a great deal of attention in anthropological literature. West [1975], Sundkler [1961,1976], Daniel [1970], Oosthuizen [1976], Shepherd [1937] Comaroff [1985], Kiernan [1974,1976, 1977,1985,1990], Pauw [1974-75], Vilakazi [1954], Berglund [1969], Lea [1926] Turner [1967], Hayward [1963] and Chidester [1992] are some of the notable authors who have drawn our attention to different facets of this social and religious phenomenon. I will therefore confine myself to Zionism as seen by isicathamiya performers since the main thrust here will be to examine why there exist common traditional beliefs, common ritual practices, and common verbal and physical behaviours [song and movement] which performers say are firmly entrenched in tradition. In fact performers put it thus, "silandela isiZulu [we follow the Zulu way] and we are at home with the Zulu church" [Dlamini of the Zulu Home Soldiers:interview 16/10/93].

During the period of my field research in isicathamiya, i.e. from 1985 to date, I discovered, piecemeal, that most performers belong to different kinds of Zionist denominations. I first did not understand how this connection came

about. Zionists' night vigils are liturgical and isicathamiya competitions are secular. Zionists hold their night vigils from Saturday evening till Sunday morning or afternoon, whilst isicathamiya all night competitions take place almost at the same time. On discovering this important phenomenon in my study I decided to attend some of the Zionist revival meetings and later revisited all the groups I had earlier interviewed with the hope of fathoming how this connection came about.

ZION IMVUSELELO

The word imvuselelo according to Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana, Vilakazi [1990:845] comes from the verb vuselela [33.2.9], "1. Renew, repair, renovate; revive; rebuild". In this sense the word means reviving and rebuilding amandla omoya [pentecostal power] for the whole night.²⁸ Although some i[zi]mvuselelo [izi - plural], take place on Friday, or start from Friday, Saturday afternoon is the day preferred by most Zionists because it is not a working day. Those Zionists who have more pentecostal power start fasting on Friday for the imvuselelo [revival] that starts on Friday evening. Others start fasting on Saturday morning preparing for another revival starting on Saturday evening.

²⁸ Zionists - Izicathamiyans use the word umoya, to mean "Holy Spirit", or "as if possessed by the Holy Spirit". And the phrase amandla omoya, means "power of the Holy Spirit", "pentecostal power"; they also refer to isisindo somoya, "the weight of the "Holy Spirit".

So they sustain the second revival up until the early hours of Sunday morning. The revival is not the main service; it is something like a prelude for the main service.

Actually the revival is timeless; "it depends on isisindo somoya namandla [the weight and power of the pentecost] on the day of worship", says Shandu of the N.B.A. Champions [interview 16/10/93]. Meals would only be taken after the Sunday service. The revival is not the official church service that involves all church members and office bearers of the church.

AN EXAMPLE OF IMVUSELELO AND INKONZO [CHURCH SERVICE]

KwaMashu Township is divided into sections, A being the Mens' Hostel, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, N and P. In each section alone there may be as many as 50 Zionist denominations. In section G alone where I grew up there are approximately 45 Zionist congregations.

I must also point out why I chose this particular pentecostal congregation. Hamilton Mbatha [we call him Shandu - clan name] of the N.B.A. Champions has been quoted extensively in the discourse on Zionists, and during my interviews he appeared to be the most outspoken of my informants. I also gathered that he commands respect and that he has a deep knowledge of Zulu

custom and tradition. I also established that all the members of N.B.A. Champions [led by Shandu] were Zionists. Although there were a few groups that had 100% affiliation in Zionist churches, not all of them attend the same church; they are scattered among other Zionist type churches. Since isicathamiya competitions take the whole night, like the Zionist vigils on Saturday evening, some members do not regularly attend the Sunday worshipping session. But Shandu, Bangindawo Samuel Buthelezi also of N.B.A. Champions, Vusi Magwaza and Themba Khoza of Nongoma Master Voices, Robert Thwala of Natal Try Singers and Wellington Dlamini of Jama Lucky Stars, all attend one Zionist congregation, the one discussed below.

On this particular Saturday evening, 04/06/94, at 7.45 pm, I attended a revival meeting at G section at "Inkanyezi Pentecostal Church of Zion". The Zulu word inkanyezi means a 'star'. So the symbol of this church as the star, says their leader, is like the Star that led the wise men to Bethlehem [Matthew 2:1-12] and also that Jesus is called the "bright and morning Star" [Revelation 2:16].

The church leader here is MaNgcobo, a 55 year old widowed woman. The service took place in her living room in a typical four-roomed house at KwaMashu Township. There were only five people, three women and two young men who were singing inside the living room, when I arrived. We kept on singing as part of ulinda [waiting up time] for other members to arrive.

Actually even the appellation imvuselelo means 'the waiting time for the Lord', for Zionists believe that as they worship timelessly and endlessly they must be patient and await the presence of isithunywa [the messenger, the Holy Spirit]. Therefore waiting for other believers is part of the canons of the church. Choruses that were sung during this period included:

Ngena Noah, ngena Noah
 Come in Noah, come in Noah
ngena Noah nesizukulwane sakho
 Come in Noah with your generation
Thatha zonk'izilwane Noah
 Take all the animals Noah
Z'fake'emkhunjini, z'fak'emkhunjini
 put them into the ship, put them into the ship
zonk'izilwane zikaThixo
 all the animals of the Lord
Thunu nunu [repeatedly]

The reader will remember the story of Noah and the Ark in the bible [Genesis 7-9]. Here members who are coming in single file into the church are likened to Noah's family, "There went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, the male and the female, as God had commanded Noah" [Genesis 7:9]. "The church is the ark to save the worshippers from the sinking ship of despair [the earth]", says Mangcobo.

Another song was:

Cherubhima, Cherubhima Serafina
 Cherubim, Cherubim, Seraphim
simana simemeza kuwe

we are constantly calling on you
sith': "uNgcwel', uNgcwel' uNgcwele,
 we say: "Holy, Holy, Holy"
Nkosi yamabandla onke
 Lord of Hosts

The song likens Zionist members to the Cherubim and Seraphim "...and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life" [Genesis 3:24]. Zionists carry izikhali [rods] which are likened here to swords of the Cherubim. The 'tree of life' refers symbolically to the church. At one stage about five people entered singing a different song than the one being sung inside. On hearing this entry song the people inside cut theirs and joined in with the outside song, which went like this:

Noyana, noyana
 Will you go, will you go
noyana, noyana
 will you go, will you go
noyan'eZulwini
 will you go to heaven

It was like a greeting song, and the worshippers inside 'caught on like wildfire', as confirmation that they were certainly going to Heaven. Singing here was punctuated by "Hallelujah Amen!".

As Jim Kiernan [vl. 33 2. 1974] and Sundkler [1976] put it, the doors and windows are closed during prayers in the imvuselelo and church service. The

closing of the door is not only done to exclude the public, but for musical effect, to contain the sound. This particular congregation, and many more in KwaMashu, do not use drums when worshipping. Instead they clap hands and clap on their bibles like they do eWeseli [at the Wesleyans].

They do not use hymn books here. Although some members were carrying their bibles, I noticed that the bible was read by MaNgcobo only. Their revival involves much singing until somebody is taken over by the "Holy Spirit". At one time one male member started a song, shouted and screamed, yehla moya, yehla moya, [descend Holy Spirit, descend Holy Spirit], then someone read this verse from the bible:

And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions; And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit [Joel 2:28-29].

As the verse was read the rest of the congregation stood up and bavuma [responded, agreed] by saying, "Amen! Hallelujah", in chanting style, as also happens in traditional divination. The question of ukuvuma [agreeing] is rooted in Zulu tradition as discussed by Fernandez thus:

This is the custom of agreeing - "ukuvuma". One is obliged to agree to the diviner's direction taking, in case of hidden articles, or to his pronouncements as to the hidden portions of his client's lives. The closer the diviner comes to the truth the louder one

claps or beats the ground with a stick saying "siyavuma", we agree, and the further he departs the more dispirited is the intonation of the stock response! [Occasional paper no.9 1967:15].

After agreeing, another section of imvuselelo followed which involved ukuhlambuluka/hlambulula [make confession of wrong, withdraw insinuation, to free oneself of guilt] [Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi 1990:317]. This took place as there were new members and new recruits who did not know that the confessions were usually reserved for the main service on Sunday morning. Healing rituals sometimes do take place in this session if it happens that one or more of the new members are suffering from a disease. Whilst in most congregations the healing ritual is performed by the presiding Bishop or priest, it is not their preserve only. Some members also possess healing prowess and powers of clairvoyance but these are down -played by the church leaders. These are some of the reasons, I was told, that lead to break-aways.

This revival session was not as structured as the main service that started on Sunday. It is usually in the revival session where drunks find their way in during the night and are accepted into the church. This session was punctuated by testimonies, singing, movements and invitation to the Holy Spirit, shouting with ecstasy, "the Holy Spirit!", "thimthilili!", "Hallelujah! Amen!", "Imvana yeWundlu!" [The Lamb!], "Jesus of Nazareth!", shouted non-simultaneously. I noticed that the members kept on looking up to the roof-top as if they were

expecting to see isithunywa, "a messenger" [an angel], or something like a bowl of blessings to descend from Heaven. This happened amid the cries and shouts of "Halleluya Amen!" by non-spirited members and visitors like myself. The rest of the night was replete with extempore simultaneous praying, punctuated by singing of choruses and testimonies. I may have missed much during this session for I kept on dozing off, not being used to such rigorous all night services. But one thing was clear; there was no one presiding. Anyone in spirit would either start a chorus and very few people would read from Bibles.

Then on Sunday the official church service started round about 9.30 am. But they had first to go and refresh themselves and put on new church regalia. When they came back, ugosa, [the church elder] positioned himself at the door as doorkeeper and the church service started. He constantly reminded newcomers like myself to take off their shoes before entering the living room. He even welcomed visitors and ushered them to sit on the cement floor. I noticed that men sat on the left and females on the right and I remembered that this form of sitting was like in the traditional Zulu house. All this happened amid the singing of choruses.

I might have been in my siesta shortly thereafter because it took me a while to realize that Hamilton Mbatha and Bangindawo Samuel Buthelezi of N.B.A. Champions, Themba Khoza and Vusi Magwaza of Nongoma Master Voice,

Robert Thwala of Natal Try Singers and Wellington Dlamini of Jama Lucky Stars had surreptitiously joined this worshipping session. I was to find out later on that the isicathamiya competition had lasted until 8 a.m. [Sunday] and they had to catch a bus from the Y.M.C.A. to Kwa-Mashu Township.

Then there came the real ukuhlambuluka/ukuhlambulula [confession] session. But first there was simultaneous praying which went on for about thirty minutes, punctuated with cries and shouts of "Halleluyah Amen!" which faded only when a certain spirited woman started a song and the congregation sang along. Then ukuhlambuluka started. I noticed here that there were some people who had come specifically for this session. Most of them were women. They all started by saying "Ukuthula ebandleni!" [Peace be to the church!] and the congregation responded with "Amen!". "I had a problem at my work-place, may God please help me, may He please pour His grace and blessing as I have come to the service". In this session the neophytes and old members [mostly women] had to approach the centre of the circle to kneel down for the laying of hands by MaNgcobo and a certain umvangeli [evangelist].

Visitors like myself were asked to introduce themselves and tell their problems. Because I had been introduced to MaNgcobo and other elders of the church before the commencement of this session, and the nature of my presence known, MaNgcobo stood up and briefly said, "Ukuthula ebandleni!" [Peace be

to the church!], and they responded "Amen!". "Maybe some of you know this gentlemen. In fact I call him by name, Caesar, because he is a child to me. He has come to take notes of our proceedings which he needs for his studies. I wish we accept him and hope he also receives the Holy Spirit and repents from - sinning". The congregation responded, "Amen!". A chorus followed and was interrupted by another shout of "Ukuthula ebandleni!" by a young male of about twenty two years who recounted a problem he encountered with the taxi driver who nearly bludgeoned him with an iron rod, but he escaped. "Amen" the congregation responded and a chorus followed.

Another verse was read and there was much more singing. An elderly woman of about forty stood up to report, in concurrence with the last speaker, that some taxi drivers do not allow Zionists to sing in their mini-buses. They like to play recorded popular music instead. She ended by saying, "Kufanele sibathandazele [we should pray for them]. Another resounding "Amen!" followed.

These are some examples of the testimonies I heard on the day. As I said the service had not yet begun. They all prayed for their problems. Much singing followed, then ugosa [the church elder] opened the service. He started by greeting everybody, welcomed the visitors and then read a verse from the Bible. Thereafter he asked if there were any announcements or letters to be read and

the answer was "Yes". He asked if there were any minutes flowing from the meeting of the previous week and the answer was "No". It was well structured, even more than in some mainline churches I have visited.

After reading of announcements the church elder started the singing of an elaborate "Amen", the Zionist seven-fold "Amen", and was joined by the rest of the congregation. Then he said he was then passing the service over to Umkokheli [the Layman]. The Umkokheli was also introduced by a song. He read a verse from the Bible, greeted the church members, started another song and passed it over to the evangelist. In this congregation, "Inkanyezi Pentecostal Church In Zion", the church hierarchy starts from the Church Elder, and goes down to the Layman, to the Evangelist, the Deacon, the Preacher and then to MaNgcobo the Prophetess. They do not have a Bishop probably because the congregation is small, numbering about fourteen people on the day. Another reason for the absence of a Bishop could also be that MaNgcobo is a widow. Her late husband was the Bishop of the church.

Then MaNgcobo opened the service officially. It was about one o'clock on Sunday noon. She started by singing a song:

uJesu wam' uyaphila
My Jesus is alive
Ngiyamesaba yini na
Am I afraid of Him
Igazi lakhe linqobile
His blood has conquered

Uyindlalifa yeZulu
 He is the Heir of the Sky
Ngiyamesaba yini na
 Am I afraid of Him
uJesu wam'uyaphila
 my Jesus is alive

Thereafter she preached for about ten minutes. She then went emsamo [to the corner of the room], ealtha [altar] and got hold of her isikhali [weapon]. Likewise other members armed themselves with their weapons in preparation for the healing service. All those who were sick were asked to come to the front. Someone started a song in fast tempo. They all stood up singing, wielded their weapons and began their "walk-around", encircling the sick people. I call it a "walk-around" because that is what they do. It is like the 'first gear' of their isikhalanga movement, which Sundkler [1976] calls the "sacred dance".²⁹ When they became heated up and bengenwa umoya namandla [entered by the power of the Holy Spirit], the "walk-around" graduated into leaps, then into quasi-running.

In fact the Zionists have a Biblical basis for the enactment of the "walk-around" and runs, "babaleka njengamankonyana, benganyathelani" [they run like calves and they do not tramp on each other, Malachi 4:2-3]. And that is precisely what happens in isikhalanga; they never tramp on each other.

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 1 ²⁹ The word isikhalanga will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

When I attended this service there were no serious healing rites performed save for two women whom MaNgcobo diagnosed with serious migraine, and they "agreed". And hands were laid by her and other select members of the congregation, amid shouts of "Hallelujah Amen!", as they anticipated instantaneous cure to these ailments and a chorus of "recovery" was sung, "Mayibongwe, mayibongwe iNkosi!" [Praise, Praise The Lord!]. There were also some people who entered the circle and gave their own accounts of illnesses. Hands were laid on and they were blessed. The service went on until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon on that day. I said earlier their services are timeless; the length of the service was determined by the "power of the Holy Spirit" on that particular day.

Mention must be made here that Zionist singing is more heterophonously contrapuntal - with each voice part moving freely to and from Zionist melodic norms established by the leader's annunciative melodies. The texts are shorter - and often based on some of the conventional 'established church' hymns or on biblical 'snippets'. The musical forms are amorphous but still discernible from the text that is sung, because the text determines the phrasing.

Zionist congregation has much larger members than isicathamiya. Everything is spontaneous because of the presence of umoya. There are no rehearsals, no choreographed steps to any extent. This is because Zionist performances take place in tiny rooms thus making choreography limited.

Isicathamiya's movements are more regimented and synchronized. This regimentation is reflected in the music. The music textures are without exception, four voice parts in basically triadic structured harmonies with recognisably Western cadential points. The attack and release of phrases is neat and precise, except for the free moving "leader voice". The 'calls' are effected by this "leading voice" and the antiphons by the rest of the ensemble. This 'lead-voice' part is given the latitude to heterophony - melodic invention is its prerogative.

The antiphon comprises three lower voice parts, including the strong reinforced bass part. This bass part shares some of the latitude to deviate from the stereotyped two inner harmonization voice parts. This gives the music a three part contrapuntal character in addition to antiphony. Individual musical and choreographic creativity and inventiveness are more synchronized in this style than in Zionist 'performances'.

Zionist's performances and singing have non-simultaneous individual attack and release of phrases than isicathamiya songs. Their performance are often accompanied by percussion - drums and hand - clapping. This impacts on individual and group movement. The individual heterophonous singing of Zionists' music making centres around the 'lead voice' with sporadic and less synchronized antiphons that are found in isicathamiya. This impacts on group and individual movement, and on the formation movements and dances which are more spontaneous and less choreographed than in isicathamiya.

Both isicathamiya and Zionist songs have strophic texts. Zionist texts are liturgical and shorter than isicathamiya texts. The texts of the latter are more topical and definitive of the choreography and general movements of the group. Group movement among the Zionists is limited by their larger numbers compared to isicathamiya ensemble. The group number constraints impact on circular group movement formations as shown in the video provided.

My visits to Zionist revival meetings underpinned my suspicions that they shared commonalities with isicathamiya all-night competitions. During my years of research in isicathamiya I often came into contact with terms like imvuselelo [revival], amandla omoya [pentecostalism], ukuhlambuluka [confession] but used in a non-liturgical context. I also came across similar beliefs, philosophies and customs, and similar musical structures [see Chapter

6]. It was these commonalities that led me to revisit the izicathamiyans after I had attended the Zionist church services.

STATISTICS

Presented below are izicathamiya groups that reside in the following Hostels in and around Durban; Dalton Mens' Hostel, Jacobs Mens' Hostel, Glebelands Mens' Hostel, Kwa-Mashu Mens' Hostel and Kwa-Dabeka Mens' Hostel, approximately 15 km. north-west of Durban, with a reflection of the religious affiliations of their members. Z.A. means Zionist affiliation and 'other' means non-Zionist.

I. DALTON MENS HOSTEL

GROUP	MEMBERS	Z. A.	OTHER
1. Greytown Evening Birds	15	12	3
2. Royal Messengers	12	9	3
3. Natal Express	18	14	4
4. Mthwalume Young Aces	21	14	7
5. King of Mountain	15	11	4
6. High Stars	12	11	1
7. King Boys	17	14	3
8. P.M. Burg Young Fighters	15	10	5
9. Mthunzini Arty Boys	20	16	4
10. Royal Blues	18	14	4
TOTALS	163	125	38

II. GLEBELANDS MENS' HOSTEL

1. G.M.C.	12	10	2
2. Xolo Home Boys	14	14	0
3. Uhlelo Olusha	15	12	3
4. New High Brothers	10	5	5
5. American Boys	16	12	4
6. Ubuka Young Stars	18	13	5
7. Danger Boys	23	17	6
8. Easy Walkers	12	8	4
9. Real Singers	12	10	2
10. Mapumulo Arty Boys	10	7	3
TOTALS	142	108	34

III. Y.M.C.A.

1. Fairview Boys	11	10	1
2. Nongoma Black Tycoons	10	10	0
3. Nongoma Master Voices	8	6	2
4. Natal Try Singers	12	7	5
5. Mahlabathini Home Stars	14	12	2
6. Ubuhle Bamahlathi	14	14	0
7. P.M. Burg Home Boys	13	7	6
8. River Stars	18	13	5
9. Moving Stars	14	11	3
10. Zulu Home Soldiers	16	12	4
11. Zulu Messengers	18	15	3
12. N.B.A. Champions	16	16	0
13. Jama Lucky Stars	12	12	0
14. Lucky Stars	10	7	3
TOTALS	186	152	34

IV. KWA-DABEKA MENS' HOSTEL

1. Transkei Lucky Boys	13	10	3
2. D.A. F. Singers	10	7	3
3. Kingdom of God	14	14	0
4. Mpumalanga Happy Boys	16	11	5
5. Mkhizwana Home Stars	18	16	2
6. Lovely Boys	14	7	7
7. Heavy Boys	16	14	2
8. Lotus Singers	10	8	2
9. Real Singers	16	13	3
10. Happy Singers	15	10	5
TOTALS	142	110	32

V. KWA-MASHU MENS' HOSTEL

1. Young Stars	17	12	5
2. King Silence	21	6	5
3. Dumbe Home Singers	14	10	4
4. Inhlala Kahle	16	12	4
5. Black Birds	10	9	1
6. Ringer Stars	12	10	2
7. Aeroplane	14	12	2
TOTALS	104	81	23

The above figures reflect that 78,2% of izicathamiyans are Zionists. The remaining 21,8% is shared among Wesleyans, Abapostoli [Apostolic Church Of God], Full Gospel Church of God, Assemblies of God and the Faith Mission Church. In trying to find out to which type of Zionists they belong, my - informants said they belonged to an array of Zionist denominations. Let us look at individual membership of one of the groups from the Y.M.C.A.:

GROUP: NONGOMA MASTER VOICE

ZIONISTS AFFILIATION

1. Themba Khoza Inkanyezi Pentecostal Church
 of Zion [Kwa-Mashu Township]
2. Zebulon Khanyile Zion Church of Judiya
 [Kwa-Mashu Township]
3. Jerome Shabalala Avoca Church of Zion
 [Avoca]
4. William Mathè Ntuzuma Holy Church
 of Zion [Ntuzuma Township]
5. Vusi Gumede Amatopiya Aluhlaza
 [Umlazi Township]
6. Bhekani Gumede Amatopiya Aluhlaza
 [Umlazi Township]

NON-ZIONISTS

7. Thulani Dlodla Kwa-Mashu Full Gospel Church of God
8. Meshack Shabalala Kwa-Mashu Full Gospel Church of God

My informants say to categorize and distinguish them as Ethiopians, Apostles, Pentecostals is divisive. Sundkler [1976] informs us that most Zulu Zionists

came from the Protestant missions, the Catholic, the Anglican and Wesleyan churches, because "of strong desire to evolve an African system of religion, thus rescuing some of the Bantu customs..." [pp.180-181].

These performers and believers are oblivious of the type of mission from which they mushroomed. To them the term Zionist denotes widespread independent churches, of Charismatic character, izinkonzo zomoya [Spirit Churches], emphasizing healing, baptism by immersion and the apocalyptic faith, the second coming of Christ. The pentecostal spirit is seen to be somewhat akin to umoya wezangoma [spiritual power in diviners] that drives away demons [as discussed in Chapter 3]. In fact, Robert Thwala, co-leader of the Nongoma Master Voice and member of Enkululekweni Zion Church of Umlazi says, "Zionism is an umbrella term for Abaphostoli [The Apostles] and amaTopiya [Ethiopians] and many of the like because:

We are all Zionists. We are all Africans. We speak the same language [Zulu] and uphold the same beliefs, philosophies, practice the same customs and traditions. We all strive for isiNtu, "nativistic appearance", and nativistic Biblical interpretation. We all use umoya wephentekhosta, "pentecostalism". This is why you hear some of us saying they are a Pentecostal Church of God. Even some of us who are amaTopiya say they are Zionists. Zionists even say angabapostoli abayishuminambili, they are the "12 apostles", the reason being that the term 'apostle' in the Bible means people who were sent on a mission. That mission is to teach the word of God, sikhulume ngamalimi sikhipe amadimoni, "speak the word of God in tongues and drive away demons" [interview 22/10/94].

Robert Thwala even referred me to the following verse in the Bible: "And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease" [St. Matthew 10:1]. Consonant with Peebles' African Heritage Study Bible [1993], Thwala argues that the Apostolic faith mission of healing and spreading the word of God is also an Ethiopian mission, a Zionist mission, hence an African mission.

Caiphus Sibiya of the Natal Young Stars, and a member of Sakhumuzi Church of God In Zion says while a few of them belong to the Assemblies of God, Full Gospel Church of God and the Faith Mission Church [non - Charismatic churches], they share common features in worshipping. Although the above churches sing songs based on western hymns, with some singing from hymn books, the indigenizing influence is discernible. Sibiya further says they also clap on their Bibles, as Wesleyans do, and shout at the top of their voices, intoning spells and praying simultaneously amid cries of Hallelujah Amen!, bavukwa amadlingozi. The pentecostal element is there but not as emphasized as in Zionist congregations.

Whilst amatopiya are influenced by the nativistic forms of their Zionist counterparts, "there is an ambition to preserve the liturgical standards and forms of expression of the Mission Church from which they have seceded"

[Sundkler 1976:180]. They do not emphasize baptism by immersion. They also do not have healing rituals. They do not prophesy. It is because they lack Charismatic leadership as found in mainline Zionist churches. They also wear a uniform of the same colour. This is why there are Amatopiya amhlophe [White Ethiopians], Amatopiya aluhlaza [Green Ethiopians], namaTopiya aluhlaza njengesibhakabhaka [Ethiopians as blue as the sky], whereas with amaZayoni colours may differ from person to person because they are given them by amathongo, or izithunywa through dreams. Colours are believed to cure some ailments and protect them from evil forces.

Before we continue with our discussion let us address a puzzle I was faced with towards the final stages of my research. Since most of the performers come from the rural areas and form groups in the city according to home-boy structures and biological relationships, why is it that these home-boy structures do not worship together? Informants say when coming to urban areas they leave behind the congregations to which they were affiliated. Secondly they say it is difficult to find a Zionist congregation in the city that holds to custom and tradition as they do in their home areas. Thirdly, breakaways in urban churches contribute to splitting the Zionist - isicathamiya membership. Fourthly, says Shandu of N.B.A. Champions:

Izayoni zisebenza ngomoya [Zionists work through the pentecostal spirit] and izicathamiyans zivukwa amadlingozi [become spirited] by the same force. Now, individual members tend to pull out from

churches if they do not feel umoya [Spirit] inside themselves. Worshipping is a personal thing. You do not rely on your brother next door as we do in isicathamiya [interview 27/11/94].

In trying to determine the imperatives that lead isicathamiya performers to join the Zionist church I was left with some ponderables. Is it by choice, convenience or circumstance? Is it by heredity? What is it that attracts them? I now present the reader with their responses.

4.2 ZIONISM AS A WAY OF LIFE

UbuZayoni [Zionism] is ubuntu uqobo [humanity in living colour] [interview, Shandu, N.B.A. Champions: 28/05/94]

As described in my introduction, the word isintu, whose broad literal meaning means "humanity", is defined by Zulus to mean Africanness or Zuluness. And all traditional forms are said to represent isintu [Zuluness]. Shandu says we should not forget that when we speak of Zionists we are speaking of people whose origin is isintu and whose language of origin is isiZulu [Zulu]. "It is therefore not surprising that there is overlapping membership between Zionism and isicathamiya because they share the same customs, culture, beliefs and philosophies" [ibid]. When asked where Zuluness comes into play here he responded:

It comes in as ukuziqhenya/ukuziqhayisa [displaying pride] in what we are doing and in what we are. Now, we who come across the Tukela River sing differently. Our language is different and we are proud because we have a King here, whose surname is Zulu, and our place is in Zululand. Even my reference book is written Zulu. Our language is different. When we speak we do it with pride and want people to hear that we are speaking Zulu. When speaking you do not have to know my surname to know that I am Zulu; you hear that from my tongue. Zuluness is something you go with; doing everything as a Zulu, with pride and identity. This is why Zuluness stands out among the Zionists. And that is why the music, behaviour, beliefs and religion overlap [Mbatha interview:28/05/94].

Isicathamiya groups led by Shandu of the N.B.A. Champions, Shandu of the Nongoma Master Voices, Dlamini of Jama Lucky Stars, Paulos Mtshali of Zulu Home Soldiers [interview, 16/10/93], and members of Fairview, Nongoma Black Tycoon, Lucky Stars, Zulu Messengers, Natal Try singers, Ubuhle Bamahlathi and Natal Young Stars [interview 27/11/94], unanimously agree that one of the reasons they belong to the Zionist churches is because, unlike the mainline churches, anybody is welcomed into the congregation at any time of the day. This hospitality is rooted in the Zulu tradition of hayi hashi! Literally this phrase means "not horse!" or "not horse's meat!" as I shall explain below.

When there is a ritual in the neighbourhood where a cow has been slaughtered, passers by and uninvited guests, on discovering the razzmatazz going on can be heard shouting, "hayi hashi!" [not horse!], literally meaning that 'it is not horse's meat that is being eaten and I can eat it too'. Then on hearing this cry, someone from inside will respond, "ngena ngaphakathi!" [come in!], and he will

be invited to share in the feasting. Paulos Mtshali of Zulu Home Soldiers says, "That is isintu. They do not know you, yet you are invited in. They will give you meat on isithebe, [wooden carved tray] [interview 16/10/93].

The hayi hashi custom in the Zionist church can be interpreted in the following manner. When we grew up at KwaMashu Township it was commonplace to see a drunk or passer by ehlatshwa umxhwele, [satisfied and mesmerized] by the power of the Zionists' music, and deciding to go inside. He would not be chased away. Instead he would be located a place to sit and listen to the sermon. And Shandu says this is actually interpreted in the hymn that goes, ukuhlabelela kuyamthokozisa odabukileyo [singing brings joy to the distressed] [interview, 28/05/94]. Sundkler even says, "These nightly services are very popular and have a remarkable tendency to make people forget their denominational differences, for all in the vicinity come together" [1976:198].

Secondly, at KwaMashu Township on New Years Eve, amid the buzz of waiting for the psychological stroke of midnight separating the old and the new year, Zionists break their night vigils, take to the streets with candles lit and move in circles in isikhalanga form.³⁰ Often drunks and other outsiders join them in singing and 'dancing'. To Zionists this session is not a social one; it is religious

³⁰ See chapter 5.2 for a full description of isikhalanga, the Zionist sonic practice.

and spiritual, yet they tolerate outsiders because of the foreknowledge that in isintu you cannot chase a person ohlátshwa umxhwele [who is attracted by the power of music]. Moreover this behaviour is akin to the hayi hashi custom discussed above.

It is common knowledge that in mainline churches drunks are debarred from attending services. But in Zionist churches, according to Mzikayise Belfas Nxumalo of the Zulu Home Soldiers, "people are pulled to the church by amandla omculo nomoya [power of the music and the spirit that goes with it] [interview 28/05/94]. And Shandu reaffirms that it is because a person feels "Zuluness in living colour", in the music.

I fully agree with Jim Kiernan's assertion that the Zionists' exclusiveness during their worshipping rituals in KwaMashu is seen by "firmly shutting the doors and windows at certain points in the proceeding" [[African Studies, 33. 2 1974:82]. And that this is done in spite of the ghastly midday heat in the crowded room with the gatekeeper guarding the entrance to the meeting [ibid]. But to Zionists, the shutting of the doors is also done for musical reasons. They do not like to worship in commodious enclosures because iculo lizobaleka [the song would slip away]. The song is supposed to have amandla nesisindo [power and weight]. And it is this power that attracts drunks and other passers by into their worshipping rituals. Gate-keepers, as Kiernan puts it, are there to guard and

control access to the worshipping place, but they would not deny entrance to a person that says their music "touches him inside".

Wilton Mbhele, an isicathamiya veteran says when he passes outside the Roman Catholic church as the service is in progress, nothing attracts him in the music because the manner of worshipping is unAfrican, unZulu. It lacks ubuntu, and is performed without amandla [power]. The singing is in strict western chordal harmony. He further says:

What is inside is pulled by my Africanness. I feel it egazini [in my blood]. If we discuss isicathamiya we are discussing isintu. When we discuss the Zionists we are discussing isintu [interview 28/05/94].

When I further asked him to point to isintu traits in Zionism he reiterated that, "I am underscoring amandla [power] in singing, amandla esintu [Zulu power]. Zionism is a way of life, the church of the people" [ibid]. And he says people who are not affiliated to any church would find it easy to go to the Zionist church for spiritual upliftment because Zionists do not discriminate. Hence Jim Kiernan says during his research work at KwaMashu he did not experience any xenophobia [African Studies, 33.2 1974:82].

UMOYA NAMANDLA [POWER AND FORCE OF THE SPIRIT]

Umoya [the "Spirit] or ukuvukwa amandla [to be spirited], force, weight and

power, play a pivotal role among Zionists and isicathamiya performance rituals. They are inseparable or complementary. When asked what attracts performers to the Zionist church Caiphus Sibiya of the Natal Young Stars responded that the concept of the Spirit and the "speaking in tongues" that flows copiously from Zionists and performers is akin to the spiritualism that is in diviners in Zulu tradition [interview 28/10/94].

Although ukuvukwa umoya [spirit possession] in isicathamiya is not exactly the same as the Zionists' pentecostalism, it functions in almost the same way. It is called amandawe namandiki, as if "possessed or suffering from a hysterical disease" [Doke - Vilakazi 1975:538]. Performers believe this power is the spirit of the old departed people. Zithulele Zondi, member of "Inkanyezi Zionist Church" in KwaMashu and performer says, "When this force comes it is as if you are hallucinating. The voice changes as if there is something strangling you, and you have to force yourself to speak" [interview, KwaMashu 28/05/94]. He adds that when you recover you speak in your normal voice. But when you are emoyeni the voice is arrested by this force [ibid]. He adds that likewise, when they are singing in isicathamiya sometimes they are overwhelmed by this power such that their voices change and tremble. Sometimes they would have to go outside to get fresh air, then this power dissipates [ibid].

The repetitive nature of the Zionist songs and the physical fatigue endured

through laborious hours of dancing contribute towards transforming the Zionists' state of mind, "becoming spirited and speaking in tongues". In the discussion of traditional worship in Chapter 1, mention was made of warriors at war, "transmogrified", chanting self-praises as they stab here and there with their spears, urged by the whispering spirits that 'ride on their shoulders'. Though Zionists experience the same transcendence, theirs has a liturgical twist that is deeply rooted in traditional religious philosophy.

But it should be underscored here that not all members of the Zulu tradition experience this transcendence. It is usually a gift endowed to medical practitioners and diviners by shades of the lineage, or acquired through social status or heredity. Likewise with Zionists it is through appointment by divinities like amathongo. And this gift may not necessarily be given to Prophets alone.

Shandu of N.B.A. Champions says when you are overcome by this force you sometimes feel the song ligidagida enhlizweni yakho, [dancing and jumping inside your heart] [interview 27/11/94]. When you come from church and go straight to practise isicathamiya, "your music will have more power" [ibid]. Although there are some Zionists who have izihlabelelo [hymns] that have been indigenized, most Zionists sing from the heart and bayazakhela [compose] some of the songs so that these songs will have the necessary "traditional power".

Therefore a performer who has this "spiritual power" fits well in a Zionist congregation because they receive this power far more than happens in the mainline churches. Shandu also says performers and Zionists are the two living examples of Zulu tradition. "When they perform well you feel your hair standing up. And "to be spirited" in ingoma [Zulu movement] makes the listener's hair stand on end [ibid].

The pentecostal power according to Zionists comes from fasting. Fasting involves perseverance, dedication and faith, making you come closer to the spiritual realm. Zionists define this concerted effort by narrating the biblical anecdote of Shadrack, Meshack and Abednego who were thrown into a fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar [King of Babylon] but did not burn because they stood together in faith and God gave them power to withstand the fire [Daniel 3:26-30].

AMANDLA NOKUHLAMBULUKA [PENTECOSTALISM AND CONFESSION]

The word ukuhlambuluka in Zulu tradition has two aspects. Firstly it means confessing your sins in front of the congregation with a view to purifying yourself [of sin] [Fernandez 1967:22] so that you can be counselled and then enjoy ukuphila [life]. Secondly it is done for physical and spiritual enrichment.

But let us look for a moment at how the Zionists use the word ukuhlambuluka [confession] when they bebopha ibande [tighten their belt, Kiernan 1977-78:35], commonly known as fasting. Fasting does not make Zionists physically ethereal. Instead fasting is believed to induce maximum spiritual upliftment and tolerance. Members reported that they were able to go through the whole night in their imvuselelo [revivals] until the following afternoon without food or water because they were filled by the "Holy Spirit". Because they had "tightened the belt together", they believed they were bound together by one "spiritual cord" such that they could empathize and could immediately discern when one of them was not in spirit and shout, "hlambuluka! [speak out your worries!].³¹ Then the troubled member will unburden his problems, after which they give advice and assurance of spiritual assistance. After this the sermon or the song would be fiery.

Zionism is defined by Elphas Nxumalo of Zulu Messengers as inkonzo yesintu [traditional church service] that has power [interview, 28/05/94] because of the confessional session discussed above. Non-Zionists are attracted to Zionism because they are a congregation yomoya [of the Spirit] where they bring their personal problems to the fore. Problems like, "My boss at work does not like

³¹ The word hlambuluka in Zionism has an ambivalent meaning; firstly and literally it means to "become clear, be at ease, and act freely [Doke - Vilakazi], when you have been baptized by water immersion. Secondly ukuhlambuluka means to speak out your worries and confess your sins publicly.

me", "I am out of the job", "As I was coming to church I was mugged", "My fifteen year old daughter is pregnant", "My husband has taken to drinking again" etc.

Others come to worship purely because of a variety of ailments. Instead of going to the diviner where the sick person will be expected to pay exorbitant consultation fees, the afflicted person decides to see a Prophet. The prophet will only require him to bring candles and maybe a 20 cent piece along. And that 20c piece will not be used as payment but will be anointed and placed permanently in the altha [altar] to ward off evil spirits or for blessings.

A note may be required here to allay the misconception that Zionists do not consult diviners. Diviners and dead ancestors are consulted by the Zionists in a number of instances related to the cure of ailments, and in their purificatory rites as discussed in chapter 3.3. In concert with this notion Pauw says, "The participant relating the event explained in the church "we feel we are one great ikhaya [home, family]", hence the appeal to the dead people of the church who are "the ancestors [izinyanga] of this home" [vl. 33.2 1974:108].

It is this notion of ekhaya [home] which attracts many women into the Zionist church. When asked to respond to this notion Mbhele and Msimanga [veterans] unanimously agreed that:

Men are usually stubborn; most drink and have no time for going to church, whereas women are freer than men. Women like to know every time about their health and health of their children. And in Zion they tell her that. Because the church is welfare-like and assists in personal problems, when assisted she confides in other women. In Zion worshipping there are more women than men because men go to the mines, others go to industry and only go home on Christmas. Others go home when they are on leave or when they have been paid their wages. Women are many because they have tender hearts so that when they have problems they take them to the preacher, and they give up their souls to the Lord. And the preacher will give them solutions. Some men loiter and drink beer at home and do not have time to go to the church. Women will join this church because it gives them spiritual fulfilment [interview 28/05/94].

Pauw says, "The church also has an important function at birth, illness and marriage" [vl. 33.2 1974:115] which is consonant with Elphas Nxumalo's above assertion that the Zionist worship is traditional worship because it goes beyond the normal worshipping experienced in the mainstream churches. Moreover, Zionists believe baptism can only take place in a running river where the defilement in their bodies will be swept away, unlike the mainline churches who conduct baptisms in pools inside the church. Baptism in these 'stagnant' pools would be marred by the candidate's spiritual and physical infirmities.

4.3 PURIFICATION - PREVENTION AND HEALING

And he went forth unto the spring of waters, and cast the salt in there, and said, Thus saith the Lord, I healed these waters; there shall not be from thence any more death or barren land [I Kings 2:21].

Zulus as well as Xhosas believe that the Supreme Being "was not created but

emerged full-blown from the reeds" [Vilakazi 1965:87]. This comes from another creation myth that says Zulus are abantu bohlanga [people of the reeds], the same place where the Umvelingqangi [the Supreme Being] emerged. Hence Zulu Zionists call themselves "the people of the reeds". In this respect umfula/umlambo [Xhosa], the river, has an important symbolic meaning to Zulus as we shall see in the next paragraphs.

Zulu Zionists refer to themselves as "the river church" or "people of the river". The river to Zionists is important in that it is a place for baptism. To Zionists the river is a place for "rebirth" i.e. baptism by immersion, for healing, bodily purification and spiritual cleansing. Rebirth means anointment/endowment with Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit cannot operate alone; it comes with isithunywa [messenger who is an invisible celestial being...] [Mthethwa 1984:60]. Stemming from the river and the power of water is isiwasho [anointed water], that plays a significant role in Zionist worship. Suffice it to say that anointed water is a powerful instrument to ward off evil spirits. It symbolically represents God's power over the devil.

Faith healing, purification rites like ukuphalaza³², ukuthatha isiwasho³³,

³² Other reasons for vomiting after taking emetic are "ukuphalaza inyongo, to bring up bile, ukuphalaza idliso, to vomit up poison; clearing the stomach by vomiting, and taking the emetic for health purposes" [Doke 1972:644].

ukuchatha "to administer stomach medicine as an enema" [Doke 1970:644] and ukugcaba, "to immunize"³⁴, are traditional practices equally entrenched in traditional Zulu beliefs and which are still retained in independent churches like the Shembeites and almost all other Zionist denominations. But to some churches such practices are obnoxious. It is for this reason that in this section I will focus on these purificatory rites as practised by the Zionists and in the next chapter show that isicathamiya performers practise them in exactly the same way.

Zionist purificatory rites stem from their Zulu tradition as mentioned above. But as we are now looking at liturgical phenomena, they are also rooted in the Bible. Most Zulu Zionists when interviewed would refuse to cross the line that has to do with the use of muti or any traffic in them as Kiernan also reports [1974:87]. In fact most Zulu Christians, irrespective of their affiliations would say they do not use muti [herbs] for fear of being rebuked by their colleagues. They would say they rely on the power of prayer alone.

However, I must point out that Christian Zulus when interviewed by a white

³³ "...giving people holy water as a way of healing or purification..." [Oosthuizen 1976:3].

³⁴ Immunization is administered by way of opening a small cut on the body with a sharp object like a razor blade and applying medicine. The belief is that this will ward off evil spirits and protect you against ailments.

person, as was the case with Kiernan, would be unwilling to expose trafficking in muti, as this is interpreted by African mainstream church goers as "backwardness" or "unscriptural". But as discussed below, Zionists have a biblical basis for using muti. Moreover, being the tenacious traditionalists they are, Zulu custom prescribes the use of herbs for any type of cure, be it evil or otherwise. Generally an ordinary person would decline to say he uses herbs because this has been held by westerners to demonstrate sorcery, hence the word "witchcraft". But almost all Zulus, traditionalists or Christians take herbs, albeit surreptitiously, for cure of a variety of ailments.

ZIONISTS

With Zionists, on the other hand, herbs are accompanied by prayer, as the following anecdote will explain. At Kwa-Mashu Township where I grew up, a certain Mrs X. who resided nearby had precognition of thunder and was able to determine that the coming thunder was the work of sorcery, probably directed at her or at people she knew. Then to prevent a calamity, she would take umqombothi [Zulu beer], wood and an axe and go outside. She would collect wood as if making a fire, then spill Zulu beer over it, take an axe and chop the wood. She would command the thunder to go back to the person that was sending it. The thunder would then stop immediately.

I have consulted Zionists many times in my life for cure of numerous ailments related to venereal diseases and there were no candles supplied or prayers made, only to be given herbs. I recall another case when my eldest sister, suffering from amafufunyana [demons] was visited by Zionists who prayed as well as administered herbs for cure, for spewing, taking an enema, incision etc. The use of herbs here has nothing to do with paganism/heathenism or unbelief in God. It is traditional and spiritual. It is done because, "Unkulunkulu" told them so, and because herbs too were created by Him, hence:

"I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth and every tree, in which is the fruit of the tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat" [Genesis 2:29].

As Zulu traditionalists, Zionists consult diviners to prescribe herbs for giving them isithunzi [force of character], charisma, and for curing ailments as discussed in chapter 3.1. MaNgcobo, a pious Zionist from KwaMashu, when commenting on their use of herbs argued:

Zionists who are not traditionalists would not advertise the fact that they have consulted diviners for cure of their ills. Actually it should not surprise us because Zionists are Zulus and Zulus use herbs. In fact the herbs that we use must be interpreted to be the same herbs we buy from the chemist, like pills which are made from herbs. But I must add that we use herbs with prayers, in the same way we use anointed water [interview: KwaMashu 28/05/94].

MaNgcobo argued that the use of herbs by the Zionists is rooted in the Bible as well, as she recounts the story of a person bitten by a snake. That servant of God heard a voice saying he must take a herb that was along the path, grind it and administer it to the victim, and he was healed. The snake [serpent in Biblical terms] represents the devil [demon] that can also be driven away by herbs. The Zionists I interviewed argued that God said in the beginning that He was giving us dominion over all living things in the world, " ...and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth" [Genesis 2:28].

Another case in point is of Archbishop Ndlovu, a Zionist healer from Dobsonville in Soweto who came to my place at Kwa- Mashu Township to cure my sister of demons. He took four eggs, bored holes in the ground at all four corners of the house, prayed and buried them. This was done for strengthening the house and for burying "guardian angels" to fight the demons. Here the burying of eggs was accompanied by prayers.³⁵

Taking of an enema, incision with herbs, spewing and hardening are Zulu practices administered by Zionists, with and without prayers. And those that go to Zionists for these ailments do it surreptitiously. Intambo [the anointed string] is also discussed in detail by anthropologists. Suffice it to say the

³⁵ Eggs here are taken to be part of the herbs that are accompanied by prayer to ward off evil forces.

[woollen] string is worn on the waist and around the neck as a strengthening device by Zionists. Diviners treat the string with herbs and prescribe it as protection against a variety of ailments, including sorcery.

- I also remember attending a purification ritual at Kwa-Mashu at a Zionist-type church led by Ubaba uMasango, father P.J. Masango.³⁶ We were each given about five litres of milk diluted with water to drink until our stomachs were full and caused us to spew. It was one of the purification rites given even to outside people; it was also done for bringing us luck.

ZIONISTS SIKHALI

The carrying of induku/udondolo [a stick/rod] and ishoba [stick made of horse's tail] by men is rooted in Zulu tradition [discussed in chapter 3.1] and has a religious and ritual significance. The rod is usually stored emsamo [in one of the corners of the hut], "For umsamo of every hut is sacred, but that of the chief hut of the kraal is especially important, for here all offerings to the spirits are made, and here the important guardian spirits of the kraal abide" [Berglund 1975:102]. The corner of the hut is the place for the shades. Zionists call the rod isikhali [weapon] because it is believed to have supernatural powers given

³⁶ For more information about P.J. Masango refer to Martin West's Bishop and Prophets in a Black City, 1975.

them by the Supreme Being through 'the nether Beings' and protects them against attack by evil forces and diseases. With Zionists it is not a male preserve. It may be carried by all members of the congregation, young and old, male and female. Jim Kiernan says the use of the weapon by Zionists has Biblical and traditional significance:

Zionists refer to this staff as an isikhali, literally a "weapon", and the distribution of the staves is accompanied by the hymn: "Arm yourselves with the weapons, says the Lord of Hosts". It is a weapon in that it channels mystical powers and is employed to ward off malevolent forces. Without it the Zionist is disarmed and incapable of engaging or directing supernatural influence, particularly in the context of the healing rite. With his staff in his hands, his membership becomes something more than a status; it becomes a vital and dynamic role charged with the right of participating in the communal effort to repudiate and repel the evil of the world outside [African Studies vl. 33 1975:84].

The 'magical' rod used by Moses in the Bible in Exodus 4:2, 7:9, 7:17, 7:19, 8:5, 16 and 24, Exodus 10:13, 14:16, 21. Numbers 20:8 - 11 was of paramount influence to Zionists' healing rituals. When Moses was confronting the recalcitrant Pharaoh, negotiating for the release of the Israelites out of Egypt, God said "Moses, Put forth thine hand, and take it by the tail. And he put forth his hand, and caught it, and it became a rod in his hand" [Exodus 4:4]. Taking the snake by the tail is lethal. God here wanted to demonstrate His might. Likewise the Zionists do not have doubts that the rod has mystical powers and strengthens their faith.

Zionists do not all carry weapons. But those who do, carry weapons made of copper, or silver, or weapons made of bamboo. When asking why other Zionists do not carry weapons, the response was that when breakaways happen, leaders would like their new churches to have distinguishing features, like substituting a weapon with something else, or doing away with it completely [Mbatha interview 27/11/93]. Mbatha further says the Zionists who do not use the drum when worshipping like the Apostles, substitute for it with hand-clapping. It is because of breakaways and personal idiosyncrasies.

There is also the question of the wearing of iziphandla, "arm-bands" [made of goat or cow hide] by Zulu traditionalists as was discussed in chapter 3.1. Arm-bands are also believed to protect against evil forces like witchcraft, sorcery and maladies. Likewise Zionists wear arm-bands for the same reasons.

The matter of izimpondo zenkomo, horns that are found hanging on ikhothamo [the lintel] of most Zionists' houses, plays an important role in Zulu philosophy. Firstly, "The shades are associated with the doorway arch. Skulls and horns of animals slaughtered at ritual celebrations are attached to the thatching of a hut immediately above the ikhothamo" [Berglund 1975:104, 108]. The whistling of abalozzi [the whistling ancestors] is reported to emerge from the doorway arch. Therefore the place commands reverence. Traditionally its significance is that anyone entering this household must akhothame, "1. Bend down, bend over;

bow, stoop" [Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi 1990:405]. And all Zulu traditionalists, including most Zionists, when seeing horns curtsy when entering any household. Horns are believed to be the guardians of the household. Sick people believe their ills are healed if they sit at the doorways of their huts where the whistling ancestors can see them [ibid].

Women brewing for purposes of communion with the shades will grind millet in the close vicinity of the doorway "so that they see their food which is being prepared for them" [ibid]. Medicines of sorts are pushed into the thatching of the doorway arch for protection and as a sign that the shades are family members and share in the common interests of the household.

The second importance of the horns is discussed by Berglund [1975]. In Chapter 1 mention was made that the earth and the sky are believed to be husband and wife and "the earth itself, being a flat surface, is held up by four bulls, "carrying the earth on their horns". When one of them shakes its head, then the earth also shakes" [1975:32]. When comparing the significance of the horns at the doorway, and the horns that carry the earth, we emerge with the following synthesis: the earth is a dwelling place of the people created by the Supreme Being; the hut is also a dwelling place for Zulus. On the thatching of the huts are horns and the doorway arch where the shades reside. All of these horns are put there for protection, for keeping harmony between heaven and

earth and to provide power against malevolent forces. They are also part of the weaponry used by traditionalists and by most Zionists for cultural identity.³⁷

4.4 CONCEPT OF A BLACK CHRIST AND THE FEELING YASEKHAYA [OF HOME]

Moore [1973] says Christianity in Africa came as one of the items in the colonial package. The colonial motive was possession of land and exploitation of 'Natives' [p.viii]. As a consequence of colonization, traditional beliefs and customary rites were attenuated and disparaged. Traditional music and all indigenous rites were condemned as heathen and therefore pagan [Mngoma 1977:2]. Traditional leaders who had been responsible for the society's beliefs lost their roles, and had to become ordinary leaders responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the implementation of government-inspired measures [Christopher 1985]. The political authority, social organisation, and social relationships that had been defined in terms of kinship uniting all members of a community with a common ancestor, had now to give way to colonial administrators [ibid].

Consequent to this Christian authority, African-guided churches [Mthethwa 1984], like the African Apostles of Zimbabwe, Aladura of Nigeria and

³⁷ See Chapter 5 for the discussion of izimpondo zenkomo in Zionists' musical use.

Amazayoni, Zionists of South Africa, Amatopiya, [The Ethiopians] to name a few, emerged from missionary churches, and their reaction was to strive for a "nativistic appearance, ...to reject European customs and to extol a return to traditions" [Jassy 1973:77]. The Independent churches were "seeking a cultural integrity and a spiritual autonomy not provided by the more obvious social changes in mid-twentieth century Africa" [Turner 1967:xiii]. These movements were searching for a new spiritual home.

Martin West [1975] says independent churches are seen as allowing an outlet for expression of leadership qualities and "the kingship pattern of Zulu society is imprinted on the leadership of all the independent churches" [ibid:48], where the leader, be he a Bishop or President, is seen as Inkosi, King over his tribe [ibid].

In searching for their cultural identity and new spiritual home, the Zulu Zionists reverted to their eulogy of uNkulunkulu [the Lord of the Sky]. But their philosophy was that "if the Christian God is the one Who also created Africans, then He must manifest Himself in African form and culture as well" [Mthethwa 1984:34]. The refuge taken by Western churches in Africa "the notion that unless Christianity is practised in the White man's way, it is idolatry and not correct" [Omayajowo 1973:91] is vehemently disapproved of by Zulu traditionalists. Mthethwa says if the cause for the Christian struggle is cultural,

then it would mean that Africans are forced to worship their ancestors rather than God [1984:34].

The concept of a Black Messiah [Prophet] among Zionists was then born and became deeply rooted in the Zulu social structure and the traditional concept of abaphansi [ancestors] and umoya [pentecostalism]. Charismatic leadership with gifts of divine healing, prophesying and clairvoyance was quickly taken up by Black South African congregations at the time because it was somewhat akin to umoya wezangoma/amaggira [Xhosa] diviners. Sundkler says "There was a search for a place where the individual could "feel at home" and where African rhythm and conviction could be expressed freely and convincingly" [1976:7].

The so-called charismatic churches like the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa, the Zion Apostolic Church, and the pentecostal church, Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa, emphasized healing, baptism by immersion and the second coming of Christ [ibid], were more fitting to African culture at the time [Mthethwa 1984:3]. Absolom Vilakazi says the Christians thus saw themselves as followers of a charismatic personality, that is, one who was not only God Himself but who in His human nature had power, bestowed by the Holy Spirit, to be used in the propagation of truth, the working of miracles, healing, prophecy and speaking with tongues

[1965:98].

Leaders of these independent movements felt it incumbent upon themselves to "convince others" of the notion of a Prophet represented in the Bible by Moses leading the children of Israel out of Egypt. The King James version of the Bible says "Moses, by the Spirit of God, he did many mighty works and intervened for the Israelites with God on many occasions" [1976:132]. The leading of the children of Egypt out of Israel was interpreted by Zionists as akin to escape from bondage, and that from the darkness of oppression they could conquer. Moses was a Prophet of God [Deut. 18:15], and a type of Christ [Acts 7:37] ordained by God and endowed with supernatural gifts like prophesying prowess and the miracles that he performed in front of Pharaoh.

Zionism in South Africa was not a survival strategy against racial domination and segregation, but a way of life. Zionism was in keeping with their religious philosophy and Zulu social structure which antedated the arrival of Christianity as we shall see in the section to follow.

In his article, Where Zionists Draw The Line: A study of Religious Exclusiveness In An African Township: African Studies, 33 no 2. 1974, Kiernan criticizes the notion that the Independent Church to Africans was their reaction to the Whites' policy of segregation and separation, that African churches exist in

order to emphasize the social separation of White and Black. Instead he says:

Christianity had initially been entrusted to the White people but they had failed to live up to its demands; the trust had now passed to the Black man and it was the mission of Zionists to convince others of this [pp.79-82].

The concept of the Black Christ can be seen in leaders like Isaiah Shembe of The Nazareth Church, Lekganyane of Z.C.C. and Mgijima of the Israelites, to name a few. Bongani Mthethwa says that Shembe most probably joined the African Baptist Church because of its indigenous character, its literal Biblical interpretation and the importance attached to baptism [1984:26]. Likewise they believed their Black leaders were their own Moseses ordained by God to lead Zionist churches, hence the healing rituals and prophecies.

While dancing and the playing of drums and other forms of traditional music in the mission churches, as well as the wearing of traditional regalia, were taboo, as these were associated with paganism, the progenitors of African-guided churches saw it incumbent upon themselves to fight oppression by emphasizing their own identity and leadership.

Sundkler [1976] informs us that most Zulu Zionists came from the Protestant mission churches, the Catholic, Anglican and Wesleyan churches because of "of strong desire to evolve an African system of religion, thus rescuing some of the Bantu customs..." [pp. 180-181].

The following chapter will enable us to view religion in the eyes of Zulu traditionalists, the performers. We shall also see how the religious outlooks of these rural home-boys are reflected in the churches they join in the city. We shall also see how these home-boy structures reflect their world-view through beliefs in amandla omoya [ancestral inspiration] and dream visitations by amathongo [spirits], endowing them with compositional skills in musical performance [Chapter 7].

CHAPTER 5

5.1 ISICATHAMIYA WORLD-VIEW

Performers of isicathamiya are predominantly Zulu and emphasize that they got their national name from iNkosi ye[Zulu] [the Lord of the Sky]. They also call themselves abantu bohlanga [the people of the reeds] because the Lord of the Sky emerged from the reeds. Most of the performers are Zulu traditionalists who still believe in Umvelinqangi [the One Who Came First] and the Unomkhubulwana [the Heavenly Queen]. Although the word Umvelinqangi is no longer in constant use even by Zulu traditionalists and has been replaced by uNkulunkulu [the Supreme Being], it is still highly venerated, especially in matters dealing with the spiritual realm. But the belief in the Heavenly Queen is still alive. For instance, in times of drought, all members of the community join a communal procession to the mountains in their rural homes, and to stadia in urban areas in supplication to the Heavenly Queen for rain. Among the Xhosa in Transkei [Eastern Cape], it is customary for urban dwellers to congregate at the Umtata Independence stadium to appeal for rain from Qamata [Xhosa], "the Supreme Being", "the Rain Bringer".

Performers are unanimous in saying that the veneration of the celestial realm is an African form of worship and supplication. They argue that if the Supreme

Being is Omnipresent and Immanent, then they do not need a church to worship him. Walter Mjoli of **Fairview** singing group, says the Supreme Being resides in trees, waters, air, inside buildings, inside us and everywhere. He further says:

When we sing in competitions we are praising Him. We open our competitions with a prayer. This is why we call our competitions imvuselelo [revivals]. We sing gospel tunes, indigenized hymns and amahubo [religious songs]. This is worshipping. Zionists call their liturgical gatherings amadokodo [camp meetings] and we also call our competitive gatherings camp meetings or izinhlango [meetings of stage choirs]. This is all part of worshipping [interview, 27/11/93].³⁸

Part of performers' veneration of the supernatural involves the shades. The spirits of the dead are believed to be ever present in the homes of the living. Hence there are periodical oblations made by slaughtering beasts, in most cases goats. Says Mzikayise Belfas of Zulu Messengers:

Whenever things are not working all right for us in our group we slaughter a beast. It could be because of our continued losses in competitions, or could be a way of assuaging our feelings because of quarrels we have in our group, or because we have won and we are doing this as thanksgiving. It could be many things. But we have to continually invite the presence of the shades because they are our guardian angels. We also slaughter a goat when we win a competition and invite the losers to join us in feasting. We do this as thanksgiving to the Maker [interview 22/10/84].

³⁸ Stage choirs here mean groups that are registered to take part in competitions arranged by the Chairman of that particular branch.

Justice Luvuno, leader of the Nongoma Black Tycoons who was also present at the same interview, added that 'white people say angels are their shadows. "When we say amadlozi [the spirits] are our shades too they say spirits only refer to departed ancestors, people already dead, something-like ghosts, and they say such beliefs are unChristian" [ibid]. He adds that this confusion is brought about by lack of understanding of the concept of body, soul and spirit. Zulus emphasize spirit for it lives. "We say izithunzi zakithi [shadows of our lineage], when referring to our departed lineage members who cannot take part in our ceremonies because they are no longer in their physical bodies" [ibid]. The worshipping of the shades and the visitations by "dream spirits" [discussed in Chapter 7] that performers experience should help us understand Zulu cosmology. Also part of this cosmology is possession by spirits which was discussed in Chapter 2. This phenomenon is a driving force behind isicathamiya music. Speaking in tongues is related to the spiritual realm of abaphansi [the nether world]. So when performers become spirited on stage, especially in the solo dance displays by leaders of songs, they say, sesivukwe umoya, we have transcended mundane planes. And they are unanimous in saying the "spiritual power" also comes from fasting.

FASTING AND AMANDLA OMOYA

Mxolisi Namba, who hails from Umlazi Township is an M.A. Ethnomusicology student at the University of Cape Town, currently researching on Zionism in Natal and the Eastern Cape. Most of the Zionists he interviewed reported that they were [izi]cathamiyans. They say fasting is not something that came with Christianity, but is rooted in Zulu religious practices predating Christianity.

According to practitioners the power that is endowed through fasting is amandla esintu [traditional power], which Shandu of N.B.A. Champions explains thus:

You see when I am preparing for a big competition I fast for three days. And when I open my mouth you will hear a big difference, and that is traditional power. These are some of the attractions to the Zionist church. Zionist singing is akin to ingxoxo [story telling]. The singing itself is a sermon. It moves you to such an extent you may decide to say, "I also give my soul to the Lord". So it means a performer who is in attendance in these mainline churches, when singing takes place he is severely handicapped.

In these churches you only sing according to the canons of the church like the incantations of the Roman Catholic church. There ubophekile [you are in detention]. You have to follow other voice parts slavishly. Whereas in isicathamiya and with Zionists, when the leader is leading the song, anyone "in spirit" is allowed at any time to take the song to an alternative route. We call this freedom. It is traditional as it happens in ingoma [interview 28/05/94].

According to Mathambo Mbhele and Paulos Msimanga [Zionists and isicathamiya veterans], overlapping membership in these two idioms is also caused by the fact that both Zionists and izicathamiyans experience umoya namandla when singing. For instance Mbhele says:

Sometimes when singing I would feel that there is no power. And if that power is not there I would certainly know that I will not win in the competition. This is a different power. It is spiritual power as it happens in the performance of ingoma [interview, 27/11/93].

Mbhele further says it is the same power that makes an old song sound new. Voices become sonorous because you have umoya. But this power must first come from the leader. If he has power, others will have it too. When performers and believers are talking about this power they are also describing a concerted effort, togetherness.

UKUHLAMBULUKA

But a performer cannot have this power if engahlambulekile [he is not purified]. Sundkler says with Zionists, "This is the introduction to the confession part of the service" [1976:184]. Likewise in isicathamiya, purification happens in the following manner. On the day of the competition, before ascending the stage, all groups gather themselves in a circle at the far end of the hall, near the entrance. The leader then positions himself at the centre of the circle. Some

groups start by praying and some do not. The leader speaks to his members *sotto voce* and thereafter starts the song for going on stage. Often leaders are interrupted by members who shout, "Hlambuluka!" if they feel that the song is weak and powerless, because they know the leader's real vocal capability. In this case, the leader unfolds the nature of his problems. Advice and assurances are given and he starts the song with renewed amandla [vigour]. With Zionists hlambuluka happens even in drum beating when they feel the drummer is 'dragging the song down'.³⁹

Also part of the confession are purificatory rites. Themba Khoza of Nongoma Master Voices says, although they now live in the city, their real ikhaya [home] is in fact on the farm. And this is why they still believe in traditional herbs for bodily purification, unlike townspeople [interview 27/11/93].

Khoza says traditionally all men are supposed to ukuphalaza [spew medicine], ukuchatha [administer an enema], ukugcaba [apply incised medicine] as Zionists do [ibid]. It is done for ubudoda, 'manliness'. So important is spewing among Zulu rural folks, that I remember sometime in the 1970s seeing an article in the Ilanga laseNatali⁴⁰ running a caption like, "The Durban Municipality had to dig

³⁹see section 4.1 under Zionist imvuselelo, where ukuhlambuka is discussed in detail.

⁴⁰ The Durban Zulu newspaper formerly owned by the Daily

spewing trenches for Dalton Hostel dwellers". Almost everyday Zulu male workers have to wake up early in the morning and drink prepared medicine, usually made out of an assortment of herbs, until their stomachs are full, and spew. Sometimes salty water, or luke-warm water is taken with soaked tea leaves. All this is done for bodily purification, physical strength, immunization against witchcraft spells by their adversaries, good luck and most importantly for isithunzi [force of personality] and to improve male sexual prowess.

In the next chapter we shall see what role purificatory rites play in the development of strength and endurance in their umlindelo⁴¹ [all night competitions]. Purificatory rites were not practised for physical strength only, but for spiritual strength and upliftment. Caiphus Sibiya of the Natal Young Stars says, "Only if our bodies are clean and purified can we sivukwe umoya [become spirited] [interview 28/10/945]. We shall also hear from the performers' testimonies how important neatness and cleanliness are in this idiom.

News, now by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

⁴¹ whilst the word umlindelo to Zionists has a more religious connotation of being awake all night during the period preceding burial - or an all night vigil prior to resurrection, isicathamiya performers who are also Zionists, use the same word for their all night secular performance as they await the arrival of the adjudicator in the morning.

5.2 COMPETITION AS A "MOCK WAR": ARMED IN SONG

Competitions are not just a form of entertainment, but an expression of the most fundamental values in Zulu custom and tradition, as well as of veneration of the spiritual realm. Performing groups comprise rural home-boys who hold these values in high esteem. These groups are composed of adult males who organise themselves into "quasi territorial military units" and take up the stage in "mock war" to defend themselves against opposing "military units". The performers come into the contest armed in weaponry, which is music and neat dandified finery. They also arm themselves with umuthi [medicine] which hardens them against witchcraft by their adversaries.

The competitions are then the performers' city "kraal" for demonstrating national pride through rural art forms like ingoma. These art forms provide an opportunity for an assertive public display of prowess and skill in a kind of deadly "mock war" as in stick-fighting. Winning is vitally important because, writes John Argyle:

This competitive display allows for the demonstration and evaluation of individual attributes and attainments, while it simultaneously reinforces and celebrates the cohesion and identity of the groups to which the dancers belong... [1991:72].

Argyle further says that a competition provides a link between performers that contributes to a wider degree of territorial organisation [ibid]. The stage becomes a platform for solving their rural conflicts, which is often "provided for in the composition and performance of the music and songs; the words of which often convey self-praise and deprecation of others" [ibid] as reflected in the following compositions:

King Star Brothers
Yashimizi 7

Leader : **Baleka mfana, baleka mfana**
Run boy, run boy
Ngoba nampa okhukhulangoqo
Because here comes the tornado
Baleka mfana wami
Run, my boy

Chorus : **Baleka mfana ngoba nampa okhukhulangoqo**
Run, boy, because here comes the tornado
Sebezokunyathela, sithi baleka mfana
They are now going to trample you down
We say, run, boy
He! Khuluma Nkosi kimi
He! Speak to me, Lord

This is a typical example of a song that deprecates adversaries: a] on entering the stage the performers call their adversaries "boys" that must run away as the "tornado" approaches; b] we discern self-praise when calling themselves a "tornado" that is going to trample down anything in its path. Songs like these were performed for self-praise, pride and for admiration by women.

King Star Brothers
Awubheke Nnod'Emnyama
 [SABC LT 9477, A2]

Leader: **Awubheke wendod'emnyama**

Look you dark man [sorcerer]

Yekel'izikhwama zakho

Leave your bags behind

Nant'ulwandle seluyaqubuda

Here is the sea, overwhelming

Awubheke wendod'emnyama

Look you dark man

Chorus: **Awubhehe wendod'emnyama**

Look you dark man

Yekel'izikhwama zakho

Leave your bags behind

Nant'ulwandle seluyaqubuda

Here is the sea, overwhelming

Awubheke wendod'emnyama

Look you dark man

Bass : **Seluyaqubu...**

It is overwhel...

Chorus: **Seluyaqubud'ulwandle amagagasi alo**

The sea is overwhelming its waves

Leader: Thalala

Thalala!

Chorus: **He! Khuluma Nkosi kimi**

He! Speak to me, Lord

Witchcraft is always associated with people coming from rural areas, hence our rural home-boy groups use it as a weapon to overcome rivalry. The song deprecates members of competing groups who resort to witchcraft for achieving prestige. "Leave your bags behind" means that performers should not come with bags full of muti to the competing venues. There is a belief among Zulus that the sea "overwhelms" malevolent forces. The witch is warned that its power will be weakened, "overwhelmed" by the turbulent waves of the sea.

5.3. COMPETITIONS AS UMLINDELO [REVIVALS]

Isicathamiya is known by many names [discussed in Chapter 2], but the focus in this section will be on the term ingomabusuku. It is made up of two words, ingoma meaning a song and ebusuku meaning in the night. Msimanga [veteran] and Justice Luvuno, leader of Nongoma Black Tycoons, agree that the word ingoma in Zulu parlance means singing and add that we have to be circumspect in its definition because it describes a variety of styles, hence there is ingoma yokusina [song for stamping] and ingoma yesicathamiya, isicathamiya song [interview 16/10/93].

But right now our focus is on ingomabusuku as a Zionist ceremony. Ingomabusuku as a performance throughout the night is discussed by Erlmann [1987, 1991] who terms it "nightsong". Isicathamiya performers are unanimous in saying performance was done at night because those working in the mines and on the Afrikaners' farms did not have time to sing during the day. They also say that, lack of transport home, the urban curfew regulations and fear of mugging, combined to make both isicathamya and Zionist practitioners hostages of their Saturday night performances.

UMLINDELO [NIGHT VIGIL]

Shandu of the N.B.A. Champions describes the first part of a isicathamiya competition as a revival [umlindelolo] [waiting up time] or whiling away time for the judges, for the real competition to take place in the morning [interview 16/10/93]. Dokes and Vilakazi describe the word umlindelolo as "watching through the night, waiting up" [1972:458]. This waiting period involves not only performers but patrons as well.

Among the audience are the wives and girlfriends of performers. Doke and Vilakazi give a further example of the usage of umlindelolo: "during war-time our women-folk used never to sleep, but kept watch through the night" [ibid].⁴²

Shandu has more to say about [umlindelolo]:

If we could come in the morning just for singing for adjudicators it would not be nice, but would be incomplete for our patrons. The completeness of the performance is in singing the whole night until sivuthwe, "we become cooked". In this way our patrons would benefit from the little money they pay at the door [interview 16/10/93].

⁴² The women-folk serenade their men throughout the night, when singing the song for going on stage, when on stage and when leaving the stage in song, by clapping and dancing arrogantly with them, ululating and hanging necklaces on the necks of their sweethearts and throwing all sorts of missiles, including money, in appreciation and as a show-off to the audience.

The phrase 'waiting up time' or emlindelweni [at the waiting place] also describes the worshipping time of the Zionists, who like their isicathamiya counterparts worship by way of singing and dancing the whole night until their inkonzo [service] is heated up or "becomes well cooked" [ivuthwe]. Msimanga says the service would be considered incomplete if finished around midnight. And as a result it has to go on until the morning of the following day [interview, 05/04/1989]. Leonard Mtshali of Zulu Home Soldiers says competitions are also referred to as services [izinkonzo plural], like the church services of the Zionists because they also involve waiting for isithunywa [the Holy Messenger], and waiting for the judges [interview 16/10/93].

Shandu even mentions that the isicathamiya revival involves camping, "all of us sleep together so as to practice sexual abstinence. In this way we build 'power and spirit' [amandla nomoya] of brotherhood" [ibid]. Groups even swallow izintelezi zempi [war herbs], for building amandla [power] [ibid]. They call the competition a revival because even in Zulu tradition "you are not just called in the morning to go to war. You prepare for it. You do not sleep at home when preparing for war" [ibid].⁴³ Warriors sleep at the Chief's place to be treated with the necessary izintelezi.

⁴³ Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi describe imvuselelo as coming from the verb vuselela, "reminder; warning, revival [1990:845].

In this chapter we have looked at the juxtaposition, integration and overlapping ritual practices of the Zionists and isicathamiya practitioners. And this chapter has revealed, as Shandu of N.B.A. Champions puts it, that we should not be surprised by the interweaving of these practices because both Zionists and isicathamiya practitioners belong to one Zulu tradition, sharing the same language as well as the same social category. Rooted in their tradition are the customs, beliefs and philosophies that form the structural properties of their performances. In the following chapter we shall see how this interweaving is reflected in their music and choreography.

CHAPTER 6

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MEANING AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PAST

6.1 THE IMAGINATION OF HOME AND 'TRADITION' IN AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT

The emphasis in this chapter is on how izicathamiya ritual is used to demonstrate, construct and maintain a conservative world-view in the new environment. At the same time the discussion will reveal why such a world-view persists. We shall also see why the religious symbols discussed in the earlier chapters are used as a cultural resource and as a megaphone to make political statements, using present day commentaries in song and movement. This will also serve to dispel the notion that African cultures are static and unchanging. The truth is that cultures change, and are used for new purposes, in response to new circumstances.

Therefore in this chapter we are going to look at just how the new environment causes izicathamiyans to make new philosophical thoughts about music. In his paper, Microcosmogony and Modernization in African Religious Movements [Montreal 1969:21], James W. Fernandez, when discussing the cultural transformations of religious movements says:

In their microcosmogony they have attempted to fashion a world to live in which is meaningful and gratifying; a world in which a deprivation is forgotten as a gnawing preoccupation and in which a person can take interest in a transformed reality because he can anticipate his action leading to some kind of fulfilment.

Likewise isicathamiya competitions are in themselves a construction of a universe which only performers themselves and their audiences can understand.

Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger [1983] would call this construction of a universe "the invention of tradition". But let us first hear how they define this concept:

'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally establish continuity with a suitable historic past [1983:1].

Hobsbawn and Ranger further say 'traditional societies' that have been dominated by western tradition have been obliged to invent, institute or develop new networks, once in an alien environment, resulting in the process of formalization and ritualization [1983:3-4]. isicathamiya competitions that take place every Saturday evening reflect this ritualization and resistance to cultural domination. Living in the city provides performers with the conviction that they have indeed entered another realm of existence, where the songs and dances have to reflect this urbanity, at the same time maintaining continuity with the rural home. In this way they see their new selves mirrored, and a new set of values adapted to this new world.

P.A. McAllister, discussing rituals performed by migrants says, "...rituals attempt, among other things, to ensure that the migrant interprets his experience correctly, as a means to serve the rural home" [1991:134]. And by clinging tenaciously to their roots, Zulus in the hostels are strengthening their commitment to Zulu lifestyle and values. Therefore song and movement are an attempt to construct, create and recreate the experience of a new isicathamiya community. It is "some kind of conversion to a new self, to new values and even to a new reality" [Fernandez, 1969:6-7]. In fact the performers here are building a new cultural system to adapt to a new environment. The rural idioms were modified and ritualized to suit urban purposes as we shall see later in this discourse. To performers rural consciousness and conservatism are always relevant as a model of human behaviour and as an expression of Zuluness.

Performers are always aware of their cultural background, especially when viewed against their traumatic urban experiences. In this way the idiom provides a projection of the ethnic symbols with the source of comfort in a foreign land [Dunbar Moodie 1991:91]. By clinging to their rural base they see themselves as custodians of Zulu tradition and pride themselves in saying, asiluthathanga lonke usiko lwesilungu [we did not take all the western customs]; meaning that they did not adopt, but adapted. Maphumulo of P.M.Burg Home Boys criticizes African pop groups that are completely overwhelmed by American musical styles, saying they are no less than copy-

cats. But with them isicathamiya is a way of organizing their whole lives in the city. It is rural music in the city [interview 12/11/94].

Stage competitions therefore provide an atmosphere redolent of the Zulu past. This past has to be recreated and reconstructed in such a way that it provides meaning to performers. Maphumulo says, "We are in the city physically but mentally we are at home" [interview 12/11/94]. And Msimanga [veteran] says they are sojourners in the city and this is why during Easter and December holidays they all go home and take part in a variety of performances. He says in this way they keep a continuous link with their rural styles, at the same time continually restoring rural traits into their urban idiom.

Maphumulo further says that life in the city is small and closed. "The world-view of a person who grows up in the city is limited" [interview 12/11/94]. When I asked him what he meant by a limited world-view he replied that a Zulu person's world-view must be rooted where the spirits of the family and neighbours reside. In this way he can continually make oblations to old departed members of the family. "But how can you perform these rites in the city? They must be performed in the ancestral land!" [ibid].

Like the Xhosas of the Shixini Administrative Area of Willowvale district in Transkei, discussed by P.A. McAllister [1991], the Zulu world-view stresses the

value of the country home and community, and says that is the only place where one can be a proper Zulu. Indóda, indoda ngokwakha umuzi wayo [a man becomes a man by building his own homestead]:

'Building' here has a range of meanings - material, social and religious. The homestead must be an accepted, responsible part of the community. And it must fulfil its obligations to the ancestors, in addition to being materially well off [in terms of livestock, etc.] if it is to be considered successful' [McAllister 1991:134].

Life in the city does not provide avenues to meet the afore-mentioned obligations. There is another Zulu dictum that says, Indoda, indoda ngoba idla inyama [a man is a man because he eats meat]. The thrust here is not in the actual eating of meat, but of providing meat, in livestock. Urban dwellers generally reside in flats, hostels and four-roomed houses where it is virtually impossible to keep livestock. Performers are urban workers committed to country life, and to their homes in the country.

In this way they reinforce their identity as Zulus, at the same time strengthening their commitment to their Zulu lifestyle and values. Therefore competitions reflect both an urban consciousness and Zuluness.

The tradition survives because:

...it is constantly being created and recreated, acted out,

expressed, discussed, debated, reformulated and inculcated and re-inculcated in both young and old. Basic values and beliefs and the values of kinship and neighbourly cooperation are frequently dramatized, verbalized and reinforced in a great variety of formal, public situations [MacAllister 1991:139].

In the discussion to follow we shall see how isicathamiya is used by practitioners to create and recreate rural situations on the city stage. We shall also be able to determine what innovations have been made to suit the urban surroundings.

6.2 *SIDLA INHLOKO*: WE EAT THE HEAD [THE ZULU CATTLE KRAAL]

War songs, praise poetry and subsidiary styles are mainly performed in a Zulu cattle kraal [isibaya] [see illustrations 5 and 6]. The Zulu kraal was and is sacrosanct and a male preserve. Women are only allowed to enter the cattle kraal during specific functions like udwendwe [traditional wedding] where there is ukwabiwa kwabasemzini [giving presents to the in-laws]. Maphumulo of the P.M.Burg Home Boys has this to say about women and the cattle kraal:

When men are eating inhloko [eating the head - attending to men's affairs] drinking beer and sigiya sisina, [performing male dance movements] there is absolutely no reason why women should be allowed inside the kraal. They will be seen ululating and performing their antics outside the kraal because this event does not allow them inside [interview 12/11/94].

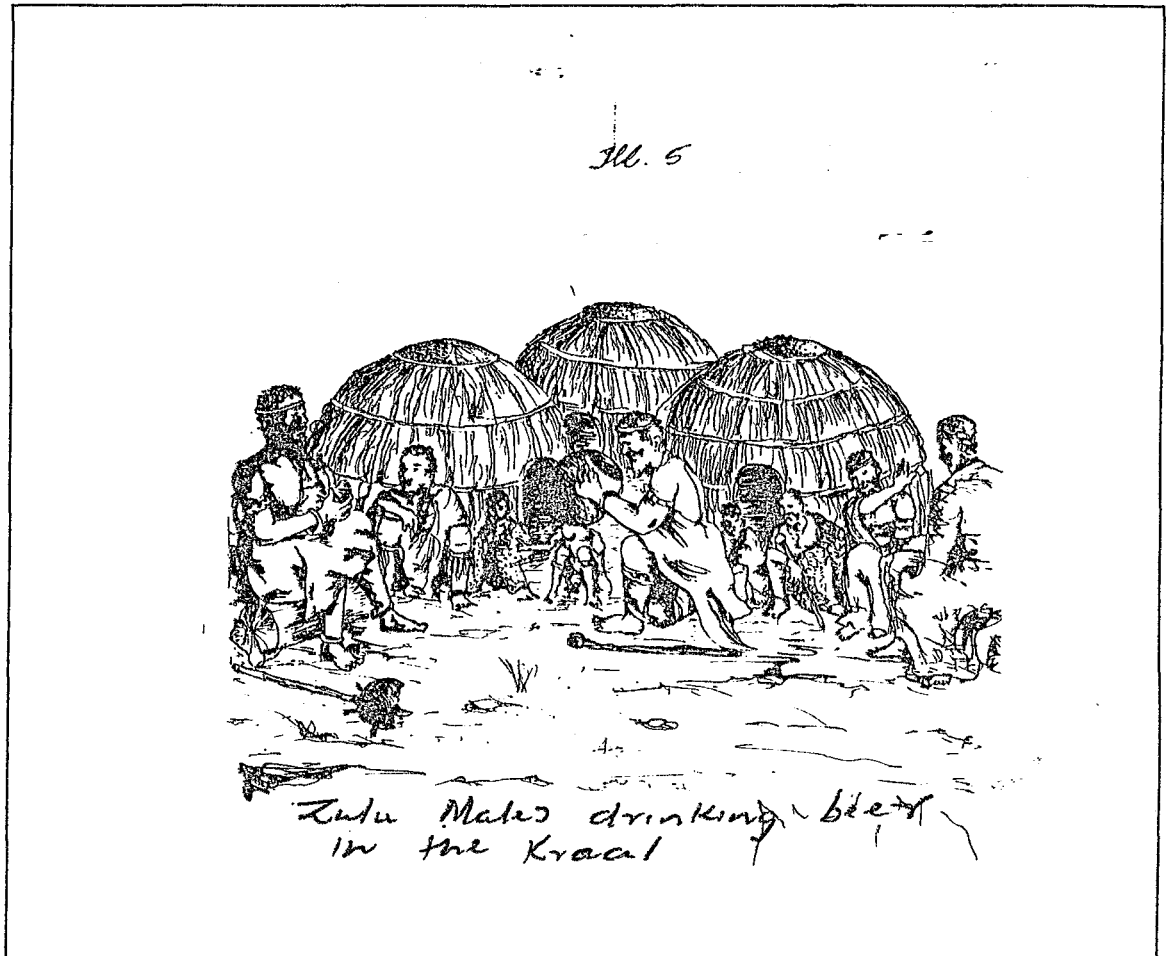


Illustration 5

Although isicathamiya is an urban idiom performed in the evening, indoors, on wooden stages, with members of the audience sitting down [save for their sweethearts who perform a variety of antics], with a white judge, with the M.C. constantly announcing the entry and exit of groups on stage, competitions are conceived by performers as a reenactment of the rural kraal. Performers even liken themselves to warriors going to war, as discussed in Chapter 5. Therefore when performing on city stages, performers are still eating inhloko and drinking

beer. They are governed by the same set of rules which govern ingoma at home. Because isicathamiya cannot be performed in exactly the same way as ingoma is performed in its natural habitat, in the reserves, the urban surroundings have forced it to adapt. Shandu adds that when they are at

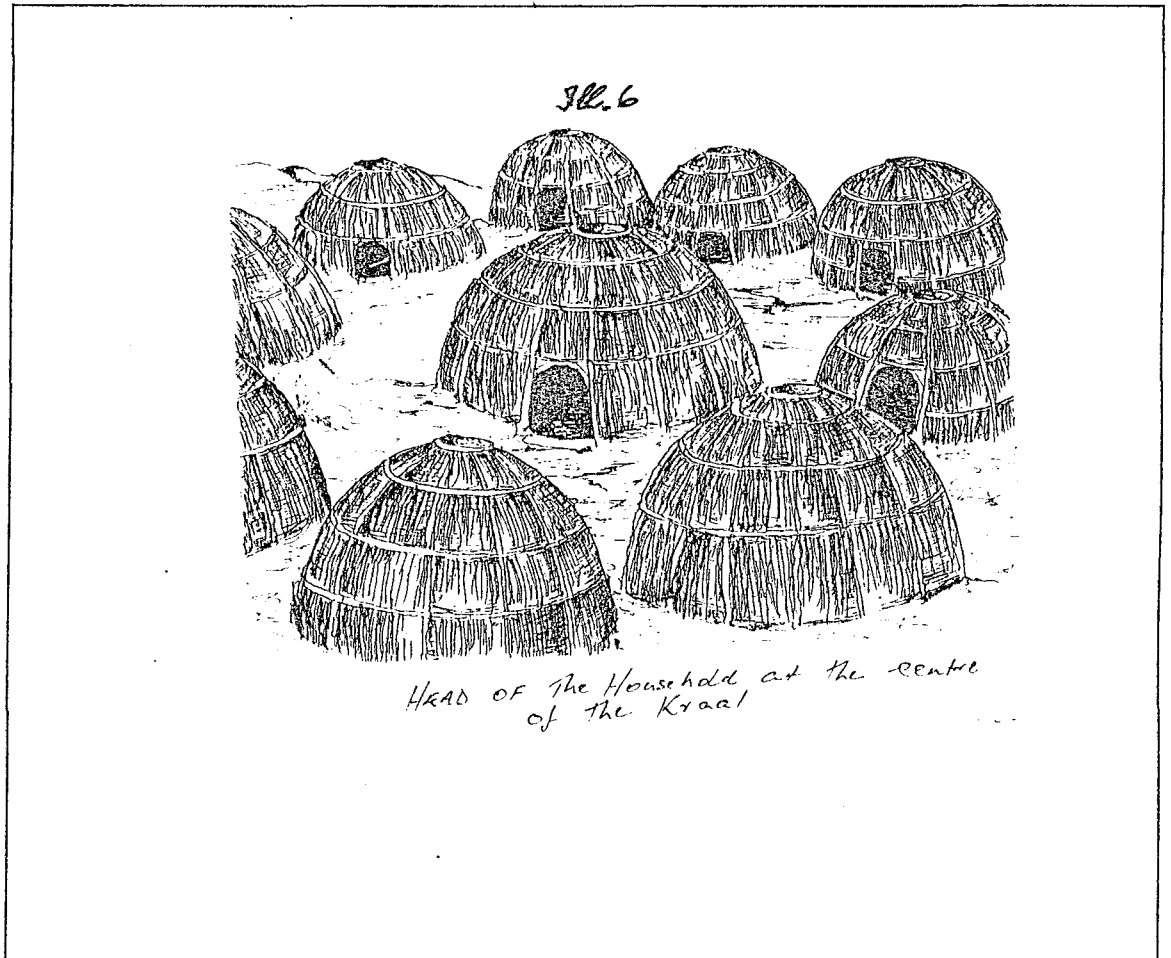


Illustration 6

esibayeni [cattle kraal] sixoxa izindaba [we are relating stories to each other].

So the city stage is the Zulu kraal. He further says:

When we come back from holidays we relate our experiences in song on stage. It is like reading the current news from the newspaper because all of us have this tendency of relating experiences from our respective domiciles. And you will hear somebody saying, "Hey! Shandu never told me of this strange incident in Zululand". This is called ukuhaya, taking what has happened and making it into a song. Even things that happen in South Africa are related [interview 12/11/94].⁴⁴

As discussed in Chapter 4, the first half of the competition is less formal, accommodating all styles, including wedding songs, umbholoho and gospel music because it is still the warming up time. Women are allowed to come on stage to sing along with their heroes in a comical fashion and ululate, wail and adorn their sweethearts with necklaces, handkerchiefs as tokens of appreciation. But women are not allowed on stage in the second part of the competition because performers adla inhloko, they are performing strictly for the adjudicator. Maphumulo, Shandu and Msimanga unanimously agree that in the second phase of the competition women are not allowed to come and attend to them on stage as they do in the first phase. They are not even allowed to clap hands.

Maphumulo further says, "Just as at home where there are rules governing the

⁴⁴ See Chapter 5 on metaphor and symbolism in song texts.

entry of women into the cattle kraal, in competitions too there are rules allowing them to enter or not to enter the stage" [ibid].

6.2.1 ***Ingwe idla ngamabala ayo: the leopard eats by its Markings*** [traditional finery]

Ingwe idla ngamabala ayo - "The leopard eats by virtue of his markings" says a Zulu proverb, meaning that social and other successes depend largely on smart appearance. When spectators applaud a performance they are in fact applauding "an assertive public display of prowess and skill" [P.A. McAllister 1991:72], enhanced by the beautiful imvunulo [traditional finery]. This is why the ingoma is regarded as incomplete without full traditional finery. This is still mandatory because Zulus believe it is sacrosanct and is a legacy from the legendary King Shaka of the Zulus. Indlamu and ingoma stem from war-songs, also known as amahubo, regimental songs, which were peculiar to each regiment, and which were in the nature of march-songs [Krige 1950:339]. Regiments were distinguishable by their peculiar finery. Bryant gives us a description of Zulu finery:

...umutsha [gird for loins] was the Zulu equivalent for a pair of trousers, being in fact a loosely hanging apron of supple hide behind and a bunch of furry tails in front... it consisted, to begin at the top, of a stiff, flat belt-like top-piece [isiPenama] made of three overlapping strips of hide, which rested across the upper part of the buttocks, and from which depended a posterior curtain [iBeshu], formed of a square [perhaps 12 inches wide by 15 or more long] of dressed calf or goat skin [with the fur outside] hanging loosely over the buttocks. In front was suspended a sporran [isiNene], formed of a bunch of artificial 'tails' or of sevtrips of

calf-skin, the sporran being held in place by a slender thong which, passing above the head of the thigh-bone on both sides, was tightly attached to the top-piece of the posterior curtain. Occasionally, from this thong on one side, was suspended a small bag of weasel or polecat skin containing the wearer's snuff box, without which he never moved abroad... [1949:137].

However, fashions in tribal wear are not static; they come and go. Although much of Bryant's description of Zulu male finery still applies, sociological changes necessitated changes in traditional finery. For instance, the ibheshu [posterior curtain covering the buttocks] that was sometimes made of leopard skin is now made of cow-hide. There are no longer leopards roaming around. The isinene [sporran] may now be made of sheep skin. Men used to wear hats made of ostrich feathers, but now they are replaced by peacock feathers, and these are also hard to come by. They still wear bones of different animals around their necks, but necklaces and bracelets of ubuhlalu [beads] are now common-place since these are symbolic of one's achievements. Traditional finery is considered complete if men carry shields, spears and izinduku [sticks/rods], decorated with some personal inscriptions. But one cannot overlook cross-cultural influences on traditional finery. Ndebele beadwork, as well as their bright coloured- square decorations, is creeping in, especially in bracelets.

6.2.2 *Imvunulo* [finery]: *isicathamiya* dimension

When Maphumulo of P.M. Burg Home Boys says "they are physically in the city and mentally in their rural homes", we shall see that the concepts governing the wearing of traditional finery are used equally there in the performance of *isicathamiya*.

As discussed in Chapter Two, *isicathamiya* attire is primarily modelled on the American minstrel troupes. They wore dandified attire as discussed by Dale Cockrell:

At a minstrel show one would first be struck by the make-up; although all the performers in the early years were white they would put on a "black-face", a compound of burnt cork and grease, and other make-up to exaggerate the lips and eyes. Dress would be either of two sorts: shabby, ragged and grotesque, depicting the southern rural slaves, or fancy, and even overdressed, [tuxs, tails, white ties, white gloves], but in bad taste, stereotyping the northern urban blacks, the freedmen [1984:6]

Mention was also made in Chapter 2 that soon after the minstrels' departure there arose a plethora of local troupes modelling themselves on them. They copied the minstrel attire wholesale. The early *ngomabusuku* troupes that emerged in the 1930s were equally overdressed; they sported dandified attire like long tail-coats reminiscent of the minstrel show, hence they were called *ojazibantshi* [coming from the Afrikaans word *jaasbaatjie*, meaning long tail coat].

From the 1940s onwards the wearing of long tail-coats was discontinued. The wearing of bright coloured suits, white gloves and shoes of bright matching colours, reminiscent of the minstrel stage was retained to date. Some groups wear black double-breasted suits with white chiffons at the breast pockets [see group one in the video]; suits differ in colour, but black is quite common. These are worn with white shirts, striped ties, black or brown shoes; white socks are also common-place.

What is now also common is a consistent difference in make and colour between the leader's costume and the rest of the group [as can be seen with groups one, two, three, four and five in the video]. Some groups wear uniforms sponsored by companies which the group members are working for, like the red overalls with the word "Liquor Town" on the back [see group two in the video].

With the emergence of Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement in 1960, there was a tremendous shift towards Afro style in South Africa, resulting in the importation of Ghanaian and Nigerian Afro-shirts, expressed as a 'return to tradition'. These were incorporated into isicathamiya finery, worn with matching black or white trousers.

Now, for the purposes of our study, it is important to hear from practitioners themselves why traditional attire was not imported into the city and how new isicathamiya finery was used to uphold the same concepts as in the wearing of amabheshu [loin skins].

Q: What in your mind caused the change of attire from loin skins to suits when performing isicathamiya?

Mapumulo: Because it was now performed in the city. Secondly the idiom was influenced by urban attire. Ingoma requires a person to be clad meticulously in traditional finery. Isicathamiya too prescribes that a person must be clean in his suit for the ostentatious display of movements on stage [interview 12/11/94].

Shandu: When performing ingoma in Zululand, complete traditional regalia is worn because it makes the performance to be picturesque. The beauty of ingoma lies in the attire. This is why performers insist on clean meticulous uniforms because even in Zululand, performance is considered complete when wearing full traditional regalia [interview 12/11/94].

Msimanga: Judges in isicathamiya look at the shoes, socks, pants, shirts and coats. It must be perfect as it happens at home. When a group is clad meticulously, their isithunzi [image] is enhanced [interview 12/11/94].

Maphumulo: When wearing trousers in isicathamiya, the legs cannot go up as they do in ingoma when wearing loin skins. Therefore, all that isicathamiya does is to feign ingoma because it is now performed indoors [interview 12/11/94].

Dlamini [Jama Lucky Stars]: Singing isicathamiya is ubuntu ugobo, "Zuluness in living colour" because, although we are wearing suits, we are emphasizing ubuntu like in the farm. We display ukuziqhenya osikweni, "pride in our custom" [interview 12/11/94].

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that when isicathamiya performers are clad ostentatiously in their urban finery they are in fact fantasizing about the cultural forms as they are performed ekhaya, back home.⁴⁵

6.3 STRUCTURED MOVEMENT SYSTEMS

6.3.1 Choreography

In the above section we were dealing with traditional finery and its beauty in the performance of ingoma. We saw how this regalia was changed to suit urban forms and foreign influences. In this section we are going to see how isicathamiya is used to recreate and reconstruct traditional movement systems to suit the new environment.

Shandu of N.B.A. Champions says ingoma and ihubo are idioms that have special religious significance among Zulus. Although Izicathamiyans/Zionists take their repertoire from ingoma and ihubo and mix them with other styles, the religious notion does not dissipate; it is still upheld [interview 27/10/94].

⁴⁵ see section 4.1 on Zionist finery. However unlike isicathamya and ingoma dresses, Zionists dress is prescribed by celestial beings through dreams and visions. The dreams and visions would also determine the colours to be used including girdles worn around the waist.

When we perform choreography we say, siyagida/ siyasina, 'we are stamping' or siyanyakaza; 'we are moving and singing at the same time', whereas in other societies of the world, dancers may not necessarily sing. The word 'dance' obscures the religious notion [Wellington Dlamini of Jama Lucky Stars: interview 27/10/94].

- These movements are called 'structured' because they involve the concerted effort of many people who rehearse them indefatigably. As we shall see later, most movements are in themselves narrative, a sort of a pantomime of Zulu social structure, and also reflect the concentric circles of their house designs. Most movements in isicathamiya feign, mimic and depict real life situations as discussed in the previous chapter.

I have termed them structured movement systems because some of the movements assume a 'beer drinking posture', with the performers' hands curved as if clasping ukhamba [a calabash], with their movements showing them taking it up, drinking the beer, and giving it to someone else [see illustration 5]. Other structured movements include choreography depicting "the horns of a bull", "moving like peacocks" and "moving like waves" [discussed in Chapter 6]. These movements happen so fast that an uninitiated eye would be unable to detect them.

When performing ingoma, males lift their knees shoulder high. Maleness in Zulu culture is likened to ubunkunzi [bull strength]. A bull jumps and kicks high if an

attempt is made to tie a rope around its neck. Kicking high in ingoma performance is therefore considered masculine, whereas the female performances are earth-bound because they are frail, delicate and feminine. Secondly females should move with reverence.

This stratification in movement patterns also shows the male over female dominance that is embedded in the social structure of the Zulus, which is why female movements are lesser than their male counterparts. But contemporary young Zulu females perform they indlamu and kick pretty high, with the leg straight at the knee with a simultaneous motion as they kick, and the hands flung between the legs to avoid self exposure which would be considered obscene. Moreover, according to custom, women should wear long and 'below-the-knee type of attire'. Hence their movements are earth-bound. If their movements were to be air-borne as in ballet and some other foreign dances, that would be considered an aberration or an apostasy of traditional principles and custom. The movements would appear sensuous and be regarded as an 'open sesame' to their male counterparts.

In trying to find out from my informants why isicathamiya movements draw from ingoma, indlamu, ukusina, isifekezeli, isigekle, isishemeni and other traditional movement styles, Robert Thwala of Nongoma Master voice replied, "We are here to keep the home fires burning" [interview 12/11/94]. Let us hear

responses from other practitioners:

Q: How different is ingoma from home than the one you are singing here?

Msimanga A: The steps we perform are the ones we play at home. Like in weddings there is ukureka, it's there in isicathamiya. We also have isichunu, isishemeni, isibhaca. We steal these styles and mix them with the urban ones. When we started there was little of them because the practitioners were not as many as we are today. Now we have all the influences. Even isimpondo can be seen when we perform izitebhu, steps. Even Zulu influence that comes on this side of Tugela river and across is there. As long as the songs agree to mpondo movements we use them [ibid].

Let us also hear what performers themselves have to say about the reconstruction of ingoma structured movements in isicathamiya. Dlamini of Jama Lucky Stars says in Zululand they move with the shields and spears. Here in isicathamiya they do not carry anything. Their movements are an attempt to recreate this movement. I then advanced this question:

Q: I have seen many performances of this kind in Zululand. Even if the performers are not carrying shields and spears they lift up their hands in the air. Why do they do this?

A: When performing ingoma in Zululand, even if the person is not carrying the shield or stick, we lift up our hands like this...njengezimpondo zenkomo [just like the bull's horns]. The lifting of the hands makes ingoma to have amandla, power. You see, the bull horns are very powerful. The hands play a function of pushing the songs along. But when singing amahubo performers do not move their hands because the idiom does not need much power [interview 16/10/93].

Msimanga interjected that isicathamiya is what it is because of movement. "It is a rule that when one moves, the legs must move too. We lift up their hands because we are feigning ihawu, induku, nobhoko" [the shield, stick and rod] [ibid]. Msimanga further says we should not forget that their repertoire includes war songs, sung in reminiscence of the old days at home. This is why their hands are used in a structured way [ibid]. Some of my informants even went on to say when singing isicathamiya they feel incomplete; it would be better if they were carrying izinduku. The songs would be properly pushed along with izinduku. The presence of the shields and spears would give an aura of isintu and they would feel like giya-ing [solo movements]. They would also feel more emandleni [spirited].

Shandu says when they are in the competition they can safely say they are coming ekhaya [home] to keep their custom and tradition. He says isintu is represented here because all the members of the audience are part of the rural folk who hold on to custom and tradition. "We do not have gate crashers in our competition. Everyone present belongs here" [interview 12/11/94].

6.3.2 Stick fighting

Performers refer to their competitions as ukungcweka, ukusikazana [stick play or feigned stick-fighting] as in stick-fighting [Msimanga interview 16/10/93], or

like going to umgubho [traditional ceremony] where stick-fighting competitions are held. Mention was made earlier that stick-fighting arose, inter alia, as a sequel to territorial conflicts that were "defused into a form of ritual expression called umgangela..." resulting in "an interdistrict competition of playful stick fighting [ukudlala ngenduku] [Erlmann 1991:99]. And it is this ukudlala ngeculo [playful display of song] that is taking place in these competitions [see Illustration 7].

It is worth mentioning that ingoma, or indlamu in common parlance, have over the years attracted tourists over the years because of their picture-postcard quality, involving the spirited knee-high and shoulder-high lifting of the legs when performing. The structured movement systems reflect, symbolise, depict, portray and mimic war antics involving blocking, and hitting back with spears and assegais, running back and forth, jumping, pointing down to the ground as if they are saying uyadela wena osulapho ! [you are lucky you are dead]. It is called ingoma when the emphasis is on song and movement, and indlamu when the emphasis is more on movement.

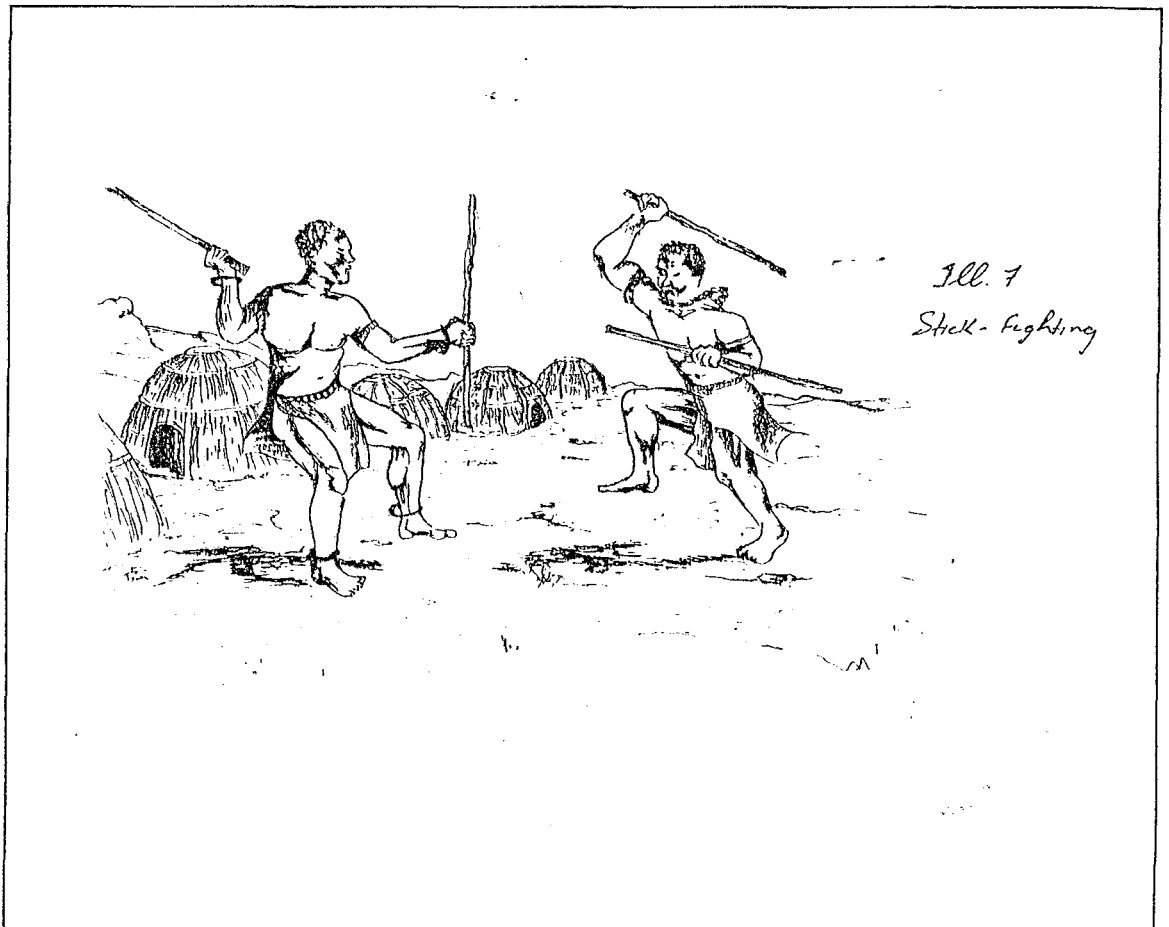


Illustration 7

When I asked Khumalo of N.B.A. Champions what he was doing on stage when he was pointing here and there, as if throwing something, he replied that:

Bengisikaza ubala [I was pretending to hit something] because we have come ukuzosikazana lapha [to pretend fighting here], and the opponent must shield himself when you are hitting him with a stick.⁴⁶ We have come to test each others' strength here [interview 27/11/93].

⁴⁶ The stick here is a metaphor for a song.

Dlamini of Jama Lucky Stars says sizokuqhoshelana [we have come to display skills arrogantly] [ibid]. Ukungcwekisanana,⁴⁷ [test matches] and ukusikazana [feigning] come directly from stick-fighting. Shandu of N.B.A. Champions says their competitions are called ukuzwana amandla because:

The aim is to show and display talent. That is why we do not feel bad when somebody wins and we will say, "uButhelezi namhlanje ukha kwenye imbhiza" [Buthelezi today is drinking from another beer- pot], because we accept the verdict. Then I will study his tactics and aim to beat him in the following week as in stick-fighting. Ukuzwana amandla [testing each others' strength] improves our music. In competitions ekhaya we take part in ingoma competitions too then bring back some nuances to improve isicathamiya in the city [interview 12/11/94].

6.3.3 Crawling like a cat versus feigning

The term isicathamiya is not the only term accepted by performers and their patrons, because many other names also exist, such as imbube, cothoza mfana, ngomabusuku, etc. But it is preferred because it describes so well the choreographic movements, "crawling like a cat" as described earlier by Sithole, Coplan, and Erlmann. It is this definition of "crawling like a cat", that I am mainly concerned with at this juncture as it will open a new window into isicathamiya behavioural patterns.

⁴⁷ Doke and Vilakazi call it "fencing" [1990:553].

In isicathamiya choreography the movement style of ingoma, as seen in its natural habitat was lost. The airborne nature of ingoma was discarded. Now, instead of depicting that family of structured movements, the movement is held in, inhibited. They only mock or 'pretend' movements. They no longer stamp their feet on the ground, and they no longer roll on the ground in the finale of the dance as in indlamu. This would be unseemly when taking into account that groups wear extravagant attire.

Choreography now involves 'tip-toeing' movements done with a controlled delicacy. The deafening thud and ukushunqa kothuli, [rising of dust] when members of an indlamu group stamp on the ground simultaneously is no more. It is replaced by the tapping sound of the shoes, interspersed with shouts and exclamations of, "si!", "qiqi!", "qobo!", signalling choreographic changes.

Let us also hear from performers why this idiom was called isicathamiya [tip-toeing] or likened to the crawling of a cat. In connection with the latter,

Msimanga of Highlanders has this to say:

Now, there was this thing called "hitting planks" which is linked to isicathamiya. When doing choreography they would do it cautiously, neatly 'like a cat'. This is why it is called isicathamiya because it is akin to the crawling 'of a cat'. In other words "hitting of planks" means the 'hard hitting of the wooden floor with the

feet', for floors were made of planks. So this kind of choreography was not as smooth as isicathamiya" [interview 05/04/86].

And Sithole of "Highlanders" says:

When singing amakhothi [chords]⁴⁸ the emphasis was on choreography. We would sing, play a step, make simultaneous turns; all movements with precision. We would not 'hit the planks' [ibid].⁴⁹

Dlamini of Jama Lucky Stars says, "we were now in the city performing on a delicate stage and we decided that we should do it neatly" [interview 27/11/93]. And Msimanga [veteran] says, "that is why the feet do not stamp as hard as in ingoma; the stamping is sort of held in [ibid]. Msimanga continues to say:

Another difference is that it is now performed in closed doors, neatly dressed. How can you lift your feet shoulder high as in ingoma when wearing trousers and shoes? Whereas emakhaya it is performed in traditional regalia which give unhindered movement of some parts of the body. All these constraints contributed to the "holding in" of ingoma choreographic movements and the feigning of stick-fighting [ibid].

⁴⁸ Amakhothi was a style that involved the ragtime movements of the 1930s and 1940s.

⁴⁹ Hitting planks, stamping hard on the wooden stage.

Shandu says the difference was that the rural ingoma used to hit hard on the ground, and they would feel that "siyagida manje" [we are stamping hard now]. But urban performance inside a building prevented them from doing that. So they had to use the same rural style but add some "delicacy" to it, taking into account that the wooden floor might break. And that meant they had to tip-toe and they called it isicathamiya. That was the difference [interview 16/10/93].

Wellington Dlamini of Jama Lucky Stars says the movements of both ingoma and isicathamiya are the same, except that ingoma involves iziyabhuyabhu [stronger bodily movements], whereas here bayaghoshelana [they display skills arrogantly], and should not be harsh [ibid].

Actually performers say the beauty in isicathamiya music is in feigning, 'fencing in' and imitating the rural styles. 'Holding in' of movements is deliberate, and to Zulus who know these movement styles that are feigned, the whole thing is entertaining. Feigning stick-fighting strokes, feigning stamping hard on the cement stage, on the plank stage, gives them a temporary feeling of euphoria, and reminds them of "home" where dust would now be rising.

"Crawling like a cat" is not a bad description, by western researchers, of isicathamiya movements, but to performers it is too etc. The definition preferred by most is ukuzosikazana, [feigning] because this is what isicathamiya

is all about. It is appropriate because it refers to all the styles that are feigned like stick-fighting, ingoma, indlamu, ukusina, isifekezeli, isigekle and many more. "Crawling like a cat" is too narrow; to performers and patrons the beauty now lies in 'mocking it', which is an 'invented tradition' acceptable to urban performance. In other words, performers are not frustrated because they are not allowed full vigour as in performance of ingoma, because 'feigning' ingoma is now a lived tradition in the city.

As traditionalists they see themselves as people who must continuously keep the 'rural home fires burning in the city'.

Virtually all groups when journeying to the stage perform isifekezeli because it is the most lighthearted movement style, which when blended with isigekle [a fast moving pastiche], provides humour for the audience, especially when some groups imitate female wedding movements, with swaying of the buttocks. Whenever this movement is performed, the female members of the audience join the choreography from behind and perform in comical fashion, with encouraging whistles, ululations, claps and cries of amadod'ethu! [our sweethearts!].

6.3.4 Cothoza Mfana: S.A.B.C. Dimension

Ingoma became subjected to multifarious changes in the new environment. But it was not only geographical and social factors behind the change, there was also a technological factor. Gershom Mncanyana, leader of the Scorpions [interview 22/05/94], Joseph Shabalala of Ladysmith Black Mambazo [interview 18/11/85], Isaac Sithole of Home Tigers [interview 05/04/86], Alpheus Gumbi of Easy Walkers [interview 20/05/89], Enoch Mzobe and Walter Kheswa of the Durban Crocodiles [interview 26/06/89, 27/06/89] unanimously agree that when the earlier groups presented themselves for recording at the S.A.B.C. in Gardiner Street in Durban, Dr. Yvonne Huskisson [a musicologist employed by the S.A.B.C.] discovered that the foot stamping of their choreography disturbed the recording of the voices. They were even told to remain static as their voices wavered and this affected the sound quality. According to Gershom Mncanyana this happened around the year 1957 [interview 22/05/94].

Now, telling performers to refrain from moving their bodies while singing is tantamount to telling violinists and cellists to refrain from vibrato. This was a very difficult constraint, but the groups had to try it in order to get themselves recorded. Recording in itself was not done for commercial success, but just to hear themselves singing on the air, and to be heard by friends, sweethearts, neighbours and relatives.

This is how the idea of fusing ingoma with their choreography was curtailed and had to give in to silent, 'held in', mock or 'pretend movements', i.e. the inhibited choreography that is now quite universal in all groups. Many groups failed to 'hold in' their movements. A particular case in point was that of Gershom Mncanyana and his Scorpions. When recording the songs, "Heyi Wemfana" and "Cothoza Mfana" at the S.A.B.C. in the 1960s, they cothozad [tip-toed], albeit softly and this was picked up by the microphones. Fortunately the songs were accepted by the S.A.B.C.. In the following years Mncanyana's song "Cothoza Mfana" was to become a hallmark of ngomabusuku performances. Let us hear what Veit Erlmann has to say about this:

Mncanyana and his group achieved fame when in early 1966 S.A.B.C. broadcaster Alexius Buthelezi in Durban decided to launch a new show featuring mbube music, using the Scorpions' tune "Cothoza mfana" as signature tune. The radio show proved tremendously popular and the title of Mncanyana's tune and of the show replaced mbube as the most common term for Zulu male choral singing [ibid:13].

The definition of cothoza mfana meaning 'crawl like a cat, boy', or 'walk steadily, boy', is akin to that of isicathamiya, from the verb cathama. The difference between the two was only in the circumstances that led to their coinage. In terms of musical substance, cothoza mfana shared the same tonal, structural and rhythmic features. When describing cothoza mfana Elkin Sithole says:

The steps in scathamiya have to be gentle, as if stepping on eggs or tiptoeing on forbidden ground... in cothoza mfana an upright posture is desired. Legs are stretched or kicked out as gently as possible. Even if the halls are uncemented, there is little or no dust at the end of the dance [Sithole 1979:279].

6.3.5 Ukunyonyoba philosophy and song as a Predator: symbolism and metaphor

Ukunyonyoba is 'to move stealthily' which is synonymous with 'crawling like a cat'. The only difference here is that ukunyonyoba is a stealthy human movement while ukuchathama describes that of an animal. Performers feel ukunyonyoba is weightier than ukucathama and hence prefer the former. They even say, sinyonyobela ingoma ukuze ingabaleki [we move stealthily to a song so that it may not run away], a beautiful philosophical metaphor, as a song is believed to have power to run away if approached hastily. Khumalo of N.B.A. Champions says that much of their repertoire comes from amahubo which are slow and delicate. He adds:

So if we rush these songs they are going to run away. There was a deliberate attempt by us to make this dance suitable for a stage performance. And we saw that the banging on the floor with the feet was incongruous. We thought we should do it delicately. We ended up feigning and not hitting anything at all, and the beauty was just in that, leaving people agape thinking that we were going to finish off by hitting something, and we left it incomplete [interview 21].

Msimanga says there is nothing done by force in isicathamiya and reiterates Khumalo's words by saying "A song is like the prey that slips away from the

predator when disturbed". "It is like a male suitor who has to approach a lady cautiously, otherwise she runs away" [ibid]. Msimanga says the lifting of the feet and the delicacy with which they execute the kicks and feigned stick-fighting, show a neatness not seen in ingoma performance [ibid]. We should also not forget that when indlamu and ukusina are performed in their rural context, performers do not sing. Singing and hand-clapping are done by participant observers, males and females. It is for this reason that Shandu adds, "when we move, we sing, and we clap hands too" [ibid], meaning that these three things must be synchronized, and that contributes to making their performances more delicate than ingoma.

I conclude this chapter by saying that traditional finery, stick-fighting, ingoma and all rural styles that gave birth to the urban style, changed not only because urban influences forced them to adapt, but because performers also wanted to adapt them to the status of their new circumstances in town, the reason being that "you cannot reminisce about home when you are at home". They had to reminisce about home because they were not at home. So as to get the "feeling of home" they had to act, mime, depict, portray and fantasise about home, performing under different circumstances.

CHAPTER 7

7.1 AESTHETICS OF SONG

The problem of global perception of music in the discipline of ethnomusicology is still of major concern. Ethnomusicology still faces the problem of redressing some misconceptions of African music held by early researchers. Kubik says these misconceptions arose because:

The point of departure seemed to be that the research problem was conceptualized in English and not in African languages, while the answers were expected to come from verbal [and possibly non-verbal] statements on aspects of African expressive cultures [1987:53].

This chapter will try to redress these misconceptions by discussing the aesthetics of song as embodied in structure and performance practice as crystallized in social values and symbolic forms. The key to understanding isicathamiya/Zionist music lies not so much in what is sung, but in how it is performed and conceptualized. It is for the same reason that the concept of melody, harmony and rhythm in isicathamiya and Zulu Zionism has to be understood "...on the basis of what is conceptualized in the language" [Kubik 1987:54], in this case, in Zulu musical terms.

African ethnomusicologists also face the gargantuan task of trying to refrain from the use of western stereotypes, such as English terms to signify African musical terms, because the real meaning becomes lost in the process. For instance, a Zulu musical term like ingoma would literally be translated as "a song".⁵⁰ Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi describe it as "1. Dance song performed at festivals, esp. that of first-fruits, royal song, national anthem. 2. Hymn, sacred song" [1990:557]. For Zionists the meaning of ingoma goes deeper than that. It has a ritual and religious significance enshrined in different levels of amandla omoya [pentecostal power]. Hence Zulu terms like isangoma/umngoma meaning "diviners" derive their suffix "-mngoma" from the word ingoma, and isangoma functions because of amandla omoya. Therefore the common and general use of ingoma as a song for theatrical performance is a misnomer.

I also argue, firstly, that while harmony, in western music theory, may involve about four people singing together i.e. soprano, alto, tenor and bass, with Zulus it involves many people singing together. For instance there are no duet, trio, quartet, quintet and sextet performances. Secondly, we never think of why we choose the word harmony to represent people singing together. What is the social meaning of harmony? What about the singing that reconstitutes the

⁵⁰ Terms like singing, performing will be used in this study as the writer cannot find other suitable terms. But their religious origins will be explained.

sense of community, as in isicathamiya/Zionist music? What do musical values say about social values? What about the fact that isicathamiya and Zionist harmonies are "cooked" in circles resembling their circular house designs? It is for these reasons that I decided to start my discussion with Zulu social organization [see plates 5 and 6].

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

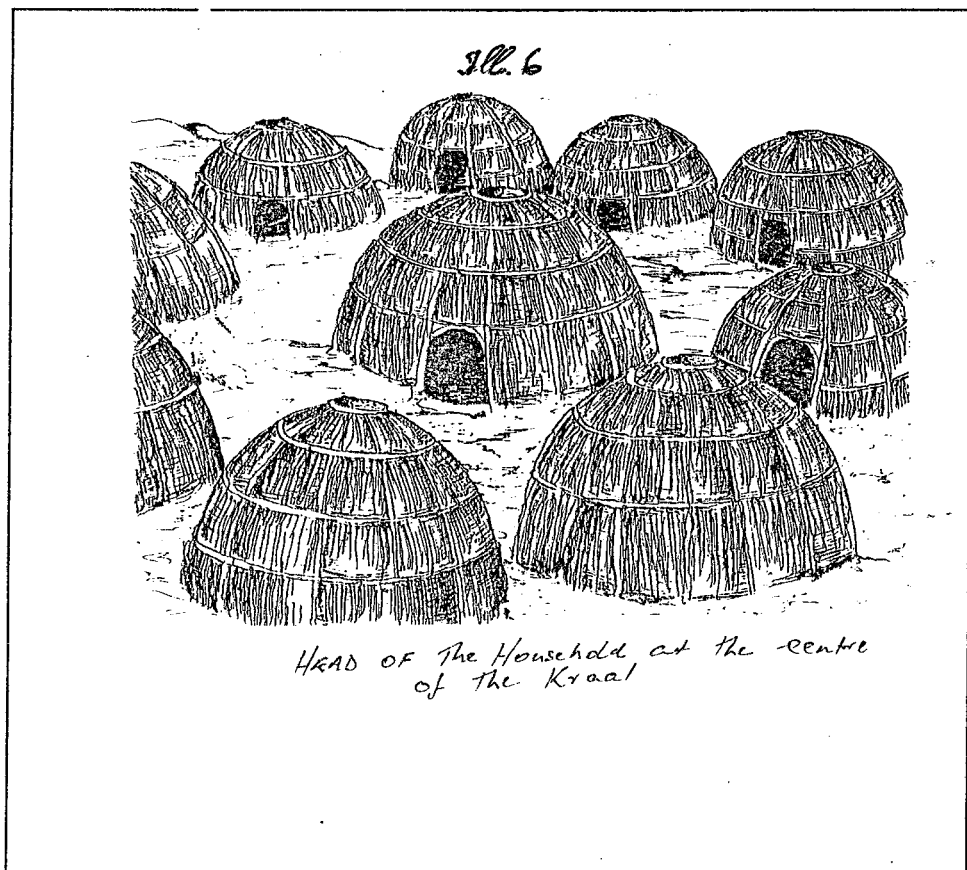


Illustration 6

A Zulu family residence took the form of a circle "...of bee-hive grass huts [called by Europeans 'kraals']". [Bryant 1949:413]. In the centre, on an eminence, was umuzi wendoda [the kraal head]. In some homesteads the middle of the kraal was isibaya sezinkomo, [cattle kraal]. Situated around the circle of the kraal were the huts of the first wife, second wife, sons and daughters who were the children of a polygamous husband and members of the extended family. The polygamous nature of marriage necessitated the construction of several huts in the same kraal, so that men could have their wives and children nearby where they would be able to support them. And when their children married they would construct more huts in the same kraal, which invariably led to an extended family network. These were not regarded as separate houses but rather as separate 'rooms' within a single home.

In this way, ubaba [the head of the family] was supposed to have many cattle for the sustenance of his family with ubisi [milk] and amasi [sour milk] and inyama [meat] occasionally. The cattle kraal was situated at the centre because it was central to social and economic organization, and for the creating of social harmony in social exchanges like paying lobola [bridewealth]. Relationships between two kin groups were also created in the exchange of bulls and cows. Indoda iyindoda ngezinkomo [a man is a man because of cattle], goes a Zulu saying. Owning cows was a symbol of ubudoda [masculinity and dignity].

Situated at the centre of each hut was iziko [the fire-place] for cooking. We shall see later how the fire-place is used metaphorically for the "cooking of the songs" in isicathamiya stage performances. Pre-colonial Zulu social organization was predominantly patrilineal. Ubaba [the father] is feared and respected and his commands obeyed. Umama [the mother] is shown less respect than the father [Krige 1950:24]. The father has total authority in his house and he is the decision-maker. Whilst there are separate mens' and womens' musical activities, in collective social gatherings men are usually the ones who lead the songs and movements, and the women supplement with hand-clapping and ululation.

SOCIAL HARMONY

The Zulu dictum, "A person is a person because of other people" appears frequently in this study because of its dominance in Zulu social organization and its use as a tool of strengthening social harmony. Living in extended families or polygamous structures enhances social harmony and reciprocity. Everything is embedded in the concept of ubuntu, which is also interpreted as kindness, sympathy, generosity e.g. unobuntu uShabalala, unikele ngenkomo lapho kushonwe khona [Shabalala is sympathetic, he donated a cow to the bereaved family].

When the hut is constructed in rural areas, social harmony is strengthened by community participation where women fetch water, cow dung, grass and sticks, while men perch themselves on the roof top for thatching. Even omakhelwane [neighbours] assist in the building of a hut. Musically, neighbours become involved too, like in the singing of wedding songs. Musically speaking, women in traditional music performance also play and empathize significantly. There is a Zulu proverb that goes, "Akudlulwa ngandlela kwakhiwa" [Never pass by when people are building a house, literally meaning that a passer-by must lend a hand] [Paulos Msimanga:interview 28/10/94].

Likewise ingoma becomes ingoma because of many people taking part in it. Zulus say they do not compose songs but bayazakha [they build them], which in Zulu philosophy means the concerted effort or involvement of many people in building it, as they do with the building of a hut. This is the reciprocal nature of social fabric. It means that, while a composition may have germinated in the mind of one individual, when he teaches others he only sings his indlela [path], and they join in with their own izigqi [footprints] harmonies. In this way harmonization is socially fabricated.

Performers say Ingoma is never 'sung' but iyavunywa/iyahaywa "It is agreed to", in antiphonal agreement in the confessions of Zionists as discussed in Chapter 4.1, and in the 'agreeing' [ukuvumisa] technique of diviners as

discussed in Chapter 3. The definition of haya "1. sing; chant; compose; rehearse a performance" by Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi [ibid:298] is in fact wrong in Zulu musical philosophy. Informants say the sound "ha-" in the verb haya is likened to a waterfall. And as mentioned in Chapter 4.1 Zulus are people who emerged from "the reeds", rivers and waterfalls. Waterfalls are therefore symbolic of an unbroken choral mass sound "ha...", hence ukuhaya. This is why there is no solo singing of ingoma among the Zulus.⁵¹ And that is why ingoma can only be 'haywa'd by many people bemoya munye [in spiritual oneness], like a river or a waterfall.

7.2 IZIMPOMDO ZENKOMO: "BULL'S HORNS" PHILOSOPHY [HARMONY]

The concept of izimpondo zenkomo [bull's horns] features prominently in the Zulu creation myth discussed by Berglund [1976], where the heaven and earth are termed husband and wife. The earth is conceived as being a flat surface held up by four bulls, "carrying the earth on the horns" [p.32].

⁵¹ Solo singing among the Zulus only happens with instrumental accompaniment like ugubhu and umakhweyana [gourd bows], predominantly by women, and on guitars by male musicians, umaskandi.

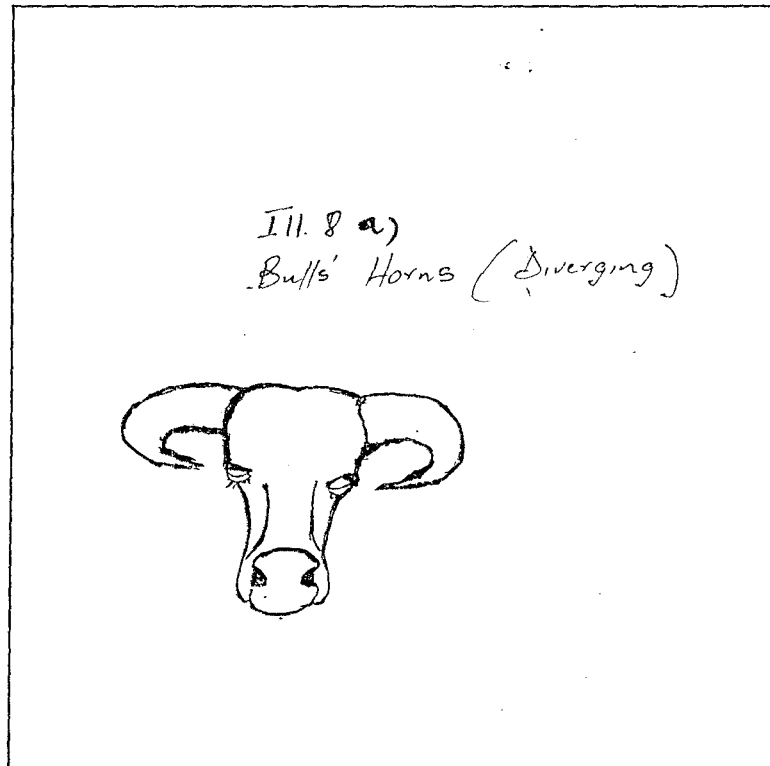


Illustration 8(a)

Zionism flows from cattle ownership that was the nerve centre of Zulu economic organization. To performers the musical fabric is a microcosm of the social fabric as reflected in their religious philosophies and social organization. Hence in this study the concept of the bull's horns [izimpondo zenkomo] is one of the central metaphors in Zulu indigenous music theory [see Illustrations 8a and 8b].

Similarly, it explains a social exchange carried out by various people in singing and movement done through the metaphor of the horn.

Likewise most Zulu houses have "bull's horns" projecting on the roof top, or on lintels. Much as this has a ritual significance, the philosophy behind it is the strengthening of household harmony.

The concept of "bull harmony" in isicathamiya and

"Harmony is called isigubudu in Zulu, a word which describes horns of a beast that converge to touch each other or overlap. The word therefore implies that harmony emanates from the performer, yet it tends to 'curl' inward as it were, and probe into its creator's feelings. Ironically harmony is associated with sorrow in nearly the same manner as the minor mode would be associated with sadness in western music" [Mthethwa: 1984:56-57].

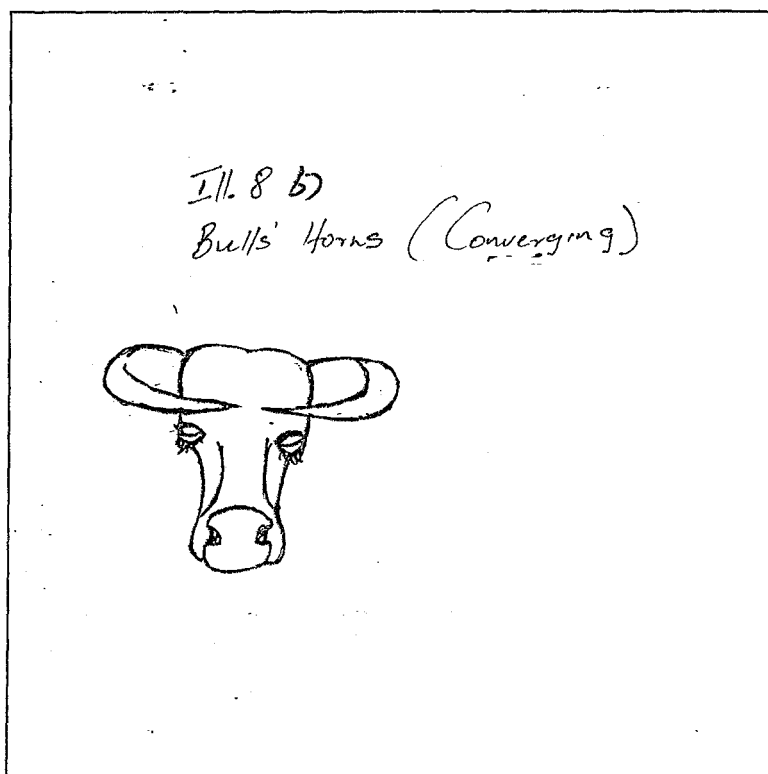


Illustration 8(b)

In Zulu the word isigubudu [harmony is formed from the verb gubuda meaning "to blanket or cover yourself with something" [Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi 1990:271], so that in musical parlance it would mean a path [melody] covered with footprints [harmony]. Synonymous with isigubudu is isihomuhomu [sounds made by many people and flowing as if in a stream] [Dlamini of Jama Lucky Stars, interview 16/10/93]. Mangcobo, leader of Inkanyezi Apostolic Church of Zion says Zionists have celestial voices sounding like many waters, hence "...and His voice as the sound of many waters" [Revelation 1:16].

Harmony in Zulu is also called izimpondo zenkomo [bull's horns], "horns of a beast that converge to touch each other" [Mthethwa 1984]. Synonymous with this term is imvunge, which literally means, "likened to the humming of bees" [ibid]. When explaining why performers call harmony "bull's horns", Shandu of the N.B.A. Champions says:

The Zionists cannot sing sitting down. The stance they assume resembles the bull's horns. In olden days kwaZulu, when the enemy was invading, they said they would attack like the "bull's horns". You see, imagine if the bull had horns like this... [he demonstrates a ring]. The bull would have no power and balance. But when it is like this [he demonstrates] the bull has a lot of power because the horns have the capacity to converge [see illustrations 8a and b].

Q: Now when you people are singing on stage, do you stand like the bull's horns?

A: Yes.

Q: The Zionists too stand like you do?

A: Yes. The Zionists stand like that so that the horns would join, and the song would be pushed by others from behind. And that is how they combine in the idraai [Zionist sacred running-in-a-circle movement]. When you see them running you think they are in a circle whereas in real fact they are not. It is because the leader is at the front and the last person on the line is running after him. The Zionist philosophy here is that if they formed a circle it would mean there is no leader.

Q: Would you say your stance was taken from the Zionists?

A: I would not say that. It would depend on who came first [Shandu:interview 10/11/93].

The convergence of the horns of a beast can be seen when isicathamiya performers are finding a key. They come close together, place their palms

against their ears so as to listen more intently and consciously to their own vocalisation and as a means of blocking the noise around. They first hum their parts "like bees" until a clear and distinct chord is heard. Then the leader shouts "Two!" and they start. This cautious beginning to the singing enables all these groups to be confident of their explosive attacks [see video]. Consonant with this view, Rycroft says:

The conductor demands of each of his seven or eight singers an unflinching, hypnotic gaze, and executes vigorous and precisely timed signals, both manual and vocal, for the attack of each choral yell. Explosive fortissimo chords result [1975:1].

In the sections to follow we shall see how the concepts of the kraal [the circle] and the "bull's horns" [harmony] are used in isicathamiya stage performances and Zionist rituals. We shall also see how Joseph Shabalala, leader of the internationally renowned Ladysmith Black Mambazo employs the sounds associated with oxen as a percussive device to enhance rhythm and choreography.

7.2.1 Musical principles

7.2.1.1 Rhythm, sound and percussiveness

Zulu musical principles are predicated upon 'sonic' and social factors. Similarly in Block 1 of our diagram of isicathamiya stage performance we have

performers forming a "ring", where they have to "cook" their voices until "well cooked" and where they have to pre-determine isisindo [the weight of their voices] before presenting their act on stage. This is why the journey to the stage is replete with percussive devices that signal the change of steps and also enhance rhythmic flow.

The basic musical principles are rhythm and percussiveness. What is percussiveness? Percussiveness is sound texture that adds some rhythmic texture. Why percussiveness? I use the term because it encompasses something about the texture of life, the conflict and the contrast. Life is not social harmony all the time. It is conflict resolution which is demonstrated by a variety of movement patterns from Block 1 to 5. Life is a percussive thing which they can physically manifest. The journey to the stage is a percussive one. When the circle breaks in Block 1 and the movement begins in Block 2, the sound of their shoes can be heard. When they begin their meandering and undulating [indlela] journey to the stage there is much improvisation/interpolation with their feet. The audience does not applaud only because of the sense and meaning of the words, but because of the variety of movement patterns and the sound effects made by the performers' shoes, the swaying of the hands, the positioning of the hands as shields, the hands resembling "bull's horns", the percussive devices exclaimed by individual members as signals to change step like, "qi, qi!", "gho!", "qubu!", "shiya!"

"zasha!" etc. [see Illustrations 9a and b]. Khabi Mngoma says with Zulu language, stronger accentuation tends to fall on consonants like, "k", "qi" "sa", sha", "zi", "hl", "dl" [977:5].

Singing and body movements are perceived as one unit, and when members of the audience cheer a performance on stage, they are in fact applauding both singing and the steps that go along with it. This is when words like ibhimbi [a bad singer] or igagu [a good singer and mover] are used by the audience to describe performance on stage. The audience applauds the stage setting and the atmosphere, the movements and the gestures that are all redolent of the Zulu past and present.

In the section on stage performances we shall see on the video the Nongoma Black Tycoons [Group 2] moving like peacocks. Here they demonstrate the rhythm and flapping sound of peacocks' wings. This percussive device adds sonority to the music. They also use the song as an axe to chop down other groups. Zulu Messengers [Group 4] employ the metaphor of a song as an inferno to burn down their adversaries, and in another song it is an axe to chop down their enemies. Nongoma Master Voice [Group 6] call themselves the lions that devour other groups. In another song they say they are the red bulls, the "untouchables". The N.B.A. Champions [Group 7] say they are the red birds, "the untouchables". Jama Lucky Stars [Group 8] say they are moving like the

waves; and in another song they are "the ravens", which tells us something about rhythm and sound. In another song they are the Black Mamba that will bite other groups. This is also part of group history.

Joseph Shabalala [interview 18/11/95] [we call him Mshengu, clan name] says he named his group Ladysmith Black Mambazo because the black cows and oxen also refer to teams of people [this is discussed below]. When playing the accordion, Shabalala's grandfather used to make some sounds which Shabalala later used as percussive devices in his music. Sounds made by cows were used as embroidery and enhanced his musical texture. To Joseph Shabalala social fabric was musical fabric embedded in sound, not in words. From the following interview we see how Mshengu used these sounds as percussive devices in his music.

"Ladysmith Black Mambazo" are discussed in detail in this section because they are quintessential in the ushering in of what could be defined as 'verbal rhythms' or 'rhythmic aids'. In Indian music verbal rhythms are called mnemonics and used as drills, as well as finger exercises for tabla playing. A few call them 'nonsense syllables'. But I argue that the term 'nonsense syllables' is a misnomer because these syllables do in fact make much sense to composers and performers. Doug Seroff says the "Golden Gate Quartet" call them 'vocal percussion' and describes them thus:

It was like a drum but it had notes to it. It had lyrics to it. You had different beats. You had different accents. You would accent it here, accent it there; but what was done was done together. It was really vocal percussion, like a bunch of guys beating a tom-tom somewhere... [1980:14].

It is important to discuss these percussive devices here because in isicathamiya they are common and have become characteristic traits of this idiom. These sounds can be heard on records, stage performances, on the radio and in advertisements on television whenever this musical idiom is played. These phenomena are particularly discernible in the music of "Ladysmith Black Mambazo". Most groups have copied them from Mambazo. These devices are often employed in the developmental sections of songs. It is usually one of the bass voices that interjects intermittently or at any given moment in a declamatory style saying, "grrr...grrr...grrr..., shi...eshe...".

When Joseph Shabalala of Mambazo was interviewed about this "grrr...grrr...grrr..." rhythm, asking him how it was contrived, and for what reason, he responded thus:

This "grr grr" stuff you hear on records is something I contrived, taking it from a white farmer's ox which had huge horns. So when you wanted to tie a rope around the ox's neck, you would not do it while it was standing, because the neck was straight. The best way was to touch the forehead and call "grrr...grrr... Mpotshongo!" [name of the ox]. Then it would tilt its head, then you could put the rope around its neck. Now suddenly an idea came to my mind since we were singing for competitions. I thought that in the silent passages we could fit the

"drrr...drrr...drrr..." or "grrr...grrr...grrr..." sound. In fact, the sound I made for the ox was "drrr", but I later decided to alter it to "grrr".

Since the ox obeyed me whenever I said "drrr...drrr...drrr..", I thought when I used it in singing songs for competitions it would help me weaken my rivals, so that they would obey me a little bit, to move away and be distant. This sound was for telling the ox to move further. Now, this idea then came to my mind that if I could put these sounds in the silent passages, the song would be embellished, although I did not know whether it was going to sound nice or not. But to my surprise, the community accepted it. To say "grrr" is just an embellishment, but the actual sound is "drrr". It is just an addition. It is just like saying "grrr... bhu, heyi wethu!", "grrr...bhu, hey colleague". The addition of heyi wethu! means that you are nailing the other guys in music.

Now coming to this "shi-eshe!" device. I took it from my grandfather from the Mazibuko family, the house of the guys I am singing with. When my grandfather was playing a concertina, he used to say he-she!, when he was dancing. Now when he was teaching you how to dance, he would say: "Sakushiya muzukulu he-she!" [we have left you behind grandchild, pull up your strides]. When he was about to dance he would not show you which foot he was to going to move first. Now when we were kids, learning to dance, we wanted to start lifting the foot that he had lifted. But he would not show us. He would quickly say: "he-she, he-she awu!, sakushiya muzukulu". Now I liked this sound. So I decided to use it again as an embellishment, "shi eshe". In fact, "shi eshe" agrees with the movement of the foot when you are performing Zulu dances. But I appreciated it from my grandfather and I was encouraged to include it in my songs...[interview 18/11/85].

The above musical aesthetics are not abstract but relate to particular rural images e.g. sounds of the bulls/cows. The sounds made by his grandfather with his concertina reflect social memories.

If we take the insider's point of view and Doug Seroff's coinage of these

devices as 'vocal percussion,' we shall understand that performers use them as accompaniment to the music, as embellishment to the rhythm, and for providing brief points of repose in their movements because they are nostalgic sounds that connect images of the past and the present.

The question of repetitiveness, whether in song, movement or percussive device here must be understood against the backdrop of "to be spirited" [ukuvukwa umoya/ usinga/amadlingozi], which was discussed in Chapter 4. When performers employ "thununu, thununu" instead of words in repeated sections where the emphasis is on choreography, or employ "hayi, hayi!" [no, no!] as mere rhythmic aids, we have to understand that for the performers to be spirited, as is the case with Zionists and performers, a song with its movement must be performed until it livuthwe [becomes well cooked].

7.2.2 INDLELA PHILOSOPHY [MELODY]

Charles Adams, when discussing the shape of melodic contours in the music of some traditional societies says, "The concept of melodic contour [shape, configuration, outline] is frequently encountered, but its precise meaning and significance in musical analysis is elusive" [1976:179]. And Hugo Zemp who

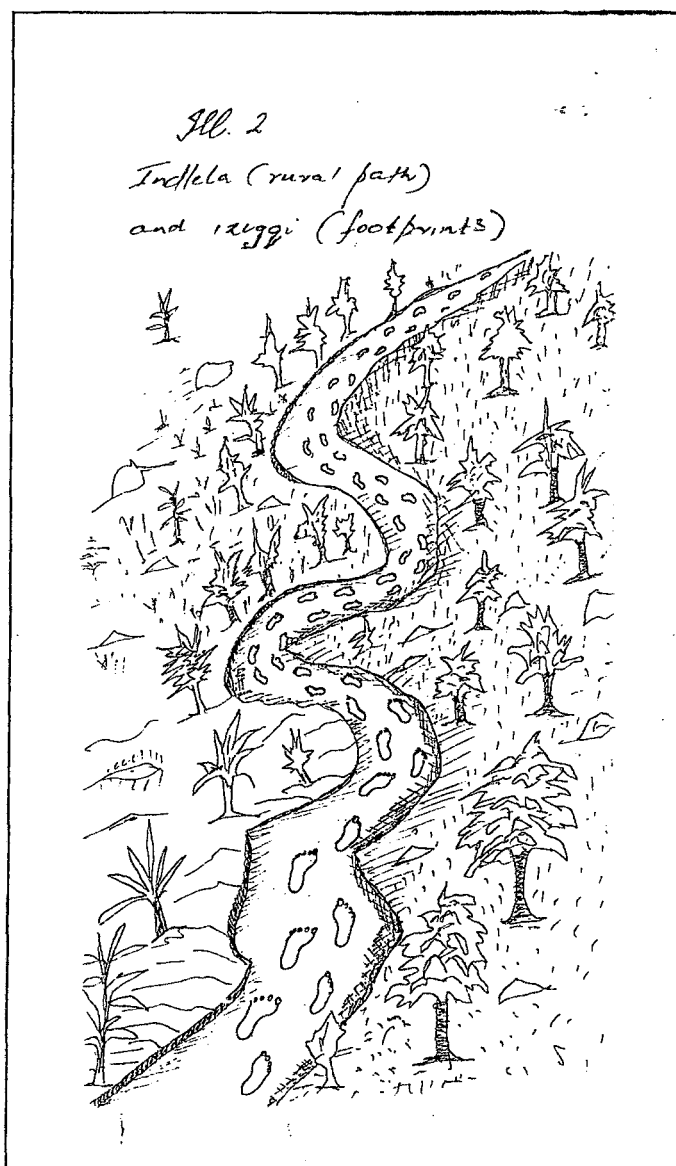


Illustration 2

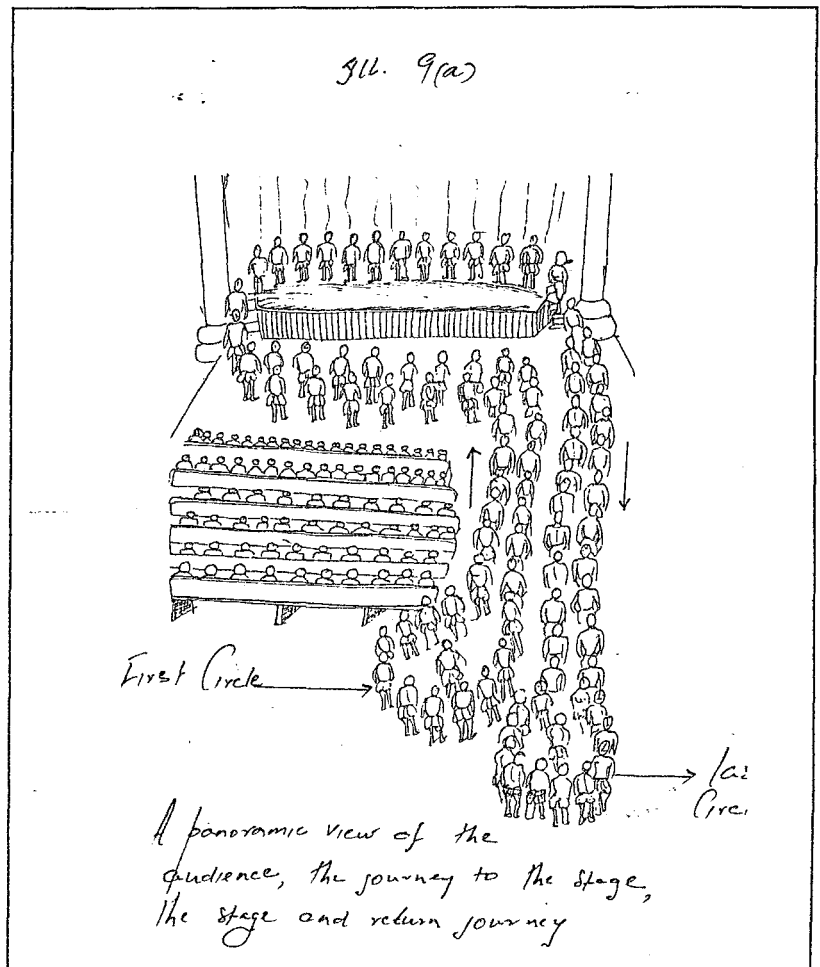
symbols they can see, touch and hear in their everyday life, like footprints and the rural path [see illustrations 2 and 9].⁵²

studied the music of the 'Are of the Solomon Islands says "They explain their concept of melodic segmentation by folding a string or a long leaf" [1979:14]. The main direction of melodic movement is expressed in 'Are 'Are linguistic terms as a specific movement in space like "to go down", "towards the bottom" and "towards the top" [ibid].

To Zulus, melodic direction is a consequence of social factors and there are indigenous ways to describe it. Melodic direction is represented by

⁵² In a personal discussion I had with Dr. Carol Muller, writer of Nazareth Song, Dance and Dreams: The Sacralization of Time, Space and the Female Body in South Africa. Ph.D New York

Zulu terms like umucu [melody], indlela [path] showing melodic direction, amagxathu [intervals] represented by footprints and isihomuhomu/ imvunge/ isigubudu/izimpondo zenkomo/izigqi, signifying "harmony", are going to feature prominently in the following paragraphs.



University, 1994, she says the melodies of some of the Shembeites' songs reflect a journey to the mountain, "Inhlangakazi"; all performers know how the path to the mountain meanders and undulates because they have been to the mountain for purification. If they say when going to the mountain that they follow the leader's footprints in one single line, and separate somewhere into two lines, come together and split somewhere and converge to one point as they reach the mountain, and say their music reflects this journey, we shall understand that the question of melodic movement is something visual. It is like a rural path, like climbing a mountain. The body becomes the melody that meanders and undulates in the rural path [Muller 1994].

When Blacking says that to the Venda of Northern Transvaal the perception of sound is basically harmonic [1976], we shall understand why to Zulus melody is something conceptual. On the Zulu indlela [path] many people cannot walk simultaneously; they have to walk uklele/udwendwe [in single file]. This is why performers when harmonizing ask each other, "indlela yakho ithini? [how does your path go?]. It is because the path [indlela] is melodic direction. But the Zulu path is always horizontal. They do not think of footprints vertically as in block form hymnodic style, but horizontally, as a path.

When the missionaries in the early 1800s came in with the singing of hymns written in tonic solfa in four parts [S.A.T.B.] these were easily subsumed under the terminology of izindlela [paths, plural], for practitioners believed that each voice part was not entirely dependent on the lead part for melodic direction, hence iziggi. Missionary terms for denoting voice parts, soprano, alto, tenor and bass were indigenized to indlela yokuqala [soprano/first part], as it is led by ifolosi/ivalundlela [pathfinder - performers say the leader is the trailblazer].

Then there is ialitha or indlela yesibili [alto/second part]; itena or indlela yesithathu [tenor/third part]; bass became ibhasi or idoshaba [bass]. The word idoshaba stems from the tonic solfa 'doh', for 'ido' shaba.⁵³ All these terms are of English derivation.

In trying to find out which Zulu terms were used for the naming of voice parts before the missionary influences of S.A.T.B., Mtshali of the Zulu Home Soldiers responded thus:

There did not have to be terms like soprano, alto, tenor and bass amongst Zulu because our music was not written down. Voice parts were distinguished by their smallness and bigness. So when these terms came it was easy for us to adapt to them as we had been guided by the concept of izigqi "footprints" in the singing of our traditional styles [interview 27/11/93].⁵⁴

The question of melody in isicathamiya music must be looked at with circumspection for Bongani Mthethwa further says:

...the song "Homeless" by the Ladysmith Black Mambazo in the Graceland album [side 2 track 3], the song leader abandons the

⁵³ The word idoshaba is commonly used in traditional music circles to refer to a deep bass sound, basso profundo-like. It is common to hear someone saying, "Hey! uMkhize unedoshaba", u"doh" oshabalalayo, "Mkhize has a deep sonorous bass voice", a "doh" that disappears into the lowest registers.

⁵⁴ To performers, the word izigqi has various meanings; it may refer to sounds made by footprints; it may also refer to sound with a pulsating beat like, "leliculo linesigqi", "the song has power"; harmony is also likened to isigqi [singular].

melody deliberately so that the harmonizing voices accompany a melody that is not there, a ghost melody. However, the inside view is that they hear the melodies very clearly in their heads [1988:33].

Similarly Elias Zuma, co-leader of the Zulu Home Tigers says, since Zulus do not write music down, the "path" is written in the leader's head, hence he is called ivulandlela [the pathfinder]. And that is why music involves a leader and choral response. Similarly when explaining the arrangement of voices, Sibiya, Chairman of KwaMashu isicathamiya branch says this genre has discernible voice parts because it involves fewer people, unlike in wedding songs where many people are involved, and where voice parts are not as symmetrically arranged as in isicathamiya. What Sibiya is saying here is that fewer people will produce a good sound whilst many people spoil the music.

Zionists call the path idresi, probably from the English phrase, "to dress in a line of troops", evincing disciplined movement. Performers are unanimous in saying that the leader leaves his izigqi [footprints] on the path, and his followers leave their own footprints [harmonies] too. When following the footprints of the leader, Elias Zuma of Jama Lucky Stars says bayaguduza [they are meandering] or undulating on their path to the stage, or 'undulating' on the 'musical journey' [interview 16/10/93] [see Illustrations 2 and 9].⁵⁵ Shandu of N.B.A. Champions

⁵⁵ Meandering and undulating here refer to the path of melody and harmony.

[performer and Zionist] says they explain melody in the Biblical sense of the disciples following the footsteps of Jesus Christ [Psalms 77:19].

Zuma calls izigqi, footprints and says, "It should be noted that izigqi azifani [footprints are not the same]; some people are thin and others are big, thus making different footprints" [interview, 16/10/93]. Tall and thin people are the ones capable of reaching inzika yengoma, "sediment", the deeper tones of the song. And the deep tones give isicathamiya and Zionist music weight and isigqi, "power" [or footprint].⁵⁶

Indlela [melody] suggested by the leading bass voice does not really seem to be providing tonal direction, but harmonic direction and rhythmic flow. Altos and tenors enter with interlocking rhythms, "footprints", giving different harmonic directions which to the outsider may seem unrelated to the harmonic direction given by the leading bass voice.

In Zulu terms, amagxathu [intervals] are explained not in terms of signifying the distance between tones but between footprints on the ground. Melodic direction is also movement structure. Harmonically it is the same path, and

⁵⁶ There is a dichotomy in the use of the word isigqi in Zulu. The first meaning of izigqi is "footprints" determined by different voice parts. The second isigqi is described as "flow plus depth".

rather than facing downwards [block harmony], the footprints are horizontal, as is the case with the rural path. And in the path there is much overtaking of each other. We cannot walk at the same speed. Some walk slowly, some fast.

7.3 HOW ENVIRONMENT IMPACTS UPON PERFORMANCE AESTHETICS

ISIGQI, AMANDLA NESISINDO [FLOW, FORCE AND WEIGHT]

Zulu traditional music that underlies isicathamiya and Zionist worshipping songs has isigqi [flow and force], isisindo [weight] and amandla omoya [pentecostal force]. Shandu of the N.B.A. Champions says Zulu traditional songs are like conversations. This is why members of the audience when listening to a lacklustre performance would say, "labantu bathule abasho lutho", [these people are quiet, they are saying nothing], because the music does not have flow and force" [interview, 27/11/93].

He further says that when he wants his music to have force, he strengthens it with the bass. And this is why the bass part is the most dominant in isicathamiya music. He starts by demonstrating the path that the basses must follow. "I say ingoma must not look like this... [demonstrating bull's horns that diverge - see Illustration 8]. All songs that are performed must use the bull's horns principle for them to have force" [ibid]. To Shandu, horns that diverge have less strength than horns that converge. Convergence of horns is likened

to harmonic empathy that contributes to their forceful attacks, as reflected in illustrations of circle formations discussed in section 7.5.4.

But the question of force [isigqi] differs with environments. Zionists that are used to holding tent ministries complain that isigqi [force] gets carried away by the wind. This is why most Zionists prefer to hold their services in smaller enclosures with few windows such as garages, backrooms, and dining rooms that have isifuthufuthu [less air ventilation]. Such enclosures are believed to be beneficial to force. Commodious enclosures are said to be ill-fitting for Zionist and isicathamiya music. When asked if a place that has less air ventilation contributes to the power of music, the response was that, "For the songs to be full we have to perform in a closed place. When the place is open the song liyabaleka [gets carried away] by the wind [Shandu:interview 27/11/93]. And this is also a complaint by Zionist drummers who worship in the open fields. In smaller enclosures "the sound is contained" and not carried away, whereas in bigger venues the sound gets carried away by the echoing chambers [ibid].

Shandu elucidates by saying that in May 1993 they took part in competitions held at the Playhouse Theatre in Durban where they were confronted with two main problems : a) the largeness of the place, b) the use of microphones. Although isicathamiya vocal technique prescribes full-throated singing, good

projection and resonance, most groups complained that the sound could not be contained sufficiently. They said that it was worse with the use of microphones, something they were not used to. The sound was 'scattered' and isigqi was lost. Groups like the internationally renowned "Ladysmith Black Mambazo" are now used to performing in theatres using microphones. But Msimanga [veteran] mentions that a group like Mambazo are not singing the isicathamiya that is performed in competitions. "Theirs is low-keyed and gospel oriented, the commercial-studio type" [ibid].

Since the force [isigqi] in isicathamiya and Zionist music is not something that happens fortuitously but is urged on by spiritual power, the next section will show us how performers are able to transport themselves to the "other world" through dreams.

7.4 DREAMS AS TRANSPORTATION

Dreams are part of belief systems deeply rooted in Zulu religious thought processes. Dreams are essentially for communicating with ancestors. It is song and movement that connects people with their ancestors. Zulu Zionists and izicathamiyans say there is no deliberate effort of sitting down to plan a composition. Songs are not composed, but come to them already composed in the spiritual realm through dreams, given them by "ancestral agents"

[izithunywa]; some come from visions, and others emerge spontaneously and extemporaneously from a plethora of social and religious events when bevukwe amadlingozi [they become spirited].

Paul Berliner, author of The Soul of Mbira [1978], when discussing the compositional techniques employed by Zimbabwean players of mbira dza vadzimu says most techniques come by dream visitations. The spirits appear in dreams to teach players correct finger patterns of playing the mbira. And some players even wake up remembering tone for tone what they were taught in the dream. Mshengu of the internationally renowned Ladysmith Black Mambazo experiences much visitation by amathongo.

He describes it thus:

I was troubled and fascinated by a dream that came to me every time I went to bed. I would see children singing for me. These children would just float in the sky, singing on some stage, and the stage was floating. This dream came to me every night. It was like a disease, these children singing for me every time. So to me, going to sleep was very pleasant because I knew that I would see a performance [interview 18/11/85].

Mathambo Mbhele says amathongo [dream spirits] are ever-present in the community and are pivotal in music performance, especially composition:

Whenever I prepare for a competition I would know in advance whether I am going to win or not. There is ikhehla [an old man] who comes to me every time before the competition. I was worried about this dream to such extent that I went to a diviner to report this. He told me that it was my father's father. The old man said to me that I should not stop singing. He said when I wanted to stop singing I must tell him so that he could release me. When I am going to a tough competition I burn imphepho [incense] to invite the dreams.

When I kill two white fowls I know definitely I am going to win the competition. This is why I say isintu is around. And if your ancestors have turned their backs on you, dreams never come and you do not win. This also goes for the two members of the group who had lost their father and I did a function for them. Because I had respected their elders, I won the competition. Msimanga can attest to this. I won about five big stakes. At Playhouse I also took a stake among 98 choirs [interview 27/11/93].⁵⁷

In other words there is a clear connection in the performers' minds between dreams and transport to the "other place". It is transport, it does not matter whether in their imagination or in reality. For people like Joseph Shabalala, the reality is that he hears songs in dreams. Dreaming is an integral part of his everyday reality. Dreaming connects the present and the past. It creates connections where there are losses, losses that cannot be fixed in everyday life.

⁵⁷ Taking a stake means winning prize money, a goat or a sheep.

In the following section we shall see how urban stage performance mirrors Zulu social structure, how it reflects belief systems, how performers are seen to be using culturally valued ways of connecting, recreating and reconstituting community, how performance reflects group identity, and how natural sounds and cultural symbols are used in song and movement.

7.5 STAGE PERFORMANCE

7.5.1 First part of the competition

Isicathamiya competitions are run by the South African Traditional Music Association [S.A.T.M.A.] to which all participating groups are affiliated. Not only is the Association concerned with the ennoblement of isicathamiya, but all traditional styles as well. There are five major competing venues in Durban.⁵⁸ All groups registered under the Y.M.C.A. branch, for instance are called izinhlangano [stage choirs]. They are allowed to compete in other branches whenever they desire, as long as they are S.A.T.M.A. members. However, there is a small number of choirs that are not registered under S.A.T.M.A, and these are not allowed to compete except in festivals. Each venue has its Chairman and Secretary who see to the smooth running of its branch, book-keeping, arrangement of competitions and festivals.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 4.1. for names of competing venues and group statistics.

All competing groups pay a "joining fee of up to R20" [Erlmann 1987:14], while the admission fee is cheap i.e between R1-R2 a head, making it affordable for anyone to patronize them [Enoch Mzobe of the Durban Crocodiles: interview 26/05/89].

Competitions take place on Saturday because it is a non- working day. Those who were working in Johannesburg when these competitions began say there was a curfew and they had to get permission to go and sing at night, otherwise they would be detained. Permission would be arranged from their employers for Friday up to Sunday. Every hostel has a hall where such performances take place. The audiences are drawn mostly from these hostels, the patrons being the performers' friends and workmates. These in turn have friends and girlfriends working in the neighbourhood as male and female domestic workers who patronize performances every Saturday. Capacity crowds are a certainty in all these performances.

It is important to start the description of the competitions with a mention of the atmosphere outside the halls. There is always much vocal activity outside the halls, in corners, corridors, at the back of the halls, inside parked combis, or in adjoining rooms, as groups warm up or hold last minute rehearsals.

When you are about to enter the hall you are greeted by the sound of choirs rehearsing either in the hall's changing rooms, at the back of the hall, or others doing 'last minute harmonization checks' in other venues. You may see some members taking last puffs on their cigarettes as they prepare to go on stage. The atmosphere is very informal, as can be seen when patrons keep moving around even in the middle of the show.⁵⁹ Inside the halls the atmosphere is very informal. Westerners used to formal audiences and performances would feel decidedly uneasy and out of place once inside the halls. There is always background noise while the show is in progress; some may be talking, smoking and drinking, vendors employed by the Chairman may be selling food, while others would be sleeping, oblivious of the music going on around them.

If you happen to make frequent visits to the same hall, you will probably see the same faces patronizing the shows. It is because virtually all patrons and performers come from the lowest income group. Members of the audience who frequented various performing halls were interviewed in trying to establish their reasons for attending. It must also be pointed out that patrons are suspicious

⁵⁹ Informality here is not used in opposition to formal behaviour as seen in western classical performances, where any movement by members of the audience is unacceptable during a performance. Informality is used here to denote African behavioral pattern of freedom as the show progresses. Freedom in that the patron may be whistling as he moves around, which will not affect the attentiveness of the patrons at all. To an outsider this behaviour may look disorderly, but to insiders it is culture-bound, improvisational.

of people carrying tape recorders. It exacerbates the situation if the interviewer is an African in the company of a white man, as was my case. Before they could answer questions they wanted me to explain my association with this accomplice. Since my friend could not talk Zulu I played a dominant role in the interviews. I was nearly taken to task on one occasion while interviewing one of the ladies, oblivious that her boy-friend was nearby. He suspected that I was accosting her or trying to impress her while I was in the company of a white man.

Competitions are divided into two sections, the first being isikhathi sokuphrakthiza [Erlmann 1987] [practising time], also known as kopiti [competition], and the second being the singing of umnyuzikhi [music] or five mineths [5 minutes].⁶⁰ On the competing day, groups as well as patrons arrive at about 8 to 9 pm on a Saturday.

The first part of the competition differs markedly from the second in that the first one is for entertaining the audience while the authorities look for the judge, hence umlindelo. Umlindelo here is somewhat akin to the Zionists' 'waiting time' for the messenger [isithunywa], the "Holy Spirit". The singing of kopiti

⁶⁰ a) it is called isikhathi sokuphrakthiza because the competition has not started; it is a warming up and practising section.

b) see the second part of the competition for clarification of the terms, umnyuzikhi and "5 minutes".

is also done to prolong time since the most desirable time for competing is twelve midnight or early morning. Some choirs may be guests belonging to other branches and have come to give support. Whilst the patrons are entertained, there would be selling of food and drinks in the hall by the Chairman. The money gained in the sales goes to the coffers of the particular association.

When the hall is full, say about 10pm at night, each group ascends the stage singing "in the amakhothi, wedding song style..." [Erlmann 1987:15].⁶¹ Singing in amakhothi style refers to the choreography that imitates ragtime steps of the twenties and early thirties [Mngoma 1977:4]. This is a period of display, during which all competing groups ascend the stage in turn and perform ikopiti, or any song for showmanship or display of their musicality and as a "warm up", purely for entertaining the patrons and not for competitive purposes. Ngweto of the Paulpietersburg Crocodiles defines kopiti thus:

The singing of kopiti, "competition song" was a show off to the ladies to show them how good we are, just to kill time. Ladies would be heard shouting "amadod'ethu" [our sweethearts], ululating encouragingly [interview 3/11/85].⁶²

⁶¹

Amakhothi comes from the English word "chords", implying harmony.

⁶²

Ladies also bayabanga, kiss them, put caps on their heads or hang imigexo, necklaces, around their necks, and also throw

Some performers sing old bombing songs, a style of the 1930s characterized by amandla [power], with ear-splitting attacks likened to the bombs of the Second World War. Some sing iskhwela joe⁶³ tunes in order to display their virtuosity, and as a warm up and prelude to the real competition. Although competitions are characterized by dandified outfits, during this section performing groups may wear "ordinary street clothes" [Erlmann 1987:15]. Some wear ojazibantshi, long tail-coats reminiscent of the minstrel show.⁶⁴

When on stage each group starts by singing iculo lokubingelela, a greeting song. The greeting song is usually in izibongo praise-poetry style and "The introductory song may either tell about the home of each individual singer, or introduce his family tree or lineage" [Sithole 1979:280] in the following manner:

Leader [spoken]: Could you estimate for me how big our audience is tonight?

Choir [sung]: They are as many as bangangotshani [grass]. They are as many as bangangoboya benkomo [ox hair].

money on the stage to show appreciation to their home-boys or sweethearts.

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It is termed isikhwela joe because it is sung in very high registers, akin to bombing. This style is characterized by the leader switching his entry an octave higher whenever a group member shouts, "khwela joe", meaning "climb Joe", or "switch to the higher octave Joe". Joe here is a colloquial name given to any group member.

64

See Chapter 1.1. for description of performers' attire.

Leader [half-spoken, half-sung]: Tell them where you come from, boys. Khwela! [Attack].

Choir [sung]: We come across Mzinyathi river Kwela kithi e Dundee [from our home near Dundee]. If you ever come to Mzinyathi, inquire or ask about us izinyoni ezidla ezinye [birds which feed on other birds].⁶⁵

Leader [sung]: Now I want to tell you who my colleagues are. This is the young man from Sibiya clan, who milk the cow in the mountain cliffs; if they milk it in the barn, it has been stolen [the choir hums] [ibid].

Here are other examples of amaculo okubingelela [plural] taken off records:

Sanibonani Nonke

Winter Roses, SABC T5623

Sanibonani nonke

Greetings to all of you

Nina enikhona lapha

Those of you present here

Obaba bethu nomama bethu nonke

All our mothers and fathers

Siyathokoza ukunibona

We are happy to see you.

Nantsi ikhwaya yethu

Here is our choir

Thina makhunzi aseThekwini

We the Durban coons

Ukwanda kwaliwa umthakathi yedwa

Its only the sorcerer who does not want us to multiply

Yena ozonda iWinter Roses

⁶⁵

"The birds that feed on other birds" refers to the group that always beats other groups in these competitions.

He who hates the Winter Roses
Iyathuthuka iWinter Roses
 Winter Roses is prospering.

Molweni

Empangeni Messengers, LT 15686

Leader: **Molweni zinsizwa zakulelizwe**
 Greetings gentlemen of this land
Molweni zinsizwa
 Greetings gentlemen

Chorus: [spoken] **Sithi**
 We say
 [sung] **Molweni, zinsizwa zakulelizwe**
 Greetings, greetings gentlemen of the land
Akenisiyalele, sihambe nalomfula waseZulwini
 Show us this direction,
 We travelled along the Zulwini river
Kanti wangakanani?
 By the way how big is it?

Leader: **Molweni babhemu**
 Greetings friends
 Chorus: [spoken] **Sithi**
 We say
 [sung] **Molweni, zinsizwa zakulelizwe**
 Greetings gentlemen of the land

Leader: [sung] **Gijima**
 Run
 Chorus: **Gijima mfana wendod'endala**
 Run, son of the old man
Hamba utshele umama, ubaba
 Go tell mama and daddy
Lababantu sebekhona
 These people have arrived

Sanibonanai basakazi
 The Crocodiles, LT 10157

Chorus: **Sanibonani basakazi**
 Greetings announcers⁶⁶
Sanibonani nonke
 Greetings to all of you
Sisho kuwe Shenge⁶⁷

We are greeting you Shenge
nophethe nabo
 and your colleagues

Leader: [spoken] **Sanibonani basakazi**
 Greetings to announcers
Ziyanibingelele izingwenya
 The Crocodiles are greeting you
Ohleni luka Cothoza mfana
 In Cothoza mfana programme
Sibingelela baseGoli
 We are only greeting announcers in Johannesburg
AbaseThekwini siyabaqoshela
 No greetings to announcers in Durban

Leader: [spoken] **Sinifisela impilo enhle**
 We wish you a healthy life

Chorus: **Sinifisela impilo enhle**
 We wish you a healthy life

Leader: [sung] **Nawe...**
 And you...

Chorus **We Mthimkhulu**
 Mthimkhulu

Leader: [sung] **Nawe**
 And you

Chorus: **Masombuka**

66

Radio announcers of the S.A.B.C.

67

Shenge is a clan name for Buthelezi. Here greetings are sent to the late Alexius Buthelezi who was an announcer of traditional music programmes, including isicathamiya.

Nawe weKhathide
 And you Khathide
Sigcina ngawe Buthelezi
 Lastly and you Buthelezi

Leader: **Asikhulumi ngenkosazana**
 We are not talking about the lady
 Chorus: **Asikhohlwanga inkosazana**
 We are not forgetting the lady
Igama layo uWinnie Mahlangu
 Her name is Winnie Mahlangu⁶⁸

Sivulele Singene

Empangeni Messengers, LT 16259

Leader: [half-spoken] **Webaba mnumzane**
 Father, Sir,
Vula baba, sivulele singene
 Open father, let us in

Chorus: **Vula baba**
 Open father
Singene, singene
 Let us in let us in

Leader: [sung] **Sangena thina**
 We have entered
 Chorus: **Sangena, sangena phakathi**
 We have entered, we are inside.

Since it is still showing off time, groups are at liberty to perform pastiches, even parodies and other humorous presentations so as to win the audiences' fancy. Abaphishi [leaders], commonly known as okhondakhthas [conductors], become very agile, bavukwe usinga [become spirited] in the display of their

⁶⁸

The first Zulu lady announcer.

virtuosity especially in ingoma movement style or isikhunzi.⁶⁹ Sithole has this regarding the performance of isikhunzi during this phase of the competition:

In sikhunzi, dancing becomes more important than singing. The choristers display individual variations in choreography, unified only by turns to the right or left, and even turning their back to the audience. Untranslatable phrases such as **Hololo mama, Helele mama, Hululu mama, and Heya heya** are used, since direct meaning is not a priority [1979:278] [see tape].⁷⁰

During this time the female patrons, including sweethearts, ascend the stage in quasi-dancing style, humorously imitating the performers on stage to the delight of the audience. Some may be seen dancing on the floor. Those on stage carry with them colourful amaduku [handkerchiefs] with which they wipe sweat off their loved ones, in appreciation and pride. Some even feign ingoma [pretend stick-fighting movements], and execute kicks, comical gyrations and all sorts of gimmicks and ululations. As they descend from the stage they are met by the women who have been dancing on the floor and they dance together.

⁶⁹

Isikhunzi comes from the word "Coons", like the Cape Town Coon Carnivals, reminiscent of the Minstrel stage performances.

⁷⁰

Untranslatable phrases referred to in the quotation are verbalized by umpishi [singular - the leader] when signalling to the group to make a turn, or to change a step.

The dancing of the ladies has nothing to do with the judge's verdict because it takes place before his arrival. It is just an ostentatious display to rival members of the audience, for moral support of their home-boys, and done as endearments to their loved ones on stage.

Whilst showmanship is taking its course, leaders of each group combine to go and search for an adjudicator. The judge is searched for at the right psychological moment since all performers believe that a judge chosen before the competition would be easy to bribe. Choirs do not accept the judgement of another African. "A white judge, for apothecarical reasons was preferred as adjudicator" [Mngoma 1977:11].⁷¹ Mngoma further says:

The adjudicator was not to be known before the psychological moment, lest he be influenced in his choice of winner. A search party was instituted at about midnight or later. The search was usually towards the parts where white people who would like to have a roof over their heads for the night were likely to be found. [ibid].

The search is also timed to coincide with the closing time of European bars and saloons in the city. When they find a judge they explain to him that when judging he must concentrate on "compact harmonization". They tell him that

⁷¹

By 'apothecarical' reasons here, I think Mngoma refers to the preference for white judges thought to be immune from traditional medicinal charms or spells.

he should not take cognizance of choreography since all choirs will be stationary on stage. They also tell him that he should not pay attention to each choir's entry song on stage, for that song is for "warming up" and for pleasing the audience.

7.5.2 Movement, song texts, metaphors and Symbolism

This section deals with songs sung during the initial ukuphrakhthiza session [showing off time], normally from about 8pm to midnight, before the actual competition with the judges commences. The video provided of isicathamiya will show that this session [first session of the competition] is divided into five sections, i.e. the "ring", the journey to the stage and the stage song, the song exiting the stage, and the "shabby ring" after the entire performance. Like idresi of the Zionists, this section is also arranged in an anti-clockwise fashion [see video and illustrations].⁷²

In this part of the competition the performers have the freedom to mix styles. I do not provide an audio recording of the songs in the competitions for my argument is that an audio recording would force us to separate the physical and

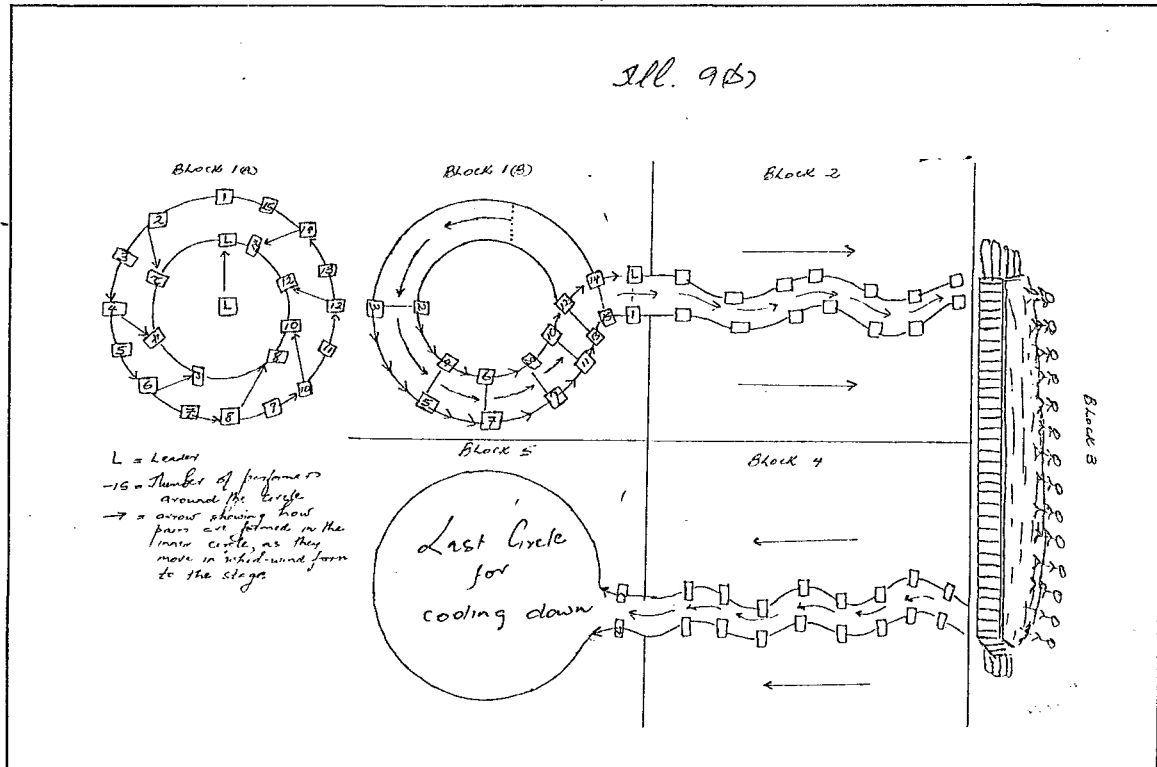
⁷²

The video tape has been provided here because of the difficulty in describing these movements. Secondly video recordings are notations in themselves, and are emic.

the verbal behaviours, whereas the two are interwoven. I feel all African musical styles should be analyzed not from audio recordings alone, but from video as it has the capacity to record the two.

- Here follows the analysis of songs and movements performed by some of the groups in the following video recordings, of 16/10/93 and 31/10/93. Illustrations provided here attempt to show a panoramic view of isicathamiya stage performance. Illustrations in **Blocks** attempt to represent five distinct phases of the journey to the stage as seen by performers [see Illustration 9].

BLOCK 1: WHIRL-WIND



1Illustration 9(b)

The concept of a circle in African performance practice is a ubiquitous feature. This view is espoused by John Blacking in his book, How Musical Is Man, where he discusses the relationship between music and social structure in Venda society:

Musical performances are audible and visible signs of social groups and the degree of their assimilation into the body politic... Music in the traditional style is contained in concentric circles symbolic of Venda houses and dance patterns, and non-traditional music is in rectangles, similar to the European house designs that many educated people have adopted [1976:76].

Similarly, ingoma movement of the Zulus is contained in concentric circles symbolic of Zulu house designs [see Illustrations 5 and 6]. Isikhalanga [sacred movement] of the Zulu Zionists is rooted in Zulu circular design of the kraal with family head [leader] in the centre. Illustration 3 clearly shows that in traditional Zulu culture, the male procession would usually pass through the cattle kraal, the most revered part of the homestead.

Likewise performing groups, before going on stage, form indingilizi [a ring] at the back of the hall.⁷³ The circle in Block 1 shows vocal organization of the leader and choral response. Mention was also made earlier that the hut of the household head was situated at the centre of the kraal, and that he was feared and respected and his commands obeyed. Similarly in isicathamiya, the leader of the group is the only one responsible for starting the song preludes. He is also responsible for initiating choreography, except when taken over by more spirited members. He is also the mentor of the group.

Mention was also made that at the centre of each hut there was iziko [fire-place] for cooking. Similarly the leader of the group positions himself in the middle of the circle. The first circle is for warming up the voices. The leader

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Indingilizi is also likened to isibaya, the kraal, a male preserve [as in isifekezeli in Chapter 2] where the leader [King] sits inside the circle and his subjects surround him.

speaks to them *sotto voce* and thereafter, in quasi praise poetry style, starts the prelude at the top of his voice in bombing mode and members respond likewise. They sing for some time at the top of their voices without moving while bepheka isihomuhomu size sivuthwe [cooking the harmony until well cooked]. Mtshali says the circle is also for building and calling up of umoya, "spiritual wind" which comes as isivunguvungu [whirlwind] [Mtshali:interview 27/11/93].⁷⁴

When the harmony is 'well cooked', "and the voice that goes astray in harmony has been corrected" [Mtshali:ibid], and bodies well heated up and the presence of umoya [ancestral power] is heard and felt, movement starts. The circle then breaks, they form two rows then baguduze [take their meandering or undulating journey to the stage] in fast isifekezeleli [martial] style. Breaking up the circle may be initiated by the leader or anyone in the spirit who says, "ghi", or just starts the movement.

The performers move in an anti-clockwise isikhalanga [Zionist] fashion. There is no vocal improvisation while they are still standing. Improvisation is triggered

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a] Note that the word umoya has multiple meanings among Zulus.
 b] Block A shows a graphic representation of the anti-clockwise movement style, in whirlwind form, when the circle breaks.

by body movement. The body becomes the melody [notation] that takes the performer through the earthly contours until he reaches his destination [cadential points].⁷⁵ The circle is also likened to igoda, literally meaning 'a coiled rope', like a platoon of soldiers that must lidabuke [be uncoiled], kudabuke amafolosi [separation of regiments into two rows] to lead them on their 'journey' to the stage.⁷⁶ Before the regiments separate, the leader will shout a slogan and say, "sa!" or "hebe!", "hey! are you ready!", bengakayithwali, before 'carrying the song'⁷⁷, bavukwe usinga, they become spirited and 'carry it'. The song here is symbolically likened to a load that they can carry on their shoulders.

Mtshali says this gives them the assurance that the song is going to be sung, "in the same way that road diggers shout before lifting a heavy load" [interview 27/11/93]. Because in Block 1 there is no vocal and physical improvisation, songs that are sung here are mostly of a personal nature including advice,

⁷⁵

Note that this section on indingilizi is identical to that of isifekezeli in Chapter 2. In Chapter 2 it is discussed in rural dance styles, whilst here it is discussed showing how it was influenced by rural dance styles. So it is not a duplication.

⁷⁶

Amafolosi here are voice parts.

⁷⁷

Note again the reference to the song as a predator.

individual experiences and noteworthy incidents like the "Desert Storm" in 1991, the war between Saddam Hussein against the whole world.

When asking the performers why the forming of the ring is so essential in the performance they responded:

We do that in order to combine izimpondo zenkunzi "bull's horns" [harmony] and dance steps, at the same time determining isisindo [the weight] of the voices that the leader is going 'to pull along'. Before we present our act on stage we must first make sure how the music sounds. It is not the taking of the key only; we do it to determine our izigqi [footprints] before we embark on the path to the stage [Mtshali of Zulu Home Soldiers: interviews 30/10/1993, 27/11/1993].

When asked what would happen if they went on stage before forming the ring, the response was:

It is what would happen in the war when you go there unprepared. Therefore, when "cooking the song" in the ring we are [siyavivinya/ siyaviva] practising, just like what happens in football before the coach substitutes a player. The substitute has to warm up before going into the field. It happens like that even in music. Even in popular music that employs guitar playing, the strings must first be tuned before the show begins. So we also 'tune our strings'. The leader knows how the strings must sound [Shandu of the N.B.A. Champions:ibid].

BLOCK 2: INDLELA [JOURNEY] TO THE STAGE

The breaking of the circle and the commencement of the movement in Block 1 is called ukupheka izinyawo, "cooking of the feet", and is done as a rehearsal of movement style to be performed in Block 2. There is much vocal and physical improvisation here.

The journey to the stage is a metaphorical one. Mentally performers are traversing indlela, a rural path that meanders and undulates through hills and valleys. Dancing is a stylized form of walking. Performers walk the paths of their lives every single day. Walking and dancing is the spiritualization of the everyday. This is where the concept of walking, determined by izigqi [footprints] comes from. The journey to the stage is a lighthearted one, performed in swaying movements in a comical manner. They perform parodies that imitate the ladies' 'protruding buttocks', and their hands lifted up in a semi-circle fashion, "like the horns of a bull".

Whilst on video the journey appears straight as movements are performed inside the hall, body movements, just like walking, are never straight. Performers say a step cannot be straight because it is not measured. A rural path iyagwinciza [meanders]; it is crooked. The step always starts with the right foot, for it is believed the right foot is masculine. The steps in this block are basically

ordinary right, left, right, left, interspersed with much individual interpolation heightened by ukuvukwa umoya [influence of the spirit] until the singers reach the stage.

- In all cases the songs start with an antiphonal *ad libitum* style, then the basses introduce a rhythmical chordal sequence of I-IV, I-VI-IV, I, then movement commences. To izicathamiyans, the song is not so much in the melody; it is in the body and the words. This block cooks the feet for more complex steps to come on stage.

BLOCK 3: ON STAGE

Block 2 above does not provide much opportunity for the leaders to display their powerful voices because the emphasis here is on journeying to the stage. But here the leaders have ample time in their elaborate song preludes to display their vocal skills. Although there is much interpolation and ukuvukwa umoya in the steps in Block 2, it also does not give them much opportunity to tap on the wooden floors with their shoes because most movements are ordinary right, left, right, left steps progressing to the stage. In this way, Block 2 is to some extent restrictive. It is for this reason that performers are seldom serenaded by their loved ones en route to the stage.

Performers even say, like the rural path, the path to the stage is narrow; 'dust cannot appear on a narrow rural path'. That is why there is less improvisation in Block 2 because they do not want to deviate too much from the leader's izigqi [footprints]. Once on stage they form a straight line. There is much activity here because there is more time spent on stage. Normally groups are required to sing one song and leave the stage. But some groups perform two to three items when sebesemoyeni [they are in spirit]. It is their destination. Performance here is well structured. Like the Zionists, you cannot be spirited if your body is cold. Umzimba kufanele uze ubile [your body has to be pre-heated first], and to borrow from the English expression, "you have to sweat like a lizard" before you enter into the spiritual realm.

But it must be explained here that not all individuals are able to pre-heat their bodies to become spirited. Only certain individuals are endowed with this gift. It is usually those that are cleansed, those that have undergone all the rites of passage like ukuphalaza, ukuqguma, ukuncinda [discussed earlier], and those wearing iziphandla [arm-bands] and ubuhlalu, [beads, necklaces], given them by elders in the community.

Leadership authority is clearly demonstrated in these performances. Some group leaders carry izinduku [rods]; some pretend to be carrying spears [with which to stab the enemies]. The rod is used to control, direct and emphasize leader

and choral response. There is much movement on stage. In some movements they face the audience then turn around to face the wall. In fact the wall is an 'imaginary audience', akin to the rural kraal at home, where members of the audience are seated in circular form. They move sideways, lean on each other, interlock with their arms, and perform all sorts of gyrations and shoulder-high kicks in ingoma style [see ingoma on video, as well as leader and choral response].

I asked one of the performers casually why they do not form a ring before they sing other items on stage, and the reply was that before you take a long journey by car you must first service it; once it is serviced you become certain it will not fail you on the road, and you will therefore not stop at service stations for more service [Mtshali:interview 27/10/93]. Hamilton Khumalo of N.B.A. Champions says the stage performance is reminiscent of war drills and wedding songs at home [ibid]. And Dlamini of Lucky Stars says:

When we go to stage we go there imitating warriors going to war. When you see women following us and clapping hands you must know that they behave in exactly the same manner as they do at home when warriors are going to war, dancing, ululating, whistling, entering and exciting the male procession. They are always there to encourage them [interview: ibid]].

Performers say in Blocks 1 and 2 basuke befihle indulu emqubeni [Zulu saying - They were still hiding their sticks in the manure, literally meaning that they were

still withholding their best strokes]. As Dlamini mentions above, the video will show that there is much ululation, whistling and clapping by women and even men here. The stage is indawo yokudlisela [the place for exhibiting one's creative genius] and lapho kushunqa khona uthuli [where dušt áppears].

BLOCK 4. RETURN JOURNEY

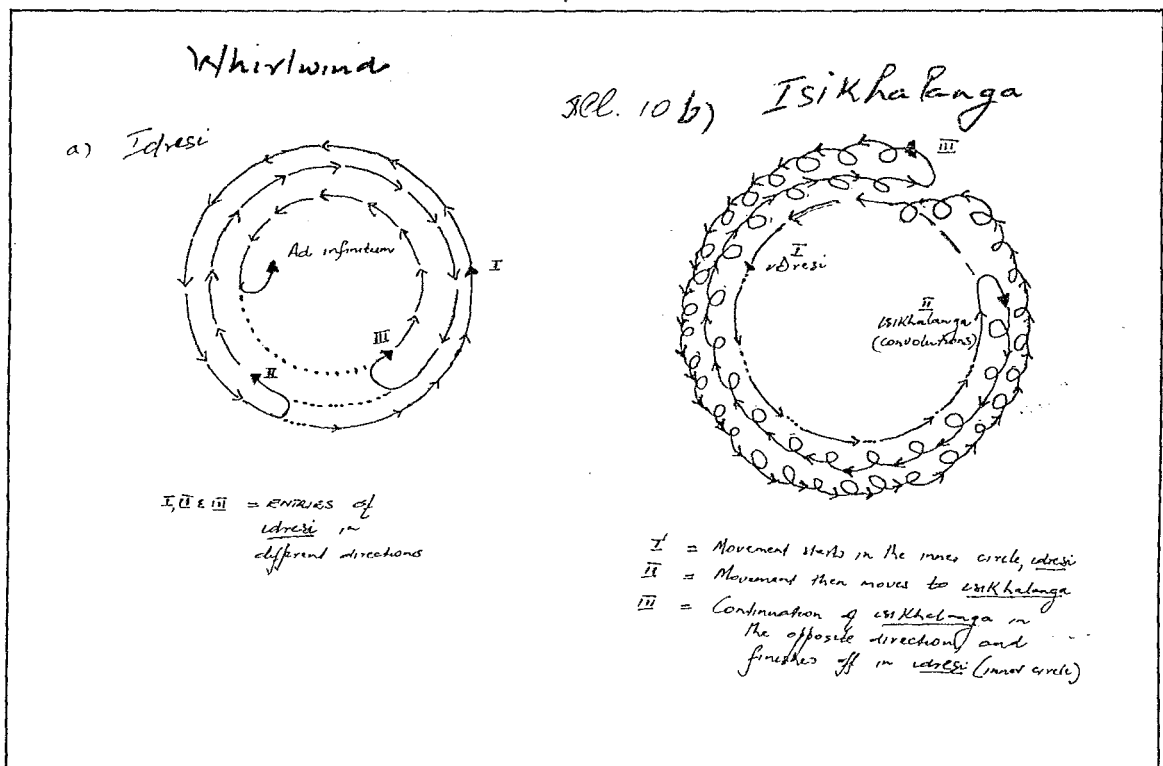
The return journey starts almost like the one in Block 2. The only difference here is that on stage they perform in a straight line. After the last song on stage, the leader begins the exit song which is similar in character to the one for going on stage. These are usually fast moving songs in 1-1V, 1-VI-IV, I, progression that provide a quasi walking rhythm. The journey meanders again like in Block 2. There is less employment of umoya in this block as groups gear themselves for the "cooling" session discussed below.

BLOCK 5 :THE LAST CIRCLE

Although on stage men perform in a straight line, after they leave the stage in rows of two on the opposite side from which they entered, the circle is completed again. Once they reach the back of the hall they do not just disperse, but form a rough circle where bepholisa ukushisa [they cool down] and disperse [Mtshali:interview 27/10/93] [see Illustration 9a block 5]. diagram]. It is a game of circles, and practically all choirs behave in this manner.

7.5.3 The Zionist Dimension: Circle, Bull's Horns and The Whirlwind [illustration 10]

It is common knowledge that some Zionists worship in the open, and according to Mtshali, "They worship anywhere, even under the trees because God is everywhere. They are down-to-earth people like us" [interview: 27/10/93].



1Illustration 10

When Zionists move round in circles in idresi and isikhalanga, they are representing social life and the circular designs of Zulu social structure. To those Zionists worshipping in the open, the open space is reminiscent of isibaya [cattle kraal]. Although worshipping here involves both males and females, in

Zulu tradition the cattle kraal is a male reserve. Like in the kraal they form a circle with the preacher in the middle and they sing and dance in isifekezeli style as in isicathamiya.

Unlike in isicathamiya performance which is performed inside halls, Zionists who worship in the open do not uncoil their igoda [ring] because their ritual stage is the open air. Even to those who worship inside their homes, in living rooms, garages, verandas or similar enclosures, the "ring" does not uncoil. In isicathamiya the "ring" uncoils because they have to go on stage and perform to an audience. Here there is no audience; everybody is part of the rotational process.

Zionist music, unlike isicathamiya, is mainly religious, employing faster rhythms in their idresi and isikhalanga, "sacred movement systems". Movement here is as important as drumming. Harmonies and rhythm interlock for they are perceived as one unit, involving the stirring of the whole body.

The video tape will show that when worshipping at their revivals the Zionists form idresi [a line], following one another. And this line involves walking steps and running around in the circle [see video] ⁷⁸. Movement in this line is

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See choreography section.

performed clockwise and anti-clockwise, almost in traditional isifekezeli style. The difference is that idresi is performed moving sideways [see illustrations 10a and b and video].

After several revolutions during which the singing, dancing and drumming increase in volume, the dancers move into the faster isikhalanga version of the dance, where there is isivunguvungu somoya [whirlwind], and much of amandla omoya, [spiritual power] to be used in their healing rituals.⁷⁹ The video will show that while there is a series of convolutions, inside the circle there is a preacher praying for a sick person. It is also a clock-wise and anti-clockwise movement in constant rotation, in whirlwind form. The result is the formation of concentric 'circles', which is very strenuous as it goes on for endless hours. Zionists say during these rotations they huba ingoma ize ivuthwe [cook the songs until well cooked], that is until the songs and their bodies are well heated up.

Isikhalanga is mostly performed by men as it involves running in circles. As a result women easily get fatigued as it involves many hours of running. Women do not have power [amandla] to sustain the whole gamut of isikhalanga dance because it is fast. But women are able to sustain if they have fasted; if they have umoya [Mangcobo: interview 28/10/94].

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The term isikhalanga is believed to have originated from a tribe called "Amakhalanga" of Botswana near Francistown, who speak isikhalanga, a language similar to Shona.

Those members of the congregation who are not part of the rotational part of isikhalanga sympathize by singing and clapping hands. The joining of the rotational process comes extemporaneously and must happen at the end of the rough circle because the idea is to ukwakha amandla [to build power] from behind, from the people at the end of the circle. As was explained in our discussion of the "bull's horns" in section 7.2, the 'power' to propel the song and dance must come from behind, from the people at the end of the circle.

Uninitiated or inexperienced performers tend to become giddy, even losing balance and falling down as a result of constant rotation. According to informants, only those "purified" are able to perform the dance without falling down. In the performance of isikhalanga, the vocal choral singing is enriched by interpolations by individual singers who explore all rhythmic, tonal and harmonic possibilities of the music whilst the spiralling dancers execute a seemingly endless series of convolutions without falling down [see video]. Although isicathamiya performers do not use drums in their performances, foot-stamping that goes with the steps hints at drumming. It is for this reason that Mtshali says, "The walking steps and the running around in circles of the Zionists' isikhalanga is identical to our traditional isifekezeli style, "fast, martial tempo" [interview, 16/10/1993].⁸⁰

⁸⁰

There is more discussion of isifekezeli in Chapter 7.

7.5.4 isicathamiya dimension

[Groups recorded on the 27/11/93 at the Y.M.C.A. in Durban]

This section will focus mainly on the descriptions of actual isicathamiya performances that take place in the 'city kraals', the hostel halls. We shall see how they "cook their songs" in circles, the whirlwind, the indlela [journey] to the stage and how other movement styles like the "bulls horns" are enacted. The performances described below are the same performances as on the video, and are in the same order.⁸¹

All groups start by singing a short prelude inside the circle as a way of balancing the voice parts and inviting the presence of umoya. The song is sung without movement. The movement inside the circle is in the Zionists' isikhalanga tradition [see isikhalanga discussion above].

⁸¹ see section 7.5.2 regarding the significance of forming a circle before going on stage and forming another circle after the performance as seen in the illustrations.

1. FAIRVIEW, LED BY

WALTER MJOLI

fairview

CIRCLE: Short preludeENTRY SONG:

ZIPH'IZINTOBI

[WHERE ARE THE LADIES]

Mana lapha ntombi

Stop here Lady

ngicela ukukhuluma nawe

I want to talk to you

ziphi izintombi la ekhaya

where are the ladies here at home

hawu! we ndoda saze sasala sodwa

Oh! we men are left alone

ngoba izintombi azisekho la ekhaya

because there are no ladies here at home

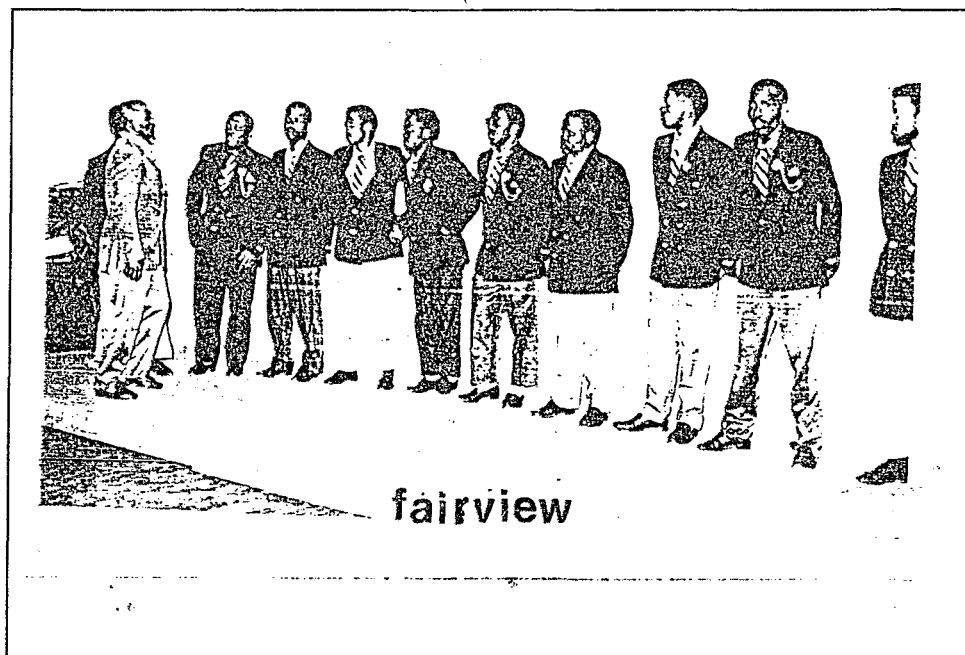


Forming a Circle

MOVEMENT STYLE: LIKE THE HORNS OF A BULL

The movement is in isifekezeli style, in ordinary left and right wedding song swaying movements. Performers enter in uklele fashion [in twos] after breaking away from the circle. Here they enter with their hands shaped "like the bull's horns", whilst one of them feigns ingoma dance. When asking them why they

shape their hands like that the response was that "we do it for **balancing the voice parts**; all of us must balance the song. As you see when we do like this the movement becomes strong like the bull's horns" [Mjoli of Fairview: interview 30/10/1993].



On the stage

Explanation: It is an ordinary love song by men working in the cities, who are returning home for Christmas and still hoping to find rural women behaving better than those in the city, and they are astonished to find that moral decay is everywhere.

STAGE SONG: QAPHELANI ZINTSIZWA [MEN BEWARE]

Qaphelani, qaphelani zintsizwa
 Beware, beware gentlemen
yekanini ukuhlala emajoyintini
 do not loaf in the "joints"⁸²
izintombi zihleli zodwa emakhaya
 ladies are alone at home
nibe nisazi kahle hle
 whilst you know very well
ukuthi abantu besifazane
 that women folk
baningi kwabesilisa
 outnumber male folk
hlukanani nokuhlala emajoyintini
 refrain from loafing in the joints

MOVEMENT STYLE: "TO HOOK, TO JOIN THE SONG UNTIL IT'S SOLID"
[WITH SHOE ACCOMPANIMENT]

When singing this song I noticed that all of the performers clasp hands with each other and also lean on one another. When asked why they do it, they said it is called ukuhuka [interlocking of hands], and ukuhlanganisa ingoma iqine [to combine the song until it is solid] so that they all "unite" their bodies before doing a step. I also noticed that this group was hitting hard on the floor; the reason given was that they were mixing tip-toeing, indlamu and isicathulo.

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Word borrowed from English "joints", meaning "in shebeens or illegal liquor spots".

That is why there appears to be shoe accompaniment in this particular song. Msimanga confirmed it by saying, "Although isicathamiya does not hit hard on the floor, sometimes it becomes necessary to do it because the noise produced by stamping kubafaka umfutho [enlivens them] [ibid]. And Walter Mjozi [co-leader] says:

It also depends on isigqi sengoma [the rhythm of the song], because simultaneous stamping makes the song to be full. But some songs do not require this kind of accompaniment [ibid].

Explanation: This is a song of advice to unmarried men who waste their time drinking liquor while women are waiting to be courted at home.

CIRCLE: NB. Fairview did not perform the exit song and as a result there was no closing circle.

2. NONGOMA BLACK TYCOONS. LED BY JUSTICE LUVUNO

CIRCLE: Singing of a short prelude. These short preludes are not rehearsed and cannot be pre-determined. The leader decides on the spot which prelude to sing on the day. Sometimes leaders come up with preludes spontaneously and members respond. These preludes are a sort of voice exercises without discernible words. Here the emphasis is not on the words but on preparing the

nongomà black tycoons



voice. Then the leader starts the entry song and the group responds; they are still stationary except for the song leader who moves up and down, gesticulating in ingoma style. Movement starts when one of the members shouts, "qi, qi", then the circle breaks and they continue singing the song below as they journey to the stage.

Forming a Circle

ENTRY SONG: WATHINTA ABANGATHINTWA [YOU HAVE TOUCHED THE UNTOUCHABLES]

Uye wathinta amaTycoons
 You touched the Tycoons
wathinta abangathintwa
 you touched the untouchables
uyokhala la esephendula khona
 you will cry when they reply

SIMILE: MOVING LIKE PEACOCKS

MOVEMENT STYLE: Raking movements performed with great pride and arrogance. Luvuno says "We are moving like peacocks to show our adversaries that we are the untouchables" [ibid]. In the video you can even see by the position of the hands that they were imitating arrogant peacocks and were swaying their hips like women.



On the stage

Explanation: The above song came about when they were ill-treated by other groups, who will cry when they take their revenge.

STAGE SONG: EZIKABANI LEZINKOMO [WHOSE COWS ARE THESE]

Ezikabani lezinkomo ezingalobola into enje

Whose cows are these that can lobola a thing like this

ezikababa lezinkomo ezingalobola into enje

is it father's cows that can lobola a thing like this

Hamba dali hamba

Go, darling go

MOVEMENT STYLE: Wedding song style mixed with tip-toeing and isicathulo.

Explanation: Apparently cows were taken from the kraal to

lobola⁸³ a lady with loose morals, without the required consent of the male, as was the case long ago. When the male saw the would-be bride he remonstrated and chased the lady away.

EXIT SONG: a) AZOKUSHIYA UPHEMILE AMA BLACK TYCOONS

[THE BLACK TYCOONS WILL LEAVE YOU "PERMED"]

Azokushiya uphemile ama Black Tycoons

They will leave you "permed", the Black Tycoons⁸⁴

⁸³

Lobola is bridewealth.

⁸⁴

The word "permed" colloquially means to 'curl' your hair, which has become an in thing with Black South Africans, males and females. Now the term 'perm' is a colloquial proverb; when a person says ngizokushiya uphemile, "I will leave you permed", it could either mean leaving you agape or leaving you in deep trouble.

MOVEMENT STYLE: The chorus moves in wedding song style and the leader moves up and down as if fighting an invisible enemy.

EXIT SONG: b) **NGIBOLEKE IMBAZO [LEND ME AN AXE]**

Awungiboleke imbazo ngishaye nazi izitha zami

Lend me an axe to fight my enemies

Vala lana, uvelaphi umfana wembazo

Close here, where is the axe boy coming from

MOVEMENT STYLE: Wedding song style as they move out to the circle.

CIRCLE: Circle closed

METAPHOR: THE AXE IS THE MIND

Explanation: Here Luvuno says they are asking God to give them strength to fight their enemies. "The axe is the strength in the mind" to fight enemies. When he says "close here" he means you should close your mouth but open your mind because you will be using your mind to axe your enemies.

3. JAMA LUCKY STARS, LED BY WELLINGTON DLAMINI

CIRCLE: **UNYAKA KA 1991 [THE YEAR 1991]**

This group is the only one that does not have a short prelude before the entry song. When asked about this the leader responded that the song was like a hymn or a prayer and thus a prelude was not necessary.

Kuthina u1991 kwakungunyaka omubi
 To us 1991 was a bad year
bekungunyaka weziphithiphithi
 it was a year of turbulence
unyaka wezinyembezi
 the year of tears
awubheke nase iRaq
 just look even at iRaq
kwabhujwa kwaphela
 people were destroyed
kwaphahlazeka namabhanoyi
 and aeroplanes crashed
kwakungunyaka omubi
 it was a bad year
abantsundu bebulalana bodwa
 Black people killing each other
bentshontshelana bodwa
 and stealing from each other
kwakungunyaka wezinyembezi
 it was a year of tears

A YEAR OF TEARS

Explanation: The song refers to political disturbances after the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, to Saddam Hussein's offensive against Kuwait in 1991, to plane crashes and black people killing each other.



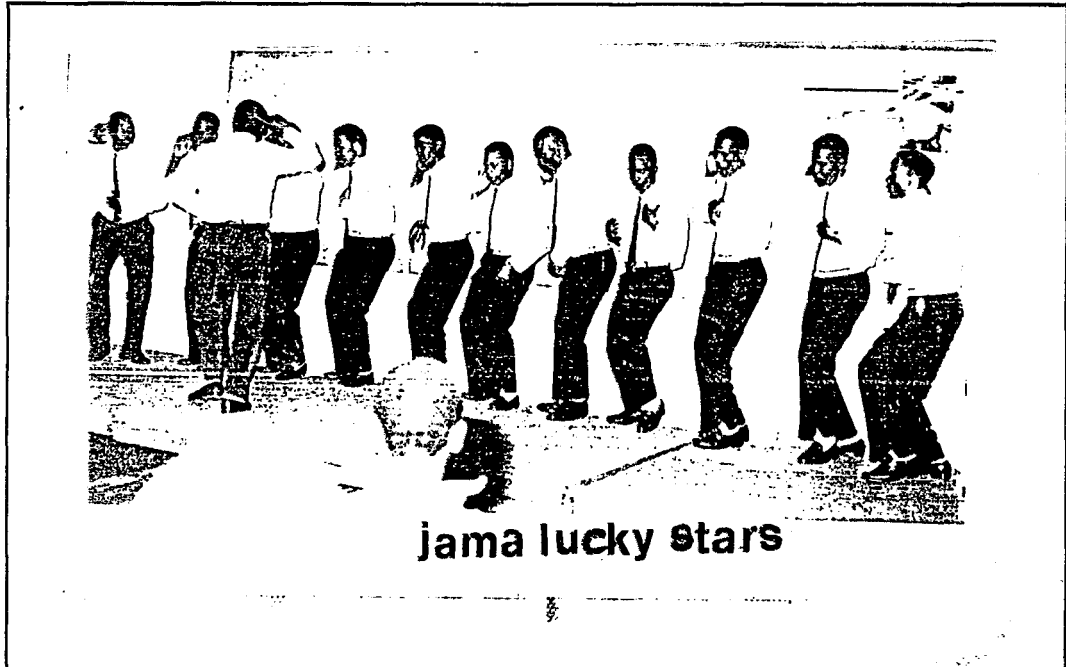
Jama lucky stars

Forming a Circle

ENTRY SONG: BATHETHELELE JAMA [HAVE MERCY ON THEM JAMA]

Bathethelele Jama abakwazi abakwenzayo
 Have mercy on them Jama, they do not know what they are doing
uhleka mina nje, siphundu kawuboni,

you are laughing at me, occiput⁸⁵, you cannot see
abanye bahleka wena
 some are laughing at you



On the stage

MOVEMENT STYLE: The song starts inside the circle without movement. One member shouts, "Athi!" then movement begins and the circle breaks into two lines. Someone shouts again, "Grrr, huh!", then the swaying of hands from side to side begins as they journey to the stage in isifekezeli style.

STAGE SONG: SHWELE BABA [SORRY FATHER]

⁸⁵See Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi, 1990, English-Zulu Zulu-English Dictionary. Johannesburg: Witwaterstrand University Press.

Nkulunkulu wokulunga
 God of Goodness
sinciphisele izintsizi
 lessen our sorrows
nezinhlupheko zomhlaba
 and sufferings of this world
sibona lolusizi olungaka
 we see much suffering
olwehlele emhlabeni
 that is descending on earth
phezu kwesizwe esintsundu
 on top of Black people
Kwaqala ngo 1987
 It started in 1987
ngezimvula ezinkulu
 when there were floods
kwakudilika izindonga
 walls collapsed
kudilika izintaba
 and mountains fell
kuvumbhuluka namathuna
 and the graves were unearthed
namathambo abantu abangcwatshwa kudala
 and the bones of long buried people
Kwathi ngo 1990
 Then in 1990
lapho kwenzeka izimanga
 where wonders happened
sigwazana ngemikhonto
 people stabbing each other with spears
sidubulana ngezibhamu
 and shooting each other with guns
sishisana ngemililo
 people burning each other
Shwele Baba, shwele baba
 Oh Father!, oh Father!
siyashweleza Mdali weZulu nomhlaba
 have mercy on us Creator of Heaven and Earth
Baba simakade hlala nathi
 Father, Ancient of Days, stay with us
kuze kufike isikhathi seNew South Africa
 until the time of the New South Afrika comes

MOVEMENT STYLE: Slow and reverential, in ihubo style.

ELEGY IN IHUBO STYLE

Explanation: The song explains the sorrows and sufferings endured by Black South Africans over the years and goes on to lament the 1987 floods that killed scores of people. The singers even lament the black on black violence that erupted shortly after the release of Nelson Mandela as a result of political rivalry.

EXIT SONG: NGIBAMBE S'DUDLA [HOLD ME FATTY]

Ngibambe s'dudla
 Hold me fat girl
ngibambe ungisondeze
 hold me close to you

PARODY

MOVEMENT STYLE: In wedding song style.

Explanation: This song is just for playing, for entertaining the audience. It is a parody, reminiscent of the dance performed by fat women at a wedding ceremony. When dancing the women ziyazabalaza [stand firm, refuse to give way] and zidunuselane, [protrude buttocks at each other]. The fat women do this nicely and slowly. They even hold their stomachs as women do. This takes place during the first half of the competition, just to make people laugh and to while away time before the real competition begins. After mimicking the fat women the dance is then mixed with a more masculine ingoma step as they

exit the stage.

CIRCLE. They retire into the circle.

4. ZULU MESSENGERS, LED BY MZIKAYISE BELFAS NXUMALO [ZWIDE]

THE CIRCLE: A short prelude sung without movement. The leader starts the song below. There is a whistle by one of the group members; the leader moves first and the circle breaks as all members move en route to the stage.

ENTRY SONG:

UMLILO WASHISWA NGUBANI?

[WHO LIT THE FIRE?]

**Umlilo ovutha lapha washiswa
ngubani**

The fire that is burning, who lit it?

**Ntombela thela amanzi abantu,
bayakhala**

Ntombela pour water people are
crying

**Umlilo ovutha lana washiswa
uZwide**

The burning fire was lit by Zwide

abantu bayakhala

people are crying

uyasha umlilo

the fire is burning



MOVEMENT STYLE: In indlamu **Forming a Circle**

style characterized by hard stamping on the floor. There is much shuffling with

the feet plus ukusikaza, "feigning stick fighting" by the leader as well. The movement style changes when the leader shouts, "Kwathi homm!", then they change to tip-toeing, crossing legs, kicking back and forth as they move steadily to the stage. The shout, "Hi!" initiates a change to the lifting and suspending of the feet in the air, one step forward and one backwards. One member claps and the movement changes again. Someone shouts, "Shiya!" [leave it!] and the movement stops at that.



On the stage

SONGAS AN INFERNO

Explanation: People used to listen to them rehearsing and Ntombela was already with them at the time. And they used to remark, "The fire is burning here, you are doing a nice thing". Then Ntombela composed a song about this, "Ntombela should pour water on the fire as people are crying". "Crying here meant people

were applauding us. Then we explained that the fire was lit by Zwide, clan name of the leader".⁸⁶

ON STAGE: ABANTU MABAYEKE IMBHAMBHA

[PEOPLE SHOULD STOP DRINKING IMBHAMBHA]

Tshelani abantu bayeke imbhambha⁸⁷
 Tell people to stop drinking imbhambha
ngoba lobutshwala bubu budla amaphaphu
 Because this bad liquor damages lungs

MOVEMENT STYLE: In indlamu style with members holding each other's hands in an interlocking fashion. They move right, left, front, cross their legs and kick simultaneously but not as airborne as in ingoma.

EXIT SONG: NANTI IZEMBE [HERE IS AN AXE]

Nanti izembe, izembe, izembe
 Here is an axe, axe, axe

MOVEMENT STYLE: In ingoma dance style plus swaying movements.

⁸⁶

Mention must be made here that Zwide has the highest and the loudest voice in this idiom. When people were saying "the fire is burning" they were referring to his deafening voice.

⁸⁷

Imbhambha is also called isigatha, home-brewed alcohol.

SONG AS AN AXE

Explanation: Here is an axe with which they are going to guillotine all the groups that stand on their way. They sing this song as they exit the stage.

CIRCLE: The circle is closed.

5. ZULU HOME SOLDIERS, LED BY LEONARD MTSHALI

CIRCLE: A short prelude performed without movement. Then the leader starts the entry song. The circle breaks into two lines when one spirited member starts movement in wedding song style. The group's hands are held like the "bull's horns" as they journey to the stage.



ENTRY SONG : KWANOBAMBA [AT NOBAMBA]

Asinandaba kwaNobamba kubi
We do not care, it is bad at
Nobamba
woza wemfo kandlebe
zikhanyilanga⁸⁸

zulu home soldiers

Forming a Circle

⁸⁸

"Ndlebe zikhanya ilanga" is a white man, because when it is

come you brother with ears that glow in the sun
kusho thina
 we are saying it

MOVEMENT STYLE: Swaying movements with indlamu element of individual display.

Explanation: KwaNobamba is their homestead. Apparently the situation is bad and all fingers point towards an infamous white man who has come to trade in the village.

ON STAGE: MTHWALO ZETHULE [BAGGAGE, OFFLOAD YOURSELF]

Mthwalo zethule ngoba nguwe owazethwesa
 Baggage offload yourself because have you burdened yourself
Thula ntoyami, ngoba nguwe owaiayo
 Quiet my thing, because it is you who is refusing
namhla sebekushiyile, nami usungikhumbule
 today they have left you, and you have remembered me
lezontombi ezamasosha
 these are the soldiers' ladies⁸⁹

hot his ears get red.

⁸⁹

Ladies of the Zulu Home Soldiers.



On the stage

MOVEMENT STEP: The leader is carrying induku [a stick] with which he signals the entries. The song is performed in very slow swaying movements, characterized by lifting up the feet, kicking, lifting up the feet again and suspending them in the air, moving forwards and sideways and crossing over the left, pointing down to their shoes, kicking front and back, facing the wall and making a spiral turn to the audience [see ingoma spiralling technique on video].

There is much individual ad libbing here. Mtshali says it is because they were trying to mix many styles to excite the audience. When a spirited member shouts, "Qi, qi!", the steps change; they face the front, then left, then turn to

face the wall. Another shout, "Nu, nu!", and the feet are suspended in the air whilst facing the wall. "Qi, qi!" again, they cross legs, tip-toe and turn to face the audience. "Qi, qi!", they suspend their feet, tap on the floor and turn again to face the audience. "Qo, qo!", they hold each other, kick, suspend left feet in the air. "Guqu!", they point to the ground, lift their left feet and kick. "Qiqi!" to stop the action.

Notice that the audience is worked up to a frenzy by this choreography to such an extent that one man walks up to some dancers and gives them R20 notes. This is called ukwakha.⁹⁰

PERSONIFICATION

Explanation: "The baggage must off-load itself because it has burdened itself", personifies a lady who creates a problem for herself by deserting her lover, and when things turn sour for her she decides to come back. The song reminds her that they are soldiers who do not have time for women.

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Commonly it is women [usually sweethearts or home girls] who get excited, climb the stage to go and kwakha, "show appreciation". Sometimes they put ucu, "a bead", or a handkerchief around the neck of the performers to show that "this is mine, he is an untouchable", as a way to ward off other ladies. But according to Mtshali, the R20 note is purely window dressing. It comes back after the show.

EXIT SONG: MUSA UKUNGIBAMBA AMASHOPS [DO NOT HOLD MY HIPS]

Ungibamba amashops
 Don't hold my shops⁹¹
uzongihlanyisa
 you will make me mad
 Baby, baby

-MOVEMENT STYLE: Swaying movements in wedding style: right, left, left with the feet and many other variations. Three of them are left behind performing the same movement whilst the rest separate into two rows. Someone shouts, "Si!" and the movement changes to ordinary right, left, still in wedding style. At the shout of "Ithi!", the movement changes to three taps on the floor with the right foot, left foot back, front and back to the right, left in wedding style as they exit the stage.

Explanation: Immoral women like to hold and caress men on the hips when dancing. Mtshali scolds them for doing that as he will be aroused in front of people.

CIRCLE: Circle is closed.

⁹¹

"Shops" are the hips.

6. NONGOMA MASTER VOICE, LED BY VUSI MAGWAZA

CIRCLE: A short prelude. The leader starts the entry song. They all move simultaneously; the circle breaks into two rows as they sing en route to the stage.

ENTRY SONG:

WATHINTA THINA NJE
[YOU ARE TOUCHING US]

Wathinta thina nje
You are touching us
wathinta amabhubesi
you are touching the lions
wayithinta inkunzi ebomvu
you have touched the red bull
wensizwa uzoyidela inkani
you gentleman you will see
the wrath of the untouchables



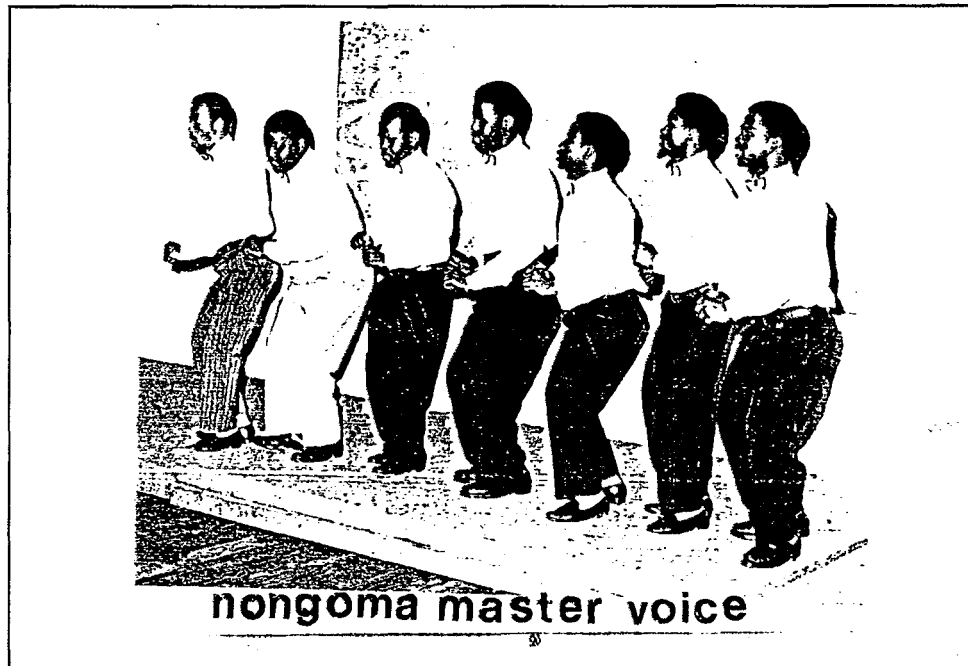
Forming a Circle

MOVEMENT STYLE: In wedding style, with swaying movements

THE UNTOUCHABLES

Explanation: In trying to find out the meaning of the song Vusi Magwaza responded:

just like in the kraal where the red bull overpowers all other cows, just like in the forest where the lion roars with ferocity, just like in these competitions, anyone touching us would have touched the untouchables [ibid].



On the stage

ON STAGE: MAMA WEZINGANE [MOTHER OF THE CHILDREN]

Mama wezingane ngenza iphutha
 Mother of the children I made a mistake
ngalahla abazali kunye nabantwana
 I deserted my parents and children
Mtakwethu Rosi ngenza iphutha ngalahla
 My Darling Rosi I made a mistake by deserting
abazali nabantwana.

my parents and children
Akasangibhaleli nencwadi encane
 She does not write me even a small letter
uthule ucabangani
 you are quiet, what are you thinking
uzobuyanini
 when are you coming back
ngake ngambhalela impendulo angayithola
 I once wrote and I have not received a reply

MOVEMENT STYLE: Here it is the leader that starts the movement. The leader points here and there as they move in isifekezeli style with hand gestures simulating "He does not write me even a small letter", "You are quiet, what are you thinking", "When are you coming back". Steps are characterized by lifting the feet, kicking to the front and back in ingoma style. A spirited group member lurches forward to start a step and the chorus joins in the step.

Explanation: "I was just thinking of an unfaithful person who deserted his family and belatedly discovered his mistakes" [Vusi Magwaza: interview 16/10/93].

EXIT SONG: ESIBAYENI [IN THE CATTLE KRAAL]

Esibayeni inkomo iyodwa
 In the cattle kraal there is one cow
ngaqoma uhembe linye
 I accepted a wearer of one shirt
uyaliwasha, uyalilinda loze lome
 he washes it and waits for it to dry

MOVEMENT STYLE : The leader starts the movement for exiting the stage in

isifekezeli style.

Explanation: Here a lady is complaining about the poor husband she married.

He has one cow in the kraal, wears one shirt and waits for it to dry.

CIRCLE: Circle is closed.

7. N.B.A. CHAMPIONS, LED BY HAMILTON MBATHA

[Recording of the 16/10/93 performance at the Y.M.C.A in Durban].

CIRCLE: A short prelude then the leader starts the entry song and they break into two rows as they journey to the stage.

ENTRY SONG:

NGIVUMA AMATHONGO AMNYAMA

[SINGING FOR MY BLACK ANCESTORS]

Uma sivuma lengoma

When we sing this song

kuvuma obabamkhulu kuvuma amathongo amnyama

Our grandfathers and black ancestors agree

Yash'imizi yobaba

Houses of our fathers would burn

MOVEMENT STYLE: In isifekezeli style. "We enter the stage with great pride and arrogance because we want our dance to be colourful and meticulous"

[Mbatha:27/10/93].

ANCESTRAL SONG

Explanation: Before they sing, their ancestors must first agree, otherwise catastrophes would befall. This explanation does not refer to singing per se, but to underscore the edict that ancestors must first be consulted before one arranges umuga [a function], otherwise the houses would burn from their wrath.

ON STAGE: UMHLABA KAWUNONI

[THE EARTH DOES NOT GET FERTILE]

Umhlaba kawunoni ngezinkani zabantu

The earth does not become fertile with people's stubbornness

ngoba kade wawugqiba izintombi nezintsizwa

because many ladies and gentlemen are buried under it

Siyizinyoni ezibomvu

We are the red birds

ngeke sathintwa yilutho

no one can touch us

ngoba sihamba noMsindisi

because we walk with the Lord

KALEIDOSCOPIC DANCE PATTERNS⁹²

MOVEMENT STYLE: The leader moves up and down, gesticulating in ingoma style. He starts the step slowly, right, left, right left while the chorus moves in wedding song style. At the shout of "Heyi wena" [hey you!] the step changes and they hook each others' hands, move sideways, kick, cross legs and kick. "Heyi wena!", they lean on each other, kick, move sideways, kick high as in indlamu style, left, right.

⁹² changing movement patterns and quick variations.

When asking them why they stand so close to each other when singing this song, kicking simultaneously with variations, the answer was: "Our step...is an attempt to show off to the audience and show variations of the dance" [Mbatha:ibid].

Explanation: SIMILE: LIKE BIRDS, UNTOUCHABLES

Q: Who are the red birds, is it you?

A: Yes.

Q: Why do you liken yourselves to birds?

A: Because we wear red attire. Just like isigwa [the bird], the bird that changes colours according to seasons [Hamilton Mbatha: Interview 16/10/93].

Exit song a): KHULUMANI SIZWE [TALK, LET US HEAR]

Khuluma sizwe

Talk let us hear

ubani ongavuma lengoma

Who can sing this song

MOVEMENT STYLE: As in ingoma style, the leader kneels down; akhuze [shouts], walks up and down, gesticulating like a transmogrified warrior stabbing an invisible opponent, while the group stands still. The leader shouts, "Ashe!", then the group engages in movement in isifekezeli style. The leader shouts again, "Ashe!" and the movement gets faster as they leave the stage.

When asked why he knelt down, pointing here and there, moving forwards and

sideways, he said he was doing indlamu movements and added, "I do this when I hear the members responding nicely, giving me inspiration, or when I want to inspire them".

Explanation: In trying to establish the meaning of this song Mbatha responded:

When we sing a song before doing Zulu dance, we say biza wethu!, [call it friend!] [meaning someone must shout the praises], then he will shout our praises briefly and then lead us to dance movements. Now I introduced this short piece as a prelude to our exiting dance movements [ibid].

EXIT SONG b): EBABANANGO [AT BABANANGO]

Safika benze umhlangano eBabanango

We arrived when they were in the meeting at Babanango

safika savuma ingoma labaleka ijaji

we came and sang and the judge ran away

MOVEMENT STYLE: In ingoma dance style

Explanation: This song is about how they were unfairly treated at Babanango isicathamiya competitions. In defiance a scuffle arose and the judges ran away because they did not declare them the winners.

CIRCLE: Circle is closed.

8. JAMA LUCKY STARS, LED BY WELLINGTON DLAMINI

[Recording of the 16/10/93 performance at the Y.M.C.A. in Durban. This group has already been discussed above]

CIRCLE: A short prelude sung without movement then the leader starts the entry song and shouts, "Bhlud!" [untranslatable syllables], then the circle breaks into two as the group commences movement.

ENTRY SONG: ASAMBHENI BAFANA BAKWAJAMA

[LET US GO JAMA BOYS]

Asambheni bafana bakwaJama

Let us go Jama boys

siyobona amaqhawe akwaMsholoz

to see the heroes of Msholoz

esifundeni sikaZuma eNtolwane

at Zuma's village at Ntolwane

Sikhulekile ekhaya bab'uZuma

We greet you in your kraal Father Zuma

isisu somhambi singangenso yenyoni⁹³

a traveller's stomach is like a bird's kidney

Sayithola indawo yokulala kwaZuma

We got a sleeping place at Zuma's

igama layo kuseNingizimu

the name of the place is the South

savuka ekuseni sabona isimanga

we woke up in the morning and saw a wonder

sabona itshe esingalazi phesheya koThukela

we saw a stone we did not know across the Thukela

sabuza igama lalo

we asked its name

bathi itshe likaNtunjambili

they said its the stone of Ntunjambili

Sase sithatha uhambo siya kaNtunjambili

Then we undertook a journey to Ntunjambili

sathi sifika kwaNtunjambili

when we arrived at Ntunjambili

sabona umfula wezimangaliso

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A famous proverb said whenever you ask for food in a distant land.

we saw a river of wonders
namanzi abilayo
 and boiling water
Awu!, awu!, siyakwesaba itshe likaNtunjambili
 Oh!, oh, we are afraid of you stone of Ntunjambili
Bathi abadala alivulwa ngabantu
 old people say it is not opened by people
livulwa zinkonjane
 it is opened by swallows
ezihamba phezulu
 flying in the sky

MOVEMENT STYLE: The leader feigns 'stick-fighting' here as the group moves in isifekezeli style.

PROVERBIAL

Explanation: The song talks about a wonderful place called KwaNtunjambili, situated in the heart of Zululand where there is a river coming from a stone. The song goes on to say that no one dares go near the stone, except to drink from the river that flows from it. The stone is protected by the swallows flying in the sky because they are the ones that drink directly from it.

Stage song: a) **BATHETHELELE JAMA**
 [HAVE MERCY ON THEM JAMA]

Bathethelele Jama abakwazi abakwenzayo
 Have mercy on them Jama, they do not know what they are doing
uhleka mina njena, siphundu kawuboni
 you laugh at me! but your OCCIPUT cannot see
abanye bahleka wena
 some laugh at you

MOVEMENT STYLE: [This is the second version of the same song by the same group]. Here a spirited member starts the movement in slow isifekezeli style. Then he shouts, "Ggibhu!" and the movement changes. They cross legs, kick high as in indlamu. They feign indlamu and tip-toe at the same time. Another spirited member shouts, "Hibhu!", they cross legs, kick with the right in indlamu fashion and tip-toe again.⁹⁴ At this moment the audience is agape with excitement at the movement variations and the percussiveness that go with it. There is much ululation, wailing and whistling, creating an atmosphere redolent of the past. Another spirited member shouts, "Shiya" [leave it] and the movement stops.

PROVERBIAL

Explanation: It is just an advice that we should not laugh at others. It is from a Zulu dictum, inxeba lendoda alihlekwa [do not laugh at another man's wound] because next time it will be you.

b) **INKOSI USHAKA** [KING SHAKA]

Kukhona inkosi eyayibusa emandulo

There was a King who reigned long ago

Ushaka kashayeki umntakaSenzangakhona

He was Shaka the invincible, son of Senzangakhona

ngenye imini wathatha amabutho wayogwaza amagagasi

⁹⁴

This section of the movement style is identical to indlamu; see video.

one day he took his warriors and went to stab the waves

ethi khangelani amankengane

saying, look at the white people

Sithanda ukunitshela ngemfundo

We want to tell you about education

landelani amasiko akaZulu

stick to Zulu customs

ngoba nenkosi uShaka

because even the King Shaka

- **wayenemfundo yakhe yemvelo**

also had natural education

Siyanibongela basebenzi botshwala beJuba

We are happy for workers of Zulu beer [Juba]

ngoba zonke izimboni zomsebenzi ziyohamba eAfrika

companies will leave Afrika

kodwa iJuba liwutshwala bemvelo

but Juba is natural beer

lamasiko akaZulu

of Zulu tradition

Bahwebi beminotho

Trading companies

yazinini ukuthi uMahanyale uliqhawe kwezokuhweba⁹⁵

know that Mahanyela is a hero in merchandising

MOVEMENT STYLE : SYMBOLISM: WAVES

In this part of the song members of the group hold and lean on each other and

interlock their hands. Mtshali the leader explained:

We want to be sure that we are doing the same thing. We want to do it simultaneously so that we can feel isigqi sengoma [the rhythm of the song], especially when we move simultaneously just like amagagasi [waves], that Shaka said his warriors must stab. If we do not hold each other as we do, "we would spill over"

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Reference to Professor Mahanyale, Chairman of the Sorghum Beer company that manufactures Zulu beer called "Ijuba".

[Wellington Dlamini: interview 22].⁹⁶

Explanation: Whilst the song is a eulogy of King Shaka and his wisdom of modelling his warriors' war tactics on the sequence of waves, the song also calls on the Black elite to stick to custom as it is part of natural education. Drinking Zulu beer is customary too. And there is praise for companies that produce this beer because the uniform they wear was sponsored by the firm, "IJUBA", as written on their uniforms.

EXIT SONG: HEYI WENA NDODA [HEY YOU MAN]

Heyi wena ndoda musa ukungilandela
 Hey you man do not follow me
ngoba azokukhipha amehlo
 because they are going to take your eyes out
amagwababa amsenka
 the white necked ravens
bhasobha izokushaya imamba emnyama
 beware the black mamba is going to get you

MOVEMENT STYLE: The leader starts the song while they are still stationary. Then a spirited member shouts, "Shu!" and movement begins. At "Hayi!" movement changes to ordinary isifekezeli style as if they are carrying shields [see video on ingoma]. At "Jika!" they turn and face the wall, still in isifekezeli

⁹⁶

Zulu history has it that King Shaka modelled his warriors' fighting tactics on the sequence of "waves", whereby warriors attacked the enemy in calculated sequences. This tactics made the Zulu warriors invincible.

style. At "Hayi!" they face the audience doing the same movement. At "Shiya!" [leave it] the leader points here, feigning stick-fighting and in praise poetry style as they exit the stage in isifekezeli style. The two members in the first row also feign stick-fighting as the movement progresses. The rest of the members shape their hands like the 'bull's horns' as they move out of the stage.

SIMILE: AMAGWABABA [WE ARE THE RAVENS]

Explanation: According to Dlamini, Jama Lucky Stars are like the raven which will take out the eyes of any "prey" [group] that fights with them. And he adds that "When a raven comes across a dead cow, it first pokes it in the eyes to see whether it is alive or not. If the cow does not blink then it devours it." Therefore, since Lucky Stars are like a raven they are going to poke the eyes of all weak groups in the competition. He says they also have a uniform that is black and white like ravens.

METAPHOR: - BHASOBHA IZOKUSHAYA IMAMBA EMNYAMA

[BEWARE, IT WILL BITE YOU, THE BLACK MAMBA]

This is a warning to all competing groups that they should beware: Jama Lucky Stars are as poisonous as the black mamba.

CIRCLE. Circle is closed.

The forming of the ring is reminiscent of the Zulu isibaya [cattle kraal] and Inkosi [the leader] in the middle with male subjects surrounding him. The cattle kraal is a male preserve [see illustration]. I also remember that I have never seen the women-folk in these competitions serenading the performers when they are still in the circle. I want to emphasize here that Mtshali says the circle uncoils when amafolosi [leaders] begin the path to the stage in single or double line. It is only when performers are going on stage in udwendwe [single file] that you may see women singing, clapping and dancing with them arrogantly.⁹⁷ In fact, "Even with war regiments there are women who enter the male procession, dancing, ululating and whistling encouragingly" [Msimanga: interview, 27/11/93].

7.5.5 The second part of the competition

This part also starts with the performance of the entry song which is usually in wedding song style. Once on stage, the choir stands "...in a straight line and renders two or three songs, before leaving the stage, again singing and dancing in the amakhothi style" [Erlmann 1987:16].⁹⁸

⁹⁷

See section on choreography for more explanation of udwendwe.

⁹⁸

Standing in a straight line here evinces missionary influence

Each choir sings its own umnyuzikhi [competing song]. Mtshali of the "Kings Boys" remarks that:

The word umnyuzikhi is synonymous to isijululu which means a soft, calm and quiet style, which reflects the influence of schools and the singing of notes which came with a formalized way of singing [interview 3].

The influence of the mission stations and their choral arrangements is quite discernible in this idiom, hence the term umnyuzikhi is borrowed from the English word, "music". Sithole says the following about umnyuzikhi singing:

School choral music has had a profound influence on the ngoma male choir, not only through its Western choral arrangements, but also in the suspension or elimination of action and dance. Singers stand upright, sometimes with their hands behind them and their heads slightly raised so that their eyes face upwards [1979:278].

As in school choirs there is no movement whatsoever, lest it influence the judges. The umnyuzikhi [music] is taken to mean music without movement, as is normal in Western style. Therefore choreography or any form of movement in this section is taboo. Uniforms are usually trousers and blazers with emblems of the firms that have sponsored them, together with white gloves and shoes of matching colours.

FIVE MINUTES

and the school style of choir arrangement; it is connected with the word "music", used as it is to mean singing without movement.

The term "Five minutes" is used to refer to the limited time that each group is given to perform on stage. Performances can only be extended up to ten minutes. Although the limit is five minutes, the repertoire "...usually consists of a wide spectrum of styles that reflect both personal idiosyncrasies and varying degrees of urbanization" [Erlmann 1987:16]. Some choirs prefer to sing sacred songs when competing, for they believe that sacred songs fit the music idiom, since they are not required to move when singing umnyuzikhi. In other words, "Five minutes" is a term that is used as a 'mixed bag', within which there could be a variety of musical styles, even old traditional songs.

If two choirs happen to sing the same song, the judge gives preference to the choir that gives the better rendition [Mtshali:interview 23/02/86]. Then the judge announces the winning choirs. His judgement is final and there is no possibility of appeal. Ngweto of the Paulpietersburg "Crocodiles" remarks that, "Sometimes the prize can be a live goat, sheep or ox. This is sometimes displayed on stage before the competition" [interview 3/11/85]. The first prize is usually a live goat and/or a blanket together with an extra R5 as a bonus. The second prize would be R10 and the third would be R5. The division of prizes differs according to the competition venues.

In most cases a winning group will slaughter a goat or sheep on Sunday morning and invite other willing participants for feasting. When asked why they

do this, Mtshali of the N.B.A. Champions said, umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu, "man is man because of men"; and John Blacking would say, "The process of being with other people, and interacting with them, is considered a sufficient condition for becoming human" [1970:4].

7.6 OTHER REASONS FOR PERFORMING *ISICATHAMYA*

The prizes earned are minimal because the object of the competition is not the winning of money. It is done both for prestige and for the love of music. Performing groups are unanimous in saying that the social principle of helping a fellow member if he runs into some form of difficulty comes into play. If it is a financial difficulty each group member contributes money towards pacifying the situation, eg. an impending wedding, funeral or even a personal problem as when a member has lost his job. Here all members will be required to shoulder the problem by contributing to the welfare of his family until he can find another job. Whatever problems arise, members put their heads together and offer advice or assistance, hence the dictum "man is man because of men". This principle is even extended to the physical protection of any member. Being in the company of one's 'home-boys' is by itself protective and enjoyable.

Let us hear some of their reasons for performing isicathamiya:

Q: Why would you, being young guys of between twenty and

thirty, do this sort of thing? Was it because it was a way of helping each other to get some extra money, or was it because you liked music for dancing? Why did you do that? Why did the "Crocodiles" singers exist ?

A: We did it because when we won we felt happy too; like in stick-fighting. That is all. Another reason was that when we won we would get their women. In some cases we would challenge another choir from a different village, just the two of us. And when we won their women would fall for us and be sarcastic to their heroes who have lost and say, "These are the big guys", after we have outclassed them. In fact it was just a game. Again, singing was done in weddings. If someone had organized a wedding he would engage our services because we were very famous then. We would not charge him anything. We would only enjoy being at the wedding or party and enjoy all edibles free of charge. Really, money was not the aim in our singing. It was not the name of the game [Ngweto Zondo of "Crocodiles" of Paulpietersburg, interview 3/11/85].

Joe Kheswa of the Durban Crocodiles, Hamilton of the Dangerous, Zungu of the Natal Universal, and Samson Ntombela of the Home Tigers unanimously agree that one of the reasons for performing isicathamiya is:

Music demands a person to be clean and proud of oneself. That is civilization too. Many people love music because it keeps them away from hooligans. You become clean, collected and refrain from bad things like drinking liquor [interview, 24/02/86].

Performing groups are also unanimous in saying that these competitions enhance cleanliness amongst groups. They look immaculate and photogenic in their meticulously tailored, dandified attire. They are highly particular about their tidiness. All of them polish their shoes to a gloss. Sometimes they festoon themselves with white gloves and white handkerchiefs displayed in their left breast suit pockets. Their ostentatious attire gives them a carnival look and an air of respectability. The above statements are echoed by Mtshali of the "Kings Boys":

Q: There are others who sing because they love music, not for money. So, what is your objective? Do you sing because you want to flourish and have money or what?

A: No. In fact the main objective is to sing, just for our own sake, because even the money we make is inadequate to satisfy our financial needs. So we are singing because we love music, and hope to advance in it. Not for monetary gain.

Sithole of Highlanders was asked if he would give the same answer as his colleagues:

Q: Other people join groups because they have other objectives like making money. This is why I want to know your motive for joining "The Highlanders".

A: No. We just loved music [interview, 05/04/86].

Mkhalphi of The Orlando Naughty Boys responded saying that the first priority was entertainment, not money. They were really enjoying themselves. They only got money from concerts and competitions [interview, 06/07/89].

Enoch Mzobe of The Durban Crocodiles responded:

Q: Now, during all your working life, did all the music activities contribute to your income financially ? Did you depend on it or singing was just for fun ?

A: There was no financial interest in our singing. The money we gained was just a pittance. We would only make some extra money when we staged a concert. But the idea of singing was not to make some money, but to entertain people. It was also done for pride. Sometimes we would be told that there was a very good group in the neighbourhood. We would go there to sing, just so that we would beat them and show the public that we are the King-pins. [interview, 26/6/89].

From the above responses it is crystal clear that the main purpose of performing is to provide entertainment to the public, to the satisfaction of the performers' own aesthetic tastes. The fact that performers are content when performing, and that they derive maximum pleasure out of performing must also be considered. In general, when discussing the functions of traditional music, the focus must not only be on how audiences benefit, but also on how performers benefit from performances, what they think of their performances and of their audiences.

Isicathamiya is also performed for prestige as Enoch Mzobe mentions. This

prestige goes a long way. Performers take great delight if they happen to win in the competition; the same prestige and delight they would gain by winning in 'stick-fighting'. The fame of victory boosts their ego and status in the community. When they lose their image dissipates and they are hard pressed to regain it. They may be shunned by their women and eventually lose their supporters.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In recapitulation I should like to underscore that the main aim in this study was to show how religion, tradition and custom are kept alive by both izicathamiya practitioners and Zionists in KwaZulu Natal. This has been demonstrated in the discussion of the symbolic structures and in the social and cultural practices, like the ritual practices that have been integrated with traditional beliefs and Christianity.

In the wake of democratization of South Africa, such a topic opens up a wide dialectical field to people who have been oppressed, denigrated and marginalised, whose traditional beliefs and customary rites were disparaged and suppressed. "Worse still is the fact that there is no written document through which one can study any development in the theology of African traditional religion" [Imasogie 1985:2].

The issue of tradition and custom in South Africa is still of major concern. Up until 1993 the role of a traditional leader had been reduced to an ordinary official responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the implementation of government-mandated measures. Then on the 26th to 28th

April 1995, for the first time in South Africa, all races went to the polls. The democratic elections were expected to usher in dramatic changes in the lives of the Black masses, as well as the resuscitation of traditional culture and philosophies enshrined in the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Programme] document that the ANC had published shortly before the elections:

Arts and culture embrace custom, tradition, belief, religion, language, crafts, and all the art forms like music, dance, the visual arts, film, theatre, written and oral literature. Arts and culture permeate all aspects of society and are integral parts of social and economic life, as well as business and industry based upon the arts [ANC 1994:69].

The RDP is the ANC's grand vision, a blueprint for rebuilding a nation, restoring dignity to its people and upgrading their quality of life. But after twelve months of democratic rule by the African National Congress, CONTRALESA [Congress of Traditional Leaders In South Africa] started complaining that the ANC-led government is not according the traditional leaders their rightful place in society. This was highlighted during the visit to South Africa of the traditional British ruler, Queen Elizabeth II, in March 1995. Chief Pathekile Holomisa, leader of CONTRALESA, complained publicly that they were not informed officially of the Queen's visit, and that they viewed that as an aberration and violation of African traditional principles. The traditional ruler of another country cannot come and go without having met the traditional rulers of this country. Had they been officially informed, certain rites would have been performed.

Although Chief Pathekile Holomisa did not mention it, the issue of literacy and illiteracy in South Africa leaves much to be desired. Most CONTRALESA Chiefs lack 'erudition'. As a result they are marginalized in political matters and in matters of national policy such as decision making. I want to argue here that the words literacy and illiteracy when used as barometers of cultural standards among Africans, or to classify people who are untutored in the conventional western system of behaviour, are misnomers. My contention is that Africans are in the unfortunate situation of being forced to adopt English stereotypes for the expression of their belief systems.

The African continent is now, and has been for half a century at least, a playground for European and American scholars who come to conduct research in rural areas for the acquisition of their doctoral degrees. They amass plentiful and potent material by interviewing so-called 'illiterates'. Thereafter they return home to evaluate and analyze this field data. The researcher is termed 'literate' because he has been tutored in the conventional western scheme of things. The interviewee is termed 'illiterate' because: i] he dwells in the reserves, therefore is backward in terms of urban progression; ii] he is not educated in the conventional western sense, being unable, inter alia, to speak, read and write English. Yet 'illiterate' as he is called, he has supplied the overseas scholar with the very data that he uses for the acquisition of his doctoral theses.

Education in the African sense is not measured through writing and reading skills since the tradition has been an oral one. For instance, I found my informants [the grey hairs] highly 'literate' in traditional music and cultural affairs, yet they were unschooled in the western sense of the word. The universal application of western stereotypes illustrates how some societies have fallen foul to the cliches of the western world. Peter Berger writes for instance in "The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness": "People will be able to liberate themselves from social and political oppression only if they first liberate themselves from thought patterns imposed by the oppressors" [1973:176].

Not only are traditional principles violated politically, they are also educationally and mentally attenuated. Whilst the RDP document states that all cultures shall enjoy equal respect, the interim music syllabi distributed to schools in March 1995 in South Africa reflected a gross travesty of the ANC constitution and the RDP programme. Only western music and dances [such as ballet] are prescribed and no mention is made of local dances and traditional styles; while the music syllabus of Transkei in the Eastern Cape that was in operation before the elections had included the teaching of African traditional styles. However, I might add here that to some music teachers, students and school principals, the introduction of African music teaching was shunned and resented by some. Even worse was the suggestion that traditional finery be worn. This was

because western music had for a long time been portrayed as quintessential. The call for a 'return to roots' was regarded as 'retrogressive'. According to Peter Berger, these are the mental patterns that flow from years of political oppression and that have to be exorcised through the ANC's RDP.

Whereas in terms of the ANC constitution South Africa is a multi-faith society, one cannot help noticing the clandestine manner in which religions other than Christian are systematically and surreptitiously marginalized in all state-sponsored media. Almost invariably, CCV [Community Contemporary Values], a TV channel with predominantly Black viewership, will feature, three minutes before the main news at seven o'clock, a Christian religious slot even if the language is utterly foreign to the consumers. Oblivious to or unaware of the religious beliefs of other faiths, the same is true of its sister station TV 1 which screens its own Christian slot at three minutes before 6 pm. This in my view constitutes entrapment, for the designated slots precede the main news, which gives the viewer no choice, as switching off might mean missing topical issues of the day.

Conversely, the issue of religion, tradition and custom with Zionists and izicathamiya practitioners reflects the other side of the coin in South African history. It reflects mental liberation. Not only did the Zionists maintain traditional leadership in worship, they rejected the European music aesthetic

and European modes of worship. This is why the Zionists and Shembeites emphasise, in the bible, the doctrine of apocalyptic faith. The Jesus Christ they are waiting for is an African. For some Shembeites Jesus is embodied in the physical person of Shembe. This is also evidenced by the indigenization of the scriptures discussed in Chapter 4.4 and the pictures of their African Messiahs hanging in their living rooms.

Although not included in this study, izicathamiya practitioners and Zionists have made political statements in songs that have had great sociological and historical significance. The themes of songs varied from social concerns to forceful political statements like "Uyinja uHulumeni" [you are a dog, you Government]. But because Black South Africans had no political freedom, political statements could not be expressed overtly. Performers had to resort to symbolism, metaphor, simile and visual imagery:

In South Africa in the 1960s, politics and music were inversely related to each other; ideas of political freedom could not be expressed but could have been stated in words, while musical freedom could not be explained in words but could be expressed in performance [Blacking 1981:24].

Finally I wish to point out that nonverbal modelling systems like music may sometimes be as important as speech in influencing a course of social action, comparable to making political statements, worship and other forms of cultural

expression. Worship and performance form part of the Zionists' and izicathamiyans' daily lives as evidenced by services and performances that go on for indeterminate hours. Musical performance becomes a form of transportation to the 'other world', and in itself an expression of the deepest African values.

This study is therefore significant in that it records a history of Zulu belief systems and performance tradition. It looks at isicathamiya/Zionist music today, what it offers to the performers, and what performers offer to isicathamiya and Zionism. It should also help Black South Africans generally to relate to their folk-lore and thus to maintain their cultural ideals and rebuild their sense of national identity. It will also work to broaden the syllabi in schools, colleges of education and universities and it should also be used by the South African Government of National Unity in the formulation of National Arts and Culture policy.

APPENDIX A**CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ALL INTERVIEWS****[quoted and unquoted]**

- Dlamini Wellington [Jama Lucky Stars]

Durban, October 10, 1993

Gumbi, Albert [Easy Walkers]

Durban, June 20, 1989

Hlatshwayo, Bernard [King Star Brothers]

Johannesburg, July 2, 1989

Kheswa, Joe [Durban Crocodiles]

Durban, February 24, 1986

Kheswa, Walter [Durban Crocodiles]

Durban, June 27, 1989

Khuzwayo, Skhumbuzo [Durban High Stars]

Durban, June 24, 1989

Luvuno, Justice [Nongoma Black Tycoon]

Durban, October 10, 1993

Mabizela, Philip [King Star Brothers]

Johannesburg, July 2, 1989

Mangcobo, Catherine [Inkanyezi Pentecostal Church in Zion]

Durban, June 4, 1994

Mbatha, Hamilton [NBA Champions]

Durban, October 10, 1993

Mbhele, Wilton [veteran]

Durban, May 28, 1994

Mdladla [Chairman of Johannesburg Isicathamiya Association]

Durban, July 5, 1989

Mkhaliphi, George [Orlando Naughty Boys]

Johannesburg, July 6, 1989.

Mncanyana, Gershom [Scorpions]

Durban, June 22, 1989

Mngoma, Khabi

Empangeni, April 23, 1994

Msimanga, Paulos [veteran]

Durban, April 5, 1986

Msimanga, Paulos [veteran]

Durban, May 28, 1994

Mtshali, Isaac [King Boys]

Durban, June 22, 1989

Mtshali Leonard [Zulu Home Soldiers]

Durban, October 10, 1993

Mtshali, Thomas [Kings Boys]

Glebelands Mens' Hostel, February 23, 1986

Mzobe, Enoch [Crocodiles]

Durban, June 26, 1989

Ntombela, Samson [Home Tigers]

Durban, February 24, 1986

Nxumalo, Elphas [Zulu Messengers]

Durban, May 28, 1994

Nzimande, Welcome [SABC presenter]

Durban, June 26, 1989

Pelo, Hamilton [King Star Brothers]

Johannesburg, July 2, 1989

Shabalala, Joseph [Ladysmith Black Mambazo]

Durban, November 18, 1985

Shembe, Mbijana [Orlando Naughty Boys]

Johannesburg, July 6, 1989

Sibiya Caiphus [Natal Young Stars]

Durban, October 10, 1993

Sibiya, Caiphus [Natal Young Stars]

Durban, October 22 & 28, 1994

Sithole, Isaac [Highlanders]

Durban, April 5, 1986

Sixolo, Washington [Kings Messengers Quartet]

Johannesburg, July 2, 1989

Thwala Robert [Natal Try Singers]

Durban, October 10, 1993

Thwala, Robert [Nongoma Master Voice]

Durban, June 4, 1994

Zondo, Ngweto Cornelius [Durban Crocodiles]

Paulpietersburg, November 3, 1985

Zuma Elias [Ubuhle Bamahlathi]

Durban, October 10, 1993

Zungu, Moses [Natal Universal]

Durban, February 24, 1986

MASS INTERVIEW CONDUCTED WITH THE FOLLOWING GROUPS ON THE 27/11/94:

Fairview, Nongoma Black Tycoon, Nongoma Lucky Stars, Zulu Messengers, Natal Try Singers, Ubuhle Bamahlathi, Natal Young Stars and Nongoma Master Voice.

VIDEO RECORDING OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS ON THE 30/10/93 AT THE Y.M.C.A. IN DURBAN:

Fairview, Nongoma Black Tycoon, Jama Lucky Stars, Zulu Messengers, Zulu Home Soldiers and Nongoma Master Voice.

VIDEO RECORDING ON THE 27/11/93 AT THE Y.M.C.A. IN DURBAN:

N.B.A. Champions, Nongoma Master Voice, Natal Try Singers, Ubuhle Bamahlathi, Jama Lucky Stars, Zulu Home Soldiers, and Natal Young Stars.

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF ZULU WORDS

With notes on concords

- a) All nouns whose prefixes are **isi-**, **um-**, or starting with the vowel **i-**, are singular e.g. **isizwe** [nation]
- b) All nouns whose prefixes are **aba-**, **ama-** or starting with the vowel **a-**, are plural e.g. **abalozi** [whistling ancestors]
- c) All words whose prefixes are **e-**, **esi-**, **ezi-**, **eli-**, **en-**, **om-** are adjectives

abantu bohlanga	people of the reeds; the Zulus
abaphantsi	people of the nether world; ancestors
akanazwi unomqangala	it is not a voice he has, it is [as sweet as] a mouth bow
akudlulwa ngandlela kwakhiwa	A Zulu dictum: a person cannot pass by when other people are building a house
amabhinca	see amagxagxa below
amadlingozi	state of becoming spirited
amadlozi	ancestors
amadokodo	revival meetings
amaduku	hand-kerchiefs

amafolosi/amashoshozela	leaders of dance movements
amafufunyana	possession by evil spirits
amagagasi	waves
amagwababa	ravens
amagwala	cowards
amagxagxa	marginal people, uneducated, neither Christian nor traditional
amagxathu	intervals; spaces between footprints
amakhothi	from the English word "chords"; these were soft, tranquil songs sung to please the audience before the start of the competition
amaleki	word borrowed from American "ragtime"; these were wedding songs performed in swaying movements of the ragtime period
amandawe namandiki	possession by spirits, as if suffering from a hysterical disease
amaqhawe	heroes
amathongo	ancestral spirits
amatshitshi	nubile girls
bethela	harden your homestead by administering herbs at strategic points in the house
bombing	vocal style characterized by loudness and high tessitura, akin to bombs dropped during the Second World War
bopha ibande	fasten the belt; fasting
bhula amazolo	wipe the dew, break the ice, set the pace.
buyisa	[ceremony] of bringing back a dead ancestor

chatha	administer an enema
cothoza mfana	dance and vocal style of the late 1940s popularized by the late Zulu radio announcer Alexius Buthelezi, and Gershóm Mncanyana's composition "Cothoza Mfana"; characterized by tip toeing, or 'crawling like a cat'
dlula/qhubeka	continue, pass [after death]
ekhaya	at home
emlanjeni	in/at the river
emsamo	at the back of the hut
esigcawini/enkundleni	on the field; could be a battle-field, a kraal or open space where the dancing is going to take place
ezimpohlweni	at the bachelors' flats
five mineths	Five Minutes, a competition style where groups had to take only five minutes on stage when performing it
gcaba	cut the flesh with a sharp object like a razor blade and smear medicine on the wound, to ward off evil spirits, or as a hardening instrument
goduka	going home [Heaven]
gqibuka	breaking off life
guduza	negotiate a meandering footpath, likened to undulating melody
hlabelela	sing informally
hlanganisa ingoma	putting a song together
hlamuluka	be purified
hlaba umxhwele	be satisfied

ibhasi	bass part
ibheshu	loin skin worn by men; traditional regalia of Zulus
ibhimbi	bad singer
iculo lokubingelela	greeting song
idoshaba	bass part, singing the lowest 'doh'
idresi	standing in a straight line
igagu	good singer and dancer
igoda liyadabuka	the coiled rope uncoils; refers to
isicathamiya	circle dance, known as the warming up dance. When the circle is broken as they go to the stage in single file, the circle is said to be tearing
ikhehla	old man
ikhetho	bridegroom's party
ikhothamo	lintel
ikopiti	word derived from English "competition", to denote the singing of choice pieces during the first part of the competition without judges
imbheleko	traditional cloth for carrying baby on the back
imbhongi	praise poet
imbube	idiom of the 1930s, characterized by roaring, akin to the "roaring of a lion"
imfiliji	mouth organ
imimoya emibi	evil spirits
imphepho	incense
imphophoma	waterfall

imvunge	synonymous with isihomuhomu
imvunulo	traditional finery
imvuselelo	revival
indingilizi	circle, as in Zionist worship and <u>isicathamiya</u>
indlamu	Zulu dance, characterized by solo dance displays in <u>ingoma</u> style
indlela	rural path likened to a melody
induku	stick
ingoma iyashisa	the song is hot
ingxoxo	discussion
ingwe idla ngamabala ayo	"the leopard eats by its markings/spots/colours", a Zulu dictum goes referring to traditional finery
inkanyezi	star
inkondlo	praise poem
iNkosikazi yeZulu	the Heavenly Queen
intambo	rope/string
intombi	virgin
ishoba	stick made of horse's tail
isibaya	Zulu cattle kraal
isibhaca	gumboot dance developed by the Bhaca tribe
isibhadalala	1918 influenza epidemic
isicathulo	dance characterized by slapping on the gumboots; also known as "gumboot dance"

isidina/isigcwagcwa	disagreeableness
isifekezeli	synonymous with <u>mashi</u> meaning "march"; this dance is a fast dance in the form of a drill, characterized by concerted movement, without solo displays
isigambhulu/ugambhule	synonymous with bombing
isigekle	variety of wedding dances, quick in tempo with hand clapping and performed by old or married women
isigubudu	harmony likened to the converging horns of a bull
isihomuhomu	harmony
isijululu	calm, tranquil competition style developed in the 1940s.
isikhalanga	circle and "healing dance" of the Zionists
isikhali	weapon
isikhunzi	word coming from the American "coons", Vaudeville troupes that toured South Africa in the middle 1800s. "Cape Town Coon Carnivals" and many local izikhunzi troupes are believed to have modelled themselves on them
isikhwela joe	see below
isinene	sporrán
isiNtu	humanity
isisindo	weight
isithunywa	celestial messenger
isitishi	dance of the 1940s simulating 'stitches'
isishemeni/isishameni	dance developed by Tembu farm labourers in Natal
isithakazelo	clan name

isithululu/isijululu	meaning the "quiet and calm style" [low keyed], as opposed to the bombing/isikhwela joe styles of the late 1940s with very high tessitura, akin to the bombs of the Second World War
isiwasho	anointed water
iva likhishwa ngelinye	a thorn is taken out by another; a Zulu dictum meaning eye for an eye
izandla ziyagezana	Zulu dictum meaning " the hands wash each other"
izembe	:axe
izidwaba	traditional leather skirts worn by women
izigi/izigqi	footprints
izihlahlana	shrubs
izihlobo zegazi	blood relatives
izimpondo zenkomo	bull's horns
izingoma zomshado	wedding songs
izinkondlo	praise poems
iziphandla	wrist-bands
iziphetho zamaculo	cadences
iziqalo zamaculo	introductions; call sections
izintelezi zempi	war herbs
izinyoni	birds
izithunzi	shades
izithutha	particular spirits that materialize as snakes or house lizards
iziyabhuyabhu	unorganized choreography

khalela	cry out, sing emotionally
kikiza	ululate
klabalasa	singing loud and off pitch
kushunqa uthuli lapho	there dust appears
liyamklinya	[the song] is choking him [the pitch is high]
lobola	brideswealth
makhwaya	from the English word "choirs"; in this context refers to Shangaan choirs
mbube	vocal style popularized by Solomon Linda of the "Evening Birds" in 1937 with his hit song "Mbube", commonly known as "Wimoweh"
memeza	shout at the top of your voice
mohobelo	Sotho dance characterized by striding and leaping
ncinda	to dip your fingers in prepared medicine and suck, for cure of ailment
ngcweka	test strength, rehearse, warm up
nyonyoba	crawl, move stealthily
omakhelwana	neighbours
phalaza	cleanse the stomach by spewing prepared medicine
pheka ingoma ize ivuthwe	"cook a song until well cooked", refers to warming up before going on stage until satisfied that the song is ready for performance
phila	be alive
Qamata	Xhosa word for the The Supreme Being
qhatha	fix a fight e.g. lead on two men to 'stick-fight'

qhenya	pride in oneself
qinisa	harden yourself with herbs
qopha, haya	sing or recite praises
shaya induku	stick-fighting
sikaza	pretend fighting
sidla inhloko	[we eat the head]; we are in the kraal
sina	solo dancing, characterized by high lifting of the foot high and hard stamping on the ground
sizqhoshelana	display skills arrogantly in a competition
thandaza	pray
thwala/thwasisa	train as neophyte
tula ndivile	1920 blending of Xhosa melodies and American ragtime music
ubudoda	maleness
uBuntu	act of being human
udondolo	rod
udwendwe	in single file; also means bridal party
ukhamba	calabash
ukhondaktha	conductor of traditional songs who performs as in war antics
ukufa	death
umlindelo	revival, all night church service
ukwanda kwaliwa umthakathi	Zulu dictum meaning, "Only a witch does not like family growth"

umasikanda	Zulu guitarist
umbholoho	full breasted community singing
umchwayo	praise poem
umculo wesiNtu	traditional music
uMdali/uMenzi	The Maker
umgexo	necklace made of beads
umgandiyana	synonymous with ragtime
umgangela	interdistrict stick-fighting match
umgubho	function
umnyakazo	movement; dance
umpishi	see ukhondaktha
umqangala	flute
umqombothi	Zulu beer
umucu	short string of beads, referring to a short musical phrase
umuga	function; any traditional function like a wedding, or feast
umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu	famous dictum: "a person is a person because of other people", ie "a man is a man because of interaction and socialization with other people", or "no man is an island"
umutsha	gird for loins
uNkulunkulu	The Supreme Being
umlilo	fire

umdlanla	inspiration
umgandiyana	synonymous with stitches above
umkhokheli	Layman
uMkhululi	Saviour
umlindelo	"waiting", night vigils of Zionist and isicathamiya performances
umqonqo	Zulu stamping dance
umnyuzikhi	"music", style developed in the 1940s, influenced by "notes" of the missionary hymns
umuthi	tree; herb
umvangeli	evangelist
uMvelinqangi	He Who Came First
umxhentso	Xhosa dance characterized by shaking the body like a river reed
uNdlunkulu	royal kraal or palace
uNomkhubulwana	Zulu female deity
vuma	agree, with antiphonal response
yelula	prolong

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